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PUBLIC OPINION
1935–1946

# PUBLIC OPINION 1935–1946

Under the editorial direction of
HADLEY CANTRIL

Prepared by Mildred Strunk

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# PREFACE

One of the reasons for establishing the Office of Public Opinion Research in 1940 was to accumulate archives of survey data for research purposes. Almost as soon as it became known that this material was being gathered together, we were besieged with requests for information. Most of the requests were legitimate, coming as they did from social scientists, government officials, public servants, and other observers or students of the current scene. As the years went on, the number and variety of requests mounted until it became quite impossible to answer them adequately.

During a luncheon meeting several years ago with Datus Smith, Director of the Princeton University Press, and Lloyd Free, then Editor of the *Public Opinion Quarterly*, we talked about the nature of these requests and the potential value and usefulness this type of information could have for a wide range of people: historians, sociologists, political scientists, economists, editors, policy makers, businessmen, labor leaders, and a host of others whose professional lives are, in one way or another, concerned with public reaction to events. We thought of the interest comparable information would have for us today if it had been gathered during the period of the American or French Revolution, the Civil War, pre-Hitler Germany, or the early days of the New Deal. And we thought, too, of the significance information approximating this in reliability and inclusiveness would have if it were available from Soviet-dominated areas.

So it occurred to us that a service might be performed both for present and future social scientists if we could somehow manage to put between two covers at somewhat regular intervals the available results of carefully indexed surveys. The job seemed a logical one for the Office of Public Opinion Research to begin. Accordingly, an appeal was made to the Rockefeller Foundation, which provided funds to assist in the preparation of this volume. As we got into the work, more and more data became available to us and the task assumed even greater proportions than we had originally contemplated. The present volume covers surveys from their beginning in 1935 through 1946 and includes material from 16 different countries.

While any competent investigator knows that our methods for measuring and understanding public opinion are still in their infancy, there is little doubt among those concerned with empirical research in the social sciences that sampling techniques, combined with careful questionnaire design and skilled interviewing, provide one of the most reliable instruments so far devised for such research. The steadily increasing number of monographs and books that have appeared in the past decade and that have been based wholly or in part upon survey material provides ample testimony of the function such material can have. Furthermore, the increasing amount of money spent by hard-headed businessmen and by government officials in acquiring special information via surveys can only reflect the demonstrated reliability of such data for those concerned with policy decisions.

This is not the appropriate place to enter into any technical evaluation of methodology. Readers interested in such problems are referred to the *Public Opinion Quarterly* or to the *International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research*. Nor is this the place to consider the implications of public opinion polls for the democratic process. It might be pointed out, however, that this scientific tool, like all others, is in itself neutral and can be used for good or evil according to one's own definition and purposes. It should also be noted that there

is a great difference between using survey results to make yourself intelligent and to make yourself synthetic. It was our feeling in proposing this volume that a more precise understanding of public opinion, in so far as it can be obtained through survey results, would increase the intelligence available both to scholars and to men in public affairs.

In the Introduction prepared by Mildred Strunk, the reader will find the necessary details for use of the results: size of samples, the meaning of the date reference, of the various symbols employed, etc. Anyone who uses this book for serious study or interpretation is urged to read the Introduction carefully. And he is also urged to make his own cautious evaluation of the adequacy of the questions asked as they bear on his own problem.

The responsibility for the actual preparation of this volume was largely that of Mildred Strunk. With the help of expert librarians, she worked out the categories used. She kept in constant touch with the appropriate personnel of the 23 organizations which so generously cooperated with us, checking with them on technical matters and on translations. As Director of the Office of Public Opinion Research, I am deeply indebted to her for her able, patient, and meticulous handling of this undertaking. We are also indebted to the International Business Machine Corporation for the use of their machines and to the personnel of the Trenton office for their cooperation and interest. Without the encouragement and support of Datus Smith the volume would never have been conceived or born. Miriam Brokaw of the Princeton University Press has given invaluable assistance in preparing the manuscript for publication.

Mrs. Strunk was unable to continue work on this volume until its completion. The variation which may be noted in the final four hundred pages or more is due to this fact.

HADLEY CANTRIL

*Princeton, N.J.*
*February, 1950*

# INTRODUCTION

This book aims to present as many opinion poll results as possible, in a convenient and useful form. The material presented has been collected from 23 organizations in 16 countries and covers the period from 1935, when George Gallup and Elmo Roper began publishing results obtained by the sampling method, through 1946. It is hoped that subsequent volumes covering five-year periods may be compiled.

Although we have included most questions asked of national cross sections throughout the world, this collection by no means includes every question ever asked in a public opinion poll. Market research material was not available, and because of space limitations we have been unable to incorporate results from local polls.

The plan of the book is a simple one. In general, the classification and wording of both subjects and cross references are based on the Library of Congress subject headings which are the result of careful thought and wide experience. To insure uniformity, it seemed both wise and economical to adopt a system that has long been tested in practice through its wide use in libraries. Each question has been classified under the most specific subject that could be assigned to it; under each subject, questions have been arranged in chronological order except where questions on a single topic have been assembled for presentation in tabular form, when the entire series appears under the date of the earliest question.

Many questions involve two, three, and sometimes more ideas or subjects. In these cases, the choice of subject had to be arbitrary, but cross references have been provided in the Table of Contents to connect such questions with all the subjects involved. To retain the sense of filter questions, it seemed essential that they be kept with the questions that follow and we have followed this practice since limitations of space prevented the publication of any question more than once.

In some cases, questions on successive phases of a single topic have been classified under different heads, for example "International organization" and "United Nations"; "World War, 1939–1945: Food questions" and "Food relief." In the case of the United Nations, the earliest questions are classified under "International organization." A break was made with January 9, 1942, when the organization was given its present name—all questions after that date are under "United Nations." Similarly, questions asked during the war about food relief to Europe, etc., are classified under "World War, 1939–1945: Food question," and questions asked after the war are under "Food relief." These are arbitrary divisions, really, calculated partly to keep the size of the subject down to reasonable proportions, and partly to separate the successive phases of a subject.

Cross references refer to questions and not to answers. To have referred also to answers would have been impracticable. The subjects themselves are printed in capitals in the Table of Contents; all other entries are cross references.

We have made few exceptions to the rule of using only results based on a national cross section. The first survey made in France after the Allies took Paris was made only in Paris for lack of travel facilities. In the Netherlands, the first survey covers only the three western provinces—the rest of the country was still in the hands of the enemy. In Brazil, because of the peculiarities of the country, the two large cities—Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo—are the best cross section obtainable. A considerable number of surveys in Hungary were only of Budapest and suburbs because of interviewing difficulties in the rest of the country.

The Czechoslovak Institute of Public Opinion had not succeeded in making arrangements to cover Slovakia at the time of the crisis in February 1948, so results labeled Czechoslovakia are results from Bohemia and Moravia only. The possible scarcity of material from either Hungary or Czechoslovakia in the future has encouraged us to include what we had. The material supplied by the American Military Government in Germany and the few questions from the French Zone in Germany, of course, cover only the areas occupied by the United States and France. The American Zone includes Bavaria, Hesse, Würtemberg-Baden; Berlin was sampled regularly after March 1946.

Much as we should like to indicate the exact size of the sample used for each question asked, this proved to be impracticable. As already mentioned, the data in this volume are drawn from 23 organizations in 16 different countries with the result that a variety of sample sizes and sampling designs are represented. It is possible, however, to indicate the number of interviews usually conducted by each of the organizations in question. At the Loxwood Hall conference in England in May 1947, where the International Association of Public Opinion Institutes was formed, participating organizations reported on size of sample. AIPO, the American Institute of Public Opinion for general purposes uses a nationwide sample of 3,000, although on certain questions the samples are larger. Some questions are included on two or more ballots, which increases the size of sample in units of 3,000. Thereby, samples can be enlarged to as many thousands as are necessary to provide accuracy within any breakdown tabulations desired. The Australian Public Opinion Polls (APOP) uses 2,000; the Brazilian Institute of Public Opinion (IBOPE) uses 1,500; the British Institute of Public Opinion (BIPO) uses 2,000; the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion (CIPO) uses 2,000 to 2,500; the Czechoslovak Institute of Public Opinion (CZIPO) uses 1,000 to 1,300; the Danish Gallup Institute (DGI) uses 2,600; the Finnish Gallup Institute (FGI) uses 1,500 to 1,800; the French Institute of Public Opinion (FIPO) uses 2,500 to 2,800; the Italian Institute of Statistical Research and Public Opinion (DOXA) uses 3,000 to 3,600; the Netherlands Institute of Public Opinion (NIPO) uses 1,600 to 2,000; the Norwegian Gallup Institute (NGI) uses 2,000; and the Swedish Gallup Institute (SGI) uses 2,000.

With the exception of the Czechoslovak Institute of Public Opinion, all the organizations represented at the Loxwood Hall conference are now Gallup affiliates. The members of the International Association of Public Opinion Institutes exchange information on techniques and survey results. Each institute is organized and directed entirely in the country which it samples—Dr. Gallup acts only in an advisory capacity. Through the chain, it is possible to put the same question to cross sections in each of the countries and make a comparative study of opinion. Following is a list of the Gallup affiliates with the dates of their founding or affiliation: American Institute of Public Opinion, 1935; British Institute of Public Opinion, 1936; Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, 1941; Australian Public Opinion Polls, 1942; Swedish Gallup Institute, 1943; French Institute of Public Opinion founded in 1939 but suspended during the war, resuming late in 1944; Danish Gallup Institute, 1945; Finnish Gallup Institute, 1945; Norwegian Gallup Institute, 1946; Brazilian Institute of Public Opinion, 1946; Netherlands Institute of Public Opinion, 1947; and the Italian Institute for Statistical Research and Public Opinion Analysis, 1947. The Czechoslovak Institute of Public Opinion, which was also represented at the Loxwood Hall meeting, was formed under the auspices of the Ministry of Information shortly after the liberation in 1945.

*Fortune's* Executive Forecast (FOR) is based on returns of an anonymous ballot mailed to over 10,000 leading business executives who have previously accepted an invitation to

membership in the *Fortune* Forum of Executive Opinion which was founded in 1940. The ballot is also mailed to 9,000 prospective members. The number of returns tabulated varies, the cutoff point being reached when a sufficiently high degree of internal consistency indicates that no significant changes in the results will be caused by tabulating additional returns. In no case are less than 4,000 ballots tabulated.

The *Fortune* Survey (FOR) conducted by Elmo Roper was started in 1935 with a national sample of 3,000. This was increased to 4,500 in 1936 and to 5,000 in 1937 in order to achieve greater certainty in the breakdown of results. Until 1945 the sample remained at 5,000 except for one or two special surveys. In that year the size was reduced to 3,500 because it was felt that in the write-up of the survey, the breakdowns no longer needed such detailed analysis, and that differences between groups would be mentioned only when the variance was considerable. The sample has remained ar 3,500 since 1945, except for certain political surveys when a sample of 5,000 was used. Most results included in this publication from Elmo Roper's column "What People Are Thinking" in the *New York Herald Tribune* (NYHT) come from the same surveys as the material from the *Fortune* Survey.

The National Opinion Research Center (NORC) sample varies with the problem under investigation. The usual sample for results included here is 2,500 to 3,500, although in some cases samples as large as 7,000 have been used. This organization was started in 1941.

Crossley's state by state election polls (CP) represent results based on samples from 15,000 to 20,000 except in the surveys made in 1936, when each survey made before the election represented approximately 30,000 interviews. The Office of Public Opinion Research (OPOR), established in 1940, used samples ranging from 2,500 to 3,500.

The size of the sample used by the American Military Government in Germany (OMGUS) has undergone considerable change since the first survey was made in October 1945. The work was done by the Opinion Survey Section of the Intelligence Branch under the direction of Frederick W. Williams. Small samples of the zonal population were originally designed, and, as men and materials became available, the sample was enlarged. Berlin was sampled regularly after March 1946. In August 1946 the sample was stabilized at approximately 3,000 cases for the Zone and 400 for Berlin. Surveys made between October 26 and November 26, 1945, are based on interviewing by American personnel whose language ability was unquestioned. Succeeding surveys are based on field work by German interviewers trained by these Americans. Surveys made between October 26 and November 26, 1945, used a sample of approximately 400; December 1 to December 13, 1945, used about 500; December 27, 1945, to March 29, 1946, used 1,000; April 5 to July 26, 1946, used 1,500; beginning with the survey dated August 9, 1946, a sample of 3,000 was used.

The few questions from the French Military Zone in Germany (GMZFO) were released by the French Institute of Public Opinion with no information on the size of sample or construction of cross section.

When the Hungarian Institute of Public Opinion Research (HIPOR) was started in the summer of 1945 with Paul H. Schiller of the University of Budapest as its director, the Gallup organization was the model of its procedure. Results for surveys made in Budapest are based on approximately 2,000 cases and national surveys on 5,000.

The Belgian Academic Institute for Social and Economic Information (INSOC) was organized in 1946. We have been unable to get information on their size of sample. The Netherlands Foundation for Statistics (NFS), an independent organization in Holland founded in 1945, uses an average sample of 2,000.

Telegraphic surveys made by any organization naturally cover a smaller sample than personal-interview surveys, although some use samples as large as 1,000. The proportion of telegraphic results reported in this publication is very small.

Date lines before questions indicate the date the ballot was sent out only in the cases of the American Military Government in Germany, the British Institute of Public Opinion, the National Opinion Research Center, and the Office of Public Opinion Research. In the case of the American Institute of Public Opinion the release date is used for published data, otherwise the send-out date is used. Unless otherwise noted, all others indicate the date of release and not the date on which the question was asked. Every effort has been made to achieve uniformity in the presentation of the data.

For their cooperation in making possible the publication of this volume, the Office of Public Opinion Research wishes to express its deep appreciation to the Academic Institute for Social and Economic Information in Belgium; George Gallup and the American Institute of Public Opinion in the United States; Australian Public Opinion Polls in Australia; Brazilian Institute of Public Opinion in Brazil; British Institute of Public Opinion in England; Canadian Institute of Public Opinion in Canada; the Crossley Poll in the United States; Czechoslovak Institute of Public Opinion in Czechoslovakia; Danish Gallup Institute in Denmark; Finnish Gallup Institute in Finland; Elmo Roper and the editors of *Fortune* and the *New York Herald Tribune* in the United States; French Institute of Public Opinion in France; the Opinion Surveys Section of the Intelligence Branch, Office of Military Government for Germany (U.S.) in Germany; Hungarian Institute of Public Opinion Research in Hungary; Italian Institute for Statistical Research and Public Opinion in Italy; the Military Government for the French Occupation Zone in Germany; National Opinion Research Center in the United States; Netherlands Foundation for Statistics and the Netherlands Institute of Public Opinion in Holland; Norwegian Gallup Institute in Norway; and the Swedish Gallup Institute in Sweden.

That the publication of such a volume as this is possible, is due to the spirit and patience of the participating organizations, to the cooperation of such people as Henry Halpern, who helped clarify some of the questions from the American Zone in Germany; to Julian Boyd, who helped with classification problems; and to the loyalty and persistence of the members of the staff who worked on the project at the Office of Public Opinion Research. For their painstaking work, we also wish to thank Eleanor Atha, Adrienne Hall, Barbara Hastorf, Josephine Hawk, Margaret Lewis, Eleanor Mount, Ann Stults, Kathleen Rogow, Frances G. Rosenberg, and Elaine Whitley, without whose help the preparation of the manuscript might well have taken another three or four years.

M. S.

*Princeton, N.J.*
*June 1949*

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## LEGEND

AIPO (American Institute of Public Opinion—U.S.)
APOP (Australian Public Opinion Polls—Australia)
BIPO (British Institute of Public Opinion—Great Britain)
CIPO (Canadian Institute of Public Opinion—Canada)
CP (Crossley, Inc.—U.S.)
CZIPO (Czechoslovak Institute of Public Opinion—Czechoslovakia)
DGI (Danish Gallup Institute—Denmark)
DOXA (Institute for Statistical Research and Public Opinion—Italy)
FGI (Finnish Gallup Institute—Finland)
FIPO (French Institute of Public Opinion—France)
FOR (*Fortune*—U.S.)*
GMZFO (Military Government for French Occupation Zone—Germany)
HIPOR (Hungarian Institute of Public Opinion Research—Hungary)
IBOPE (Brazilian Institute of Public Opinion—Brazil)
INSOC (Academic Institute for Social and Economic Information—Belgium)
NFS (Netherlands Foundation for Statistics—Holland)
NGI (Norwegian Gallup Institute—Norway)
NIPO (Netherlands Institute of Public Opinion—Holland)
NORC (National Opinion Research Center—U.S.)
NYHT (*New York Herald Tribune*—U.S.)
OMGUS (American Military Government—Germany)
OPOR (Office of Public Opinion Research—U.S.)
SGI (Swedish Gallup Institute—Sweden)

* The symbol FOR is used for all material from *Fortune*. Executive surveys are indicated in the text; all other results come from surveys conducted by Elmo Roper.

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PUBLIC OPINION
1935–1946

# PUBLIC OPINION, 1935–1946

## ABSENTEEISM (LABOR)

**1.** (US Dec 10 '41) During the past four weeks have you been absent from work at any time because of sickness? Those who said they had missed time from work because of illness were asked: How many days did you miss from work? Asked of employed persons. (AIPO)

| | *Medians* |
|---|---|
| National total | 2.3 days out of every 100 |
| BY SEX | |
| Men | 2.5 days out of every 100 |
| Women | 2.0 days out of every 100 |

**2.** (US Mar 10 '43) What do you think should be done with workers in war factories who are regularly absent from work without good excuse? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Draft them; put them in service, into army | 48% |
| Lay them off; discharge them | 11 |
| Absenteeism without cause is non-existent; no penalties | 1 |
| Other | 32 |
| No opinion | 8 |

**3.** (Canada June 16 '43) Do you think that workers in war industries who stay away from their work without a good excuse should be fined in addition to losing their pay? (CIPO)

| | *Would fine* | *Would not fine* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 58% | 33% | 9% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farmers | 70% | 23% | 7% |
| Business and professional | 53 | 38 | 9 |
| White-collar | 57 | 34 | 9 |
| Labor | 55 | 36 | 9 |

**4.** (Canada June 16 '43) Do you think that a worker in a war industry who stays away from work without good reason should be punished as severely as a soldier who is absent without leave? (CIPO)

Yes 68% No 23% Undecided 9%

**5.** (Canada Dec 11 '43) There has been a lot of talk recently about workers who stay away from their jobs. What, in your opinion, are the reasons why these people take time off from their jobs? (CIPO)

| | *National total* | *Labor only* |
|---|---|---|
| Too many taxes | 29% | 39% |
| Overworked; need relaxation; etc. | 16 | 15 |
| Sickness | 11 | 12 |
| Jobs dull | 2 | 2 |
| Bad management | 1 | 1 |
| Poor working conditions | 1 | 1 |
| Carelessness; laziness; etc. | 13 | 11 |
| Too much pay | 12 | 8 |
| Parties; frivolity; etc. | 7 | 7 |
| Too easy to get jobs | 3 | 3 |
| | 95%* | 99%* |

* Miscellaneous answers and those who had no opinion brought the total up to slightly over 100, as some advanced more than one explanation.

## ACCIDENTS

### Prevention

**1.** (Great Britain Oct '46) Can you recall having seen any poster or advertisement of the government's road safety campaign? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 73% | 27% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 74% | 26% |
| Women | 71 | 29 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 21–29 years | 81% | 19% |
| 30–49 years | 78 | 22 |
| 50 years and over | 64 | 36 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Higher | 87% | 13% |
| Middle | 83 | 17 |
| Lower | 68 | 32 |

**2.** (Great Britain Oct '46) Which [poster or advertisement have you seen]? Asked of 73% of the sample who said they recalled having seen a road safety campaign poster or advertisement. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Window poster | 32% |
| "Keep death off the road" | 17 |
| "Hand" poster | 1 |
| Posters, general | 3 |
| Newspapers, general | 4 |
| Strip cartoons | 1 |
| "This is how it happened" series | 1 |
| Local campaigns | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| Don't remember; haven't taken much notice | 3 |
| No instance given | 2 |
| | 73% |

**3.** (Great Britain Oct '46) Is there any way in which you think it [the government's road safety campaign] has increased your road sense? Asked of 73% of the sample who recalled having seen a poster or advertisement of the road safety campaign. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Has made me more aware of danger; more generally careful | 13% |
| More careful about crossing roads; look to left and right | 6 |
| Use pedestrian crossings more | 1 |
| Makes me more careful with children | 2 |
| Makes me more nervous; dislike posters; think them in bad taste | 4 |
| Have always been careful | 10 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| No comment | 34 |
| | 73% |

# ACTORS AND ACTRESSES

**1.** (US Apr 12 '37) Who are your favorite radio performers? (AIPO) (Jan '38) Who is your favorite radio personality? (FOR) The *Fortune* question was asked of a national cross-section of radio owners only.

| | *AIPO* | *FOR* |
|---|---|---|
| Jack Benny | 30% | 10.7% |
| Eddie Cantor | 12 | 5.5 |
| Fred Allen | 11 | 1.4 |
| Bing Crosby | 9 | 5.4 |
| Lowell Thomas | 8 | 5.9 |
| Burns and Allen | 7 | 1.9 |
| Major Bowes | 7 | 4.6 |
| Bob Burns | 6 | 4.3 |
| Lum and Abner | 5 | 1.0 |
| Amos and Andy | 5 | — |
| Boake Carter | — | 7.1 |
| Nelson Eddy | — | 4.0 |
| Edwin C. Hill | — | 3.5 |
| Charlie McCarthy | — | 3.0 |
| President Roosevelt | — | 2.7 |
| Edgar Bergen | — | 1.3 |
| Rudy Vallee | — | .9 |
| All others | — | 36.8 |
| | 100%* | |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who mentioned the top ranking ten.

**2.** (US May 10 '37) If the movie theaters in this town were picketed because of a strike of Hollywood actors, would you go to the movies just the same? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 53% |
| No | 23 |
| Not a movie-goer | 22 |
| No opinion | 2 |

**3.** (US July '37) Who is your favorite movie star? (Nov '39) Who is your favorite male movie actor? Who is your favorite movie actress? (FOR)

| | *July 1937* | *Actors Nov 1939* | *Actresses Nov 1939* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Clark Gable | 3.7% | 5.1% | — |
| Shirley Temple | 3.7 | — | 2.3% |
| Robert Taylor | 2.7 | 1.9 | — |
| William Powell | 2.6 | 1.3 | — |
| Norma Shearer | 2.3 | — | 2.6 |
| Wallace Beery | 1.8 | 2.1 | — |
| George Arliss | 1.7 | — | — |
| Jeanette MacDonald | 1.6 | — | 3.4 |
| Myrna Loy | 1.6 | — | 4.4 |
| Greta Garbo | 1.6 | — | 1.0 |
| Janet Gaynor | 1.4 | — | 1.7 |
| Gary Cooper | 1.3 | 1.5 | — |
| Joan Crawford | 1.3 | — | 1.3 |
| Lionel Barrymore | 1.3 | 2.0 | — |
| Kay Francis | 1.3 | — | 1.0 |
| Bing Crosby | 1.1 | — | — |
| Jean Harlow | 1.0 | — | — |
| Nelson Eddy | 9 | 1.3 | — |
| Spencer Tracy | — | 5.6 | — |
| Tyrone Power | — | 2.1 | — |
| Paul Muni | — | 1.9 | — |
| Errol Flynn | — | 1.3 | — |
| Charles Boyer | — | 1.2% | — |
| Gene Autry | — | 1.1 | — |
| Ronald Colman | — | 1.0 | — |
| Bob Burns | — | 1.0 | — |
| Bette Davis | — | — | 4.6% |
| Irene Dunne | — | — | 2.8 |
| Ginger Rogers | — | — | 1.5 |
| Claudette Colbert | — | — | 1.3 |
| Alice Faye | — | — | 1.0 |
| Carole Lombard | — | — | 1.0 |
| Barbara Stanwyck | — | — | 1.0 |
| Loretta Young | — | — | 1.0 |
| Animated cartoons | 1% | — | — |
| All others | 25.1 | 18.7 | 13.2 |
| Don't know | 40.5 | 29.1 | 33.1 |
| Don't go to movies | 1.4 | 21.8 | 21.8 |

**4.** (US July '37) Why is he or she [star chosen in July '37 column above] your favorite star? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Appearance and personality | 39.5% |
| Acting ability | 45.9 |
| Kind of picture he or she appears in | 11.2 |
| What you know about his or her private life | 2.3 |
| All others and no answer | 1.1 |

**5.** (US Jan 25 '39) Are you satisfied with the selection of Vivien Leigh for the part [of Scarlett in "Gone with the Wind"]? Asked of a national cross-section of people who intend to see "Gone with the Wind." (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 35% |
| No | 16 |
| Undecided | 20 |
| Hadn't heard of choice | 29 |

**6.** (Sweden Apr '42) Which Swedish film actress do you prefer to see? (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Towns* | *Country* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Karin Ekelund | 24.7% | 29.6% | 19.9% | 22.5% | 26.6% |
| Sickan Carlsson | 23.4 | 15.9 | 31.6 | 25.8 | 22.1 |
| Viveca Lindfors | 15.4 | 18.2 | 12.7 | 14.3 | 16.5 |
| Inga Todblad | 5.4 | 6.1 | 4.7 | 4.0 | 6.7 |
| Birgit Tengroth | 5.2 | 4.0 | 6.4 | 4.8 | 5.5 |
| Dagmar Ebbeson | 4.4 | 4.1 | 4.8 | — | 5.6 |
| Alice Babs | — | — | — | 5.8 | — |
| | 78.5%* | 77.9%* | 80.1%* | 77.2%* | 83.0%* |

* Others with few mentions and those who had no opinion or did not answer are omitted from the tabulation.

**7.** (Sweden Apr '42) Which Swedish film actor do you prefer to see? (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Towns* | *Country* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Edvard Persson | 24.0% | 15.2% | 32.3% | 27.8% | 20.5% |
| Edvin Adolphson | 23.5 | 31.9 | 15.4 | 19.9 | 26.8 |
| Anders Henriksson | 8.6 | 12.1 | 5.8 | 7.7 | 9.9 |
| Elof Ahrle | 5.1 | — | 7.1 | 6.5 | — |
| George Fant | 5.1 | 4.1 | 6.2 | — | 6.0 |
| Ake Soderblom | 5.1 | 4.4 | 5.8 | 7.0 | — |
| Adolf Jahr | — | — | — | 4.9 | — |
| Sture Lagervall | — | — | — | — | 5.3 |
| Lars Hansson | — | 5.2 | — | — | 4.9 |
| | 71.4%* | 72.9%* | 72.6%* | 73.8%* | 73.4%* |

* Others with few mentions and those who had no opinion or did not answer are omitted from tabulation.

**8.** (Sweden Apr '43) Which Swedish or foreign film actor (actress) of those you have seen do you consider to have achieved the most during the past season? (SGI)

| *Foreign actors* | | *Swedish actors* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Greer Garson | 11% | Edvin Adolphson | 8% |
| Walter Pidgeon | 3 | Edvard Persson | 5 |
| Ingrid Bergman | 2.5 | Märta Ekström | 2 |
| Gary Cooper | 2.5 | Karin Ekelund | 2 |
| Vivien Leigh | 2 | Georg Rydeberg | 2 |
| Bette Davis | 1.5 | Arnold Sjöstrand | 2 |
| Robert Taylor | 1.5 | Anders Henriksson | 5 |
| Clark Gable | 1.5 | Sonja Wigert | 1 |
| Noel Coward | 1 | Viveca Lindfors | 1 |
| Greta Garbo | 1 | Sigurd Wallen | 1 |
| Others, don't know and no answer | 72.5 | Others, don't know and no answer | 71 |

**9.** (France Jan 1 '46) Who is your favorite movie star? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Raimu | 5% |
| Fernandel | 4 |
| Louis Jouvet | 4 |
| Pierre Blanchard | 4 |
| Jean Gabin | 3 |
| Danielle Darrieux | 3 |
| Jean-Louis Barrault | 2 |
| Gaby Morlay | 2 |
| Charlie Chaplin | 2 |
| Edwige Feuillere | 2 |
| Other French actors | 20 |
| Other French actresses | 11 |
| Other American actors | 4 |
| Other American actresses | 3 |
| No answer | 31 |

## ADVERTISING

**1.** (US Jan 18 '37) Do you think Congress should pass a law to prevent misleading food, cosmetic, and drug advertising? (AIPO)

Yes 95% No 5% = 100% No opinion 8%

**2.** (US May 24 '37) Which are you more inclined to buy—products advertised on the air, or products you see advertised in publications? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Advertised on air | 31% |
| Advertised in publications | 69 |
| | 100% |
| No opinion | 27% |

**3.** (US July '37) When you buy canned goods, groceries, drugs, and toilet items, do you think the difference in price between nationally advertised brands and non-advertised brands represents a worth-while difference in quality? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *There is no difference in price* | *Some yes—some no* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 47.5% | 33.2% | 4.6% | 1.0% | 13.7% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 45.0% | 34.4% | 3.7% | 0.7% | 16.2% |
| Women | 50.1 | 31.9 | 5.5 | 1.3 | 11.2 |

**4.** (US Apr 13 '38) Which kind of advertising interests you most—the advertising you hear on the radio, read in magazines, read in newspapers? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hear on the radio | 41% |
| Read in magazines | 25 |
| Read in newspapers | 27 |
| No opinion | 9 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**5.** (US Apr 13 '38) If you were a national advertiser, where would you expect to get the best advertising results—in newspapers, in magazines, on the radio? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| In newspapers | 26% |
| In magazines | 12 |
| On the radio | 56 |
| No opinion | 7 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (US May 26 '39) A bill has been introduced in Congress to prohibit the advertising of liquor and beer. Do you favor this bill? (AIPO)

Yes 40% No 49% No opinion 11%

**7.** (US May 26 '39) Do you think liquor advertising should be prohibited? (AIPO)

Yes 35% No 57% No opinion 8%

**8.** (US Mar '40) Which of the following products generally have the most honest advertising? The least honest? (FOR)

| *Most honest* | | *Least honest* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Automobiles | 30.6% | Cigarettes | 22.0% |
| Insurance | 24.5 | Drugs | 21.4 |
| Cigarettes | 11.3 | Liquor | 20.9 |
| Drugs | 7.0 | Insurance | 4.5 |
| Liquor | 4.1 | Automobiles | 3.7 |
| All equally honest | 9.2 | All equally dishonest | 7.2 |
| Don't know | 20.2 | Don't know | 24.8 |
| | 106.9%* | | 104.5%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (US Aug 22 '45) Does the theater which you attend most often show advertisements of local dealers on the screen? (AIPO)

Yes 31% No 48% Don't know 21%

**10.** (Belgium Apr–June '46) Do you read the advertisements in your newspaper? (INSOC)

| | *Always* | *Sometimes* | *Rarely* | *Never* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 17% | 32% | 18% | 33% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 15% | 30% | 19% | 36% |
| Women | 20 | 35 | 18 | 27 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–34 years | 15% | 36% | 18% | 31% |
| 35–49 years | 18 | 32 | 18 | 32 |
| 50–64 years | 18 | 27 | 19 | 36 |
| 65 years and over | 14 | 27 | 21 | 38 |

| | *Always* | *Some-times* | *Rarely* | *Never* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Farm and farm labor | 21% | 36% | 18% | 25% |
| Workers | 13 | 35 | 17 | 35 |
| White-collar | 17 | 29 | 22 | 32 |
| Business | 26 | 30 | 17 | 27 |
| Professional | 6 | 17 | 18 | 59 |
| Living on income | 14 | 24 | 24 | 38 |
| Housewives | 18 | 35 | 18 | 29 |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | | | |
| Urban | 16% | 32% | 19% | 33% |
| Rural | 18 | 35 | 16 | 31 |
| Industrial | 18 | 28 | 19 | 35 |

**11.** (Hungary Oct '46) What kind of advertising do you think is best? Asked of a cross-section of Budapest residents. (HIPOR)

| | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | |
| Placard | 26.8% | 24.2% |
| Newspaper | 28.9 | 31.9 |
| Streetcar, tramway | 11.5 | 10.6 |
| Movie | 14.8 | 16.2 |
| Neon light | 0.3 | 0.2 |
| Recommendation | 0.6 | 0.7 |
| Shop-window | 2.0 | 1.7 |
| None has any effect | 8.1 | 8.8 |
| Other, no answer | 7.0 | 5.7 |

**12.** (Hungary Nov '46) Do you pay attention to advertisements in the daily papers? Asked of a cross-section of Budapest residents. (HIPOR)

| | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | |
| Yes | 60.0% | 52.7% |
| No | 40.0 | 47.3 |

**13.** (Hungary Nov '46) Have you ever taken advantage of the opportunities offered in them [advertisements in newspapers]? Asked of a cross-section of Budapest residents. (HIPOR)

By Economic Status and Sex

| | MEN | | | WOMEN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Pros-perous* | *Mid-dle* | *Poor* | *Pros-perous* | *Mid-dle* | *Poor* |
| Never | 67.5% | 65.8% | 81.0% | 85.3% | 77.0% | 77.5% |
| Once | 5.0 | 5.7 | 6.4 | 3.0 | 2.9 | 7.1 |
| Twice | 2.5 | 7.1 | 4.2 | 3.0 | 3.6 | 2.9 |
| Sometimes, seldom | 15.0 | 8.6 | 5.5 | — | 8.8 | 7.1 |
| Any time | — | 6.4 | 0.8 | 8.7 | 2.4 | 2.3 |
| Often; 5 or more | 10.0 | 6.4 | 2.1 | — | 5.3 | 3.1 |

**14.** (Hungary Nov '46) Do you stop before a lighted shop-window in the evening? Asked of a cross-section of Budapest residents. (HIPOR)

By Economic Status and Sex

| | MEN | | | WOMEN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Pros-perous* | *Mid-dle* | *Poor* | *Pros-perous* | *Mid-dle* | *Poor* |
| Yes | 92.5% | 85.7% | 80.8% | 82.3% | 84.0% | 84.7% |
| No | 7.5 | 14.3 | 17.5 | 14.7 | 14.8 | 14.0 |
| Other | — | — | 1.7 | 3.0 | 1.2 | 1.3 |

# AERONAUTICS

## Study and Teaching

**1.** (US Jan 7 '39) As part of the national defense program, the government is planning to train young men in schools and colleges to fly airplanes. Do you favor this plan? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 87% | 13% |
| BY AGE | | |
| Under 30 years | 91% | 9% |
| 30 years and over | 85 | 15 |

**2.** (US Jan 7 '39) Would you like to receive such [flying] training? Asked of a national cross-section of men 19 to 30 years of age (AIPO)

Yes 74% No 26%

**3.** (US Apr 30 '42) Do you think high schools should offer courses to boys in high school which would teach them about aviation—except actual flying—so that they would be prepared to go into the air corps when they reach 18? (AIPO)

Yes 77% No 12% No opinion 11%

# AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY

**1.** (US Jan 21 '43) As one way to keep production up, it has been suggested that farmers with tractors, harvesters, and other machinery loan out this machinery to neighboring farms if convenient. Would you favor or oppose such a program? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Favor 45% Oppose 48% No opinion 7%

**2.** (US Jan 21 '43) Would you be willing to lend your machinery if a mechanic was supplied to go along with it and take care of it? Asked of 48% of a sample of farmers who opposed lending out their machinery to neighboring farms. (AIPO)

Yes 27% No 21% = 48%

**3.** (US Jan 21 '43) Have you found it impossible to buy some repair parts for your farm machinery? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Yes 26% No 44% Have not tried 30%

**4.** (US Jan 21 '43) Have you tried to buy any necessary farm machinery? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Yes 33% No 67%

**5.** (US Jan 21 '43) Were you able to get it [farm machinery]? Asked of 33% of a sample of farmers who had tried to buy necessary farm machinery. (AIPO)

Yes 11% No 22% = 33%

**6.** (US Mar '43) Power-driven, labor-saving machinery might ease some of the tension on the farms if farmers could get it. According to many farmers, more power-driven machinery would help them to produce more food. Opinions of farmers are tabulated below: (FOR)

| *Now using power-driven machinery (56.5%)* | | *Not using power-driven machinery now (43.5%)* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Should have more... | 42.2% | Should have some... | 33.0% |
| Are about right now. | 54.3 | Can do without..... | 58.5 |
| Could do with less.. | 1.6 | Don't know..... | 8.5 |
| Don't know..... | 1.9 | | |

## AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES

**1.** (US July 14 '42) Does Congress listen to leaders of farm groups too much? (AIPO)

Yes 24% No 49% Don't know 27%

**2.** (US July 14 '42) Does he [Roosevelt] listen to leaders of farm groups too much? (AIPO)

Yes 18% No 52% Don't know 30%

**3.** (US Apr '43) Do you belong to any farm or agricultural organization? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

| | *None* | *Farm Bureau* | *Grange* | *Special** | *Farmers Union* | *Other* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total.... | 70.5% | 17.7% | 3.4% | 4.7% | 2.2% | 4.3% | 102.8%** |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | |
| High..... | 49.8% | 30.2% | 4.6% | 9.2% | 5.8% | 7.2% | 106.8% |
| Medium .. | 70.9 | 17.9 | 4.2 | 4.3 | .9 | 4.0 | 102.2 |
| Low..... | 86.7 | 6.3 | 2.1 | 1.8 | .9 | 2.7 | 100.5 |

* For special farmers: Dairymen's League, Poultry Association, etc.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**4.** (US Apr '43) Do you feel that the men from the various farm organizations in Washington represent farmers around your own district pretty well, or do you feel they are mainly interested in other kinds of farmers? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

| | *Around own district* | *Other farmers* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 43.7% | 32.7% | 23.6% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Northeast..... | 16.8% | 64.4% | 18.8% |
| Midwest..... | 55.3 | 22.0 | 22.7 |
| South..... | 41.2 | 29.7 | 29.1 |
| Mountain..... | 44.8 | 41.9 | 13.3 |
| Pacific..... | 27.8 | 54.9 | 17.3 |

**5.** (US Apr '43) If you felt that farmers were being treated unfairly on some point and you wanted to register an effective kick, where would be the best place to go? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

| *Agencies of government* | *Total* | *Member of an organization* | *Not a member of an organization* |
|---|---|---|---|
| AAA..... | 16.0% | 13.6% | 17.0% |
| County agent.. | 14.7 | 10.5 | 16.5 |
| Congressman, Senator, etc.. | 12.2 | 16.6 | 10.5 |
| Total government agency. | 42.9% | 40.7% | 44.0% |
| Farm Bureau... | 17.5% | 32.5% | 11.3% |
| Grange..... | 3.2 | 6.7 | 1.8 |
| Farmers Union. | 2.1 | 3 1 | 1.7 |
| Total private organization. | 22.8% | 42.3% | 14.8% |
| Other..... | 3.3 | 3.1 | 3.2 |
| Don't know... | 32.1 | 16.5 | 38.6 |
| | 101.1%* | 102.6%* | 100.6%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (US Apr '43) Do you feel that the representatives of the various farm organizations have demanded too much for the farmer, not enough, or have their demands been about right? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too much..... | 6.7% |
| Not enough..... | 25.7 |
| About right..... | 49.4 |
| Don't know..... | 18.2 |

**7.** (US Aug 1 '44 and Aug 16 '44) Do you happen to be a member of any of these farm organizations—the Farm Bureau, the Grange, the Farmers Union? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| *Results August 1* | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| The Farm Bureau..... | 32% | 68% |
| The Grange..... | 12 | 88 |
| The Farmers Union... | 3 | 97 |
| *Results August 16* | | |
| The Farm Bureau..... | 22 | 78 |
| The Grange..... | 17 | 83 |
| The Farmers Union... | 13 | 87 |

**8.** (US Aug 1 '44 and Aug 16 '44) Do you feel that your farm organization represents your views on public questions? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers who belong to the Farm Bureau, the Grange, or the Farmers Union. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| AUGUST 1 FIGURES BY ORGANIZATION | | | |
| Farm Bureau..... | 69% | 13% | 18% |
| The Grange..... | 63 | 21 | 16 |
| The Farmers Union... | 50 | 25 | 25 |
| AUGUST 16 FIGURES | | | |
| National total..... | 57% | 25% | 18% |

## AGRICULTURE AND STATE

**1.** (US Sept 26 '36) Would you favor government loans, on a long-time and easy basis, to enable farm tenants to buy the farms they now rent? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 83% | 17% |

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| *New England* | | |
| Maine | 80% | 20% |
| New Hampshire | 74 | 26 |
| Vermont | 84 | 16 |
| Massachusetts | 82 | 18 |
| Rhode Island | 83 | 17 |
| Connecticut | 78 | 22 |
| *Middle Atlantic* | | |
| New York | 81 | 19 |
| New Jersey | 82 | 18 |
| Pennsylvania | 82 | 18 |
| Maryland | 78 | 22 |
| Delaware | 82 | 18 |
| West Virginia | 80 | 20 |
| *East Central* | | |
| Ohio | 82 | 18 |
| Michigan | 83 | 17 |
| Indiana | 82 | 18 |
| Illinois | 80 | 20 |
| *West Central* | | |
| Wisconsin | 79 | 21 |
| Minnesota | 85 | 15 |
| Iowa | 83 | 17 |
| Missouri | 87 | 13 |
| North Dakota | 94 | 6 |
| South Dakota | 84 | 16 |
| Nebraska | 77 | 23 |
| Kansas | 81 | 19 |
| *South* | | |
| North Carolina | 81 | 19 |
| South Carolina | 89 | 11 |
| Virginia | 81 | 19 |
| Georgia | 91 | 9 |
| Alabama | 91 | 9 |
| Arkansas | 89 | 11 |
| Florida | 88 | 12 |
| Kentucky | 88 | 12 |
| Louisiana | 84 | 16 |
| Mississippi | 88 | 12 |
| Oklahoma | 85 | 15 |
| Tennessee | 89 | 11 |
| Texas | 88 | 12 |
| *Mountain states* | | |
| Montana | 86 | 14 |
| Arizona | 75 | 25 |
| Colorado | 81 | 19 |
| Idaho | 89 | 11 |
| Wyoming | 88 | 12 |
| Utah | 88 | 12 |
| Nevada | 86 | 14 |
| New Mexico | 87 | 13 |
| *Pacific states* | | |
| California | 86 | 14 |
| Oregon | 85 | 15 |
| Washington | 84 | 16 |

**2.** (US July 19 '37) Would you favor government loans to enable city people to buy small plots of land in the country that they could live on and farm? (AIPO)

Yes 70% No 30% = 100% No opinion 8%

**3.** (US Oct 18 '37) Do you think government expenditures should be increased or decreased on farm benefits? (Jan 7 '39) Do you think government spending should be increased or decreased on farm aid? (Jan 20 '39) Should government spending for farm aid be increased, decreased, or remain about the same? (Jan 11 '40) Do you think government payments to help farmers should be increased or decreased? (AIPO)

| | *Increased* | *Decreased* | *Remain same* | *No opinion and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oct 18 '37 | 38% | 31% | 31% = 100% | 6% |
| Jan 7 '39 | 31 | 24 | 24 | 21 = 100% |
| Jan 20 '39 | 21 | 26 | 33 | 20 = 100 |
| Jan 11 '40 | 31 | 37 | 32 = 100 | 23 |

**4.** (US Nov 30 '37) In the New Deal spending program, do you think the farmers have received too much or too little money? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too little | 12% |
| Too much | 44 |
| About right | 44 |
| | 100% |
| No opinion | 19% |

**5.** (US Nov 30 '37) Would you be interested in buying a farm if the government loaned you the money at 3% interest and gave you forty years to repay the loan? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers who do not own their farms. (AIPO)

Yes 74% No 26% = 100% No opinion 12%

**6.** (US Mar 30 '39) Do you think federal government spending to help farmers should be reduced by 10%? (AIPO)

Yes 38% No 62% = 100% No opinion 21%

**7.** (US Apr 19 '39) Do you think the Roosevelt administration has done a good job or a poor job in handling the farm problem? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good job | 48% |
| Poor job | 52 |
| | 100% |
| Don't know and no answer | 29% |

**8.** (US Jan 10 '40) The President proposes a 30 per cent (about one-third) reduction in payments by the government to help farmers. Do you approve or disapprove of this cut? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total with opinions | 52% | 48% | — |
| National total | 45 | 41 | 14% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 45% | 55% | |
| Republican | 63 | 37 | |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Farmers | 45% | 55% | |
| Small towns | 53 | 47 | |
| Cities | 54 | 46 | |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income group | 69% | 31% | |
| Middle income group | 52 | 48 | |
| Lower income group | 45 | 55 | |

**9.** (US Jan 10 '40) Would you favor a smaller reduction [in payments to aid farmers]? How much? Asked of a national cross-section of people who either disapproved of the reduction or had no opinion. 55% of the sample is represented (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 15% |
| 5% | *% |
| 10 | 4 |
| 15 | 5 |
| 20 | 2 |
| 25 | * |
| Vague or no answer | 4 |
| No | 48 |
| No answer | 37 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**10.** (US Feb 6 '40) Do you think the present administration's program, as a whole, has helped or hurt the farmers? (Jan 21 '43) As a whole, do you think the present administration's program has helped or hurt farmers? Both questions were asked of national cross-sections of farmers. (AIPO)

| | *Helped* | *Hurt* | *Neither* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb 6 '40 | 66% | 22% | 12% | — |
| Jan 21 '43 | 66 | 19 | 7 | 8% |

**11.** (US Oct 9 '40) Do you think the Roosevelt administration has done a good job or a poor job in handling the farm problem in this country? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good job | 59% |
| Poor job | 41 |
| | 100% |
| Don't know | 25% |

**12.** (US Oct 9 '40) In general, do you approve or disapprove of the Roosevelt administration's program for helping farmers? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve | 62% |
| Disapprove | 38 |
| | 100% |
| No opinion | 19% |

**13.** (US Dec '41) After the war is over, do you think there will be more, the same, or less government regulation of farming? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 40.2% |
| Same | 28.0 |
| Less | 13.0 |
| Don't know | 18.8 |

**14.** (US Dec 18 '41) In time of war, should the government have the right to tell farmers what crops they must raise and what price they are to get? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Qualified answers* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 61% | 26% | 4% | 9% |
| Opinion of farmers | 51 | 33 | 7 | 9 |

**15.** (US Mar 31 '42) Should farm benefits be done away with until the end of the war? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 40% | 17% |
| Opinion of farmers | 46 | 46 | 8 |

**16.** (Australia Mar–Apr '42) Do you favor or oppose marketing of farm products through boards? (AIPOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Favor | 19% |
| Oppose | 59 |
| Undecided | 12 |
| No answer | 10 |

**17.** (US Jan 21 '43) What is your biggest criticism of the way in which the government is dealing with farmers? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No criticism | 27% |
| Holding prices down for farmers | 17 |
| Dislike AAA, FSA, conservation program; shouldn't subsidize farmers | 11 |
| Restricting free enterprise; too much regimentation; government meddles too much | 8 |
| Labor lost to army due to draft | 8 |
| Failure to control wages | 5 |
| Failure of government to take steps to supply farm manpower; taking farm help into industry | 5 |
| Shortage of farm machinery | 5 |
| Government inefficiency; too many conflicting ideas | 7 |
| Government doesn't do enough for the farmers; other groups are being favored | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| No answer | 5 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some farmers gave more than one answer.

**18.** (US Apr '43) Would you say that the government farm program has been good or bad for American farming as a whole? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

| | *Good* | *Bad* | *About 50–50* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 53.9% | 18.4% | 19.0% | 8.7% |
| BY TYPES OF FARMERS | | | | |
| Farm owners | 49.5% | 22.4% | 20.3% | 7.8% |
| Tenants | 56.7 | 14.1 | 18.7 | 10.5 |
| Share-croppers | 74.7 | 4.9 | 11.0 | 9.4 |
| Hired hands | 50.1 | 14.0 | 21.5 | 14.4 |

**19.** (US Apr '43) What are the one or two best things the government farm program has done? What one or two things aren't so good? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

| *Approval* | | *Disapproval* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Soil improvement | 24.4% | Production limitation | 16.5% |
| Farm price policy | 20.4 | Advice and information | 5.0 |
| Direct loans, etc. | 14.1 | Farm price policy | 4.4 |
| Production limitation | 9.2 | Soil improvement | 2.8 |
| Advice and information | 7.0 | Direct loans, etc. | 2.6 |
| Other | 13.8 | Other | 22.7 |
| None | 2.1 | None | 2.1 |
| Don't know | 28.7 | Don't know | 49.8 |
| | 119.7%* | | 105.9%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**20.** (US Apr '43) Which one of these statements comes closest to what you think should be the relationship between government and farming in normal times? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

| | | BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *National total* | *High* | *Medium* | *Low* |
| Farming can and should take care of itself and the government should leave it entirely alone | 26.3% | 31.8% | 29.4% | 21.3% |
| While farming could get along all right if other industries hadn't got laws passed to help them, farming now needs government aid to get along | 36.7 | 44.5 | 39.2 | 30.2 |

| | *National total* | *High* | *Medium* | *Low* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Farming needs government aid more than other industries and should get it whether other industries do or not... | 28.0% | 20.6% | 24.2% | 36.5% |
| Don't know..... | 9.0 | 3.1 | 7.2 | 12.0 |

**21.** (US Nov '43) As far as you know, is the government giving subsidies to farmers at this time for some of the things they produce? (NORC)

Yes 48% No 8% Don't know 44%

**22.** (US Nov '43) Will you tell me what the term "farm subsidy" means to you? (NORC)

Right 46% Wrong 6% Don't know 48%

**23.** (US Nov '43) If farmers can't get as much money as they should for some foods they produce, which one of these things do you think it would be better to do? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Let farmers get higher prices for these foods than they do now..... | 43% |
| Let the government pay farmers something out of taxes so they won't need higher prices..... | 43 |
| Don't know..... | 14 |

**24.** (US Nov 9 '43) What do the words "farm subsidy" mean to you? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Some understanding..... | 35%* |
| Could not define or gave incorrect definition.... | 65 |

* The 35% includes 13% who indicated a fairly exact knowledge of the term.

**25.** (US Nov 9 '43) Are you for or against such a government subsidy to farmers? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers who indicated a knowledge of farm subsidies. (AIPO)

For 49% Against 44% Undecided 7%

**26.** (US Nov 23 '43) Have you followed the discussions about price subsidies to farmers? (AIPO)

Yes 48% No 52%

**27.** (US Nov 23 '43) Will you tell me in your own words what you think a price subsidy to farmers is? (AIPO)

Understand 29% Do not understand 71%

**28.** (US Nov 23 '43) Do you think Congress should pass or defeat farm subsidies? Asked of a national cross-section of people who indicated a knowledge of farm subsidies. (AIPO)

Pass 31% Defeat 23% No opinion 46%

**29.** (US Dec '43) Some people say that one way to keep both prices and wages from going higher than they are now is for the government to pay farmers something out of taxes. Do you agree or disagree? (NORC)

Agree 39% Disagree 42% Don't know 19%

**30.** (US Dec '43) Do you think the government should pay farmers something out of taxes or not? Asked of 39% of the sample who agreed that paying farmers something out of taxes would help keep both prices and wages from going higher. (NORC)

Yes 35% No 3% Don't know 1% = 39%

**31.** (US Apr 25 '44) Do you think subsidy payments to farmers should or should not be continued? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Should 30% Should not 55% Undecided 15%

## AIR DEFENSES

**1.** (Great Britain Dec '37) Have you taken any precautions against air raids? (BIPO)

Yes 7.5% No 92.5%

**2.** (Great Britain Apr '39) If there were an air raid today, would you know what to do? 17% of the sample said they had been trained for such emergencies. (BIPO)

| *At work* | | *At home* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Yes..... | 36% | Yes..... | 33% |
| No..... | 64 | No..... | 67 |

**3.** (Great Britain July '40) Do you approve of the present policy of not sounding air raid warnings unless there is danger of immediate attack, or do you think warnings should be sounded whenever enemy aircraft are in the neighborhood? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No warning unless attack.... | 57% |
| Warning always..... | 38 |
| Don't know..... | 5 |

**4.** (Great Britain Oct '40) Is respondent carrying tin hat? Interviewers were asked to check this for each person interviewed. (BIPO)

Yes 13% No 87%

**5.** (US Dec 10 '41) Have you given any thought to where you would go in case of an air raid? Those who have given thought to where they would go were asked: Where? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No and no answer..... | 58% |
| Correct answers: | |
| Stay put..... | 3 |
| Stay in house..... | 7 |
| Stay in house seeking safest place..... | 3 |
| Go into basement..... | 12 |
| Go in large public building..... | 2 |
| Go into large buildings seeking safest place.. | 2 |
| Miscellaneous answers..... | 3 |
| Incorrect answers: | |
| Go into subway..... | 1 |
| Go outside, into street..... | 2 |
| Go out into country, woods, etc..... | 3 |
| Miscellaneous answers..... | 1 |
| Those who said they had thought of it but didn't say where they would go..... | 3 |

**6.** (US Dec 10 '41) How would you put out an incendiary bomb? Asked in the coastal states only. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, don't know, leave it..... | 45% |
| Correct answers: | |
| Sand, dirt..... | 26 |
| Spray, sprinkle it with water..... | 18 |
| Incorrect answers: | |
| Smother it..... | 3 |
| Use chemical, fire extinguisher..... | 2 |
| Water..... | 6 |
| Throw water on it..... | 4 |
| Smother it with blanket..... | 1 |
| Miscellaneous..... | 1 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**7.** (Canada July 25 '42) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way air raid precautions are being handled in this community? (CIPO)

Satisfied 44% Dissatisfied 36% No opinion 20%

## AIR LINES

**1.** (Canada July 31 '43) In your opinion, which of these is the best way to run the air lines in Canada after the war—to have all air lines owned and operated by the government, to allow privately owned air lines to compete with government lines, to leave all air transportation to privately owned air lines? (CIPO)

| | *Government lines* | *Private lines* | *Both* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 50% | 19% | 31% | * |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Progressive-Conservative | 38% | 19% | 34% | 9% |
| Liberal | 46 | 18 | 27 | 9 |
| CCF | 59 | 13 | 21 | 7 |

* Undecided figure was excluded from the national total.

**2.** (Canada Aug 4 '43) After the war, do you think all interested countries should get together and set up a joint board to regulate international air lines, or do you think all countries should be free to start international air lines when and where they please? (CIPO)

| | *Joint board* | *Free competition* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 61% | 26% | 13% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 79% | 16% | 5% |
| Middle income | 67 | 24 | 9 |
| Lower income | 53 | 30 | 17 |

**3.** (Great Britain Sept '43) After the war, should all the countries concerned get together on regulating international air lines, or should each country be free to start international air lines when and where they please? (BIPO)

Get together 60% Be free 24% Don't know 16%

**4.** (Canada May 27 '44) At present almost all air lines in Canada are owned by the railroads. After the war do you think the railroads should be allowed to continue to own air lines, or should the ownership of railroads and air lines be completely separate? (CIPO)

| | *Railroads* | *Separate ownership* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 29% | 50% | 21% |
| Quebec only | 42 | 34 | 24 |

**5.** (Australia Aug-Sept '44) In your opinion, which of these three statements would be the best way to run air lines in Australia after the war—all transport should be privately owned, all air lines should be owned by the government, some private air lines and some government? (APOP)

| | *All government* | *All private* | *Both* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 31% | 34% | 30% | 5% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Labor voters | 43% | 25% | 26% | 6% |
| Non-labor voters | 12 | 47 | 36 | 5 |

**6.** (Australia Dec '44) Next year the Commonwealth intends to buy all the interstate air lines and operate them itself. Do you favor or oppose that proposal? (Apr '45) The Commonwealth government plans to buy and operate all interstate air lines. Do you favor or oppose that proposal? (Feb-Mar '46) Do you think the federal government should or should not run interstate air lines itself in competition with the present companies? (Nov '46) Do you think the federal government should or should not run commercial planes in competition with the present air lines? To help classify answers to this question, would you mind telling me whether you voted "yes" or "no" at the recent referendum?* The question about the referendum vote was asked only in Dec '44 and Apr '45. (APOP)

| | *Oppose* | *Favor* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '44 | 42% | 37% | 21% |
| Apr '45 | 53 | 30 | 17 |
| Feb-Mar '46 | 51 | 33 | 16 |
| Nov '46 | 51 | 35 | 14 |
| DEC '44 AND APR '45 RESULTS BY THE REFERENDUM VOTE | | | |
| *Dec '44* | | | |
| Voted "yes" | 17% | 61% | 22% |
| Voted "no" | 63 | 18 | 19 |
| *Apr '45* | | | |
| Voted "yes" | 24 | 60 | 16 |
| Voted "no" | 75 | 12 | 13 |
| DEC '44 AND APR '45 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Labor Dec '44 | 28% | 48% | 24% |
| Labor Apr '45 | 39 | 43 | 18 |
| Non-labor Dec '44 | 64 | 17 | 19 |
| Non-labor Apr '44 | 74 | 15 | 11 |

* Referendum on whether or not the Commonwealth would be given extra powers for five years after the war.

## AIR RAID SHELTERS

**1.** (Great Britain Feb '39) Are you satisfied with the government's present ARP plans (to provide protection in air raids) or should they provide deep shelters in congested areas? (BIPO)

Satisfied 21%
Want deep shelters 70
No opinion 9

**2.** (Great Britain May '39) The government has decided against the general provision of deep shelters for air raid protection. Do you approve or disapprove of the government's decision? (BIPO)

Approve 34%
Disapprove 53
No opinion 13

**3.** (Great Britain June '39 and Nov '39) If there were an air raid today while you were at home, could you by foot* reach a shelter in seven minutes? (BIPO)

| | *Public shelters* | *Own private shelter* | *Arranged private shelter* | *None* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| June '39 | 12% | 12% | 4% | 72% |
| NOV '39 RESULTS BY TYPE OF AREA | | | | |
| Evacuation areas | 43% | 23% | 10% | 24% |
| Neutral areas | 38 | 29 | 8 | 25 |
| Remainder | 28 | 14 | 8 | 50 |

* The November question read: on foot.

**4.** (Great Britain July '40) What kind of air raid shelter have you at home, i.e. actually in your home or garden? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Anderson | 25% |
| Other outdoor shelter | 13 |
| Strengthened room or basement | 17 |
| No shelter | 45 |

**5.** (Great Britain Oct '40) Do you think the government has been wise or unwise in favoring the building of surface shelters rather than underground shelters? (BIPO)

Wise 15% Unwise 66% Don't know 19%

**6.** (Great Britain Jan '41) What kind of shelter do you use during night raids? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Anderson shelter | 20% |
| Brick surface shelter | 11 |
| Underground station or basement of large building | 5 |
| Strengthened room or basement | 19 |
| None of these or no special protection | 45 |

**7.** (Great Britain Aug 22 '42) Have you an Anderson shelter? Those who had Anderson shelters were asked: Will you use your Anderson shelter if there are raids? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Have Anderson shelter and would use it | 23% |
| Have Anderson shelter but wouldn't use it | 4 |
| Have Anderson shelter but don't know whether would use it or not | 1 |
| Other shelter or none | 72 |

**8.** (Sweden Feb '44) If you were at home, do you think you would be safer during a raid if you went into the air raid shelter of your house? Asked only in cities and larger communities. (SGI)

| | *Shelter safer* | *Shelter more risky* | *The same* | *No shelter* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 51% | 9% | 13% | 16% | 11% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 53% | 9% | 13% | 16% | 9% |
| Women | 49 | 9 | 14 | 15 | 13 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | |
| Towns | 59% | 11% | 15% | 6% | 9% |
| Country | 37 | 5 | 11 | 33 | 14 |

## AIRPLANE INDUSTRY AND TRADE

**1.** (US Jan 9 '42) About how many airplanes did the President say we would produce during this year? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 10,000 | 1.8% |
| 10,000–29,000 | 3.9 |
| 30,000–54,000 | 11.3 |
| 55,000–64,000 | 25.9 |
| 65,000–75,000 | 8.6 |
| Over 75,000 | 13.6 |
| Don't know | 34.9 |

**2.** (US July 31 '42) Have you heard anything about a plan to build a lot of big airplanes instead of ships to carry our troops and supplies overseas? (NORC)

Yes 68% No 32%

**3.** (US July 31 '42) Do you think it is practical to build airplanes instead of ships to carry troops and supplies overseas? (NORC)

Yes 74% No 10% Don't know 16%

**4.** (US Sept 15 '42) Would you approve or disapprove of having a committee of impartial, qualified men to investigate and make a report on manufacture of cargo planes? (AIPO)

Approve 65% Disapprove 13% No opinion 22%

**5.** (Australia Nov '44) Would you permit Germany to manufacture airplanes [after the war]? (APOP)

Yes 42% No 50% Don't know 8%

**6.** (US Apr 10 '46) By and large, which would you say has done more to improve airplanes in this country in the last twenty-five years—the various branches of the government, including the armed forces, or the companies that make the planes? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Government | 35% |
| Companies | 45 |
| Equal | 3 |
| World circumstances forced the improvements | * |
| Mitchell | * |
| No opinion | 17 |

* Less than 0.5%.

## AIRPLANES

**1.** (US July 5 '37) If someone paid your expenses, would you like to go by airplane to Europe and back? (AIPO) (Great Britain Feb '39) A trans-Atlantic passenger air service is a prospect of the near future. If someone paid your way and you could go, would you be willing to fly across the Atlantic Ocean? (BIPO) (US Feb 2 '39) If someone paid your way and you could go, would you be willing to fly across the Atlantic Ocean in one of the new commercial airplanes? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| United States July '37 | 38% | 62% |
| Great Britain Feb '39 | 48 | 52 |
| United States Feb '39 | 41 | 59 |
| AMERICAN OPINION IN JULY '37 BY AGE | | |
| 18–20 years | 69% | 31% |
| 21–24 years | 50 | 50 |
| 25–34 years | 46 | 54 |
| 35–44 years | 35 | 65 |
| 45–55 years | 30 | 70 |
| 55 years and over | 18 | 82 |
| AMERICAN OPINION IN FEB '39 BY AGE | | |
| Under 30 years | 61% | 39% |
| 30–49 years | 40 | 60 |
| 50 and over | 25 | 75 |
| AMERICAN OPINION IN FEB '39 BY SEX | | |
| Men | 47% | 53% |
| Women | 36 | 64 |
| AMERICAN OPINION IN FEB '39 BY FLYING EXPERIENCE | | |
| Those who have flown (30% of sample) | 64% | 36% |
| Those who have not flown (70% of sample) | 32 | 68 |

**2.** (Great Britain July '39) Have you ever flown? Would you like to? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Have, would like to again | 15% |
| Have, would not like to again | 3 |
| Have not, would like to | 41 |
| Have not, would not like to | 41 |

**3.** (US Apr 18 '45) Have you ever been up in an airplane? Those who had been in an airplane were asked—was it a regular air line or a private plane? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Regular air line | 7% |
| Private plane | 17 |
| Both | 4 |
| Other replies | 1 |
| Never been in an airplane | 71 |

**4.** (Czechoslovakia Sept '46) In your opinion, how long does a transport plane take to fly from Prague to Brünn? (CZIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Half an hour | 19% |
| One hour | 41 |
| One and one-half hours | 16 |
| Two hours | 8 |
| Other answer | 16 |

## Military

**1.** (US Dec 16 '40) Which country do you think has the fastest and best warplanes—the United States, England, or Germany? A comparable cross-section was asked the last part of the question: Germany, England, or the United States. Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| United States | 56% |
| England | 12 |
| Germany | 15 |
| Don't know | 17 |

**2.** (US Dec 16 '40) About how many warplanes would you guess Germany is now producing a month? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Made a guess | 52% |
| Don't know | 48 |

Median 1,200 planes

**3.** (US Dec 16 '40) About how many warplanes would you guess England is now producing a month? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Made a guess | 50% |
| Don't know | 50 |

Median 800 planes

**4.** (US Dec 16 '40) About how many warplanes would you guess the United States is now producing a month? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Made a guess | 50% |
| Don't know | 50 |

Median 800 planes

**5.** (US Dec 16 '40) Do you think America's warplane production is going ahead fast enough? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 28% | 58% | 14% |
| Union members only | 32 | 57 | 11 |

**6.** (US Sept 9 '42) Have you read or heard anything about our fighter planes not being as good as the German, or Japanese, or English planes? (NORC)

Yes 50% No 50%

**7.** (US Sept 9 '42) What's your own opinion—do you think our fighter planes are better than Germany's, or about the same, or not as good?

(Nov 3 '42) From what you've read or heard, would you say this country's fighter planes are better than Germany's, or about the same, or not as good? (NORC)

| | *Better* | *Same* | *Not as good* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sept 9 '42 | 52% | 21% | 8% | 19% |
| Nov 3 '42 | 54 | 23 | 11 | 12 |

**8.** (US Sept 9 '42 and Nov 3 '42) How about England's? Would you say our fighter planes are better than England's, or about the same, or not as good? (NORC)

| | *Better* | *Same* | *Not as good* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sept 9 '42 | 38% | 34% | 8% | 20% |
| Nov 3 '42 | 34 | 43 | 12 | 11 |

**9.** (US Sept 9 '42) And Japan—are our fighter planes better, or about the same, or not as good? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 59% |
| Same | 12 |
| Not as good | 9 |
| No opinion | 20 |

**10.** (US Aug 4 '43) Are most of the planes used by the RAF made in America or in England? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| America | 44% |
| England | 39 |
| Don't know | 17 |

**11.** (US May 2 '45) After the war, who do you think should make the military planes for our army and navy—the government or private companies? (Feb 27 '46) During the next few yeats, who do you think should make the military airplanes for our army and navy—the government or private companies? (Apr 24 '46) Who do you think should make the military planes for our army and navy—the government or private companies? (AIPO)

| | *Government* | *Private companies* | *Either, no difference* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| May 2 '45 | 46% | 42% | — | 12% |
| Feb 27 '46 | 31 | 48 | 9% | 12 |
| Apr 24 '46 | 43 | 42 | 1 | 14 |

**12.** (US Feb 27 '46) By government, do you mean the airplanes should be made under government supervision by private airplane manufacturing companies, or should they be made by the government itself in government-owned plants? Asked of 40% of the sample who thought that the government or both the government and private companies should make the military airplanes for our army and navy. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Companies under government supervision | 20% |
| Government in government-owned plants | 17 |
| No opinion | 3 |
| | 40% |

**13.** (US Feb 13 '46) Taking everything into consideration, which would you say did more to improve the airplanes that were used by our air force during the war—the government, including the armed forces, or the companies that made the planes? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Government | 24% |
| Companies | 35 |
| Both | 30 |
| Don't know | 10 |
| No answer | 1 |

**14.** (US Feb 27 '46) At the present time both the government and the airplane manufacturing companies in this country are experimenting on new and better military airplanes. Do you

think both should continue the experimenting, or should only the government or only the companies do it? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Both | 68% |
| Only government | 16 |
| Only companies | 9 |
| No opinion | 7 |

## Piloting

**1.** (US May 10 '39) If it didn't cost you anything, would you like to learn how to fly an airplane? (AIPO)

Yes 42% No 58%

**2.** (US May 10 '39) Have you ever been up in an airplane? (AIPO)

Yes 32% No 68%

**3.** (US Jan '46) Do you think you will ever want to pilot a plane? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 22.9% | 74.2% | 2.9% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–34 years | 36.9% | 59.2% | 3.9% |
| 50 years and over | 8.8 | 88.6 | 2.6 |

**4.** (US Feb 27 '46) Would you like to learn to fly an airplane? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 69% | 4% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 30% | 67% | 3% |
| Women | 22 | 74 | 4 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 50% | 47% | 3% |
| 30–49 years | 28 | 68 | 4 |
| 50 years and over | 9 | 89 | 2 |

**5.** (US Feb 27 '46) What is the total amount you would be willing to spend to learn to fly? Asked of 27% of the sample who said they would like to learn to fly an airplane. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No opinion, don't know | 12% |
| Nothing, expect plane company to teach | 7 |
| $20 and under | 2 |
| Over $20 to under $50 | 17 |
| $50 to under $100 | 5 |
| $100 to under $200 | 24 |
| $200 to under $300 | 9 |
| $300 to under $400 | 5 |
| $400 to under $500 | 1 |
| $500 | 7 |
| Over $500 | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 |
| | 100% of those who said they would like to learn to fly an airplane |
| Median | $100 |

# ALIENS

## Great Britain

**1.** (Great Britain May '40) Do you think the government's treatment of Germans and other foreigners living in this country has been too strict, too lenient, about right? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too strict | 2% |
| Too lenient | 64 |
| About right | 25 |
| Don't know | 9 |

**2.** (Great Britain July '40) Which do you think is the wiser course for the government to follow in dealing with enemy aliens: to intern them all, to intern only those who may be unfriendly and dangerous? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Intern only those who may be unfriendly and dangerous | 48% |
| Intern them all | 43 |
| Don't know | 9 |

**3.** (Great Britain June '46) Do you approve or disapprove of the government's decision to allow Polish troops who do not wish to return to Poland to remain in this country? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 30% | 56% | 14% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 29% | 60% | 11% |
| Women | 31 | 52 | 17 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 33% | 54% | 13% |
| 30–49 years | 33 | 54 | 13 |
| 50 years and over | 26 | 58 | 16 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 39% | 53% | 8% |
| Middle | 39 | 52 | 9 |
| Lower | 26 | 57 | 17 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative | 32% | 54% | 14% |
| Labor | 28 | 58 | 14 |
| Liberal | 31 | 56 | 13 |
| Other | 28 | 61 | 11 |
| Non-voters | 30 | 53 | 17 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| London and South | 31% | 54% | 15% |
| Midlands | 32 | 50 | 18 |
| Wales | 45 | 44 | 11 |
| Northern | 31 | 54 | 15 |
| Scotland | 17 | 75 | 8 |

# AMUSEMENTS

**1.** (Australia May '42) During the war, should places of amusement be open to soldiers on Sunday? (APOP)

Yes 86% No 14%

**2.** (Sweden May '42) Is there any form of amusement which you consider to be too widespread among the young? Asked of a national cross-section of parents. (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Towns* | *Provinces* | *Country* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cinema | 11% | 16% | 14% | 6% |
| Dancing | 20 | 14 | 26 | 23 |
| Restaurants | 8 | 14 | 4 | 4 |
| Cafes | 2 | — | 3 | 3 |
| Sport | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Several things | 16 | 17 | 13 | 14 |
| Other answers | 3 | 2 | 4 | 3 |
| Don't know | 26 | 26 | 26 | 27 |
| Nothing | 13 | 10 | 8 | 19 |

**3.** (US May 30 '42) How about amusement conditions for defense workers? Would you say they are satisfactory, only fair, or poor around here? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Satisfactory | 41% |
| Only fair | 19 |
| Poor | 17 |
| No defense workers around here | 6 |
| Don't know | 17 |

**4.** (Australia Dec '42) Should places of amusement be open to the public on Sunday afternoons and evenings—or should they remain closed? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Open them | 50% |
| Keep them closed | 46 |
| Undecided | 4 |

**5.** (Sweden Apr '43) Do you think that the prohibition of amusements on certain holidays should be extended to include Whitsunday and Easter? (SGI)

| | *National total* | *20–29 yrs.* | *30–49 yrs.* | *50 years and over* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Prohibition of dancing, theaters, cinemas, and sports at Easter and Whitsunday | 47% | 34% | 46% | 59% |
| Prohibition of dancing | 4 | 6 | 4 | 3 |
| Prohibition of dancing, theaters, and cinemas, but not sports | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| Prohibition of dancing and sports, but not theaters and cinemas | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| No extension of prohibition | 33 | 47 | 34 | 21 |
| No opinion | 10 | 8 | 11 | 12 |

**6.** (Sweden Apr '43) Should this kind of prohibition [of amusements] be enforced on all Sundays and holidays? (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Towns* | *Country* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Prohibition of dancing theaters, cinemas, and sports | 8% | 5% | 10% |
| Prohibition of dancing, only | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| Prohibition of dancing, theaters, cinemas, but not sports | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| No general prohibition | 76 | 85 | 71 |
| No opinion | 11 | 7 | 13 |

**7.** (Sweden Apr '45) Do you think that we in Sweden, thinking of the war in Europe, should limit our amusements, or do you think that the war should not influence this? (SGI)

| | *Too much amusement when thinking of the war* | *Not too much amusement* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 52% | 44% | 4% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 49% | 47% | 4% |
| Women | 55 | 41 | 4 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 66% | 34% | — |
| Middle class | 56 | 39 | 5% |
| Workers | 47 | 49 | 4 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 34% | 63% | 3% |
| 30–49 years | 50 | 46 | 4 |
| 50–64 years | 65 | 32 | 3 |
| 65 years and over | 67 | 25 | 8 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Country districts: | | | |
| A* | 63% | 34% | 3% |
| B | 60 | 36 | 4 |
| C | 51 | 45 | 4 |
| D | 54 | 41 | 5 |
| Large towns | 35 | 59 | 6 |
| Other towns | 51 | 46 | 3 |

*A—districts where 75% of the population are farmers, farm workers, etc.
B—districts where 50%–75% of the population are farmers, farm workers, etc.
C—districts where less than 50% of the population are farmers, farm workers, etc. and where there are thinly populated areas comprising as much as two-thirds of the total population.
D—areas comprising at least two-thirds of the population.

**8.** (Sweden Apr '45) How many times a month do you go to the cinema, theater, concerts, public dances, restaurants, or other amusements? (SGI)

| | *Cinema* | *Public dances* | *Restaurants without dancing* | *Theater* | *Concert* | *Other* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *National total* | | | | | | |
| Not at all | 29% | 69% | 71% | 64% | 69% | 59% |
| Twice or more | 29 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 7 |
| Once | 42 | 24 | 25 | 35 | 30 | 34 |
| BY SEX | | | | | | |
| *Men* | | | | | | |
| Not at all | 26% | 65% | 63% | 61% | 69% | 55% |
| Twice or more | 31 | 8 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 10 |
| Once | 43 | 27 | 30 | 37 | 29 | 35 |
| *Women* | | | | | | |
| Not at all | 32 | 74 | 78 | 66 | 70 | 63 |
| Twice or more | 27 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 5 |
| Once | 41 | 21 | 21 | 33 | 29 | 32 |
| BY AGE | | | | | | |
| *20–29 years* | | | | | | |
| Not at all | 9% | 39% | 61% | 51% | 64% | 46% |
| Twice or more | 59 | 20 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 12 |
| Once | 32 | 41 | 33 | 47 | 33 | 42 |
| *30–49 years* | | | | | | |
| Not at all | 23 | 69 | 66 | 59 | 67 | 55 |
| Twice or more | 28 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 9 |
| Once | 49 | 26 | 29 | 39 | 32 | 36 |
| *50–64 years* | | | | | | |
| Not at all | 41 | 90 | 80 | 75 | 74 | 69 |
| Twice or more | 11 | — | 3 | 1 | 1 | 4 |
| Once | 48 | 10 | 17 | 24 | 25 | 27 |
| *65 years and over* | | | | | | |
| Not at all | 69 | 91 | 90 | 82 | 80 | 79 |
| Twice or more | 3 | — | 1 | 1 | — | 1 |
| Once | 28 | 9 | 9 | 17 | 20 | 20 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| *Upper class* | | | | | | |
| Not at all | 13% | 70% | 42% | 37% | 42% | 45% |
| Twice or more | 34 | 4 | 10 | 6 | 5 | 12 |
| Once | 53 | 26 | 48 | 57 | 53 | 43 |
| *Middle class* | | | | | | |
| Not at all | 29 | 72 | 67 | 60 | 65 | 57 |
| Twice or more | 21 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| Once | 50 | 24 | 28 | 39 | 33 | 35 |

| | *Cinema* | *Public dances* | *Restaurants without dancing* | *Theater* | *Concert* | *Other* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Workers* | | | | | | |
| Not at all.... | 30% | 67% | 76% | 68% | 74% | 62% |
| Twice or more | 28 | 9 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 7 |
| Once..... | 42 | 24 | 21 | 31 | 25 | 31 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | | |
| *Country districts* | | | | | | |
| A* Not at all. | 42% | 72% | 69% | 72% | 78% | 57% |
| Twice or more.... | 15 | 6 | 2 | — | 1 | 10 |
| Once..... | 43 | 22 | 29 | 28 | 21 | 33 |
| B Not at all. | 42 | 71 | 78 | 79 | 77 | 71 |
| Twice or more.... | 15 | 4 | 2 | — | — | 2 |
| Once..... | 43 | 25 | 20 | 21 | 23 | 27 |
| C Not at all. | 30 | 67 | 78 | 72 | 78 | 60 |
| Twice or more.... | 25 | 7 | 1 | 1 | — | 7 |
| Once..... | 45 | 26 | 21 | 27 | 22 | 33 |
| D Not at all. | 30 | 71 | 77 | 66 | 63 | 51 |
| Twice or more.... | 31 | 5 | 3 | 1 | — | 3 |
| Once..... | 39 | 24 | 20 | 33 | 37 | 46 |
| *Large towns* | | | | | | |
| Not at all.... | 10 | 67 | 54 | 31 | 59 | 53 |
| Twice or more | 49 | 10 | 12 | 5 | 4 | 11 |
| Once..... | 41 | 23 | 34 | 64 | 37 | 36 |
| *Other towns* | | | | | | |
| Not at all.... | 25 | 69 | 68 | 61 | 62 | 58 |
| Twice or more | 36 | 7 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 11 |
| Once..... | 39 | 24 | 26 | 38 | 35 | 31 |

*See footnote to 7.

**9.** (Sweden Apr '45) How much money have you spent altogether on such amusement [cinema, public dances, restaurants without dancing, theaters, concerts, and other public amusements] during the past week? Asked of a national cross-section of people who had visited one or more of these amusement places. (SGI)

| | *Less than 2 kr.*** | *2–6 kr.* | *6–10 kr.* | *10–15 kr.* | *15–25 kr.* | *25–50 kr.* | *More than 50 kr.* | *Nothing* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total . | 6% | 16% | 4% | 2% | 2% | 1% | — | 69% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | | |
| Upper class.... | 5% | 18% | 9% | 3% | 4% | 2% | 1% | 58% |
| Middle class... | 4 | 16 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 1 | — | 71 |
| Workers..... | 8 | 16 | 4 | 1 | 1 | — | — | 70 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | | | | |
| Country districts | | | | | | | | |
| A*..... | 3% | 9% | 4% | 2% | 1% | — | — | 81% |
| B..... | 7 | 10 | 1 | — | 1 | — | — | 81 |
| C..... | 5 | 15 | 2 | 1 | — | — | — | 77 |
| D ..... | 5 | 21 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1% | — | 66 |
| Large towns... | 5 | 22 | 10 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 1% | 52 |
| Other towns... | 9 | 18 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 1 | — | 62 |

* See footnote to 7.
** The Swedish krona at this time was approximately 26 cents in American money.

**10.** (Denmark Apr 22 '45) Have you ever been to Copenhagen? (DGI)

Yes 71.5% No 28.5%

**11.** (Denmark Apr 22 '45) Have you been to the Tivoli? Asked of 71.5% of the sample who had been to Copenhagen. (DGI)

Yes 90.8% No 9.2% = 100% of those who had been to Copenhagen

**12.** (Denmark Apr 22 '45) Do you think the Tivoli should be rebuilt in the old style, or should it be modern? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Old style..... | 67.2% |
| Modern..... | 10.7 |
| Between the two..... | 4.4 |
| Don't know..... | 17.7 |

**13.** (Denmark Apr 22 '45) The Tivoli's lease expires in 1955—do you think it ought to be canceled? (DGI)

Yes 1.9% No 93.1% Don't know 5.0%

# ANIMALS

## Treatment

**1.** (Sweden Oct '44) Do you think that the ill-treatment of animals is a considerably smaller offense than the ill-treatment of human beings, or do you consider it just as serious? (SGI)

| | *Less serious* | *Just as serious* | *More serious* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total ... | 9% | 65% | 23% | 3% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men..... | 10% | 62% | 26% | 2% |
| Women..... | 8 | 68 | 20 | 4 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class..... | 22% | 56% | 19% | 3% |
| Middle class..... | 10 | 66 | 22 | 2 |
| Workers..... | 8 | 66 | 24 | 2 |

**2.** (Sweden Oct '44) Do you think the authorities take strict enough measures against ill-treatment of animals, or do you think that more severe steps should be taken? (SGI)

| | *Strict enough* | *Too many measures* | *Too few measures* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total ... | 16% | 1% | 61% | 22% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men..... | 19% | 1% | 64% | 16% |
| Women..... | 12 | 1 | 59 | 28 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class..... | 20% | — | 58% | 22% |
| Middle class..... | 17 | 1% | 60 | 22 |
| Workers..... | 14 | 1 | 63 | 22 |

# ARBITRATION, INDUSTRIAL

**1.** (US Apr 26 '37 and June 28 '37) Should employers and employees be compelled by law to try to settle their differences before strikes can be called? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apr 26 '37..... | 89% | 11% = 100% | 8% |
| June 28 '37..... | 88 | 12 = 100 | 9 |

**2.** (Great Britain June 12 '37) Do you favor compulsory arbitration in industrial disputes? (BIPO)

Yes 80% No 20% = 100% No opinion 2%

**3.** (US Feb 3 '38) Have you an opinion on the National Labor Relations Board? (AIPO)

Yes 35% No 61% No answer 4%

**4.** (US Feb 3 '38) In your opinion have its [National Labor Relations Board's] decisions been fair to employers? Asked of 35% of the sample who had an opinion on the National Relations Board. (AIPO)

Yes 40% No 52% No opinion 8% = 100% of those with opinions

**5.** (US Feb 3 '38) Do you think the National Labor Relations Board has been fair to employers in its decisions? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 50% | 50% = 100% | 52% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 60% | 40% | |
| Republican | 20 | 80 | |

**6.** (US Feb 3 '38) As between the CIO and AFL do you think the [National Labor Relations] Board's decisions have been partial to one union more than the other? (AIPO)

Yes 22% No 19% No opinion 59%

**7.** (US July 27 '38) Have you an opinion on the National Labor Relations Board? (AIPO)

Yes 32% No 68%

**8.** (US July 27 '38) In your opinion have its [National Labor Relations Board's] decisions been fair to employers? Asked of a national cross-section who had an opinion on the National Labor Relations Board. (AIPO)

Yes 41% No 59% = 100% No opinion 7%

**9.** (US July 27 '38) As between the CIO and AFL, do you think the [National Labor Relations] Board's decisions have been partial to one union more than the other? Asked of a national cross-section of persons with opinions about the NLRB. (AIPO)

Yes 67% No 33%

**10.** (US July 27 '38) Which union [have the NLRB's decisions been more partial to]? Asked of a national cross-section of persons with opinions about the NLRB who thought the Board's decisions had been partial to one union more than the other. (AIPO)

AFL 8% CIO 92%

**11.** (US Oct 8 '38) Do you think the National Labor Relations Board is fair to businessmen and other employers? (AIPO)

Yes 42% No 58% = 100% No opinion 50%

**12.** (US Feb 23 '39) Do you think the National Labor Relations Board has done a good job or a poor job in administering the Wagner Labor Act? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good job | 10% |
| Fair job | 14 |
| Poor job | 21 |
| No opinion | 55 |

**13.** (US Feb 23 '39) Have you heard of the National Labor Relations Board? Those who had heard of the Board were asked: How good a job do you think the National Labor Relations Board has done in administering the Wagner Labor Act? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Never heard of it | 34% |
| Excellent | 3 |
| Good | 8 |
| Fair | 15 |
| Poor | 9 |
| Very bad | 7 |
| No opinion | 24 |

**14.** (US May 26 '39) Would you favor a law requiring employers and workers to submit their differences to a federal labor board before a strike could be called? A comparable cross-section was asked: Would you favor a law requiring employers and unions to submit their differences to a federal labor board before a strike could be called? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Favor mediation* | *Oppose mediation* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 86% | 14% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper class | 84% | 16% |
| Middle class | 87 | 13 |
| Lower class | 85 | 15 |

**15.** (US June '39) Do you think our government should or should not make all decisions in disputes between capital and labor? (FOR)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know or depends* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 34.8% | 44.6% | 20.6% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Unemployed | 47.0% | 30.2% | 22.8% |
| Farm owners | 44.2 | 41.0 | 14.8 |
| Farm labor | 42.0 | 27.2 | 30.8 |
| Factory labor | 36.6 | 46.4 | 17.0 |
| Executives | 29.8 | 62.4 | 7.8 |

**16.** (US Dec 16 '40 and Mar 7 '41) Would you favor a law compelling employers and unions to submit their differences to a federal labor board before a strike could be called in industries connected with the defense program? (July 12 '45) Would you favor a law compelling employers and unions to submit their differences to a federal labor board before a strike could be called in war industries? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec 16 '40 | 93% | 7% = 100% | 10% |
| Mar 7 '41 | 85 | 7 | 8 = 100% |
| July 12 '45 | 77 | 6 | 17 = 100 |

**17.** (US Apr 8 '41) When workers in a factory working on defense contracts vote to go on strike, do you think they should be required by law to wait for sixty days before the strike can start? (AIPO)

Yes 89% No 11% = 100% No opinion 8%

**18.** (US June '41) Do you think there should or should not be a government agency with the power to force settlement of differences between employers and labor? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Depends* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 67.4% | 12.6% | 9.3% | 10.7% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Proprietors | 76.0% | 14.0% | 7.4% | 2.6% |
| Executives | 73.8 | 12.9 | 12.6 | .7 |
| White-collar | 70.2 | 15.4 | 9.7 | 4.7 |
| Factory labor | 68.3 | 17.4 | 10.0 | 4.3 |
| Miscellaneous | 68.8 | 12.8 | 9.6 | 8.8 |

**19.** (US July 12 '45) Would you favor a law requiring employers and unions to take their differences to a federal labor board before a strike could be called in any industry? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 70% | 10% | 20% |
| Union members | 71 | 18 | 11 |
| Those favoring closed or union shop | 73 | 17 | 10 |

**20.** (US Oct 3 '45) Would you favor a law requiring employers and unions to take their differences to a government arbitrator for settlement before a strike could be called? A comparable cross-section was asked: Would you favor a law requiring employers and unions to take their differences to a federal labor board before a strike could be called in any industry? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 79% No 11% No opinion 10%

**21.** (US Oct 17 '45) It has been suggested that the government create special courts to settle labor disputes. When a strike is threatened, unions and employers would go before a special labor court to state their case and the decision of the court would be final. Would you favor or oppose setting up special labor courts? (AIPO)

Favor 70% Oppose 16% No opinion 14%

**22.** (US Oct 17 '45) It has been suggested that to settle some labor disputes, communities set up their own boards of persons from civic groups, industry, and labor to help the government settle these differences. Do you think this would be a good idea or a poor idea? (AIPO)

Good 60% Poor 20% No opinion 20%

**23.** (US Dec 5 '45) Have you heard or read about President Truman's proposal for a law to handle important labor disputes? Those who had heard of the proposal were asked: What is your opinion of President Truman's proposal for dealing with important labor disputes? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hadn't heard of the proposal | 37% |
| In favor, generally | 28 |
| In favor, it will help settle strikes | 2 |
| In favor (pro-labor) | * |
| In favor (pro-management) | 1 |
| Oppose, generally | 10 |
| Oppose (pro-labor) | 3 |
| Oppose (pro-management) | 1 |
| Some law should be passed | 4 |
| Don't understand this proposal | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Don't know | 10 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**24.** (US Dec 19 '45) Have you heard or read about President Truman's proposal for a law to handle important labor disputes? Those who had heard or read of the proposal were asked: What is your opinion of President Truman's proposal for dealing with important labor disputes? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hadn't heard of proposal | 31% |
| Favor | 37 |
| Oppose | 15 |
| Some law should be passed | 1 |
| Favor, it will help settle strikes | 1 |
| Oppose (pro-labor) | 1 |
| Oppose (pro-management) | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| No opinion | 9 |

**25.** (US Dec 19 '45) Do you agree or disagree with labor leaders who say this [President Truman's] proposal will hurt labor's cause? Asked of 69% of the sample who were familiar with the proposal. (AIPO)

Agree 12% Disagree 40% No opinion 17% = 69%

**26.** (US Dec 5 '45; Dec 19 '45; Jan 23 '46; Feb 13 '46) President Truman has proposed a law requiring a thirty-day cooling-off period before a major strike could start. During this time a committee would look into the facts and causes of the dispute and make public its report. Would you favor or oppose such a law? (AIPO)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *National total* | | | |
| Dec 5 '45 | 78% | 10% | 12% |
| Dec 19 '45 | 79 | 11 | 10 |
| Jan 23 '46 | 84 | 9 | 7 |
| Feb 13 '46 | 81 | 11 | 8 |
| DEC 5 '45 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republican | 83% | 7% | 10% |
| Democratic | 74 | 14 | 12 |
| DEC 5 '45 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 77% | 10% | 13% |
| East and West central | 78 | 12 | 10 |
| South | 79 | 5 | 16 |
| Far West | 77 | 12 | 11 |
| DEC 5 '45 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Business and professional | 80% | 12% | 8% |
| White-collar | 80 | 11 | 9 |
| Farmers | 83 | 5 | 12 |
| Manual workers | 73 | 12 | 15 |
| Union members | 70 | 16 | 14 |

**27.** (US Dec 5 '45) Do you think this law [to require a thirty-day cooling-off period and investigation] would operate to reduce the number of strikes? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 72% | 14% | 14% |
| Union members | 68 | 21 | 11 |

**28.** (US Dec 19 '45) If such a law is passed [to require a thirty-day period before a strike could be called], do you think it will stop most strikes, some, or probably none at all? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Most | 19% |
| Some | 56 |
| None | 13 |
| No opinion | 12 |

**29.** (US Jan 3 '46) Have you heard or read about President Truman's proposal for a law to handle important labor disputes? One cross-section of those who had heard of the proposal was asked: What is your opinion of President Truman's proposal for dealing with important labor disputes? A comparable cross-section was asked: What is your opinion of President Truman's proposal for dealing with labor disputes? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hadn't heard of the proposal | 27% |
| In favor generally | 35 |
| In favor, it will help settle strikes | 1 |
| Some law should be passed | 1 |
| Opposed generally | 17 |
| Opposed (anti-labor) | 1 |
| Opposed (anti-management) | 1 |
| Has both desirable and undesirable characteristics | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| No answer, don't know | 13 |

**30.** (US Jan 23 '46) Do you agree or disagree with President Truman that there should be a fact-finding board to study the facts in a labor dispute? (AIPO)

Agree 78% Disagree 11% No opinion 11%

**31.** (US Jan 23 '46) Do you think a thirty-day cooling-off period should be required before a major strike could start? (AIPO)

Yes 80% No 10% No opinion 10%

**32.** (US Jan 23 '46) Should a fact-finding board be allowed to look into the company's books and examine their profits? (AIPO)

Yes 55% No 31% No opinion 14%

**33.** (US Feb 13 '46) Do you think there should be a fact-finding board to study the facts in a labor dispute, or should unions and employers try to settle strike issues themselves? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Board | 51% |
| Settle themselves | 40 |
| No answer | 1 |
| No opinion | 8 |

**34.** (US Sept 25 '46) In Toledo, Ohio, strikes have been settled by a local committee of citizens. Do you think that this method would work in this community? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 52% | 23% | 25% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional and business | 60% | 25% | 15% |
| Farmers | 52 | 13 | 35 |
| White-collar | 53 | 27 | 20 |
| Manual workers | 49 | 24 | 27 |
| Union members | 50 | 30 | 20 |

**35.** (US Nov '46) Which one of these statements comes closest to what you believe the government should do about a labor dispute that a large electrical manufacturer like General Electric or Westinghouse and the union can't settle themselves? (FOR)

| | *National total* | *Salaried executives* | *Union members* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Do nothing beyond barring violence | 11.1% | 14.4% | 20.3% |
| Just help bring the two sides together | 22.5 | 21.5 | 26.3 |
| Present a solution without forcing acceptance | 24.1 | 26.8 | 22.4 |
| Arbitrate and require acceptance | 30.2 | 35.3 | 26.0 |
| Don't know | 12.1 | 2.0 | 5.0 |

**36.** (US Nov '46) When its employees go out on strike, do you think it is usually all right, sometimes all right, or never all right for the company to refuse to agree to a strike settlement proposed by the government? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Usually all right | 11.2% |
| Sometimes all tight | 41.6 |
| Never all right | 32.4 |
| Don't know | 14.8 |

## ARMAMENTS

**1.** (US May 10 '37) If other nations agreed to reduce their spending for military purposes, would you favor reducing ours also? (AIPO)

Yes 73% No 27% = 100% No opinion 11%

**2.** (US June 1 '37) If other nations should agree to reduce their spending for armaments, should America agree to reduce its expenditures to the same extent? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 79% | 21% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 80% | 20% |
| Middle Atlantic | 78 | 22 |
| East central | 78 | 22 |
| West central | 84 | 16 |
| Southern | 82 | 18 |
| Rocky Mountain | 74 | 26 |
| Pacific coast | 75 | 25 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic | 81% | 19% |
| Republican | 73 | 27 |

**3.** (US June 1 '37) Do you believe any nation, or any nations, are responsible for the present armament race? (AIPO)

Yes 77% No 23%

**4.** (US June 1 '37) Which [nation or nations do you believe responsible for the present armament race]? Asked of a national cross-section of people who believed one nation, or more nations, were responsible for the present armament race. 77% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany | 38% |
| Italy | 32 |
| Japan | 10 |
| Russia | 9 |
| Great Britain | 3 |
| France | 3 |
| Spain | 2 |
| All nations | 2 |
| United States | 1 |
| | 100% |

**5.** (US July 22 '41) It has been said that the men who go into the German army get better military training than men who go into the United States army. Do you agree, or disagree with this? (AIPO)

Agree 36% Disagree 43% No opinion 21%

**6.** (US Nov 19 '41) Do you think that at the present time our army is as strong as the German army? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 21% |
| No | 63 |
| Our army is stronger | 2 |
| Qualified answers | 2 |
| Don't know | 12 |

**7.** (US Nov 19 '41) Do you think that at the present time our air force is as strong as the German air force? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 26% |
| No | 49 |
| Our air force is stronger | 2 |
| Qualified answers | 3 |
| Don't know | 20 |

**8.** (US Dec 24 '41) From what you know or have heard, would you say that right now our army (navy, air force) has more, about the same amount, or less equipment than Japan's? Germany's? (NORC)

| | JAPAN | | | GERMANY | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Army* | *Navy* | *Air force* | *Army* | *Navy* | *Air force* |
| More | 40% | 54% | 47% | 32% | 73% | 35% |
| Same | 15 | 18 | 15 | 13 | 8 | 15 |
| Less | 30 | 14 | 23 | 42 | 8 | 36 |
| Don't know | 15 | 14 | 15 | 13 | 11 | 14 |

**9.** (US Mar 26 '42) Which do you think has the strongest navy at present—Japan, or England, or the United States? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Japan | 16% |
| England | 15 |
| United States | 50 |
| No opinion | 19 |

**10.** (US July 1 '42) Which country do you think has the stronger war machine—Japan or Germany? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Japan | 15% |
| Germany | 72 |
| Don't know | 13 |

**11.** (US July 14 '42) From what you have read, which country would you guess has more men in its armed forces for every thousand of population—Canada or the United States? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Canada | 33% |
| United States | 48 |
| No difference | 2 |
| Don't know | 17 |

**12.** (US July 15 '42) Do you think Germany's military strength today is greater or less than the combined military strength of Britain and Russia? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Greater | 30% |
| Less | 44 |
| Same | 8 |
| Don't know | 18 |

**13.** (US Aug 21 '42 and Nov 27 '42) Would you say the United States and her Allies have more fighting equipment, about the same amount, or less fighting equipment than the Axis countries? (NORC)

| | *More* | *About the same* | *Less* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug 21 '42 | 41% | 22% | 23% | 14% |
| Nov 27 '42 | 57 | 19 | 11 | 13 |

**14.** (US Aug 21 '42) Would you say we are getting further and further ahead of them [Axis countries] all the time or not? Asked of 41% of the sample who thought the Allies had more fighting equipment than Axis countries. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Getting further ahead | 36% |
| Not getting further ahead | 3 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 41% |

**15.** (US Aug 21 '42) Do you think we will eventually have more fighting equipment than the Axis or not? Asked of 36% of the sample who thought the Allies had the same amount of fighting equipment as Axis countries or who didn't know about it. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Will have more | 32% |
| Will not have more | * |
| Don't know | 4 |
| | 36% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**16.** (US Aug 21 '42) Do you think we will eventually catch up with the Axis supply of fighting equipment, or not? Asked of 23% of the sample who thought the Allies had less fighting equipment than the Axis. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Will catch up | 22% |
| Will not catch up | 1 |
| Don't know | * |
| | 23% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**17.** (US Aug 29 '42) Now I have some questions about the armed forces of the countries listed on this card.* Which one of those countries would you say has the strongest navy? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia | 1% |
| Japan | 6 |
| Germany | 3 |
| England | 27 |
| United States | 52 |
| Don't know | 11 |

* Card listed Russia, Japan, Germany, England, and United States.

**18.** (US Aug 29 '42) How about their armies [Russia, Japan, Germany, England, and United States]—which country do you think has the strongest army? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia | 14% |
| Japan | 2 |
| Germany | 42 |
| England | 1 |
| United States | 31 |
| Don't know | 10 |

**19.** (US Aug 29 '42) And air forces—which country [among Russia, Japan, Germany, England and United States] has the strongest air force? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia | 1% |
| Japan | 2 |
| Germany | 13 |
| England | 20 |
| United States | 51 |
| Don't know | 13 |

**20.** (US Aug 29 '42) Which would you say [Russia, Japan, Germany, England, or United States] has the best equipment for its army? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia | 1% |
| Japan | 1 |
| Germany | 20 |
| England | 2 |
| United States | 66 |
| Don't know | 10 |

**21.** (US Sept '43 and July '45) After the war, do you think every country should be allowed to build as large an army, navy, and air force as it wants to? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Qualified answer* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '43 | 22% | 72% | 1% | 5% |
| July '45 | 23 | 70 | — | 7 |

**22.** (US Apr '44) Is it your impression that the Japanese army is larger than the German army, smaller, or about the same size? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Larger | 29.0% |
| Smaller | 35.7 |
| Same | 17.6 |
| Don't know | 17.7 |

**23.** (France Dec 1 '44) Which do you think is the most powerful army in the world? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia | 60% |
| United States | 29 |
| Germany | 5 |
| Great Britain | 1 |
| Other countries | 3 |
| No opinion | 2 |

**24.** (France Dec 1 '44) Which do you think is the strongest navy in the world? (FIPO)

| | *National total* | *Men only* |
|---|---|---|
| Great Britain | 52% | 46% |
| United States | 42 | 50 |
| Russia | 1 | — |
| Other countries | 3 | 4 |
| No opinion | 2 | |

**25.** (France Dec 1 '44) Which do you think is the strongest air force in the world? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| United States | 72% |
| Great Britain | 22 |
| Russia | 3 |
| Other countries | 1 |
| No opinion | 2 |

**26.** (US May 31 '45) After the war, which one of these countries would you like to see have the most powerful peacetime army? Navy? Air corps? Regardless of what you would like to see, which country do you think probably will have the most powerful peacetime army? Navy? Air corps? (NYHT)

| | ARMY | | NAVY | | AIR CORPS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Want to happen* | *Will happen* | *Want to happen* | *Will happen* | *Want to happen* | *Will happen* |
| China | 2% | 1% | * | * | 1% | * |
| France | 2 | * | * | * | * | * |
| Great Britain | 3 | 3 | 6% | 18% | 2 | 5% |
| Russia | 4 | 44 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 10 |
| United States | 82 | 40 | 88 | 64 | 90 | 72 |
| Don't know | 7 | 12 | 5 | 14 | 6 | 13 |

* Less than 0.5%.

# ARMIES AND NAVIES

## Officers

**1.** (US Mar 26 '42) Which do you think has the smartest military leaders at present—Germany, or Russia, or the United States? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany | 20% |
| Russia | 12 |
| United States | 52 |
| No opinion | 15 |
| No answer | 1 |

## Recruiting, Enlistment, etc.

**1.** (US Aug 30 '39) Should the United States permit its citizens to join the German army? (AIPO)

Yes 26% No 68% No opinion and no answer 6%

**2.** (US Aug 30 '39) Should the United States permit its citizens to join the British and French armies? (May 29 '40) Should our government allow Americans to volunteer to fight in the British and French armies? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug 30 '39 | 43% | 50% | | 7% = 100% |
| May 29 '40 | 57 | 43 | = 100% | 10 |

**3.** (US May 29 '40) At the present time, Americans who volunteer in the British and French armies lose their United States citizenship. Do you think Americans should be allowed to volunteer in the allied armies, without losing their American citizenship? (Feb 14 '41) At present, an American citizen who volunteers in the armed forces of any foreign country loses his American citizenship. Should this law be changed to permit Americans to serve in the armed forces of Canada, Britain, or any allied country without losing their American citizenship? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| May 29 '40 | 43% | 43% | 14% |
| Feb 14 '41 | 49 | 42 | 9 |

# ART

**1.** (Sweden Oct '44) Have you any works of art in your home, such as paintings, sculptures, etc.? (SGI)

| | *Oil paintings* | *Water colors* | *Prints or other reproductions* | *Etchings, etc.* | *Sculptures* | *Other works of art* | *Nothing at all* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 14% | 12% | 10% | 8% | 9% | 41% | = 136%* |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | | |
| Upper class | 91% | 57% | 19% | 50% | 35% | 23% | 6% | = 281%* |
| Middle class | 50 | 18 | 14 | 12 | 10 | 10 | 35 | = 149* |
| Workers | 31 | 7 | 10 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 50 | = 110* |
| BY AGE | | | | | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 36% | 13% | 7% | 7% | 7% | 6% | 36% | = 112%* |
| 30–49 years | 48 | 15 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 40 | = 146* |
| 50–64 years | 43 | 14 | 14 | 11 | 7 | 11 | 43 | = 143* |
| 65 years and over | 27 | 9 | 20 | 6 | 5 | 9 | 52 | = 128* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (Sweden Oct '44) Have you yourself bought it [object of art] (any of it) or have you had it (them) given to you? Asked of 59% of total sample who said they had works of art of some sort in the home. (SGI)

| | *Bought some of it* | *Bought all of it* | *Had it given or inherited it* | *No answer* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 34% | 43% | 22% | 1% | = 100%* |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 32% | 35% | 30% | 3% | |
| 30–49 years | 37 | 43 | 19 | 1 | |
| 50–64 years | 31 | 47 | 21 | 1 | |
| 65 years and over | 31 | 47 | 20 | 2 | |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Upper class | 43% | 37% | 20% | — | |
| Middle class | 39 | 40 | 20 | 1% | |
| Workers | 27 | 47 | 24 | 2 | |

* 100% of those who said they had art works in the home.

**3.** (Sweden Oct '44) Do you think art so valuable that your local government should be able to demand tax from everyone in order to buy and exhibit statues, etc., locally, when made by a recognized artist? (SGI)

| | *Local government should buy* | *Local government shouldn't buy* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 35% | 46% | 19% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 42% | 40% | 18% |
| 30–49 years | 36 | 48 | 16 |
| 50–64 years | 31 | 49 | 20 |
| 65 years and over | 21 | 49 | 30 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 62% | 31% | 7% |
| Middle class | 38 | 45 | 17 |
| Workers | 30 | 49 | 21 |

**4.** (Denmark Mar 18 '45) Which do you prefer, the so-called old-fashioned or the so-called modern art? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Old-fashioned | 57.6% |
| Modern | 11.0 |
| Both | 9.5 |
| Don't know | 21.9 |

**5.** (Denmark Mar 18 '45) Does modern art interest you? Asked of 57.6% of the sample who preferred old-fashioned art to modern. (DGI)

Yes 16.3% No 80.7% Don't know 3.0% = 100% of those who prefer old-fashioned to modern art

**6** (Denmark Mar 18 '45) Can you imagine having a modern picture on your walls? Asked of 57.6% of the sample who preferred old-fashioned to modern art. (DGI)

Yes 22.5% No 69.4% Don't know 8.1% = 100% of those who prefer old-fashioned to modern art

**7.** (Denmark Mar 18 '45) Does abstract art interest you? Asked of 20.5% of the total sample who preferred modern art to old-fashioned (11.0%) or who like both (9.5%). (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 10.2% |
| No | 54.0 |
| Do not know abstract art | 35.8 |
| | 100% of those who prefer modern to old-fashioned art or who like both |

## Galleries and Museums

**1.** (Sweden Oct '44) Have you ever visited a museum of art or art exhibition? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 59% | 39% | 2% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 61% | 37% | 2% |
| 30–49 years | 64 | 35 | 1 |
| 50–64 years | 56 | 42 | 2 |
| 65 years and over | 45 | 52 | 3 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 96% | 4% | — |
| Middle class | 69 | 29 | 2% |
| Workers | 49 | 49 | 2 |

**2.** (Czechoslovakia Oct '46) Have you ever visited the National Gallery in Prague? (CZIPO)

Several times 12% Once 16% Never 72%

**3.** (Czechoslovakia Oct '46) Have you ever visited another picture gallery or museum [other than the National Gallery in Prague]? (CZIPO)

Several times 54% Once 24% Never 22%

## ATOMIC BOMB

**1.** (US Aug 8 '45) Have you heard or read about the new atomic bomb? (AIPO)

Yes 96% No 2% No answer 2%

**2.** (US Aug 8 '45) Do you approve or disapprove of using the new atomic bomb on Japanese cities? Asked of a cross-section of people who had heard of the bomb. 96% of a national sample is represented. (AIPO) (Great Britain Aug 26 '45) Did you approve or disapprove of the use of atomic bombs against Japan? (BIPO) (Canada Oct 3 '45) Now that it's all over, do you think the Allies should or should not have used the atomic bomb against Japan? (CIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| United States | 85% | 10% | 5% |
| Great Britain | 72 | 21 | 7 |
| Canada | 77 | 12 | 11 |
| US AND BRITISH OPINION BY SEX | | | |
| *Men* | | | |
| United States | 86% | 9% | 5% |
| Great Britain | 78 | 18 | 4 |
| *Women* | | | |
| United States | 83 | 11 | 6 |
| Great Britain | 65 | 24 | 11 |
| US AND BRITISH OPINION BY AGE | | | |
| *21–29 years* | | | |
| United States | 86% | 10% | 4% |
| Great Britain | 75 | 18 | 7 |
| *30–49 years* | | | |
| United States | 85 | 10 | 5 |
| Great Britain | 73 | 21 | 6 |
| *50 years and over* | | | |
| United States | 83 | 10 | 7 |
| Great Britain | 68 | 22 | 10 |
| US OPINION BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 90% | 7% | 3% |
| High school | 86 | 11 | 3 |
| Grammar school or less | 83 | 10 | 7 |
| BRITISH OPINION BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 82% | 15% | 3% |
| Middle | 71 | 25 | 4 |
| Lower | 71 | 21 | 8 |

**3.** (US Aug 22 '45) Do you think it was a good thing or a bad thing that the atomic bomb was developed? (AIPO)

Good 69% Bad 17% Don't know 14%

**4.** (US Aug 22 '45) Some people say that the atomic bomb makes a large army and navy unnecessary. Do you agree or disagree with this? (AIPO)

Agree 35% Disagree 47% No opinion 18%

**5.** (US Aug 22 '45) It has been suggested that the new United Nations Security Council use the atomic bomb to help keep

peace by putting it under control of a special international air force. Would you favor such a plan, or should the United States try to keep control of this weapon? (AIPO)

| Air force | US control | No opinion |
|---|---|---|
| 14% | 73% | 13% |

**6.** (US Aug 22 '45; Oct 3 '45; Mar 27 '46; Sept 25 '46) Do you think the secret of making atomic bombs should be put under the control of the new United Nations Security Council, or should the United States and England keep this secret to themselves? In Oct '45 the question was asked of two comparable cross-sections—one including England and one asking only about United States. Results from these cross-sections were combined. In Mar and Sept '46 the question omitted England. (AIPO)

| | *Security Council* | *US and England* | *United States* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug 22 '45 | 14% | 73% | — | 13% |
| Oct 3 '45 | 17 | — | 71% | 12 |
| Mar 27 '46 | 25 | — | 68 | 7 |
| Sept 25 '46 | 18 | — | 75 | 7 |

**7.** (Great Britain Aug 26 '45 and US Sept '45) Do you think that the atomic bomb makes wars more likely or less likely? (BIPO and NORC)

| | *More likely* | *Less likely* | *No difference* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| British opinion | 12% | 52% | 21% | 15% |
| United States opinion | 12 | 64 | 13 | 11 |
| BRITISH OPINION BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 10% | 56% | 24% | 10% |
| Women | 13 | 49 | 19 | 19 |
| BRITISH OPINION BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 11% | 49% | 24% | 16% |
| 30–49 years | 12 | 53 | 23 | 12 |
| 50 years and over | 12 | 52 | 19 | 17 |
| BRITISH OPINION BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 13% | 58% | 23% | 6% |
| Middle | 11 | 55 | 24 | 10 |
| Lower | 12 | 51 | 20 | 17 |

**8.** (US Sept '45) Why do you think so [that the atomic bomb makes wars more likely or less likely]? Asked of the 12% who thought the atomic bomb made wars more likely and the 64% who thought the bomb made wars less likely. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Impossible to prevent manufacturing of atomic bomb by all countries | 3% |
| Responses indicating that bomb can be weapon of totally successful aggression | 4 |
| The attitude of distrust | 2 |
| Axis countries will want revenge on U.S. | 1 |
| Other nations will feel equal to making war on us | 2 |
| Don't know | * |
| (who thought the bomb made wars more likely) | 12% |
| One-sided fear based on monopoly of bomb by the U.S. | 16% |
| General fear—fear of the bomb in anyone else's hands | 47 |
| Aggressor who uses it will have gained nothing; no factories, farms, natural resources left for benefit of aggressor | * |
| Other answers | * |
| Don't know | 1 |
| (who thought the bomb made wars less likely) | 64% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**9.** (Great Britain Aug 26 '45) Now that the atomic bomb has been invented, do you agree or disagree that each country should abolish its armed forces, having them replaced by an international force under a world government? (BIPO)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 51% | 29% | 20% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 54% | 31% | 15% |
| Women | 47 | 27 | 26 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 53% | 28% | 19% |
| 30–49 years | 51 | 30 | 19 |
| 50 years and over | 51 | 29 | 20 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 52% | 40% | 8% |
| Middle | 56 | 32 | 12 |
| Lower | 49 | 27 | 24 |

**10.** (US Sept '45) If you had been the one to decide whether or not to use the atomic bomb against Japan, which one of these four things do you think you would have done? Each respondent was handed a card with the four alternatives. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Refused to use | 4% |
| Where no people | 27 |
| One city at time | 43 |
| Wiped out cities | 24 |
| Don't know | 2 |

**11.** (US Sept '45) In order to defend itself, do you think our country should rely more on our own ability to make better atomic bombs than any other country or on the ability of the world organization to prevent any country, including our own, from ever using such bombs in another war? (NORC)

| *Our own ability* | *World organization* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|
| 43% | 48% | 9% |

**12.** (US Sept '45) If the world organization does try to prevent any country from ever using atomic bombs in another war, which one of these ways do you think would have the best chance of working? Each respondent was handed a card with the two alternatives. (NORC)

| *World police force* | *Pass law; use an FBI* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|
| 31% | 54% | 15% |

**13.** (US Sept '45) Do you think the United States should try to keep the secret of how to make atomic bombs as long as we can, or do you think we should let some other countries also know how to make them? (NORC) (Great Britain Nov 3 '45) Do you think that America should share the secret of the atomic bomb with other nations now or should they try to keep it as long as possible? (BIPO) (Denmark Jan 5 '46) Do you think the United States should keep the atom bomb secret to itself or should it be shared with other countries? (DGI)

| | *Share* | *Keep* | *Miscellaneous or Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| United States | 12% | 85% | 3% |
| Great Britain | 59 | 25 | 16 |
| Denmark | 51 | 46 | 3 |
| BRITISH OPINION BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 64% | 23% | 13% |
| Women | 54 | 26 | 20 |
| BRITISH OPINION BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 62% | 25% | 13% |
| 30–49 years | 61 | 23 | 16 |
| 50 years and over | 55 | 26 | 19 |

| | *Share* | *Keep* | *Miscellaneous or Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BRITISH OPINION BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 64% | 30% | 6% |
| Middle | 62 | 28 | 10 |
| Lower | 58 | 23 | 19 |

**14.** (US Sept '45) Do you think the United States will be able to keep for just its own use the secret of how to make atomic bombs, or will other countries be able to find out by themselves how to make them? (NORC)

| *Able to keep secret* | *Others will find out* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|
| 13% | 82% | 5% |

**15.** (US Sept '45) About how long a time would you guess it'll take before some other countries find out as much about atomic bombs as we know now? Asked of 82% of the sample who thought other countries would be able to find out how to make atomic bombs. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 1 year | 12% |
| 1 to 5 years | 44 |
| 6 to 10 years | 13 |
| 11 to 50 years | 4 |
| Over 50 years | * |
| Secret known | 2 |
| Don't know | 7 |
| | 82% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**16.** (US Sept '45) If there is another world war, about how much danger do you think there'll be of most city people on earth being killed by atomic bombs: a very real danger, only a slight danger, or no danger at all? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Real danger | 83% |
| Slight danger | 10 |
| No danger | 3 |
| Don't know | 4 |

**17.** (US Sept '45) How much danger do you think there is of the atomic bomb being used against the United States in the next twenty-five years: a very real danger, only a slight danger, or no danger at all? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Real danger | 37% |
| Slight danger | 29 |
| No danger | 23 |
| Don't know | 11 |

**18.** (US Sept '45) What country do you think would most likely use atomic bombs against us? Asked of the 37% who thought there was a real danger of the bomb being used against the United States in the next twenty-five years and the 29% who thought there was a slight danger. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia | 28% |
| England | 3 |
| Germany | 12 |
| Japan | 19 |
| Mexico; South America; any South American country | 1 |
| Near East; China; United Asia; yellow race | 1 |
| Other European countries | 1 |
| Internal war in the United States | * |
| No special country | 12 |
| Other countries; race war; not specified where | * |
| | 77%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 66 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**19.** (US Sept '45) Most scientists agree that within ten years other countries will find out by themselves how to make atomic bombs, even if we don't tell them. Do you think the United States will be able to keep for just its own use the secret of how to make atomic bombs, or will other countries be able to find out by themselves how to make them? (NORC)

| *Able to keep secret* | *Others will find out* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|
| 10% | 86% | 4% |

**20.** (US Oct 3 '45) Do you think the United States can keep this secret [of making atomic bombs] to itself, or do you think other nations will develop atomic bombs? (AIPO)

Can keep 22% Others develop 65% No opinion 13%

**21.** (US Oct 3 '45) Do you think the discovery of the atomic bomb increases or decreases the possibility of another world war? (AIPO) (US Dec '45) Do you feel that the atomic bomb has increased or decreased the chances of a future world war or made no difference one way or the other? (FOR) (Australia July 27 '46) Do you think the atomic bomb has increased or decreased the possibility of another world war? (APOP)

| | *Increases* | *Decreases* | *No difference* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| United States Oct '45 | 18% | 47% | 20% | 15% |
| United States Dec '45 | 15.7 | 46.9 | 24.1 | 13.3 |
| Australia Aug '46 | 30 | 31 | 25 | 14 |
| UNITED STATES DEC '45 RESULTS BY OPINIONS AS TO FUTURE WARS | | | | |
| Those who think a big war will come | 23.3% | 33.7% | 30.4% | 12.6% |
| Those who think there is a chance to avoid war | 11.2 | 58.5 | 21.0 | 9.3 |
| UNITED STATES DEC '45 RESULTS BY AGE* | | | | |
| 21–34 years | 21.1% | 44.0% | 23.9% | 11.0% |
| 35–49 years | 14.0 | 47.7 | 26.3 | 12.0 |
| 50 years and over | 12.5 | 48.6 | 22.1 | 16.8 |
| UNITED STATES DEC '45 RESULTS BY EDUCATION* | | | | |
| Grade school | 12.0% | 46.9% | 17.3% | 23.8% |
| High school | 18.4 | 48.7 | 25.1 | 7.8 |
| College | 16.8 | 43.4 | 33.3 | 6.5 |

* Additional breakdowns from *New York Herald Tribune* Nov 8 '45.

**22.** (US Oct 3 '45) Do you think we can develop a way to protect ourselves from atomic bombs in case other countries tried to use them against us? (AIPO)

Yes 49% No 21% No opinion 30%

**23.** (US Oct 17 '45) Do you think England, Russia, France, United States, China, and other countries should all get together to agree that atomic bombs should never be used as a war weapon? (AIPO)

Yes 67% No 23% No opinion 10%

**24.** (US Oct 31 '45) Do you wish now that we had never discovered the atomic bomb? (AIPO)

Yes 29% No 62% No opinion 9%

**25.** (US Oct 31 '45) Do you wish now that the atomic bomb had never been discovered? (AIPO)

Yes 34% No 52% No opinion 14%

**26.** (US Oct 31 '45) Some people say that with the discovery of the atomic bomb armed forces, except those to handle the bombs, are no longer useful. Do you agree or disagree with this? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with a slightly different beginning: With the discovery of the atomic bomb, some people say that . . . etc. Results were combined. (AIPO)

Agree 13% Disagree 67% No opinion 20%

**27.** (US Oct 31 '45) Some people say that, if there is another war, a nation can be defeated in one blow by atomic bombs and the war will be over in a few days. Do you agree or disagree with this? (AIPO)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 36% | 49% | 15% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 30% | 62% | 8% |
| High school | 38 | 50 | 12 |
| Grade school or less | 35 | 46 | 19 |

**28.** (US Dec '45) Which of these comes closest to describing how you feel about our use of the atomic bomb? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| We should not have used any atomic bombs at all | 4.5% |
| We should have dropped one first on some unpopulated region, to show the Japanese its power, and dropped the second one on a city only if they hadn't surrendered after the first one | 13.8 |
| We should have used the two bombs on cities, just as we did | 53.5 |
| We should have quickly used many more of them before Japan had a chance to surrender | 22.7 |
| Don't know | 5.5 |

**29.** (US Dec '45) It took the United States about five years to develop the first atomic bomb. About how long do you think it will be before some other country will develop one if we don't give them any help at all on it? (FOR)

| | *Less than 5 years* | *About 5 years* | *More than 5 years* | *Never* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 52.7% | 12.9% | 11.7% | 4.5% | 18.2% |
| BY AGE* | | | | | |
| 21–34 years | 54.3% | 12.1% | 13.6% | 3.7% | 16.3% |
| 35–49 years | 53.8 | 13.9 | 11.7 | 4.3 | 16.3 |
| 50 years and over | 50.2 | 12.6 | 10.0 | 5.4 | 21.8 |
| BY EDUCATION* | | | | | |
| College | 73.6% | 9.6% | 7.2% | 2.5% | 7.1% |
| High school | 55.0 | 15.0 | 12.7 | 3.8 | 13.5 |
| Grade school | 37.5 | 12.4 | 13.3 | 6.4 | 30.4 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS* | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 66.4% | 14.9% | 3.8% | 3.8% | 11.1% |
| Upper middle | 66.6 | 10.8 | 9.2 | 3.7 | 9.7 |
| Lower middle | 57.0 | 13.7 | 11.5 | 3.7 | 14.1 |
| Poor | 32.8 | 12.9 | 15.8 | 6.3 | 32.2 |

* Breakdowns from *New York Herald Tribune* Nov 1 '45.

**30.** (US Dec '45) Which nation or nations do you think will be likely to be the first to develop the atomic bomb? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia | 40.4% |
| Germany | 28.5 |
| Great Britain | 8.9 |
| Japan | 7.4 |
| Other | 1.7 |
| None | 4.5 |
| Don't know | 19.0 |
| | 110.4%* |

* Results add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**31.** (Sweden Dec '45) Do you think that Russia should share the atom bomb secret? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 31% | 52% | 17% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 26% | 60% | 14% |
| Middle class | 28 | 58 | 14 |
| Workers | 35 | 45 | 20 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Right party | 24% | 64% | 12% |
| Liberal | 22 | 63 | 15 |
| Agrarian | 12 | 74 | 14 |
| Social Democrat | 34 | 47 | 19 |
| Communist | 79 | 16 | 5 |

**32.** (Sweden Dec '45) Do you think that Sweden, alone, should go seriously into the solution of the atom bomb problem? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No, too small resources, expenses too high* | *No, wrong to use such weapons* | *No, even if we succeed it is no weapon for Sweden* | *No, for other reasons* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 11% | 13% | 4% | 5% | 12% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Upper class | 55% | 16% | 13% | 4% | 4% | 8% |
| Middle class | 56 | 11 | 13 | 4 | 4 | 12 |
| Workers | 55 | 10 | 13 | 4 | 5 | 13 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | | |
| Right party | 62% | 12% | 7% | 4% | 7% | 8% |
| Liberal | 60 | 9 | 14 | 4 | 5 | 8 |
| Agrarian | 44 | 13 | 21 | 3 | 4 | 15 |
| Social Democrat | 57 | 9 | 14 | 4 | 5 | 11 |
| Communist | 59 | 17 | 8 | 5 | 6 | 5 |

**33.** (US Dec '45) How much longer do you think the Japanese would have held out if it had not been for the atomic bomb? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| No longer | 8.4% |
| 1 month less | 9.9 |
| 2–5 months | 17.0 |
| 6 months | 17.2 |
| 7–11 months | 3.3 |
| 1 year | 15.1 |
| Over a year | 17.6 |
| Don't know | 11.5 |

**34.** (Canada Dec 5 '45) Should Britain, Canada, and United States tell Russia that they are ready to join a world government and give this government all the secrets of the atomic bomb, or do you think they should continue to try and keep these details secret? (CIPO)

| | *Keep secret* | *Share* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 58% | 32% | 10% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper | 48% | 45% | 7% |
| Middle | 56 | 34 | 10 |
| Lower | 64 | 26 | 10 |

**35.** (France Dec 16 '45) Have the United States, Great Britain, and Canada good reason to guard the secret of the atomic bomb? (FIPO)

Yes 45% No 41% No opinion 14%

**36.** (France Jan 16 '46) Is it your opinion that the atomic bomb will be used in the next war? (FIPO)

Yes 51% No 30% No opinion 19%

**37.** (France Jan 16 '46) Is it your opinion that France should manufacture atomic bombs? (FIPO)

Yes 56% No 32% No opinion 12%

**38.** (US Feb 13 '46) This summer our navy plans to make tests at sea to find out how effective the atom bombs would be in naval warfare. Do you think that representatives of other nations should or should not be allowed to watch these tests? (AIPO)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 26% | 66% | 8% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 45% | 49% | 6% |
| High school | 31 | 63 | 6 |
| Grammar school or less | 19 | 72 | 9 |

**39.** (US Feb 13 '46) Do you approve or disapprove of giving other nations a complete report of the results of the [atom bomb] tests? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 28% | 63% | 9% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 44% | 50% | 6% |
| High school | 33 | 59 | 8 |
| Grammar school or less | 21 | 68 | 11 |

**40.** (US Mar '46) If the United States does fight in another war within the next twenty-five years, do you think atomic bombs will or will not be used against American cities? (NORC)

Will 75% Will not 15% Don't know 10%

**41.** (US Mar '46) Do you think the world organization should pass a law, and be given power to enforce it, so that no country in the world can make atomic bombs, or don't you think so? (NORC)

Should 72% Should not 20% Don't know 8%

**42.** (US Mar '46) If passing a law so that no country can make atomic bombs meant that the United States would not only have to stop making any more, but would also have to destroy all atomic bombs now on hand, then would you be for or against passing this law? Asked of 72% of the sample who thought the United Nations should be empowered to and should prevent any country from making atomic bombs. (NORC)

For 56% Against 13% Don't know 3% = 72%

**43.** (US Mar '46) It has been suggested that the world organization have inspectors who could search any property in any country at any time to see if anybody was making atomic bombs. All inspectors would work in teams, having one Russian, one Englishman, and one American working together. Do you think there should be such an inspection or not? (NORC)

Should 75% Should not 17% Don't know 8%

**44.** (US Mar '46) Would you be willing for these [world-organization] inspectors to search American property if it meant that they would find out how we make atomic bombs, or would that be going too far? Asked of 75% of the sample who thought an inspection should be made for atomic bomb manufacture. (NORC)

Willing 39% Going too far 33% Don't know 3% = 75%

**45.** (US Mar '46) If we ever suspect that a certain country is planning to make a surprise atomic bomb attack on our country within a few days, which one of these two things do you think we should do: we should try to keep from being the first country to be bombed—even if this means starting an atomic war on them as soon as we become suspicious; or we should first try to prove if they're really planning this attack—even if waiting means taking a chance that we'll be bombed first? Each respondent was handed a card with the two alternatives. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Try to keep from being bombed first | 47% |
| Try to prove if attack is planned | 43 |
| Don't know | 10 |

**46.** (US Mar '46) What other ways besides being dropped from airplanes as bombs do you think atomic explosives might be used in a surprise attack? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sabotage | 14% |
| Guided missiles | 27 |
| Water projection | 11 |
| Other feasible answers—balloons, long-range guns, etc | 8 |
| Unfeasible answers and don't know | 49 |
| | 109%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**47.** (US Mar '46) Do you think atomic bombs more powerful than those we dropped on Japan will be made in the next twenty-five years, or do you think it'll take longer than that? (NORC)

In 25 years 85% Will take longer 6% Don't know 9%

**48.** (US Mar 27 '46) Do you think the United States should carry out the atom-bomb tests on Bikini Island, or should this be given up? (AIPO)

| | *Hold the tests* | *Call off the tests* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 37% | 20% |
| World War II veterans | 65 | 25 | 10 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 53% | 36% | 11% |
| High school | 52 | 32 | 16 |
| Grammar school or less | 35 | 40 | 25 |

**49.** (US Mar 27 '46) Some persons say that animals should not be used in making atomic-bomb tests at Bikini Island. Do you agree or disagree? (AIPO)

| | *Think animals should be used* | *Think animals should not be used* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 42% | 16% |
| World War II veterans | 53 | 36 | 11 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 47% | 40% | 13% |
| Women | 37 | 43 | 20 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 53% | 34% | 13% |
| High school | 46 | 42 | 12 |
| Grammar school or less | 36 | 44 | 20 |

**50.** (US Apr 10 '46) From what you have heard or read, what do you think is the main purpose for the atom-bomb tests which are to be held in the Pacific? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, don't know | 19% |
| To see what it will do; to find out its destructive power | 32 |
| To see what it will do to a navy; its effect on sea warfare | 20 |
| Further experimentation and research; defense research; defense | 17 |
| To show the world its power; to frighten other countries | 7 |

| | |
|---|---|
| To show how powerful we are; to prove the strength of the US | 3% |
| To outlaw war; to prevent war | 1 |
| To prepare for next war | 2 |
| Experiment for industrial use | 1 |
| Test effect on sea life, living things | * |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| | 104%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**51.** (US Apr 10 '46) Should the United States continue to manufacture atom bombs? (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 30% No opinion 9%

**52.** (US Apr 10 '46) Do you think any other country (ies) is (are) already making atom bombs? (AIPO)

Yes 42% No 40% No opinion 18%

**53.** (US Apr 10 '46) Which country (ies) [is (are) already making atom bombs]? Asked of 42% of the sample who thought one country or more were already manufacturing bombs. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, don't know | 5% |
| Russia | 79 |
| England | 18 |
| South America | * |
| Germany | 12 |
| Spain | 12 |
| Japan | 2 |
| Canada | 2 |
| France | 1 |
| Argentina | 2 |
| They are trying | * |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| | 137%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages are based on the number of respondents who thought one or more countries were already making atomic bombs and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**54.** (Canada June 8 '46) Do you think Russia's attitude in the past few months has been due mainly to our withholding the secret of the atomic bomb? (CIPO)

Yes 25% No 56% Don't know 19%

**55.** (Canada June 8 '46) Do you think Russia has the secret of how to make an atomic bomb or not? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Has formula | 31% |
| Has part of formula | 30 |
| No, hasn't formula | 22 |
| No opinion | 17 |

**56.** (US July 24 '46) Did the atomic bombs in the recent [Bikini] tests do more damage or less than you thought they would? (AIPO) (France Sept '46) On the whole was the destructive effect of the atomic bombs dropped on Bikini the same, less, or greater than you expected? (FIPO)

| | *Greater* | *Same* | *Less* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| United States | 18% | 11% | 53% | 18% |
| France | 3 | 11 | 58 | 28 |

**57.** (US Sept '46) Do you think the United States could become so strong by making atomic bombs and rockets that no country would dare attack us, or do you think that regardless of how strong we become, some day another country might think she's stronger and attack us? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| No country dare attack | 19% |
| Another country might attack | 74 |
| Don't know | 7 |

**58.** (US Sept '46) Suppose the United States should fight in another war within the next twenty-five years, how much danger do you think there would be of an atomic bomb being dropped in the place where you live—a very real danger, only a slight danger, or no danger at all? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Real danger | 53% |
| Slight danger | 29 |
| No danger | 14 |
| Don't know | 4 |

**59.** (US Sept '46) If the United States could do only one of these two things during the next few years, which one do you think would give us the best chance of keeping peace in the world—should we try to keep ahead of other countries by making more and better atomic bombs and rockets; should we try to make the United Nations organization strong enough to prevent all countries, including the United States, from making atomic bombs and rockets? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Try to keep ahead of other countries | 28% |
| Try to make the United Nations strong enough to prevent countries from making atomic bombs | 67 |
| Don't know | 5 |

**60.** (US Sept '46) Which one of these two things [trying to keep ahead of other countries in atomic manufacture or trying to strengthen the United Nations] do you think the United States is doing at the present time? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Trying to keep ahead | 34% |
| Making United Nations strong | 35 |
| Both | 18 |
| Don't know | 13 |

**61.** (US Nov 13 '46) Do you think the United States should stop making atom bombs and destroy all those we have now? (AIPO)

Yes 21% No 72% No opinion 7%

**62.** (US Nov 13 '46) Suppose the United States stopped making atom bombs and destroyed those already made. Do you think Russia would then agree to let a United Nations committee check to see that Russia does not make atom bombs? (AIPO)

Yes 13% No 72% No opinion 15%

**63.** (US Nov 14 '46) Do you think that the United States should stop making atom bombs and destroy those already made to prove our good intentions in asking for international control of atomic bombs? (AIPO)

Yes 19% No 65% No opinion 11% Qualified 5%

**64.** (US Nov 14 '46) Do you believe that this would help in bringing about an agreement with Russia regarding international control of atomic bombs? (AIPO)

Yes 28% No 52% No opinion 20%

## ATOMIC ENERGY

**1.** (US Aug 22 '45) Some people say that someday experiments in smashing atoms will cause an explosion which will destroy the entire world. Do you think this is ever likely to happen? (AIPO)

Yes 27% No 53% No opinion 20%

**2.** (US Sept '45 and Sept '46) In the long run, do you think people everywhere will be better off or worse off because somebody learned how to split the atom? (NORC)

| | *Better off* | *Worse off* | *No difference* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '45 | 52% | 22% | 6% | 20% |
| Sept '46 | 37 | 38 | 6 | 19 |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| *Men* | | | | |
| Sept '45 | 57% | 19% | 6% | 18% |
| Sept '46 | 46 | 34 | 5 | 15 |
| *Women* | | | | |
| Sept '45 | 48 | 21 | 6 | 25 |
| Sept '46 | 30 | 41 | 6 | 23 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | | |
| *College* | | | | |
| Sept '45 | 67% | 17% | 5% | 11% |
| Sept '46 | 58 | 26 | 4 | 12 |
| *High school* | | | | |
| Sept '45 | 56 | 20 | 5 | 19 |
| Sept '46 | 40 | 40 | 6 | 14 |
| *Eighth grade or less* | | | | |
| Sept '45 | 42 | 21 | 8 | 29 |
| Sept '46 | 25 | 40 | 6 | 29 |
| SEPT '46 RESULTS BY MILITARY STATUS | | | | |
| World War II veterans | 60% | 30% | 7% | 3% |
| Non-veterans | 34 | 39 | 6 | 21 |

**3.** (US Sept '45) Some say that splitting the atom will prove the greatest invention in over a thousand years and will change many of our ways of living. Do you agree with them, or do you think they exaggerate its importance? (NORC) (Great Britain Dec 14 '45) Some people say that splitting the atom is man's greatest scientific discovery and will change many of our ways of living. Do you agree with them or do you think they exaggerate? (BIPO)

| | *Agree* | *Exaggerate* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| United States | 56% | 25% | 19% |
| Great Britain | 52 | 24 | 24 |
| BRITISH OPINION BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 57% | 26% | 17% |
| Women | 46 | 22 | 32 |
| BRITISH OPINION BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 52% | 23% | 25% |
| 30–49 years | 54 | 25 | 21 |
| 50 years and over | 48 | 24 | 28 |
| BRITISH OPINION BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 66% | 29% | 5% |
| Middle | 67 | 23 | 10 |
| Lower | 46 | 24 | 30 |

**4.** (US Sept '45) What are some of the changes you think it'll make in our ways of living? Asked of 56% of the sample who thought that the atomic bomb would change many ways of our living. (NORC) (Great Britain Dec 14 '45) What are some of the changes [that will take place in our ways of living as a result of the discovery of the method of splitting the atom]? Asked of 52% of the sample who thought that splitting the atom would change many ways of our living. (BIPO)

*Opinions in United States*

| | |
|---|---|
| Changes in industry | 25% |
| Changes in daily living, domestic aspect | 19 |
| Changes in social and economic aspect | 5 |
| Changes in transportation | 16 |
| Changes in medical science | 3% |
| Changes in employment situation | 3 |
| Changes in international relations | 1 |
| Changes in further scientific research | 1 |
| Other answers | 1 |
| Don't know | 14 |
| | 88%* |

* Percentages add to more than 56 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

*Opinions in Great Britain*

| | |
|---|---|
| Will change industry and trade; provide cheaper power and goods | 16% |
| Change transport; speed it up and make it cheaper and easier | 9 |
| Changes in daily living, domestic aspect | 4 |
| Will change all spheres of life for better | 3 |
| Too soon to say; change will not take place for years; will not affect the lives of the present generation | 2 |
| Will help man conquer nature and the elements | 1 |
| Will change all spheres of life for worse | 1 |
| Will change methods of warfare; make war cheaper; increase capacity of smaller countries to make war | 1 |
| Diminish possibilities of war; make countries less likely to wage war; make countries fear devastation by atom bombs | 1 |
| Make countries more likely to wage war | 1 |
| Changes in international relations | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| No reply, don't know | 8 |
| | 52% |

**5.** (Great Britain Jan 12 '46) Do you approve or disapprove of the proposal to put the control of atomic energy under the United Nations Security Council? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 74% | 9% | 17% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 82% | 8% | 10% |
| Women | 66 | 9 | 25 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 77% | 8% | 15% |
| 30–49 years | 76 | 8 | 16 |
| 50 years and over | 70 | 10 | 20 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 80% | 11% | 9% |
| Middle | 81 | 9 | 10 |
| Lower | 71 | 8 | 21 |

**6.** (Canada Jan 26 '46) Do you think the discovery of atomic energy means that the end of the world is coming near, or do you think it means that it is the beginning of a new age? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| End of the world | 8% |
| New age | 64 |
| Qualified answers | 7 |
| Undecided | 21 |

**7.** (US Mar 27 '46) 1. Do you think that the government agency which handles the development and use of atomic energy should be under military or civilian control? A comparable cross-section was asked: 2. Do you think that the development and control of atomic energy should be under a government body controlled by the military or by civilians? (AIPO) (May '46) Who do you think should have the most control over atomic energy in this country—military leaders or civilian leaders? (NORC)

| | *Military* | *Civilian* | *Both* | *Scientific group* | *Other* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| First form March | 51% | 26% | 7% | 1% | 1% | 14% |
| Second form March | 44 | 31 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 15 |
| May | 49 | 27 | 12 | — | — | 12 |

**8.** (Great Britain May '46 and Canada June 8 '46) In a long run, do you think that releasing atomic energy will do more good than harm or more harm than good? (BIPO and CIPO) The Canadian question substituted "the discovery of" for the word "releasing."

| | *More good than harm* | *More harm than good* | *Don't know* | *Qualified* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Great Britain | 28% | 46% | 26% | — |
| Canada | 38 | 26 | 26 | 10% |
| BRITISH OPINION BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 36% | 42% | 22% | |
| Women | 20 | 51 | 29 | |
| BRITISH OPINION BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 30% | 44% | 26% | |
| 30–49 years | 30 | 46 | 24 | |
| 50 years and over | 24 | 47 | 29 | |
| BRITISH OPINION BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 31% | 48% | 21% | |
| Middle | 37 | 40 | 23 | |
| Lower | 24 | 48 | 28 | |

**9.** (Great Britain June '46) In the present state of the world, are you or are you not in favor of the full exchange of atomic secrets between all countries? (BIPO)

In favor 44% Not in favor 34% Don't know 22%

**10.** (Great Britain June '46) Do you think that such an exchange [of atomic secrets between all countries] would or would not be desirable at a later date? Asked of 34% of the sample who said they were not in favor of the full exchange of atomic secrets. (BIPO)

Would be 10% Would not be 19% Don't know 5% = 34%

**11.** (US June '46) Have you heard or read anything about the official American plan for control of atomic energy which Bernard Baruch presented to the United Nations recently? (NORC)

Yes 29% No 71%

## ATOMIC POWER

**1.** (US Aug 22 '45 and Canada Oct 3 '45) Do you think that atomic energy will be developed in the next ten years to supply power for industry and other things? (AIPO and CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| United States | 47% | 19% | 34% |
| Canada | 37 | 24 | 39 |

**2.** (US Sept '45) How long do you think it will be before atomic power is put to general everyday use in industry? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 1 year | 3% |
| 1–5 years | 25 |
| 6–10 years | 23 |
| 11–50 years | 21 |
| Over 50 years | 3 |
| Don't know | 25 |

**3.** (US Sept '45) Would you rather have the atomic power that is manufactured for peacetime uses in the future controlled mostly by government or mostly by business? (NORC) (US Oct 17 '45) Do you think the government alone should keep strict control of atomic energy, or should private business also be given the secret and allowed to make atomic energy to supply power for industry and other things? (AIPO) (Great Britain Dec 14 '45) If atomic power is developed for peacetime use, should control mostly be in the hands of the government or of private business? (BIPO)

| | *Government* | *Business* | *Both* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| US Sept '45 | 77% | 11% | 6% | 6% |
| US Oct '45 | 66 | 20 | — | 14 |
| Great Britain Dec '45 | 74 | 11 | — | 15 |
| BRITISH OPINION BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 79% | 13% | — | 8% |
| Women | 68 | 10 | — | 22 |
| BRITISH OPINION BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 76% | 10% | — | 14% |
| 30–49 years | 75 | 11 | — | 14 |
| 50 years and over | 70 | 12 | — | 18 |
| BRITISH OPINION BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 66% | 26% | — | 8% |
| Middle | 76 | 13 | — | 11 |
| Lower | 74 | 9 | — | 17 |

## ATTLEE, CLEMENT

**1.** (Great Britain Aug 26 '45) Do you approve or disapprove of Mr. Attlee as Prime Minister? (Oct '46 and Dec '46) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with Mr. Attlee as Prime Minister? (BIPO)

| | *Satisfied or approve* | *Dissatisfied or disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *National total* | | | |
| Aug '45 | 66% | 19% | 15% |
| Oct '46 | 53 | 35 | 12 |
| Dec '46 | 52 | 30 | 18 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| *Men* | | | |
| Aug '45 | 69% | 18% | 13% |
| Oct '46 | 54 | 38 | 8 |
| Dec '46 | 57 | 30 | 13 |
| *Women* | | | |
| Aug '45 | 63 | 20 | 17 |
| Oct '46 | 52 | 32 | 16 |
| Dec '46 | 50 | 28 | 22 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| *21–29 years* | | | |
| Aug '45 | 68% | 16% | 16% |
| Oct '46 | 60 | 28 | 12 |
| Dec '46 | 54 | 27 | 19 |
| *30–49 years* | | | |
| Aug '45 | 68 | 18 | 14 |
| Oct '46 | 56 | 33 | 11 |
| Dec '46 | 55 | 29 | 16 |
| *50 years and over* | | | |
| Aug '45 | 63 | 22 | 15 |
| Oct '46 | 53 | 34 | 13 |
| Dec '46 | 51 | 30 | 19 |

| | *Satisfied or approve* | *Dissatisfied or disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| *Higher* | | | |
| Aug '45 | 49% | 35% | 16% |
| Oct '46 | 41 | 52 | 7 |
| Dec '46 | 32 | 58 | 10 |
| *Middle* | | | |
| Aug '45 | 56 | 25 | 19 |
| Oct '46 | 47 | 42 | 11 |
| Dec '46 | 44 | 41 | 15 |
| *Lower* | | | |
| Aug '45 | 71 | 15 | 14 |
| Oct '46 | 60 | 28 | 12 |
| Dec '46 | 59 | 22 | 19 |
| *Very poor* | | | |
| Oct '46 | 59 | 26 | 15 |
| Dec '46 | 58 | 20 | 22 |
| 1946 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| *Conservative* | | | |
| Oct '46 | 27% | 63% | 10% |
| Dec '46 | 21 | 63 | 16 |
| *Labor* | | | |
| Oct '46 | 78 | 15 | 7 |
| Dec '46 | 80 | 10 | 10 |
| *Liberal* | | | |
| Oct '46 | 45 | 39 | 16 |
| Dec '46 | 36 | 34 | 30 |
| *Other voters* | | | |
| Oct '46 | 44 | 39 | 17 |
| Dec '46 | 52 | 28 | 20 |
| *Non-voters* | | | |
| Oct '46 | 49 | 30 | 21 |
| Dec '46 | 45 | 27 | 28 |
| DEC '46 RESULTS BY LABOR STATUS | | | |
| Union members | 67% | 20% | 13% |
| Non-union members | 48 | 33 | 19 |

# AUSTRALIA

## Army

**1.** (Australia Mar '42) Do you approve the law which keeps the militia in Australia and its territories—or should the government have power to use the militia anywhere to fight the Japanese? (June '42) Should the law be altered so that the militia could leave Australia in an offensive against the Japanese? (Sept '42) Should the law be altered so that the militia could be sent outside Australia and its territories? (APOP)

| | *Alter the law* | *Keep militia here* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '42 | 51% | 43% | 6% |
| June '42 | 59 | 29 | 12 |
| Sept '42 | 50 | 40 | 10 |
| JUNE '42 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Labor | 49% | 38% | 13% |
| Non-labor | 70 | 19 | 11 |
| SEPT '42 RESULTS BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 53% | 39% | 8% |
| Women | 46 | 40 | 14 |

**2.** (Australia Sept '43) Do you think sending the AIF to the middle East in 1940 was right or wrong? (APOP)

Right 75% Wrong 16% Undecided 9%

**3.** (Australia Sept '43) What about the recall of the AIF after Japan entered the war—was that right or wrong? (APOP)

Right 80% Wrong 10% Undecided 10%

**4.** (Australia Sept '43) Would you approve or disapprove if part of the AIF were sent overseas again in the near future? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve | 42% |
| Leave it to the authorities | 26 |
| Disapprove | 24 |
| Undecided | 8 |

**5.** (Australia June '44) The Japs have now been pushed back as far as the militia can be sent. Do you think the militia should now be used anywhere in the world or kept for home defense? (July '44) The Japs have been pushed back about as far as the militia can be sent. Do you think the militia should now be used anywhere against the Japs or kept for home defense? (APOP)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *June '44* | | | |
| Anywhere in the world | 47% | 40% | 13% |
| *July '44* | | | |
| Anywhere against the Japs | 55 | 37 | 8 |

**6.** (Australia May–June '46) It has been suggested that Australia should have a permanent army, navy, and air force of sixty thousand men costing an average of £15 a year for each elector. Do you approve or disapprove that plan? (APOP)

Approve 75% Oppose 17% Undecided 8%

## Army and Militia (Unified Command)

**1.** (Australia Nov '42 and Dec '42) Should the militia and the AIF be combined into one army able to go anywhere our government decides? The Dec '42 question used "the government" instead of "our government." (Mar '43) Should the AIF and militia be combined into one army able to fight anywhere the government decides? (APOP)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '42 | 67% | 22% | 11% |
| Dec '42 | 66 | 27 | 7 |
| Mar '43 | 77 | 16 | 7 |

**2.** (Australia Dec '42) Should the militia be able to go anywhere in the Southwest Pacific? Asked of 27% of the sample who opposed sending the militia anywhere the government decided. (APOP)

Yes 80% No 12% Undecided 8% = 100% of those who opposed sending the militia anywhere the government decided

## Foreign Relations

**1.** (Australia Oct '41) Should Australia and Russia exchange official representatives? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Favor | 69% |
| Against | 12 |
| Undecided | 14 |
| No opinion | 5 |

**2.** (Australia May '45) Which of these things would you like Australia to do—join with Britain and the other Dominions in a common foreign policy, or decide for herself how she will deal with foreign countries? (APOP)

| | *Join Britain and the others* | *Decide herself* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 64% | 30% | 6% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Non-Labor | 80% | 16% | 4% |
| Labor | 54 | 39 | 7 |

## Parliament

**1.** (Australia May '45) At present the Federal Parliament consists of seventy-five members in the House of Representatives and thirty-six in the Senate. Do you favor or oppose increasing those numbers? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Opposed more members | 74% |
| Favored increase | 11 |
| Undecided (mostly women) | 15 |

**2.** (Australia July '45) On the reverse side of the card are the names of some members of Parliament. If you had to choose, who would be your first and second choice for leaders of both Labor and non-Labor? Asked of a national cross-section of non-Labor voters. (APOP)

| *First choice* | | *Second choice* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Menzies | 59% | Fadden | 49% |
| Fadden | 15 | Cameron | 12 |
| Cameron | 4 | Harrison | 9 |
| Harrison | 3 | McEwen | 9 |
| McEwen | 3 | Others | 3 |
| Others | 3 | No choice | 18 |
| No choice | 13 | | |

**3.** (Australia July '46) Which of these men is your first and second* choice for leader of your party in the Federal Parliament? (APOP)

BY POLITICS

| *Labor* | | *Liberal-Country* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chifley | 55% | Menzies | 44% |
| Evatt | 31 | Casey | 34 |
| Ward | 5 | Fadden | 10 |
| Forde | 4 | Earle Page | 5 |
| Dedman | 2 | Spender | 3 |
| No answer | 3 | No answer | 4 |

* Second choice is omitted because complete figures were not available.

## Politics and Government

**1.** (Australia Oct '41) Should all parties in the Commonwealth Parliament join together in a wartime government? (APOP)

| | *Favor* | *Against* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 78% | 14% | 8% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Labor voters | 63% | 25% | 12% |
| Other voters | 92 | 4 | 4 |
| BY STATE | | | |
| New South Wales | 72% | 17% | 11% |
| Queensland | 79 | 17 | 4 |
| Victoria | 82 | 10 | 8 |
| South Australia | 86 | 7 | 7 |
| Western Australia and Tasmania | 90 | 6 | 4 |

**2.** (Australia Feb '42) Which do you prefer, the present government or an all-party government? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Prefer all-party government | 45% |
| Prefer present government | 45 |
| Undecided | 10 |

**3.** (Australia Oct '42 and Mar '43) Which do you prefer, the present government,* a non-Labor government, or an all-party government? (APOP)

| | *All-party government* | *Present government Labor government* | *Non-Labor* | *Minority groups* | *No answer, no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '43 | 51% | 35% | 7% | — | 7% |
| Oct '42 | 47 | 42 | 5 | 1% | 5 |

* The Mar '43 question was worded "the present Labor government."

**4.** (Australia Dec '42) Do you favor or oppose the states giving substantial extra powers to the Commonwealth during postwar reconstruction? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Favor | 64% |
| Against | 13 |
| Undecided | 10 |
| No answer | 13 |

**5.** (Australia Nov '43) For five years after the war the Commonwealth wants from the states power to make laws on both employment and unemployment. Do you favor or oppose the Commonwealth having both those powers? (APOP)

| | *Favor extra powers* | *Oppose them* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 62% | 27% | 11% |
| Women | 45 | 25 | 30 |

**6.** (Australia Dec '43 and Apr '44) Which of these statements is nearest to the form of government you would like us (Australia) to have? (APOP)

| | *National total Dec '43* | *Men Dec '43* | *Men Apr '44* | *Women Dec '43* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| The present federal system, with the Commonwealth having no more power than before the war | 19% | 17% | 21% | 20% |
| The present federal system, but with certain powers transferred from the states to the Commonwealth | 15 | 16 | 17 | 14 |
| The Commonwealth the only government with all powers, some of which would be delegated to provincial or state councils | 51 | 61 | 56 | 41 |
| No opinion | 15 | 6 | 6 | 25 |

**7.** (Australia Sept '44) What do you consider the main reason the Commonwealth is asking for the powers? (APOP)

BY THE VOTE ON THE REFERENDUM

| *Those who voted against* | | *Those who voted for* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Socialize industry | 30% | Avoid depressions | 37% |
| Industrial conscription | 20 | Ensure full employment | 28 |
| Avoid depressions | 9 | Abolish states | 10 |
| Ensure full employment | 6 | Control monopolies | 10 |
| Abolish states | 10 | Help returned soldiers | 10 |
| Control monopolies | 8 | Socialize industry | 5 |
| Help returned soldiers | 4 | | |
| No idea (chiefly women) | 13 | | |

**8.** (Australia Nov '44) The next question is to see if people favor the Commonwealth having some of the powers of the referendum. For instance, would you agree to the Common-

wealth having power over employment and unemployment? (APOP)

Yes 41% No 47% Don't know 12%

**9.** (Australia May–June '46) During the next few years, would you like the policy of the federal government to swing to the right or to the left—that is, be more conservative or more socialistic? (APOP)

| | *Favor left* | *Favor right* | *Favor middle* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 28% | 30% | 15% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Labor | 43% | 14% | 28% | 15% |
| Liberal-Country | 12 | 49 | 29 | 10 |

# AUSTRIA

## Politics and Government

**1.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The German public was asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: Austria is an independent agricultural unit and should therefore be an independent country. (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| American zone and Berlin | 69% | 21% | 10% |
| Berlin only | 78 | 19 | 3 |

# AUTHORS

**1.** (US July 12 '37 and June 12 '46) Do you have a favorite author? Those who said they had a favorite author were asked: Who is it? (AIPO)

| | *July 12 '37* | *June 12 '46* |
|---|---|---|
| Don't have a favorite author | 69% | 69% |
| Zane Gray | 4 | 1 |
| Kathleen Norris | 2 | 1 |
| Charles Dickens | 1 | — |
| Shakespeare | 1 | 2 |
| Harold Bell Wright | 1 | — |
| Sinclair Lewis | 1 | 1 |
| L. Douglas | 1 | 1 |
| Longfellow | 1 | 1 |
| Gene Stratton Porter | 1 | — |
| Mark Twain | 1 | — |
| Somerset Maugham | — | 1 |
| James Whitcomb Riley | — | 1 |
| Pearl Buck | — | 1 |
| A. J. Cronin | — | 1 |
| Others, miscellaneous | 17 | 20 |

**2.** (Great Britain July 12 '43) Is any writer, dead or alive, influencing your views today? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| J. B. Priestley | 2% |
| The Bible | 2 |
| Marx and Lenin | 2 |
| Shaw | 1 |
| Wells | 1 |
| Swaffer | 1 |
| Miscellaneous authors, dead | 4 |
| Miscellaneous journalists | 3% |
| Miscellaneous authors, living not specifically listed | 2 |
| Living statesmen | 1 |
| Miscellaneous living religious writers | 1 |
| Do not read any books; read newspapers only | 5 |
| "I think for myself" | 2 |
| Dickens, Joad, Vernon, Bartlett, Burns, Sir Philip Gibbs (less than 1% each, not included above) | 3 |
| None, or no name given | 70 |

# AUTOMOBILE DRIVERS

**1.** (US Jan 25 '37) Do you favor jail sentence for drunken drivers? (AIPO)

Yes 88% No 12% = 100% No opinion 5%

**2.** (US May 3 '37) Connecticut just passed a law requiring the suspension of license and jail sentence for drunken drivers. Would you favor such a law in this state? (AIPO)

Yes 90% No 10% = 100% No opinion 4%

**3.** (US May 17 '37) Should every automobile driver be required to take a physical examination each year? (AIPO)

Yes 64% No 29% No opinion 7%

**4.** (Great Britain Oct '38) Do you consider that motorists charged with driving offences are treated severely enough by the courts? (BIPO)

Too severe 16% About right 46% Not enough 38%

**5.** (US June 16 '39 and Mar 27 '46) Would you rather ride in a car driven by a man or a woman? (AIPO)

| | *Rather drive with a man* | *Rather drive with a woman* | *No difference* | *Qualified* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| June '39 | 60% | 8% | 32% | — | — |
| Mar '46 | 56 | 10 | 17 | 1% | 16% |
| JUNE '39 RESULTS BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 72% | 4% | 24% | — | — |
| Women | 48 | 12 | 40 | — | — |

**6.** (Canada Dec 19 '45) In general, do you think women make better drivers than men, as good, or worse drivers? (CIPO)

| | *Better drivers* | *As good* | *Worse* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 4% | 35% | 54% | 7% |
| Women | 14 | 49 | 28 | 9 |

**7.** (Sweden Mar '46) Which of the following do you think behave best in traffic—bus drivers, taxi drivers, truck drivers, pedestrians, horse drivers, private-car drivers, or cyclists? (SGI)

| | *Nat. total* | *Motorists* | *Cyclists* | *Motorcyclists* | *Pedestrians* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bus drivers | 30% | 37% | 30% | 36% | 23% |
| Taxi drivers | 26 | 38 | 24 | 34 | 22 |
| Truck drivers | 6 | 12 | 5 | 13 | 4 |
| Pedestrians | 5 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 5 |
| Horse drivers | 4 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| Private-car drivers | 3 | 5 | 2 | — | 4 |
| Cyclists | 1 | — | 2 | — | 2 |
| No great difference | 23 | 17 | 25 | 18 | 25 |
| Don't know | 11 | 1 | 11 | 4 | 18 |
| | 109%* | 115%* | 106%* | 111%* | 106%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## AUTOMOBILES

**1.** (US July '35) When do you expect to replace your present car? When you replace your present car, do you plan to buy new or secondhand? Both questions were asked of a national cross-section of car owners. (FOR)

| *Expect to replace car* | | *Plan to buy* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| This year | 6.5% | New | 53.8% |
| Next year | 10.4 | Secondhand | 10.0 |
| Don't know | 83.1 | Don't know | 36.2 |

**2.** (US July '35; Oct '35; Jan '36; Apr '36; Apr '37; Apr '38) When you replace your present car, what make of car do you plan to buy? (FOR)

| | *July '35* | *Oct '35* | *Jan '36* | *Apr '36* | *Apr '37* | *Apr '38* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ford | 34.5% | 31.4% | 29.2% | 30.2% | 22.3% | 23.9% |
| Chevrolet | 25.1 | 24.0 | 24.7 | 24.8 | 28.4 | 25.6 |
| Plymouth | 12.6 | 11.7 | 12.8 | 14.0 | 12.0 | 11.8 |
| Buick | 5.0 | 6.5 | 7.0 | 5.8 | 8.3 | 9.5 |
| Dodge | 5.5 | 5.8 | 6.3 | 6.3 | 7.3 | 6.0 |
| Pontiac | 4.0 | 4.1 | 4.5 | 3.2 | 4.9 | 4.8 |
| Oldsmobile | 2.4 | 3.9 | 3.8 | 4.1 | 4.5 | 4.6 |
| Studebaker | 2.4 | 2.2 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.9 | 2.3 |
| Chrysler | 2.1 | 2.1 | 2.0 | 2.3 | 2.3 | 1.9 |
| Packard | — | — | — | — | 2.4 | 2.7 |
| All others | 6.4 | 8.3 | 8.1 | 7.7 | 5.7 | 6.9 |
| | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| Undecided | 48.6% | 39.4% | 32.2% | 34.2% | 25.1% | — |

In July '35 car owners were also asked: What make do you own? And: Of the cars priced under $1,000, which do you think has the best general appearance? 48.6% of the sample did not know what make they will buy next, and 26.5% had no opinion about which had the best appearance. Analysis of the results of these two questions in comparison with the July '35 results on the preceding question follows:

| | *All owners now own* | *Expect to buy* | *Best appearance* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ford | 27.9% | 34.5% | 21.4% |
| Chevrolet | 21.9 | 25.1 | 18.7 |
| Plymouth | 6.6 | 12.6 | 16.4 |
| Buick | 6.6 | 5.0 | * |
| Dodge | 5.3 | 5.5 | 9.0 |
| Pontiac | 3.9 | 4.0 | 12.8 |
| Studebaker | 3.6 | 2.4 | 3.0 |
| Chrysler | 2.9% | 2.1% | *% |
| Oldsmobile | 1.8 | 2.4 | 13.0 |
| Other | 19.5 | 6.4 | 5.7 |

* Negligible.

BY INTENTIONS OF OWNERS OF THE THREE LEADING MAKES

| | *Will buy same make* | *Will buy other make* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chevrolet owners | 44.2% | 10.2% | 45.6% |
| Ford owners | 47.6 | 13.0 | 39.4 |
| Plymouth owners | 49.2 | 13.3 | 37.5 |

**3.** (US July '35) Do you regard an automobile as a luxury or a necessity? (FOR)

BY SEX

| | *Luxury* | *Necessity* | *Both* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 17.2% | 75.5% | 7.3% |
| Women | 15.6 | 80.6 | 3.8 |

**4.** (US July '35) Suppose a car with the following specifications were for sale—full size, carrying four passengers, no accessories or fittings except those required for safety, top speed of fifty miles per hour, thirty miles to a gallon of gasoline, priced at $300—would you buy such a car instead of any car you could now get? (FOR)

Yes 49.8% No 40.7% Don't know 9.5%

**5.** (US Jan '37) Would you like to own a trailer and spend a part of the year traveling in it? (FOR)

Yes 49.3% No 46.3% Don't know 4.4%

How much do you think a good trailer, with comfortable accommodations and facilities, should cost (not including the car)? Asked of 49.3% of the sample who said they would like to own a trailer.

| | |
|---|---|
| $200 and under | 8.0% |
| $200 to $400 | 21.9 |
| $400 to $600 | 26.8 |
| $600 to $800 | 11.8 |
| Over $800 | 12.3 |
| Don't know | 19.2 |
| | 100.0% of those who would like to own a trailer. |

**6.** (US Feb 26 '38) About how many miles did you go in your car last year? Asked of a national cross-section of car owners. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Below 1,000 miles | 1% |
| 1,000 miles to 5,000 miles | 31 |
| 5,000 miles to 10,000 miles | 26 |
| 10,000 miles to 15,000 miles | 15 |
| 15,000 miles to 20,000 miles | 9 |
| 20,000 miles to 30,000 miles | 6 |
| 30,000 miles and over | 2 |
| No answer | 10 |

Median 9,000 miles

**7.** (US Feb 26 '38) What was the longest auto trip you made last year? Asked of a national cross-section of car owners. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 250 miles | 20% |
| 250 to 1,000 miles | 45 |
| Over 1,000 miles | 22 |
| No answer | 13 |

Median 500 miles

**8.** (US Jan 6 '42) Do you own a car (or truck)? (AIPO)

Yes, car or truck 58% No 42%

**9.** (US Jan 6 '42) If the government passes regulations which make it impossible for you to use your car, would this make any great difference to you? Asked of a national cross-section of car owners. (AIPO)

Yes 46% No 54%

**10.** (US Jan 6 '42) How [would the government regulation making it impossible to use your car make a difference to you]? Asked of 46% of a sample of car owners who thought the government regulation would make a difference. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 1% |
| Yes, needed for transportation | 11 |
| Yes, needed for business | 28 |
| No other means of transportation | 6 |
| | 46% |

**11.** (US Jan 6 '42) About how many miles does your car go a month? Asked of a national cross-section of car owners. (AIPO)

Median ..... 750 miles

**12.** (US Jan 6 '42) Have you made plans to cut down on the number of miles you drive your car? Asked of a national cross-section of car owners. (AIPO)

Yes 53% No 46% Not using car 1%

**13.** (US Jan 16 '42) How much do you plan to cut down on your car mileage? Asked of 53% of a sample of car owners who plan to cut down on the number of miles they drive their cars. (AIPO)

Median ..... 45% reduction

**14.** (US Feb 10 '42 and Canada Mar 18 '42) Have you cut down on your car mileage from what you would normally drive at this time of the year? Asked of a national cross-section of car owners. (AIPO and CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| United States | 73% | 27% |
| Canada | 68 | 32 |

**15.** (US Feb 10 '42) About how much [have you cut down on your car mileage]? Asked of a national cross-section of car owners who have cut down—73% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Median ... Approximately 25% to 30%

**16.** (US Feb 10 '42) Have you cut down on the speed of your driving? Asked of a national cross-secrion of car owners. (AIPO)

Yes 63% No 37%

**17.** (US Sept 16 '42) Do you have an automobile in your family which is still being used? (NORC)

Yes 70% No 30%

**18.** (US Sept 16 '42) Do you or your family use it [your car] to get to work or in your business? Asked of a national cross-section of car owners whose cars were still in use. (NORC)

Yes 77% No 23%

**19.** (US Sept 16 '42) Are you a member of a car pool—that is, do you take turns driving your friends or neighbors to work, or shopping, or any other places? Asked of a national cross-section of car owners whose cars were still in use. (NORC)

Yes 26% No 74%

**20.** (US Sept 16 '42) If the government said you would have to stop driving your car while the war lasts, would it be a real hardship on you or your family? Asked of a national cross-section of car owners whose cars are still in use. (NORC)

Yes 38% No 62% Don't know*

* Less than 0.5%.

**21.** (US Sept 29 '42) Would you be willing to take the bumpers off your car and give them to the scrap metal drive? Asked of a national cross-section of car owners. 55% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Yes 56% No 38% No opinion 6%

**22.** (US Dec 11 '42) Do you have an automobile in your immediate family? Those who had cars were asked: Is it still being used? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't own a car* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Old-rationed areas | 52% | 8% | 40% |
| New-rationed areas | 74 | 3 | 23 |

**23.** (US Dec 11 '42) Why aren't you using your car now? Asked of those who were no longer using their cars—8% of the sample in the old-rationed areas and 3% of the sample in the new-rationed areas are represented. (NORC)

| | *Old-rationed areas* | *New-rationed areas* |
|---|---|---|
| Gasoline shortage | 3% | *% |
| Rubber shortage | 2 | 1 |
| No necessity | 2 | * |
| Expense | 1 | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | * | — |
| | 9%** | 3% |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 8 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**24.** (US Dec 11 '42) Does the rationing of gasoline mean a real inconvenience to you? Asked of those who were still using their cars—52% of the sample in the old-rationed areas and 74% of the sample in the new-rationed areas are represented. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Old-rationed areas | 22% | 29% | 1% = 52% |
| New-rationed areas | 22 | 51 | 1 = 74 |

**25.** (US Dec 11 '42) Do you, or does anyone in your family, have to use your car for necessary driving? Asked of those who were still using their cars—52% of the sample in the old-rationed areas and 74% of the sample in the new-rationed areas are represented. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Old-rationed areas | 44% | 8% = 52% |
| New-rationed areas | 59 | 15 = 74 |

**26.** (US Dec 11 '42) What sort of necessary driving? Asked of those who had to use their cars for necessary driving—44% of the sample in the old-rationed areas and 59% of the sample in the new-rationed areas are represented. (NORC)

| | *Old-rationed areas* | *New-rationed areas* |
|---|---|---|
| Transportation to and from work | 15% | 21% |
| Transportation during business hours | 22 | 29 |
| Shopping | 6 | 10 |
| Health; invalids | 2 | 3 |

| | *Old-rationed areas* | *New-rationed areas* |
|---|---|---|
| Taking children to school | 1% | 3% |
| Visiting | 2 | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 | 3 |
| Not ascertainable | — | * |
| | 50%** | 70%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 44 and 59 respectively because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**27.** (US Dec 11 '42) Would there be any other way (he, she, they) could get around, or do you have to use your car? Asked of the 44% in the old-rationed areas and the 59% in the new-rationed areas who had to use their cars for necessary driving. (NORC)

| | *Other way* | *No other way* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Old-rationed areas | 9% | 34% | 1% = 44% |
| New-rationed areas | 9 | 49 | 1 = 59 |

**28.** (US Dec 11 '42) Does your ration card allow you to get all the gasoline you need for necessary driving? Asked of 52% of the sample in the old-rationed areas and 74% of the sample in the new-rationed areas who were still using their cars. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Old-rationed areas | 33% | 18% | 1% = 52% |
| New-rationed areas | 48 | 22 | 4 = 74 |

**29.** (US Dec 11 '42) About how much longer do you think your tires will last? Asked of 52% of the sample in the old-rationed areas and 74% of the sample in the new-rationed areas who were still using their cars. (NORC)

| | *Old-rationed areas* | *New-rationed areas* |
|---|---|---|
| 7 mos. or less | 33% | 20% |
| 8 mos.–1 year | 25 | 34 |
| 13 mos.–2 years | 27 | 31 |
| Over 2 years | 4 | 11 |
| Not ascertainable | 11 | 4 |
| | 100%* | 100%* |

* 100% of those who had an automobile in their family that was still being used.

**30.** (US July 23 '43) Do you think the ban on pleasure driving is necessary, or should it be lifted? Asked only in areas where pleasure driving was banned—28% of a national sample is represented. (NORC)

Necessary 11% Should be lifted 15% Don't know 2% = 28%

**31.** (US July 23 '43) Why [do you think the ban is necessary]? Asked of 11% of the sample who thought the ban on pleasure driving in their area is necessary. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| To conserve gasoline for the war, for armed forces, for war work | 5% |
| To save rubber tires | 1 |
| People should not go pleasure driving | 1 |
| There is a shortage of gasoline | 1 |
| People would take advantage of the situation if there were no ban | 1 |
| Specific statement that ban should be enforced | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 11% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**32.** (US July 23 '43) Why [do you think the ban should be lifted]? Asked of 15% of the sample who thought the ban on pleasure driving in their area should be lifted. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should be allowed to use allotment as he sees fit | 7% |
| Need recreation because of hard work—helps morale | 4 |
| Ban is not enforced anyway | 1 |
| Ban is not necessary—no shortage exists | 1 |
| Ban should be modified | 1 |
| Should be equality of sacrifice | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | * |
| | 16%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 15 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**33.** (US July 23 '43) Do you think there ought to be a ban on pleasure driving around here? Asked only in areas where there was no ban on pleasure driving—72% of the sample is represented. (NORC)

Yes 24% No 44% Don't know 4% = 72%

**34.** (US July 23 '43) Do you have an automobile in your immediate family? Those who had cars were asked: Is it still being used? (NORC)

Yes 65% No 4% Don't own a car 31%

**35.** (US July 23 '43) Why aren't you using your car now? Asked of 4% of the sample who had an automobile in their immediate family which was not being used. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Because of gasoline shortage | 1% |
| Because of rubber shortage | 1 |
| Because of no necessity | 1 |
| Driver of car no longer here | * |
| Pleasure driving ban | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 5%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 4 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**36.** (US July 23 '43) Do you, or does anyone in your family, have to use your car for necessary driving? Asked of 65% of the sample who had an automobile in their immediate family which was still being used. (NORC)

Yes 57% No 8% = 65%

**37.** (US July 23 '43) What sort of necessary driving [do you have to use your car for]? Asked of 57% of the sample who had to use their car for necessary driving. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Transportation during business day | 31% |
| Transportation to and from work | 20 |
| Shopping | 14 |
| Health; invalids; etc. | 4 |
| Civilian defense work | 1 |
| Visiting | 1 |
| Taking children to school | * |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Not ascertainable | * |
| | 74%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 57 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**38.** (US July 23 '43) Does your ration card allow you to get all the gasoline you need for necessary driving? Asked of 57% of the sample who had to use their car for necessary driving. (NORC)

Yes 41% No 15% Don't know 1% = 57%

**39.** (US July 23 '43) How many gallons [of gasoline] a week would you need for necessary driving? Asked of 15% of the sample whose ration cards did not allow them all the gasoline they needed for necessary driving. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| 4 gallons | 1% |
| 5 to 9 gallons | 6 |
| 10 to 14 gallons | 2 |
| 15 to 19 gallons | 1 |
| 20 to 24 gallons | 1 |
| 25 to 34 gallons | 1 |
| 35 and over | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 2 |
| | 15% |

**40.** (US July 23 '43) Have you had any trouble getting parts for your car? Asked of 65% of the sample who had an automobile in their immediate family which was still being used. (NORC)

Yes 9% No 53% Don't know 3% = 65%

**41.** (US July 23 '43) Did you finally get them [the parts for your car]? Asked of 9% of the sample who have had trouble getting parts for their car. (NORC)

Yes 4% No 4% No answer 1% = 9%

**42.** (US July 23 '43) Have you had any trouble with garage service in general? Asked of 65% of the sample who had an automobile in their immediate family which was still being used. (NORC)

Yes 12% No 50% Don't know 3% = 65%

**43.** (US July 23 '43) What [garage service trouble have you had]? Asked of 12% of the sample who have had trouble with garage service. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Slow service | 6% |
| Poor workmanship | 3 |
| Inability to get work done | 3 |
| | 12% |

**44.** (US July 23 '43) Do you think your car has been hurt any because it hasn't been driven so much? Asked of 65% of the sample who had an automobile in their immediate family which was still being used. (NORC)

Yes 8% No 55% Don't know 2% = 65%

**45.** (US July 23 '43) How [has your car been hurt]? Asked of 8% of the sample who thought their car had been hurt because it hadn't been driven much. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Battery trouble | 5% |
| Cars deteriorate faster when not in use | 1 |
| Tires deteriorate | 1 |
| Carbon collects in engine | 1 |
| | 8% |

**46.** (US Dec 18 '43) Do you have an automobile in your immediate family? Those who had cars were asked: Is it still being used? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't own a car* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Old-rationed areas | 60% | 6% | 34% |
| New-rationed areas | 65 | 3 | 32 |

**47.** (US Dec 18 '43) Why aren't you using your car now? Asked of those who were no longer using their cars—3% of the sample in the newly rationed areas and 6% of the old-rationed areas are represented. (NORC)

| | *Old-rationed areas* | *New-rationed areas* |
|---|---|---|
| Because of rubber shortage | 1% | 1% |
| Because of expense | * | 1 |
| Because of gasoline shortage | 2 | * |
| Because of no necessity | 1 | * |
| Driver of car no longer here | 1 | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 | * |
| | 7%** | 3% |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 6 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**48.** (US Dec 18 '43) Do you, or does anyone in your family, use your car for necessary driving? Asked of those who were still using their cars—65% of the sample in the newly rationed areas and 60% in the old-rationed areas are represented. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Old-rationed areas | 56% | 4% | = 60% |
| New-rationed areas | 59 | 6 | = 65 |

**49.** (US Dec 18 '43) Do your ration coupons allow you to get all the gasoline you need for necessary driving? Asked of 59% of the sample in the new-rationed areas and 56% in the old-rationed areas who used their cars for necessary driving. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Old-rationed areas | 33% | 22% | 1% | = 56% |
| New-rationed areas | 41 | 18 | * | = 59 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**50.** (US Dec 18 '43) Is your car being used regularly in a car-pool arrangement? Asked of 59% of the sample in the newly rationed areas and 56% in the old-rationed areas who used their cars for necessary driving. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Old-rationed areas | 9% | 47% | = 56% |
| New-rationed areas | 8 | 51 | = 59 |

**51.** (US Dec 18 '43) How many people are there in the car-pool? Asked of the car-pool members—8% of the sample in the new-rationed areas and 9% in the old-rationed areas are represented. (NORC)

| | *Old-rationed areas* | *New-rationed areas* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 people | 2% | 1% |
| 3 people | 2 | 2 |
| 4 people | 2 | 2 |
| 5 or more | 2 | 2 |
| Don't know | 1 | 1 |
| | 9% | 8% |

**52.** (US Dec 18 '43) Do all these people ride in the car pretty regularly when it's used in the pool? Asked of the car-pool members—8% of the sample in the new-rationed areas and 9% in the old-rationed areas are represented. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Old-rationed areas | 7% | * | 2% | = 9% |
| New-rationed areas | 8 | * | * | = 8 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**53.** (US Apr 28 '44) Do you have an automobile in your immediate family? Those who had cars were asked: Is it still being used? (NORC)

Yes 61% No 3% Don't own a car 36%

**54.** (US Apr 28 '44) Is your car being used regularly in a car-pool arrangement? Asked of a national cross-section of car owners whose cars were still in use. (NORC)

Yes 16% No 84%

**55.** (US Apr 28 '44) Why [is your car] not [being used in a car-pool]? Asked of 84% of a sample of car owners whose cars were still in use but not in a car-pool. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Nature of work won't permit; hours; type of work; etc. | 28% |
| No one near who goes to the same place at the same time | 19 |
| Car is not used for essential driving | 17 |
| Car-pool is not necessary | 5 |
| Car-pool won't work; is not practical | 3 |
| Car used irregularly for work | 2 |
| Rides with someone else | 2 |
| Objection to car-pooling; inconvenient | 2 |
| Not in war work or essential work | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Don't know | 6 |
| | 87%* |

* Percentages add to more than 84 because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

**56.** (US Mar 22 '45) Do you expect the automobiles that are put out about a year after the war is over will be quite different from the 1942 models or about the same? (NYHT) (Canada Aug 3 '45) Do you think the cars manufactured in the next few years will be very different from what they were before the war, or do you think they will be about the same? (CIPO)

| | *Different* | *About the same* | *Undecided or uncertain* |
|---|---|---|---|
| United States | 41.3% | 52.7% | 6.0% |
| Canada | 42.0 | 44.0 | 14.0 |

## Accidents

**1.** (US Dec 28 '35) As a means of reducing the number and severity of automobile accidents, would you favor any of these measures: strict driver's tests, including regular physical and mental examination; installation of "governors" in cars preventing speeds greater than fifty miles per hour; more severe penalties for violations of traffic laws; special marking of cars whose drivers have been at fault in accidents; compulsory automobile liability insurance in every state; uniform traffic laws and regulations for all states? (Mar 2 '39) To reduce automobile accidents, would you favor any of the following measures: installing "speed governors" on motors so that cars could not go faster than fifty miles an hour; jail sentences for drunken drivers; strict laws against pedestrians crossing streets in the middle of the block or against traffic lights; uniform traffic laws for all states? A separate cross-section was asked about: compulsory automobile liability insurance in every state; take driver's licenses away from drunken drivers; more severe punishment for violation of traffic laws; strict drivers' tests including regular physical and mental examination; special marking for cars whose drivers have been at fault in accidents. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| OPINIONS ON SPEED GOVERNORS | | |
| *National total* | | |
| Dec '35 | 68% | 32% |
| Mar '39 | 67 | 33 |
| *Car owners* | | |
| Dec '35 | 70% | 30% |
| Mar '39 | 61 | 39 |
| OPINIONS ON SPEED GOVERNORS IN DEC '35 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 69% | 31% |
| Middle Atlantic | 66 | 34 |
| East central | 61 | 39 |
| West central | 71 | 29 |
| South | 72 | 28 |
| Mountain | 66 | 34 |
| Pacific coast | 58 | 42 |
| OPINIONS ON UNIFORM TRAFFIC LAWS | | |
| *National total* | | |
| Dec '35 | 95% | 5% |
| Mar '39 | 92 | 8 |
| *Car owners* | | |
| Dec '35 | 95 | 5 |
| OPINIONS ON UNIFORM TRAFFIC LAWS IN DEC '35 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 94% | 6% |
| Middle Atlantic | 95 | 5 |
| East central | 94 | 6 |
| West central | 94 | 6 |
| South | 95 | 5 |
| Mountain | 98 | 2 |
| Pacific coast | 93 | 7 |
| OPINIONS ON COMPULSORY AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE | | |
| *National total* | | |
| Dec '35 | 73% | 27% |
| Mar '39 | 76 | 24 |
| *Car owners* | | |
| Dec '35 | 71 | 29 |
| Mar '39 | 72 | 28 |
| OPINIONS ON AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE IN DEC '35 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 73% | 27% |
| Middle Atlantic | 73 | 27 |
| East central | 79 | 21 |
| West central | 68 | 32 |
| South | 73 | 27 |
| Mountain | 61 | 39 |
| Pacific coast | 76 | 24 |
| OPINIONS ON SEVERE PENALTIES | | |
| *National total* | | |
| Dec '35 | 82% | 18% |
| Mar '39 | 69 | 31 |
| *Car owners* | | |
| Dec '35 | 86 | 14 |
| OPINIONS ON SEVERE PENALTIES IN DEC '35 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 78% | 22% |
| Middle Atlantic | 73 | 27 |
| East central | 80 | 20 |
| West central | 82 | 18 |
| South | 89 | 11 |
| Mountain | 86 | 14 |
| Pacific coast | 83 | 17 |
| OPINIONS ON STRICT DRIVERS' TESTS | | |
| *National total* | | |
| Dec '35 | 86% | 14% |
| Mar '39 | 87 | 13 |
| *Car owners* | | |
| Dec '35 | 84 | 16 |
| Mar '39 | 86 | 14 |

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| OPINIONS ON STRICT DRIVERS' TESTS IN DEC '35 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 87% | 13% |
| Middle Atlantic | 86 | 14 |
| East central | 85 | 15 |
| West central | 84 | 16 |
| South | 89 | 11 |
| Mountain | 83 | 17 |
| Pacific coast | 86 | 14 |
| OPINIONS ON SPECIAL MARKINGS | | |
| *National total* | | |
| Dec '35 | 70% | 30% |
| Mar '39 | 50 | 50 |
| *Car owners* | | |
| Dec '35 | 77 | 23 |
| OPINIONS ON SPECIAL MARKINGS IN DEC '35 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 61% | 39% |
| Middle Atlantic | 61 | 39 |
| East central | 65 | 35 |
| West central | 72 | 28 |
| South | 78 | 22 |
| Mountain | 73 | 27 |
| Pacific coast | 67 | 33 |
| OPINIONS ON JAIL SENTENCES IN MAR '39 | | |
| National total | 90% | 10% |
| OPINIONS ON STRICT LAWS AGAINST PEDESTRIANS IN MAR '39 | | |
| National total | 89% | 11% |
| Car owners | 90 | 10 |
| OPINIONS ON LICENSES TAKEN AWAY FROM DRUNKEN DRIVERS IN MAR '39 | | |
| National total | 95% | 5% |
| Car owners | 95 | 5 |

**2.** (US Jan 25 '37) What do you consider the biggest cause of automobile accidents? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Carelessness | 29% |
| Drunken driving | 24 |
| Speeding | 19 |
| Reckless driving | 9 |
| Inexperienced drivers | 4 |
| Violations of traffic laws | 1 |
| Old cars | 1 |
| Young drivers | 1 |
| Poor roads | 1 |
| Lax driving laws | 1 |
| All others | 6 |
| No opinion | 4 |

**3.** (Great Britain May '39) What one thing do you think would help most to reduce road accidents? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Greater caution; common sense | 28% |
| Lower speed limit | 8 |
| Wider roads; more by-passes | 8 |
| Cyclists' tracks; rear lights; taxing cyclists | 6 |
| Strictet driving tests | 5 |
| Heavier penalties | 5 |
| Reduce number of cars | 5 |
| Taxing high-powered cars | 4 |
| Separate roads for fast traffic | 4 |
| Crossings | 3 |
| More police | 3 |
| Increase one-way traffic | 2% |
| Bridges; subways | 2 |
| Better road lighting | 1 |
| Better brakes | 1 |
| No parking in busy streets | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| No opinion | 10 |

**4.** (US June 16 '39) Have you ever had an accident while you were driving? Asked of a national cross-section of car drivers. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 40% | 60% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 44% | 56% |
| Women | 32 | 68 |

## Laws and Regulations

**1.** (US Apr '36) As a safety measure, would you be in favor of having the speed of automobiles mechanically limited to fifty miles an hour? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 70.3% | 23.9% | 5.8% |
| Car owners | 69.1 | 27.0 | 3.9 |
| Non-car owners | 72.0 | 19.3 | 8.7 |

**2.** (US Feb 14 '38) Do you ever give rides to hitch-hikers? Asked of a national cross-section of car drivers. (AIPO)

Yes 43% No 57%

**3.** (US Feb 14 '38) Do you think strict laws should be enforced against hitch-hikers? Asked of a national cross-section of car drivers. (AIPO)

Yes 54% No 46% = 100% No opinion 12%

**4.** (US Dec 16 '38) Should motorists be required to have their headlights and brakes inspected every few months by a state inspection service? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 90% | 10% |
| By car owners | 88 | 12 |

**5.** (US June 16 '39) What is a safe speed for driving on a normal stretch of good straight road outside of town and without crossroads? (AIPO)

| | *Median* |
|---|---|
| National total | 50 miles per hour |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | |
| New England | 50 miles per hour |
| Middle Atlantic | 50 miles per hour |
| East central | 50 miles per hour |
| West central | 45 miles per hour |
| South | 45 miles per hour |
| West | 50 miles per hour |

**6.** (US June 16 '39) What is the fastest speed that you have ever driven an automobile? Asked of a national cross-section of car drivers. (AIPO)

| | *Median* |
|---|---|
| National total | 70 miles per hour |
| BY SEX | |
| Men | 75 miles per hour |
| Women | 65 miles per hour |

**7.** (US Sept 16 '42) Do you think there should be a law preventing people from driving faster than thirty-five miles per hour as long as the war lasts? (NORC)

Yes 83% No 13% Don't know 4%

**8.** (US Nov 8 '42) Do you approve or disapprove of a thirty-five-mile speed limit on the highways now? (NORC)

Approve 93% Disapprove 6% Don't know 1%

**9.** (US Nov 8 '42 and Dec 11 '42) As you know, there is supposed to be a thirty-five-mile speed limit all over the country. Do you think practically everyone will obey this, or do you think a lot of drivers will go faster? (NORC)

| | *Yes, will obey* | *No, will go faster* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total Nov '42 | 47% | 50% | 3% |
| Old-rationed areas Dec '42 | 38 | 58 | 4 |
| New-rationed areas Dec '42 | 57 | 42 | 1 |

**10.** (US Nov 19 '42) As you know, there is supposed to be a thirty-five-mile speed limit throughout the nation. Do you think this thirty-five-mile speed limit will do enough to save tires without rationing gasoline all over the country? (NORC)

Yes 43% No 44% Don't know 13%

**11.** (Sweden Apr '44) Do you think it desirable to change from left-hand to right-hand traffic in Sweden? (SGI)

| | *Desirable* | *Undesirable* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 25% | 52% | 23% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Country | 21% | 55% | 24% |
| Towns | 30 | 47 | 23 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| North Sweden | 21% | 48% | 31% |
| Dalecarlia | 18 | 53 | 29 |
| Mälar district | 31 | 48 | 21 |
| Stockholm | 33 | 47 | 20 |
| East Gotland | 18 | 64 | 18 |
| Skåne | 22 | 56 | 22 |
| West Gotland | 31 | 41 | 28 |

**12.** (Sweden Apr '44) Why [do you think it desirable or undesirable to change to right-hand traffic in Sweden]? Asked of 25% of the sample who thought it desirable and 52% of the sample who thought it undesirable. (SGI)

OPINIONS OF THOSE WHO WANTED TO CHANGE

| | |
|---|---|
| For the sake of international unity; we should not differ from the rest of Europe | 20% |
| Other reasons | 5 |
| | 25% |

OPINIONS OF THOSE WHO DIDN'T WANT TO CHANGE

| | *National total* | *Country* | *Town* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Unnecessary; just extra trouble | 24% | 27% | 20% |
| Risk of accidents | 18 | 20 | 16 |
| Too expensive | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Other reasons | 5 | 3 | 6 |
| | 52% | 55% | 47% |

**13.** (US Sept 19 '45) What do you think should be the automobile speed limit, if any, in this state now? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 15 miles and under | 1% |
| 20 miles per hour | 1 |
| 25 miles per hour | 2 |
| 30 miles per hour | 3 |
| 35 miles per hour | 19 |
| 40 miles per hour | 18 |
| 45 miles per hour | 14 |
| 50 miles per hour | 25 |
| 55 miles per hour | 2% |
| 60 miles per hour | 7 |
| 65 miles per hour | 1 |
| 70 miles per hour | 1 |
| Don't know | 6 |

Median..... 45 miles per hour

**14.** (US Sept 19 '45) During the war the automobile speed limit was reduced to thirty-five miles an hour. Do you think this limit should be kept, or should it be returned to what it was before the war? (AIPO)

Kept 49% Returned 43% No opinion 8%

**15.** (Canada Dec 19 '45) What do you think should be the speed limit, if any, on open highways? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 35 miles per hour | 13% |
| 40 miles per hour | 29 |
| 45 miles per hour | 8 |
| 50 miles per hour | 25 |
| Over 50 miles per hour | 9 |
| No limit | 8 |
| No opinion | 8 |

**16.** (Great Britain Feb 16 '46) Would you approve or disapprove of a speed limit on open roads? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 59% | 33% | 8% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 56% | 40% | 4% |
| Women | 62 | 26 | 12 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 48% | 44% | 8% |
| 30–49 years | 57 | 36 | 7 |
| 50 years and over | 65 | 25 | 10 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 56% | 43% | 1% |
| Middle | 54 | 43 | 3 |
| Lower | 61 | 28 | 11 |
| BY CAR DRIVERS AND NON-DRIVERS | | | |
| Drivers | 47% | 52% | 1% |
| Non-drivers | 65 | 23 | 12 |

**17.** (Great Britain Feb 16 '46) What [speed limit would you approve of]? Asked of 59% of the total sample who approved of a speed limit. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 30 miles per hour | 3% |
| 30 miles per hour | 11 |
| 35 miles per hour | 5 |
| 40 miles per hour | 14 |
| 45 miles per hour | 5 |
| 50 miles per hour | 8 |
| 55 miles per hour | 1 |
| 60 miles per hour | 4 |
| Over 60 miles per hour | 1 |
| No answer | 7 |
| | 59% |

**18.** (Sweden Mar '46) In peacetime, buses and trucks are not allowed to exceed a speed of fifty kilometers per hour, while there is no such limit for private cars. Do you think this has made the road less safe and that there should be a speed limit for private cars also, or do you consider the present rules satisfactory? (SGI)

| | *Speed limit for private cars desirable* | *Not necessary* | *Not desirable* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 62% | 23% | 8% | 7% |
| BY METHOD OF TRANSPORTATION | | | | |
| Motorists | 45% | 36% | 18% | 1% |
| Cyclists | 67 | 21 | 5 | 7 |
| Motorcyclists | 39 | 44 | 16 | 1 |
| Pedestrians | 70 | 12 | 5 | 13 |

## BASEBALL

**1.** (US Oct 4 '37) Do you follow big-league baseball? The 41% who said they were fans were asked: In your opinion, who was the most valuable player in the big leagues this year? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't follow the game | 59% |
| Joe DiMaggio | 9 |
| Lou Gehrig | 6 |
| Carl Hubbell | 5 |
| Joe Medwick | 3 |
| Vernon Gomez | 2 |
| Charles Gehringer | 2 |
| Charles Hartnett | 1 |
| All others | 4 |
| Didn't name anyone | 9 |

**2.** (US Apr 13 '38) Do you follow big-league baseball? The 45% who said they were fans were asked: Which team do you think will win in the American League? Which team do you think will win in the National League? (AIPO)

| *American League* | | *National League* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Don't follow the game | 55% | Don't follow the game | 55% |
| New York Yankees | 28 | St. Louis Cardinals | 13 |
| Detroit Tigers | 1 | Pittsburgh Pirates | 13 |
| Cleveland Indians | * | Chicago Cubs | 5 |
| Chicago White Sox | 1 | Brooklyn Dodgers | 1 |
| Boston Red Sox | * | Philadelphia Phillies | 1 |
| St. Louis Browns | * | New York Giants | * |
| Philadelphia Athletics | 1 | Boston Bees | * |
| No opinion | 14 | No opinion | 12 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**3.** (US Oct 17 '38) Do you happen to follow big-league baseball? The 41% of the sample who said they were fans were asked: Has the fact that the Yankees have won the world series three years straight lessened your interest in big-league baseball? (AIPO)

Yes 9% No 32% Don't follow the game 59%

**4.** (US May 6 '41) Do you think big-league baseball players should be exempted from the draft until the present season is over? (AIPO)

Yes 16% No 84% = 100% No opinion 7%

**5.** (Canada July 25 '42) In the United States, professional baseball games are played on Sunday. Would you approve or disapprove if professional baseball were allowed in Canada on Sunday? (CIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 42% | 9% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 66% | 25% | 9% |
| 30–39 years | 59 | 33 | 8 |
| 40–49 years | 50 | 40 | 10 |
| 50–59 years | 41 | 49 | 10 |
| 60 years and over | 33 | 61 | 6 |

| BY RELIGION | | *Disapprove and Undecided* |
|---|---|---|
| Roman Catholics | 52% | 48% |
| Anglicans | 52 | 48 |
| United Church | 34 | 66 |

**6.** (US Mar 24 '43 and Jan 17 '45) Do you think that professional baseball should be continued during the war, or should it be stopped until after the war? In 1945 two comparable cross-sections were used. The other was asked: Do you think that professional baseball should be continued or discontinued during the war? 1945 results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Continued* | *Stopped* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '43 | 59% | 28% | 13% |
| Jan '45 | 46 | 41 | 13 |
| OPINIONS OF BASEBALL FANS | | | |
| **Mar '43 | 85% | 13% | 2% |
| *Jan '45 | 69 | 29 | 2 |
| 1945 RESULTS BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 57% | 30% | 13% |
| 30–49 years | 49 | 38 | 13 |
| 50 years and over | 37 | 49 | 14 |
| 1945 RESULTS BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 51% | 38% | 11% |
| Women | 42 | 42 | 16 |

* 33% of the sample.
** 34% of the sample.

**7.** (US June 26 '46) Would you like to see baseball players join labor unions? (AIPO)

| | *Would like to see players join unions* | *Would not like to see players join unions* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 21% | 79% |
| Union members | 34 | 66 |

**8.** (US Sept 11 '46) Do you follow major-league baseball regularly? (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 70%

**9.** (US Sept 11 '46) If the St. Louis Cardinals play the Boston Red Sox in the world series, which would you like to see win? Asked of 30% of the sample who said they followed the game. (AIPO)

Cardinals 38% Red Sox 55% Don't care 7% = 100% of the baseball fans

**10.** (US Sept 11 '46) If the Brooklyn Dodgers play the Boston Red Sox in the world series, which would you like to see win? Asked of 30% of the sample who said they followed the game. (AIPO)

Dodgers 43% Red Sox 47% Don't care 10% = 100% of the baseball fans

## BATHS

**1.** (Denmark July 2 '44) Have you done any sea-bathing this summer? (DGI)

Yes 46.7% No 53.3%

**2.** (Hungary May '46) Do you visit open-air swimming pools regularly or only sometimes? Asked of a cross-section of Budapest residents. (HIPOR)

BY TYPE OF INCOME AND SEX

| | *Regularly* | *Sometimes* |
|---|---|---|
| *Fixed income* | | |
| Men | 60.8% | 39.2% |
| Women | 49.8 | 50.2 |
| *Variable income* | | |
| Men | 55.5% | 44.5 |
| Women | 56.0 | 44.0 |

**3.** (Hungary May '46) Does open-air bathing promote people's working ability? Asked of a cross-section of Budapest residents. (HIPOR)

BY TYPE OF INCOME AND SEX

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Partly* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Fixed income* | | | |
| Men | 77.0% | 11.9% | 11.1% |
| Women | 87.7 | 7.3 | 5.0 |
| *Variable income* | | | |
| Men | 83.7 | 10.0 | 6.3 |
| Women | 80.1 | 16.3 | 3.6 |

**4.** (Hungary May '46) Does open-air bathing replace the summer holiday? Asked of a cross-section of Budapest residents. (HIPOR)

BY TYPE OF INCOME AND SEX

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Partly* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Fixed income* | | | |
| Men | 36.3% | 41.2% | 22.5% |
| Women | 33.6 | 40.1 | 26.3 |
| *Variable income* | | | |
| Men | 36.5 | 43.0 | 20.5 |
| Women | 34.0 | 44.7 | 21.3 |

## BIBLE

**1.** (US Feb 23 '39) Have you, yourself, read the Bible or any part of it within the last month? (AIPO)

Yes 35% No 60% Read it every day 5%

**2.** (US Feb 23 '39) Have you read the Bible all the way through? (AIPO)

Yes 26% No 74%

**3.** (US Feb 23 '39) Which do you like better—the Old Testament or the New Testament? A comparable cross-section was asked: Do you like the Old Testament or the New Testament better? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Old Testament | 20% |
| New Testament | 44 |
| Same | 15 |
| No opinion | 21 |

**4.** (US Feb 23 '39; Nov 17 '42; Nov 23 '43) What book or part of the Bible do you think is the most interesting? (AIPO)

| | *New Testament or part of it* | *Old Testament or part of it* | *Unwilling to make a choice* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '39 | 27% | 16% | 57%* |
| Nov '42 | 30 | 23 | 47 |
| Nov '43 | 29 | 26 | 45 |

* Includes 7% comprising too few mentions of parts of the Bible to add to 0.5%.

**5.** (US Nov 17 '42 and Nov 23 '43) Have you, yourself, read the Bible at home within the last year? (Nov 15 '44) Have you, yourself, read any part of the Bible at home within the last year? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Nov '42 | 59% | 41% |
| Nov '43 | 64 | 36 |
| Nov '44 | 62 | 38 |
| OPINIONS BY AGE | | |
| *Nov '42* | | |
| 21–29 years | 48% | 52% |
| 30–49 years | 58 | 42 |
| 50 years and over | 71 | 29 |
| *Nov '43* | | |
| 21–29 years | 57 | 43 |
| 30–49 years | 60 | 40 |
| 50 years and over | 71 | 29 |

**6.** (US Nov 17 '42; Nov 23 '43; Nov 15 '44) How often [have you read the Bible within the last year]? (AIPO)

| | *Nov '42* | *Nov '43* | *Nov '44* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Haven't read it in the last year | 41% | 36% | 38% |
| Every day | 11 | 13 | 10 |
| More than 55 times a year | 4 | 7 | 6 |
| 50–55 times a year | 11 | 14 | 12 |
| 13–50 times a year | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| 12 times a year | 5 | 4 | 3 |
| 2–11 times a year | 8 | 5 | 6 |
| Once a year | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| Frequently | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| Seldom | 9 | 11 | 12 |
| Didn't say | 4 | 3 | 5 |

**7.** (US Nov 17 '42 and Nov 23 '43) Have you changed your Bible-reading habits since we got into the war? Those who said they had changed their Bible-reading habits were asked: How? (AIPO)

| | *Nov '42* | *Nov '43* |
|---|---|---|
| Read it more often | 5% | 7% |
| Read it more seriously; depend on religion more | 1 | 2 |
| Read it less often, too busy with other things | 1 | 2 |
| Read it for its predictions (Revelation); read it for a better understanding of the war; Old Testament history, etc | 1 | 1 |
| Haven't changed reading habit | 91 | 88 |
| Don't know | 1 | — |

**8.** (Sweden Aug '43) Do you think that what happened during the war was prophesied in the Bible? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *Don't know that part of the Bible* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 32% | 32% | 9% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 19% | 41% | 30% | 10% |
| Women | 34 | 23 | 34 | 9 |

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *Don't know that part of the Bible* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 14% | 53% | 26% | 7% |
| Middle class | 29 | 32 | 31 | 8 |
| Workers | 26 | 30 | 34 | 10 |

**9.** (Denmark Mar '44) One of Moses' Ten Commandments is Thou shalt honor thy father and mother. Which Commandment is it? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Fourth Commandment | 38.4% |
| Sixth Commandment | 2.7 |
| Third Commandment | 2.6 |
| Fifth Commandment | 2.5 |
| Seventh Commandment | 1.7 |
| First Commandment | 0.9 |
| Tenth Commandment | 0.7 |
| Second Commandment | 0.6 |
| Eighth Commandment | 0.3 |
| Ninth Commandment | 0.2 |
| Eleventh Commandment | 0.1 |
| Don't know | 49.3 |

**10.** (Canada Sept 15 '45) Here are a few questions about the Bible—just to see what the average Canadian knows about it. Can you tell me in your own words what three of the Ten Commandments are? What were the names of Adam's sons? (CIPO)

| | BY SEX | |
|---|---|---|
| *The Ten Commandments* | *Men* | *Women* |
| Named three | 62% | 72% |
| Named only two | 19 | 18 |
| Named only one | 5 | 4 |
| Couldn't name any | 14 | 6 |
| *Adam's sons* | | |
| Named Cain | 66 | 75 |
| Named Abel | 66 | 74 |
| Named Seth | 5 | 6 |
| Named none | 32 | 24 |
| | 169%* | 179%* |

*Percentages add to more than 100 because most respondents named more than one son.

**11.** (Czechoslovakia July '46) Do you own a Bible? (CZIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 35.4% | 64.6% |
| BY AGE | | |
| 18–29 years | 30.0% | 70.0% |
| 30–49 years | 34.8 | 65.2 |
| 50 years and over | 39.6 | 60.4 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | |
| Laborers | 28.0% | 72.0% |
| White-collar—higher grade | 50.5 | 49.5 |
| White-collar—lower grade | 25.0 | 75.0 |
| Farmers | 31.8 | 68.2 |
| Business and professional | 46.2 | 53.8 |

**12.** (Czechoslovakia July '46) Do you read the Bible? (CZIPO)

| | *Regularly* | *Sometimes* | *Never* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 4.6% | 28.0% | 67.4% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–29 years | 3.3% | 24.0% | 72.7% |
| 30–49 years | 3.2 | 27.2 | 69.6 |
| 50 years and over | 7.4 | 31.2 | 61.4 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Laborers | 3.5% | 23.1% | 73.4% |
| White-collar—higher grade | 5.7 | 39.0 | 55.3 |
| White-collar—lower grade | 0.6 | 22.5 | 76.9 |
| Farmers | 4.3 | 26.4 | 69.3 |
| Business and professional | 7.7 | 32.6 | 59.7 |

## BICYCLES

**1.** (Great Britain Oct '38) Are you in favor of special tracks for cyclists on main roads? (BIPO)

Yes 75% No 13% No opinion 12%

**2.** (Great Britain Apr '39) Should cycles be required by law to have red rear lamps? (BIPO)

Yes 83% No 11% No opinion 6%

**3.** (Great Britain Oct '40) Do you think there should be a tax on bicycles? (BIPO)

Yes 55% No 38% Don't know 7%

**4.** (Great Britain Oct '40) How much should the yearly tax [on bicycles] be? Asked of 55% of the sample who thought there should be a tax on bicycles. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 2/6 | 54% |
| 5/– | 35 |
| 10/– | 7 |
| Other | 4 |
| | 100% of those who thought there should be a tax on bicycles |

**5.** (US May 30 '42) Do you or does someone in your family own a bicycle? Those who said someone in their family owned a bicycle were asked: How many [bicycles]? (AIPO) (Great Britain May '46) In your home, how many bicycles are there? (BIPO)

| | *United States* | *Great Britain* |
|---|---|---|
| One | 18% | 29% |
| Two | 4 | 20 |
| More than two | 2 | 12 |
| None | 76 | 39 |

**6.** (US May 30 '42) Does any member of your family use it [bicycle] to get to work? Asked of 24% of the sample who owned bicycles. (AIPO)

Yes 5% No 19% = 24%

**7.** (US May 30 '42) Could you use it [your bicycle] for that purpose? Asked of 19% of the sample who owned bicycles but did not use them to get to work. (AIPO)

Yes 10% No 8% No opinion 1% = 19%

**8.** (Sweden June '43) Do you have a bicycle of your own? If so, how often do you use it? (SGI)

| | *Daily or practically daily all year round* | *Daily or practically daily most of the year* | *From time to time, seldom or never* | *Have no bicycle* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 24% | 18% | 25% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 45% | 25% | 14% | 16% |
| Women | 21 | 24 | 21 | 34 |

| | *Daily or practically daily all year round* | *Daily or practically daily most of the year* | *From time to time, seldom or never* | *Have no bicycle* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Towns | 25% | 20% | 21% | 34% |
| Country | 38 | 27 | 15 | 20 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| North Sweden | 33% | 31% | 20% | 16% |
| Mälar district | 22 | 29 | 21 | 28 |
| East Gotland | 38 | 25 | 15 | 22 |
| Skåne | 57 | 14 | 17 | 12 |
| West Gotland | 37 | 25 | 18 | 20 |

**9.** (Sweden June '43) Is it necessary for you to have a bicycle to get to work, or do you actually use it during your work? Asked of a national cross-section of bicycle owners. 75% of the sample is represented. (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 39% | 57% | 4% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 51% | 46% | 3% |
| Women | 24 | 71 | 5 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 21% | 76% | 3% |
| Middle class | 33 | 61 | 6 |
| Workers | 46 | 51 | 3 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Towns | 40% | 57% | 3% |
| Country | 39 | 56 | 5 |

**10.** (Sweden Mar '46) What do you think of the suggestion that no one should be allowed to cycle in public thoroughfares without having passed a test showing that he or she knows the traffic regulations and can ride a bicycle? (SGI)

| | *Should be carried out* | *Unnecessary* | *Should not be carried out* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 28% | 12% | 5% |
| BY METHOD OF TRANSPORTATION | | | | |
| Motorists | 53% | 32% | 13% | 2% |
| Cyclists | 54 | 29 | 13 | 4 |
| Motorcyclists | 62 | 24 | 13 | 1 |
| Pedestrians | 57 | 26 | 8 | 9 |

## BILL OF RIGHTS

**1.** (US Nov '43 and Nov '45) What do you know about the Bill of Rights? Do you know anything it says? Have you ever heard of it? Results from the three questions are combined. In Nov '45 only the first of the three questions was asked. (NORC)

| | *Nov '43* | *Nov '45* |
|---|---|---|
| Correct answers | 23% | 21% |
| Confused | 7 | 4 |
| Heard but don't know | 39 | 36 |
| Wrong | 4 | 5 |
| Part wrong, part right | 4 | 3 |
| Never heard of it | 20 | 28 |
| Don't know | 3 | 3 |

## BIRTH

**1.** (Sweden Mar '46) When you had your last child, did you have it at home, at a hospital, or nursing home? Asked of a national cross-section of mothers. (SGI)

| | *At home* | *Hospital* | *Nursing home* | *Other places* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 44% | 49% | 4% | 3% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 28% | 68% | 2% | 2% |
| Middle class | 42 | 50 | 4 | 4 |
| Workers | 47 | 46 | 4 | 3 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Large towns | 22% | 76% | 1% | 1% |
| Other towns | 38 | 53 | 4 | 5 |
| Country districts: | | | | |
| *A | 45 | 39 | 8 | 8 |
| B | 53 | 45 | 2 | — |
| C | 53 | 44 | 1 | 2 |
| D | 53 | 25 | 14 | 8 |

* A—districts where 75% of the population are farmers, farm workers, etc.
B—districts where 50%–75% of the population are farmers, farm workers, etc.
C—districts where less than 50% of the population are farmers, farm workers, etc. and where there are thinly populated areas comprising as much as two-thirds of the total population.
D—areas comprising at least two-thirds of the population.

## BIRTH CONTROL

**1.** (US May 2 '36) Should the distribution of information of birth control be made legal? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 70% | 30% = 100% | 9% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Farmers | 61% | 39% | |
| Small towns | 72 | 28 | |
| Cities | 71 | 29 | |
| STATE BY STATE | | | |
| Nevada | 90% | 10% | |
| Arizona | 90 | 10 | |
| Washington | 82 | 18 | |
| Colorado | 81 | 19 | |
| Montana | 80 | 20 | |
| California | 80 | 20 | |
| Oregon | 79 | 21 | |
| New Mexico | 78 | 22 | |
| Georgia | 78 | 22 | |
| Connecticut | 78 | 22 | |
| New Jersey | 77 | 23 | |
| Florida | 74 | 26 | |
| Texas | 74 | 26 | |
| Maine | 73 | 27 | |
| Vermont | 73 | 27 | |
| New York | 73 | 27 | |
| Delaware | 73 | 27 | |

| | Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nebraska | 73% | 27% | |
| Tennessee | 72 | 28 | |
| Arkansas | 72 | 28 | |
| North Carolina | 72 | 28 | |
| Alabama | 71 | 29 | |
| Virginia | 71 | 29 | |
| West Virginia | 70 | 30 | |
| Mississippi | 70 | 30 | |
| Idaho | 70 | 30 | |
| Wyoming | 70 | 30 | |
| Utah | 70 | 30 | |
| Kentucky | 69 | 31 | |
| Maryland | 69 | 31 | |
| Louisiana | 69 | 31 | |
| South Carolina | 68 | 32 | |
| Ohio | 68 | 32 | |
| Pennsylvania | 67 | 33 | |
| Indiana | 65 | 35 | |
| Illinois | 65 | 35 | |
| Iowa | 65 | 35 | |
| Missouri | 64 | 36 | |
| Kansas | 64 | 36 | |
| Oklahoma | 64 | 36 | |
| Michigan | 64 | 36 | |
| Wisconsin | 63 | 37 | |
| New Hampshire | 62 | 38 | |
| Rhode Island | 62 | 38 | |
| Minnesota | 61 | 39 | |
| Massachusetts | 59 | 41 | |
| North Dakota | 54 | 46 | |
| South Dakota | 53 | 47 | |

**2.** (US July '36) Do you believe in the teaching and practice of birth control? (FOR)

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 63% | 23% | 14% |
| Roman Catholics only | 42.8 | 45.0 | 12.2 |

**3.** (US July 5 '37) Do you favor the birth-control movement? (AIPO) (Great Britain Jan '38) Are you in favor of birth control? (BIPO)

| | Yes | No | | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| United States | 71% | 29% | = 100% | 14% |
| Great Britain | 69 | 31 | = 100 | 26 |

**4.** (US Oct 8 '38 and Dec 22 '39) Would you like to see a government agency furnish birth-control information to married people who want it? (AIPO) (Great Britain Mar '39) Should responsible public centers for free information on birth control be available to married people? (BIPO) (US Dec 22 '39) Would you like to see government health clinics furnish birth-control information to married people who want it? (AIPO) (US Jan 11 '40) Would you approve or disapprove of having government health clinics furnish birth-control information to married people who want it? (AIPO) (US Aug '43) Do you believe that knowledge about birth control should or should not be made available to all married women? Asked of a national cross-section of women aged 21–35 years. (FOR) (US Dec 15 '43) Would you approve or disapprove of having governmental clinics furnish birth-control information to married people who want it? (AIPO) (US Nov 21 '45) Would you approve or disapprove of having government health clinics furnish birth-control information to married people in this country who want it? (AIPO)

| | In favor | Against | | No opinion | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| US Oct 8 '38 | 72% | 28% | = 100% | 14% | |
| Britain Mar 3 '39 | 73 | 12 | | 15 | = 100% |
| *US Dec 22 '39 | 72 | 28 | = 100 | 11 | |
| **US Dec 22 '39 | 80 | 20 | = 100 | 11 | |
| US Jan 11 '40 | 77 | 23 | = 100 | 11 | |
| US Aug '43 | 84.9 | 10.0 | | 5.1 | = 100 |
| US Dec 15 '43 | 61 | 23 | | 16 | = 100 |
| US Nov 21 '45 | 61 | 23 | | 16 | = 100 |
| OPINIONS OF AMERICAN WOMEN IN JAN '40 BY AGE | | | | | |
| Under 30 years | 85% | 15% | | — | = 100% |
| Over 30 years | 65 | 35 | | — | = 100 |
| OPINIONS OF AMERICAN WOMEN IN AUG '43 BY EDUCATION | | | | | |
| College | 92.6% | 4.9% | | 2.5% | = 100% |
| Grammar | 70.2 | 18.2 | | 11.6 | = 100 |
| Catholic women | 69.0 | 24.4 | | 6.6 | = 100 |

* Government to furnish information.
** Government health clinics to furnish information.

**5.** (US Aug '43) Do you believe that knowledge about birth control should or should not be kept away from unmarried women? Asked of 84.9% of a national sample of women aged 21–35 years who thought that knowledge about birth control should be made available to all married women. (FOR)

| | Should | Shouldn't | No opinion | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 23.3% | 69.8% | 6.9% | = 100%* |
| BY EDUCATION | | | | |
| College women | 15.5% | 78.5% | 6.0% | = 100%* |
| Grammar school only | 33.6 | 55.3 | 11.1 | = 100* |
| Catholic women | 33.6 | 58.9 | 7.5 | = 100* |

* 100% of the women who believe birth-control information should be made available to all married women.

**6.** (Sweden Feb '45) Ought a woman under all circumstances have the right to dispose of her child, i.e. have the right of abortion with the help of a doctor, or should abortion be allowed only in cases where the mother's life is in danger? (SGI)

| | In all circumstances | As now | In case of danger | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9% | 70% | 11% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 11% | 67% | 12% | 10% |
| Women | 7 | 73 | 11 | 9 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–24 years | 12% | 70% | 9% | 9% |
| 25–29 years | 9 | 64 | 19 | 8 |
| 30–49 years | 11 | 70 | 12 | 7 |
| 50–64 years | 6 | 72 | 8 | 14 |
| 65 years and over | 6 | 74 | 5 | 15 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Country | 6% | 77% | 7% | 10% |
| Large towns | 15 | 51 | 21 | 13 |
| Other towns | 12 | 67 | 14 | 7 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 7% | 69% | 19% | 5% |
| Middle class | 7 | 73 | 11 | 9 |
| Workers | 12 | 67 | 11 | 10 |

**7.** (Sweden Feb '45) Should abortion be legal for a girl who has been seduced? Asked of 80% of total sample who thought abortion laws should remain as they are or who said they didn't know what should be done. (SGI)

| | *Legal* | *Illegal* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 17% | 66% | 17% = 100% of those questioned |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 20% | 62% | 18% |
| Women | 15 | 69 | 16 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 12% | 80% | 8% |
| Middle class | 13 | 70 | 17 |
| Workers | 22 | 60 | 18 |

**8.** (US Nov 21 '45) Should the United Nations organization educate the German people in birth-control methods? (AIPO)

Yes 39% No 34% No opinion 27%

**9.** (US Nov 21 '45) Should the United Nations organization educate the Japanese people in birth-control methods? (AIPO)

Yes 47% No 29% No opinion 24%

## BIRTHRATE

**1.** (France June '39) What do you consider to be the cause (or causes) of the falling birthrate in our country? (FIPO)

| | *National total* | *20–29 years* | *30–39 years* | *40–49 years* | *50–59 years* | *60 years and over* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Cost of living | 52 | 49 | 50 | 57 | 53 | 38 |
| Women working outside home | 14 | 14 | 15 | 10 | 32 | 11 |
| Lack of public assistance for large families | 11 | 11 | 9 | 11.5 | 8 | 9 |
| Uncertainty of economic future | 10 | 11 | 12.5 | 10.5 | 10 | 3 |
| Unemployment | 4 | 5 | 3.5 | 2.5 | 4 | 3 |
| Selfishness of young people | 34 | 27 | 25 | 28 | 36 | 49 |
| Other moral causes | 12 | 11 | 10 | 13.5 | 13.5 | 12 |
| Lack of religion | 4 | 3.5 | 2 | 1.5 | 13.5 | — |
| Insufficient marriages | 3 | 3.5 | 2 | 2.5 | 2.5 | 2 |
| International insecurity | 16 | 20 | 19 | 19 | 15.5 | 12 |
| Belief there is no reason to increase birthrate | 8 | 3.5 | 7 | 9 | 7 | 6 |
| Lack of legislation favoring large families | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | — |
| Use of contraceptives | 5 | 4.5 | 7 | 4 | 7 | 2 |
| Abortion | 4 | 3.5 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 6 |
| Poor health of parents | 4 | 3.5 | 3.5 | 2.5 | 4.5 | 3 |
| Poor health of children | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1.5 | — | 2 |
| Spread of instruction | 2.5 | 2 | 3.5 | 1 | 2 | 1.5 |
| Various other responses | 7.5 | 4.5 | 4.5 | 10 | 6 | 6 |
| No answer | 4 | — | 6 | 3.5 | 1 | 3 |
| Percentages | 198* | 178.5* | 187.5* | 192.5* | 222.5* | 168.5* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (France June '39) What do you consider possible remedies for this situation [the falling birthrate in France]? (FIPO)

| | *National total* | *20–29 years* | *30–39 years* | *40–49 years* | *50–59 years* | *60 years and over* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Public assistance | 51 | 56 | 41 | 40 | 48 | 44 |
| General improvement in economic situation | 19 | 10 | 23 | 25 | 16.5 | 11 |
| Prohibition of feminine labor, wives stay home | 18 | 12 | 10 | 15 | 15 | 27 |
| Special taxes on single persons and childless couples | 6 | 3.5 | 4.5 | 4 | 7 | 12 |
| Privileges for fathers | 4.5 | 5 | 5 | 2.5 | 3.5 | 3 |
| Moral re-education of young people | 11 | 3.5 | 10 | 12.5 | 15 | 22 |
| General propaganda in favor of family spirit | 9 | 10 | 3.5 | 7 | 15 | 5 |
| Take measures to assure international security | 14 | 14 | 16 | 19 | 9 | 11 |
| Encourage agriculture | 5.5 | 2 | 2 | 8 | 3.5 | 3 |
| Encourage families by appointing fathers to government office | 4 | 4.5 | 4.5 | 2.5 | 8 | — |
| Develop a policy favorable to householders, low cost | 3 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 3 |
| Stamping out of abortion, strict control of the medical profession | 5 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 7 | 6 |
| Increase of free medical services to nursing mothers and infants | 3.5 | 2 | 4.5 | 1.5 | 5 | 3 |
| Spread knowledge of child-rearing among young girls | .75 | 1 | — | — | — | 2 |
| Prohibition of the sale of contraceptives | .75 | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | — |
| There is no remedy | 5 | 5.5 | 3.5 | 7.5 | 1 | 5 |
| No answer | 8 | 5.5 | 8 | 7 | 8 | 6 |
| Percentages | 168* | 142.5* | 143.5* | 159.5* | 162.5* | 163.0* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (US Mar 19 '41) What do you think are the main reasons why couples do not have more children? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Economic reasons | 57% |
| Interference with one's freedom | 20 |
| Uncertainty of the future | 5 |
| Poor health | 2 |
| Others | 3 |
| Dislike children | 1 |
| Too many children already | 1 |
| No answer | 11 |

**4.** (Great Britain Apr '42) What do you think is the main reason why parents nowadays are not anxious to have large families? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Incomes too small for large families | 26% |
| Can educate small family better | 14 |
| Insecurity of all kinds | 6 |
| War; why bring up cannon fodder | 13 |
| Lack of faith in the future | 6 |
| Young people want freedom | 12 |
| Too much responsibility and bother | 6 |
| People have too much sense | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 9 |
| No answer | 7 |

**5.** (Sweden Dec '42) What do you think is the main reason for the childbirth rate having sunk after the year 1900? (SGI)

| | *Disinclination of lower standard of living* | *Women have gone into business* | *Cramped living conditions* | *Dislike of children* | *Women's dislike of work; bother and danger involved* | *Thoughts of own future or child's future* | *Illegal operations and miscellaneous* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 16% | 5% | 3% | 2% | 8% | 22% | 3% | 41% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | | | | |
| Towns | 19% | 8% | 5% | 2% | 5% | 20% | 3% | 38% |
| Country | 14 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 10 | 23 | 3 | 43 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | | |
| Upper class | 26% | 13% | 4% | 3% | 12% | 9% | 5% | 28% |
| Middle class | 19 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 10 | 17 | 4 | 40 |
| Workers | 12 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 6 | 27 | 2 | 42 |
| BY MARITAL STATUS | | | | | | | | |
| Married men | 18% | 4% | 4% | 2% | 9% | 22% | 3% | 38% |
| Married women | 14 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 9 | 23 | 1 | 41 |
| Married people with 1–2 children | 16 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 9 | 25 | 2 | 37 |
| Married people with 3 or more children | 15 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 11 | 21 | 3 | 41 |
| No children | 17 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 22 | 2 | 43 |

**6.** (Sweden Dec '42) Do you know how many children are needed per marriage to prevent the population from decreasing? (SGI)

| | *2 children* | *3 children* | *4 children* | *5 or more* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 4% | 25% | 31% | 8% | 32% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Upper class | 1% | 29% | 43% | 9% | 18% |
| Middle class | 3 | 26 | 32 | 9 | 30 |
| Workers | 5 | 23 | 30 | 7 | 35 |

**7.** (Great Britain Aug 22 '43) Is there anything you think can be done to encourage parents to have more children? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Decent housing; better living conditions | 18% |
| Family allowances | 16 |
| Social security; remove the fear of unemployment | 13 |
| Adequate income | 9 |
| State aid | 6 |
| This is a private matter; should be left to individuals to decide for themselves | 4 |
| Help for mothers; day nurseries; etc. | 3% |
| Fewer wars | 3 |
| Should not be encouraged; who wants children nowadays | 2 |
| It would only be for cannon-fodder | 1 |
| Free education for all | 1 |
| Young people think only of dancing, a good time, etc. | 1 |
| No, a large family ties you down; a large family is a millstone; etc. | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| Don't know | 17 |

**8.** (Australia May–June '44) What is the main cause of Australia's low birthrate? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Selfishness; pleasure-seeking birth control | 28% |
| Insecurity; fear of depression | 15 |
| Low wages; cost of living | 14 |
| Housing shortage; flat life | 11 |
| No encouragement; unhelpful government | 5 |
| No domestic help; no freedom | 2 |
| Women working | 2 |
| High medical costs | 1 |
| Educate small family well | 1 |
| Common sense; workers waking up | 1 |
| Other answers | 6 |
| No idea | 14 |

**9.** (Australia Aug–Sept '44) What do you think is the main cause of Australia's low birthrate? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Insufficient income; economic insecurity | 37% |
| Selfishness; pleasure-seeking | 31 |
| Poor housing; flat life | 18 |
| Other answers | 8 |
| No opinion | 6 |

**10.** (Australia Nov '44) What do you suggest would help most to increase Australia's birthrate? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Economic security and full employment | 22% |
| Better housing; lower rentals | 17 |
| Government allowances for families or marriage loans | 15 |
| Better living conditions | 10 |
| Higher wages; cheaper living | 9 |
| No agreement on any particular solution | 27 |

**11.** (Germany Feb '46) Why did National Socialism encourage people to have lots of children? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| For war; to raise soldiers | 45% |
| To expand; to colonize; spread German thought throughout the world | 12 |
| Country is strong only with large population to make people strong | 22 |
| For future strength of Germany; to build Germany for after the war; make up for war losses | 9 |
| To have more party members | 1 |
| To build nazism on youth; needed more youth to strengthen the party | 8 |
| Other | 1 |
| Don't know, no opinion | 10 |
| No answer | 2 |
| | 110%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

# BLACK MARKET

**1.** (Great Britain Jan 16 '42) Would you approve or disapprove if all persons convicted of black-market dealings in food were sent to prison without the option of a fine? (BIPO)

Approve 82% Disapprove 10% Don't know 8%

**2.** (US May 7 '43) There's been a lot of talk lately about black markets in meat. Do you think these black markets are really serious? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

Yes 56% No 11% Don't know 33%

**3.** (US May 7 '43) From what you've heard, how would you say the black market works? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Meat is sold at exorbitant prices | 32% |
| Meat is stolen | 4 |
| Meat is sold to consumer directly by farmer | 2 |
| Unlicensed or unauthorized dealer is involved | 17 |
| Ration coupons are not required | 14 |
| Meat is not governmentally inspected | 12 |
| Meat is of inferior quality | 11 |
| Unspecified illegal practices | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 40 |
| | 137%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**4.** (US May 7 '43) Who do you think is most to blame for black markets? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| People who buy | 29% |
| The farmer | 4 |
| Meat slaughterers and packers | 2 |
| The wholesaler | 2 |
| The retailer | 5 |
| Not ascertainable—just people who sell | 12 |
| Racketeers | 8 |
| The government | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| Don't know or no answer | 38 |
| | 110%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**5.** (US May 7 '43) Can you think of one or two things you yourself might do to try to put a stop to black markets in meat? What? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't patronize them | 29% |
| Report illegal practices to authorities | 13 |
| Don't pay more than ceiling prices | 10 |
| Buy from reliable tradesman | 9 |
| Buy only government-inspected meat | 7 |
| Don't buy without ration points | 4 |
| Urge others not to buy from black markets | 4 |
| Keep consumption down | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Respondent can't or won't do anything | 3 |
| No or don't know | 35 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 120%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (US May 22 '43) Have you come across any stores that are charging higher prices than the government allows? (NORC)

Yes 12% No 75% Don't know 13%

**7.** (US May 22 '43) On what sort of things [are stores charging higher prices than are allowed]? Asked of 12% of the sample who said they had come across srores that were charging higher prices than were allowed. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Meat in general | 5% |
| Specific meats | 1 |
| Vegetables in general | 2 |
| Potatoes | 2 |
| Corn, peas, beans | * |
| Other specific vegetables | * |
| Fruits | 1 |
| Canned foods in general | 1 |
| Specific canned foods | 1 |
| Dairy products and shortening | 1 |
| Miscellaneous foods | 3 |
| Clothing | 1 |
| Soap | * |
| Hardware and auto supplies | * |
| Miscellaneous, other than food | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | * |
| | 19%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 12 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**8.** (US May 22 '43) What did you do when you found out the price was too high? Asked of 12% of the sample who said they had come across stores that were charging higher prices than were allowed. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Did nothing; paid the prices | 3% |
| Expressions of futility or necessity | 2 |
| Showed knowledge that something should be done but paid the price | 1 |
| Didn't buy—no mention of different store | 4 |
| Shopped around or changed stores | 1 |
| Complained to merchant | 1 |
| Complained to merchant unsuccessfully | 1 |
| Made official complaint | * |
| | 13%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 12 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (Great Britain July 12 '43) Lord Woolton says that no black markets exist in this country. Do you agree or disagree? (BIPO)

Agree 12% Disagree 72% Don't know 16%

**10.** (Australia Dec '43) Judging by your own experience, do you think there are any serious black markets in Australia? (APOP)

Yes 42% No 58%

**11.** (Sweden Sept '44) Do you know anyone in your immediate surroundings who has been able to buy rationed goods during the last six months without ration cards? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Will not answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 16% | 67% | 17% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 18% | 66% | 16% |
| Women | 14 | 68 | 18 |

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Will not answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 25% | 53% | 22% |
| Middle class | 18 | 65 | 17 |
| Workers | 14 | 69 | 17 |

**12.** (Sweden Sept '44) What commodity was concerned [in black-market operations] the last time you heard of such a thing? Asked of 16% of the sample who said they knew someone who had been able to buy rationed goods without ration cards. (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Eggs | 9% |
| Butter | 3 |
| Coffee | 3 |
| Wheat flour | 2 |
| Sugar | 2 |
| Meat | 1 |
| Tobacco | 1 |
| Shoes | 1 |
| Rye flour; cereals | 1 |
| Will not answer | 17 |
| | 40%* |

* Percentages add to more than 16 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**13.** (Denmark Nov 12 '44) Have you ever bought anything directly or indirectly from the black market? (DGI)

Yes 10.3% No 89.7%

**14.** (Denmark Nov 12 '44) Have you any sympathy for any form of black-market transactions? (DGI)

Yes 7.3% No 92.7%

**15.** (Denmark Nov 12 '44) What kind [of black-market transactions are you in sympathy with]? Asked of 7.3% of the sample who said they sympathized with some transactions. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Tobacco | 22.4% |
| Sugar cards | 17.3 |
| Butter cards | 12.1 |
| Tires | 11.2 |
| Fuel cards | 6.7 |
| Stocking cards | 6.4 |
| Clothing | 6.4 |
| Footwear | 5.2 |
| Tea | 3.0 |
| Alcohol | 3.3 |
| Petrol | 3.3 |
| Coffee | 2.7 |
| | 100.0% of those who sympathize with black-market transactions |

**16.** (Denmark Nov 12 '44) What kind of goods are you most tempted to buy on the black market? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Tobacco | 27.0% |
| Sugar cards | 24.6 |
| Butter cards | 13.1 |
| Tires | 12.2 |
| Fuel cards | 2.2 |
| Stocking cards | 3.1 |
| Clothing | 8.1 |
| Footwear | 1.4 |
| Coffee | 4.6 |
| Sundries | 3.7 |

**17.** (Denmark Nov 12 '44) Do you consider it as lawbreaking if you deal directly or indirectly with the black market? (DGI)

Yes 67.4% No 25.8% Don't know 6.8%

**18.** (France May 1 '45) Do you think there should be an active campaign against restaurants which (1) do a little black-marketing; (2) are big operators in the black market? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| A little black-marketing | 56% | 39% | 5% |
| Big operators in black-marketing | 97 | 2 | 1 |

**19.** (US May 2 '45) Will you tell me briefly what you understand by the term "black market"? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Illegal sale outside of ration control; black market sells at higher than ceiling prices and without coupons or ration points | 18% |
| Sale of goods at higher than ceiling prices | 28 |
| Sale of goods without coupons or ration points | 17 |
| A racket; illegal marketing; illegal practice | 30 |
| Profiteering | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Didn't say | 4 |

**20.** (US May 2 '45) Do you think that buying at black-market prices is sometimes justified? (AIPO)

| | *Sometimes justified* | *Not justified* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 21% | 74% | 5% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 23% | 71% | 6% |
| Women | 18 | 77 | 5 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Farmers | 18% | 73% | 9% |
| Towns under 10,000 population | 21 | 73 | 6 |
| 10,000-100,000 | 19 | 78 | 3 |
| Over 100,000 | 23 | 73 | 4 |

**21.** (US May 2 '45) Under what conditions do you think it [buying in the black market] is justified? Asked of 21% of the sample who thought that buying at black-market prices was sometimes justified. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| When you have a real need for goods and can't get them any other way, such as illness, etc | 12% |
| When you can't get goods otherwise; where distribution of goods has broken down | 4 |
| When the rationing board is unfair after an appeal | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Didn't say | 1 |
| | 21% |

**22.** (Netherlands Jan '46) Do you seriously object to the black market? (NFS)

Yes 90% No 7% No opinion 3%

**23.** (Netherlands Jan '46) In your opinion, is there more, as much, or less business being done in the black market now than before the monetary clean-up? (NFS)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 4% |
| As much | 21 |
| Less | 63 |
| No opinion | 12 |

**24.** (Netherlands Jan '46) In what commodities and what coupons is this black-market business carried on? (NFS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Foodstuffs | 58% |
| Luxuries | 57 |
| Other commodities | 32 |
| | 147%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**25.** (Netherlands Jan '46) By which side are things mostly offered [on the black market]—by shopkeepers, by acquaintances, or by unknown people? (NFS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Shopkeepers | 9% |
| Acquaintances | 20 |
| Unknown people | 49 |
| No answer | 29 |
| | 107%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**26.** (Netherlands Jan '46) What do you think of the action taken against the black market—is it too strong, good, or not strong enough? (NFS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too strong | 3% |
| Good | 27 |
| Not strong enough | 58 |
| No opinion | 12 |

**27.** (Netherlands Jan '46) Should stronger measures be taken against the public buying in the black market? (NFS)

Yes 56% No 31% No opinion 13%

**28.** (Germany Jan 31 '46; May 8 '46; July 1 '46) Do you think that the black market has an influence on the economic situation? (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '46 | 64% | 13% | 23% |
| May '46 | 68 | 11 | 21 |
| July '46 | 88 | 3 | 9 |

In January and in May '46, those who thought the black market had an influence on the economic situation were asked: What influence has it? 64% of the January sample and 68% of the May sample are represented.

| | *Jan '46* | *May '46* |
|---|---|---|
| Will cause inflation; prices will go up; people with money will be OK, while the poor will have nothing | 19% | 19% |
| Will create shortages of food, etc.; nothing left to buy in the open market | 18 | 42 |
| Will disrupt rationing and distribution system | 10 | 1 |
| Bad idea | 3 | 1 |
| Can't do anything for money, must always barter | 10 | 5 |
| Workers—people refuse to take jobs, black market more profitable | — | 1 |
| Other replies | 1 | — |
| Thought the black market had an influence but didn't say what | 4 | 2 |
| | 65%* | 71%* |

* Percentages add to more than 64 and 68 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**29.** (Germany Jan 31 '46 and May 8 '46) Do you think that the black market is responsible for your not being able to buy many things you might otherwise be able to get? (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '46 | 56% | 24% | 20% |
| May '46 | 51 | 26 | 23 |

In May '46 those who thought the black market responsible were asked: What are you unable to buy because of the black market? 51% of the sample was asked the question.

| | |
|---|---|
| Thought the black market responsible but didn't name any products | 4% |
| Food | 20 |
| Clothing and textiles | 22 |
| Shoes | 14 |
| Tobacco | 6 |
| Household equipment; furniture; consumer goods; etc. | 10 |
| Farm and business equipment | 2 |
| Everything; can't buy anything | 4 |
| Other answers | * |
| | 82%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 51 because some respondents named more than one product.

**30.** (Germany Jan 31 '46; Mar 22 '46; May 8 '46) Do you think there are black-market activities in your community? In January and May those who said they thought there were such activities were asked: Are they considerable or unimportant? (OMGUS)

| | *Yes, considerable* | *Yes, unimportant* | *Yes, unspecified* | | *Total yes* | *No* | *Don't know or no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '46 | 15% | 24% | 3% | = | 42% | 51% | 7% |
| Mar '46 | — | — | — | | 30 | 53 | 17 |
| May '46 | 17 | 19 | 8 | = | 44 | 29 | 27 |

In Mar '46 the 30% who thought there were black-market activities in their communities were asked: What makes you think so?

| | |
|---|---|
| Because it's everywhere; there are black markets all over Germany | 4% |
| People talk about it; one hears a great deal about it; many people talk and know all about the black-market prices | 12 |
| One reads about it in the newspapers | 2 |
| Because there are things that people need but are unable to buy; because one can't get anything without something to trade, can't get anything just for money | 5 |
| Because many people—foreigners, etc.—don't work and at the same time have lots of money | 1 |
| Because you can buy American goods anywhere | * |
| Because I've seen it; I'm a shopkeeper and naturally know about it | 4 |
| Other answers | 1 |
| Don't know, no opinion, can't say | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 31%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 30 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**31.** (Germany Mar 22 '46) Where do the goods which are on the black market come from? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| From other countries, from foreign countries | 6% |
| From other zones | 1 |
| From the producers; from manufacturers, from factories; from farmers; goods that should go into regular distribution channels but never get there | 23 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Stolen goods, from plundering and theft | 16% |
| From the Americans; from the occupation troops | 11 |
| From people who have to sell things in order to live; unemployed, etc. | 3 |
| Don't know, can't say, no opinion | 40 |
| No answer | 8 |
| | 108%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**32.** (Germany Mar 22 '46) What kind of people sell these goods on the black market? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Foreigners—Poles, etc. | 27% |
| Big-time operators and hustlers; low people; nobody with any character | 12 |
| People who don't want to work; people who are allergic to work | 20 |
| Shopkeepers | 2 |
| People who have the opportunity, anybody who has the opportunity | 1 |
| Unemployed, people who have no jobs or professions; those who have no other choice | 3 |
| Don't know, no opinion, can't say | 32 |
| No answer | 9 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**33.** (Germany Jan 31 '46 and May 8 '46) Do you think everything possible is being done by the authorities to put an end to black-market activities? (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion or no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '46 | 60% | 14% | 26% |
| May '46 | 62 | 21 | 17 |

**34.** (Czechoslovakia Dec '46) Have you come across cases of black-market dealings lately? (CZIPO)

Yes 59% No 41%

**35.** (Czechoslovakia Dec '46) Do you believe, on the basis of your own experience, that the black market has grown, shrunk, or remained the same during the past year? (CZIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Extended | 21% |
| Shrunk | 42 |
| The same | 19 |
| Don't know | 18 |

**36.** (Czechoslovakia Dec '46) Judging from your own experience, what goods are most frequently sold on the black market now? (CZIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Textiles | 43% |
| Foodstuffs | 19 |
| Cigarettes | 10 |
| Shoes | 7 |
| Other goods | 6 |
| Don't know | 15 |

## BLACKOUTS IN WAR

**1.** (Great Britain Dec '39) Are you in favor of the blackout being made less strict? (BIPO)

Yes 75% No 23% Don't know 2%

**2.** (Great Britain Dec '39) Would you still be in favor if it [the blackout] increased the risk of an air attack? Asked of 75% of the sample who were in favor of curtailing the blackout. (BIPO)

Yes 37% No 50% Don't know 13%

**3.** (Great Britain Jan '40) Have you suffered any physical injury because of the blackout? (BIPO)

Yes 18% No 82%

**4.** (Great Britain Jan '40) In your opinion, is the blackout properly observed in your neighborhood? (BIPO)

Yes 71% No 24% Don't know 5%

**5.** (US Jan 22 '41) New York City is planning to have a practice blackout next month. Do you think all towns and cities in your state should have practice blackouts every few months? (AIPO)

Yes 42% No 45% Don't know 13%

**6.** (Australia June '42) Do you think the brownout is too severe, about right, or not dark enough? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too severe | 34% |
| About right | 41 |
| Not dark enough | 12 |
| Blackout or nothing | 8 |
| No answer | 5 |

**7.** (Great Britain Aug 22 '43) Do you think the coming winter will be the last winter of blackout in Europe? (BIPO)

Yes 55% No 26% Don't know 19%

**8.** (Great Britain Nov '44) Having regard to the present war situation, do you think that blackout restrictions should be lifted entirely or left as they are? (BIPO)

Lifted 64% Same 30% Don't know 6%

## BONDS

### Taxation

**1.** (US Feb '41) Do you think Congress should forbid any further issuance of tax-exempt federal bonds without waiting for a constitutional amendment to halt the issuance of tax-exempt state and local bonds? Asked of a national cross-section of executives. (FOR)

Yes 66.3% No 31.2% No answer 2.5%

**2.** (US Feb '41) Do you favor ending tax exemption on government bonds despite the fact that, if you are now rich or have hopes of becoming rich, the elimination would deprive you of any opportunity to escape the high-bracket surtaxes? Asked of a national cross-section of executives. (FOR)

Yes 77.9% No 20.1% No answer 2.0%

## BOOKS AND READING

**1.** (US Mar 15 '37) Do you happen to be reading any book at this time? (AIPO)

Yes 29% No 68% No answer 3%

**2.** (US Mar 15 '37) What book [are you reading now]? Asked of a national cross-section of those who were reading a book at the time. 29% of the total sample represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Gone with the Wind | 21% |
| The Bible | 3 |
| Anthony Adverse | 2 |
| Green Light | 2 |
| The American Doctor's Odyssey | 1 |
| Nine Old Men | 1 |
| Drums along the Mohawk | 1 |
| The Good Earth | 1 |
| It Can't Happen Here | 1 |
| White Banners | 1 |
| How to Win Friends and Influence People | 1 |
| Magnificent Obsession | 1 |
| All others and no answer | 64 |
| | 100% of those who were reading a book |

**3.** (US July 12 '37 and Oct 18 '38) What is the most interesting book you have ever read? (AIPO)

| | *July '37* | *Oct '38* |
|---|---|---|
| The Bible | 26% | 19% |
| Gone with the Wind | 22 | 16 |
| Anthony Adverse | 5 | 3 |
| The Good Earth | 3 | 1 |
| Magnificent Obsession | 2 | — |
| Tale of Two Cities | 2 | 1 |
| Green Light | 2 | — |
| Les Miserables | 2 | — |
| Ben Hur | 1 | 1 |
| David Copperfield | 1 | — |
| The Citadel | — | 2 |
| How to Win Friends and Influence People | — | 1 |
| Northwest Passage | — | 1 |
| Little Women | — | 1 |
| All others | 34 | 13 |
| | 100% | |
| No answer | 55% | 41 |
| | | 100% |

**4.** (Great Britain Feb '38) What book of all you have read impressed you most? (BIPO)

| | *The Bible* | *The Citadel* | *Sorrell and Son* | *All others* | | | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 16% | 3% | 2% | 79% | = | 100% | 57% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | |
| Men | 14% | 3% | — | 83% | = | 100% | 50% |
| Women | 19 | 2 | 4% | 75 | = | 100 | 65 |

**5.** (US Jan 25 '39) Do you intend to read the book *Gone with the Wind*? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 23% |
| No | 47 |
| No opinion | 8 |
| Already read it | 22 |

**6.** (US Jan 25 '39) Who do you think was the most interesting character? Asked of 22% of the sample who had already read *Gone with the Wind*. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Scarlett | 11% |
| Butler | 8 |
| No answer | 2 |
| Others | 1 |
| | 22% |

**7.** (Great Britain Feb '40) Do you find time to read books? (BIPO)

Yes 62% No 38%

**8.** (Great Britain Feb '40) How did you get hold of the last book you read? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Local public library | 35% |
| Subscription library | 9 |
| A second-shop library | 20 |
| Bought it | 15 |
| Lent by a friend | 21 |

**9.** (US Jan 23 '42) Have you read any play by Shakespeare since you left school? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 18% |
| No | 81 |
| No answer | 1 |
| Still in school | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**10.** (Sweden Feb '42) How many books have you read this autumn and winter? (SGI)

| | *None* | *1–3 books* | *More than 3 books* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46% | 21% | 33% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Towns | 37% | 20% | 43% |
| Country | 52 | 21 | 27 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Old men | 48% | 20% | 32% |
| Young men | 31 | 23 | 46 |
| Old women | 57 | 19 | 24 |
| Young women | 41 | 22 | 37 |

**11.** (Sweden Feb '42) Have you been a member of a reading circle this winter? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 7% | 93% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | |
| Towns | 10% | 90% |
| Country | 5 | 95 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper class | 32% | 68% |
| Middle class | 10 | 90 |
| Others | 3 | 97 |

**12.** (Sweden Feb '42) Do you buy or borrow books? (SGI)

| | *Buy* | *Borrow* | *Both* | *Neither* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 16% | 27% | 19% | 38% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Towns | 18% | 31% | 21% | 30% |
| Country | 14 | 24 | 19 | 43 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 33% | 17% | 42% | 8% |
| Middle class | 17 | 22 | 24 | 37 |
| Workers | 13 | 31 | 14 | 42 |

**13.** (Sweden May '42) What was the name of the book you read last? Asked of a national cross-section of young people. (SGI)

| | BY SEX | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Boys* | *Girls* |
| Do not read books | 39.0% | 35.0% |
| Books for the young | 4.7 | 6.6 |
| Adventure books | 13.4 | 5.3 |
| Exotic stories and travel | 4.5 | — |
| Detective stories | 11.2 | 2.9 |
| Historical novels of no real literary value | 6.7 | 9.7 |
| Historical novels of literary value | 6.7 | — |
| Love stories of literary value | 3.7 | 11.7 |
| Love stories of no real literary value | 6.3 | 11.6 |
| Sigge Starck | — | 5.5 |
| Biographies and memoirs | 2.8 | 2.7 |
| Social books of literary value | 9.3 | 11.6 |
| Social books; classics | — | 3.3 |
| Jack London | 3.5 | — |
| Others | 2.2 | 2.7 |
| | 114.0%* | 108.6%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**14.** (Sweden Feb '43) Have you read anything besides newspapers during the past week? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 64% | 36% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 61% | 39% |
| Women | 66 | 34 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper class | 87% | 13% |
| Middle class | 68 | 32 |
| Workers | 59 | 41 |

**15.** (Sweden Feb '43) What have you read [besides newspapers during the past week]? Asked of 64% of the sample who said they had read something besides newspapers. (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Novels; amusing books | 25% |
| The Bible; other religious literature | 19 |
| Trade literature | 3 |
| Topical political stuff | 3 |
| Poetry | 2 |
| Magazines; trade papers | 30 |
| | 82%* |

* Percentages add to more than 64 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**16.** (US June 2 '43) Do you happen to know who wrote the book *One World*? (AIPO)

Yes 42.0% No 58.0%

**17.** (US June 2 '43) Do you intend to read it [*One World*]? (AIPO)

Yes 41.0% No 52.0% Already have 7.0%

**18.** (Sweden Feb '44) How many books—not borrowed—have you in your home? (Including the Bible, hymnbooks, and cookbooks) (SGI)

| | *Fewer than 6* | *6–10 books* | *11–25 books* | *26–100 books* | *101–500 books* | *Over 500* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 7% | 11% | 25% | 36% | 17% | 4% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Upper class | — | — | 5% | 16% | 44% | 35% |
| Middle class | 3% | 7% | 18 | 40 | 26 | 6 |
| Workers | 12 | 16 | 30 | 34 | 8 | — |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | | |
| Towns | 5% | 9% | 18% | 38% | 24% | 6% |
| Country | 9 | 13 | 29 | 34 | 12 | 3 |

**19.** (Sweden Feb '44) What books, besides religious and trade literature, have you read during the last fortnight? (SGI)

| | *National total* % | *Men* % | *Women* % | *Upper class* % | *Middle class* % | *Workers* % | *Towns* % | *Country* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Love stories without literary pretensions | 3 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| Love stories of a higher quality, family and social novels | 8 | 8 | 7 | 20 | 8 | 6 | 11 | 6 |
| General reading | 3 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 2 |
| Novels with present war as background | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 1 |
| Topical political literature | 4 | 6 | 3 | 14 | 5 | 3 | 8 | 2 |
| Historical novels | 3 | 4 | 3 | 11 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 1 |
| Classical literature | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Poetry | 0.5 | 1 | — | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | — |
| Travel books | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Humorous books | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Adventure and spy stories | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | — |
| Detective novels | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | — |
| Miscellaneous | 6 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| Don't remember titles | 5 | 6 | 5 | 10 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| No fiction | 71 | 68 | 74 | 30 | 66 | 77 | 60 | 78 |
| Percentages | 111.5* | 109* | 108* | 110* | 110* | 105* | 114* | 102* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents mentioned more than one book.

**20.** (Denmark Dec 10 '44) How many books have you in your home? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| No books | 20% |
| 1–25 books | 23 |
| 25–50 books | 20 |
| 51–100 books | 16 |
| More than 100 books | 21 |

**21.** (Denmark Dec 10 '44) Where did you buy the last book you bought? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Book shop | 71% |
| Book agent | 11 |
| Publisher | 4 |
| Postal order | 9 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |

**22.** (France Dec 16 '44) Do you read detective stories? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Often | 15% |
| Rarely | 37 |
| Never | 46 |
| No answer | 2 |

**23.** (US Jan 17 '45) Have you heard of a book called *The Robe*? (AIPO)

Yes 40% No 60%

**24.** (US Jan 17 '45) Can you tell me who wrote it [*The Robe*]? Can you tell me anything else about it? Both questions were asked of 40% of the sample who said they had heard of *The Robe*. Results of both questions are tabulated below. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Admitted never heard of... | 2% |
| Don't know | 41 |
| Douglas | 37 |
| Christ: Robe | 13 |
| Best seller | 1 |
| Religious story | 18 |
| Roman | 1 |
| Life of Christ | 11 |
| Historical | 1 |
| All other answers | 4 |
| | 129%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who had heard of *The Robe* and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**25.** (US Jan 17 '45) Do you intend to read it [*The Robe*]? Asked of 40% of the sample who had heard of *The Robe*. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 33% |
| No | 42 |
| Have read | 23 |
| Admitted they had never heard of it | 2 |
| | 100% of those who had heard of *The Robe* |

**26.** (US Jan 17 '45) Have you ever heard of a book called *Forever Amber*? (AIPO)

Yes 33% No 67%

**27.** (US Jan 17 '45) Can you tell me who wrote it [*Forever Amber*]? Can you tell me anything else about it? Both questions were asked of 33% of the sample who had heard of *Forever Amber*. Results are tabulated below. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Admitted never heard of... | 14% |
| Don't know | 42 |
| Kathleen Winsor | 12 |
| Best seller | 2 |
| Life in England | 4 |
| English court | 6 |
| Romance | 1 |
| About a prostitute | 21 |
| All other answers | 8 |
| | 110%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who had heard of the book and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**28.** (US Jan 17 '45) Do you intend to read it [*Forever Amber*]? Asked of 33% of the sample who had heard of the book. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 40% |
| No | 51 |
| Admitted they had never heard of it | 2 |
| Have read it | 7 |
| | 100% of those who had heard of the book |

**29.** (Canada Mar 24 '45) Are you reading any book now, or have you read any in the past week? (CIPO)

Yes 40% No 60%

**30.** (Denmark Apr 15 '45) Have you read one or more books of fiction this winter? (DGI)

Yes 54.8% No 45.2%

**31.** (Denmark Apr 15 '45) Which book did you like the best? Asked of 54.8% of the sample who had read one or more books of fiction this winter. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| After Dew Comes Rain | 3.8% |
| That None Should Die | 3.1 |
| God's Blind Eye | 1.6 |
| Gone with the Wind | 1.2 |
| This Above All | 1.8 |
| The Son from the Vineyard | 1.2 |
| Tidal Waters | 1.1 |
| The Singing Woods behind Them | 1.1 |
| Morten Korch | 1.1 |
| The Robe | 1.0 |
| Kathrina | 1.0 |
| Others | 48.7 |
| Don't know | 33.3 |
| | 100.0% of those who had read one or more books of fiction this winter |

**32.** (US Aug 22 '45) Have you had a chance to read a book during recent months? (AIPO)

Yes, read book 38% No 61% No answer 1%

**33.** (US Aug 22 '45) Is there any current book which you would especially like to read? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No | 57% |
| Brave Men | 3 |
| Forever Amber | 2 |
| Story of the Bible | 1 |
| Here Is Your War | 1 |
| History of World War II | 1 |
| The Robe | 1 |
| Valley of Decision | 1 |
| One World | 1 |
| A Lion in the Streets | 1 |
| Captain from Castile | 1 |
| A Tree Grows in Brooklyn | 1 |
| So Well Remembered | 1 |
| All others | 13 |
| No answer | 15 |

**34.** (US Nov 10 '45) What recent books have you heard discussed most among your friends? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| None | 52% |
| Forever Amber | 10 |
| A Tree Grows in Brooklyn | 3 |
| Brave Men | 3 |
| Valley of Decision | 1 |
| The Robe | 1 |
| Immortal Wife | 1 |
| Here Is Your War | 1 |
| Black Boy | 1 |
| The Bible | 1 |
| Captain from Castile | 1 |
| Up Front | 1 |
| All others | 10 |
| No answer | 14 |

**35.** (Germany Jan 21 '46) Have you read any books recently? (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Radio listeners | 39% | 61% |
| Non-listeners | 34 | 66 |

**36.** (Germany Feb 14 '46) Have you read *Mein Kampf*? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, completely | 7% |
| Yes, partly | 16 |
| No | 76 |
| No answer | 1 |

**37.** (Germany Feb 14 '46) What kind of books do you like best? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| None; not interested; don't like to read | 15% |
| Novels; short stories; novelettes; love stories; historical novels | 44 |
| Biographies | 3 |
| Religious books | 10 |
| Medical; chemistry; technical books | 6 |
| Travel; nature; mountain climbing stories | 9 |
| Adventure; hunting; wildwest; "whodunits" | 3 |
| Science and philosophy; reconstruction; future | 8 |
| Other: Nordic books; read everything; foreign authors; lectures; art; drama; history books | 10 |
| Political books | 2 |
| No answer | 6 |
| | 116%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**38.** (Germany Feb 14 '46) Which of the following subjects would at present interest you most in a book? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Technical books | 1% |
| Politics | 13 |
| Farming and gardening | 23 |
| Art | 15 |
| Music | 13 |
| Novels and stories | 52 |
| Books of current interest | 13 |
| Economics | 17 |
| Travel | 25 |
| Religion | 23 |
| Philosophy | 5 |
| Other answers | 1 |
| No answer | 10 |
| | 211%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents mentioned more than one type of book.

**39.** (Germany Feb 14 '46) Have you read any books yet which have appeared since the end of the war? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 3% |
| No | 93 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| No answer | 2 |

**40.** (Germany Feb 14 '46) Is there a bookstore in this community where one can buy books which have been brought out by German publishers? Those who said there was such a store in their community were asked: Which have you bought? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 2% |
| No | 66 |
| Don't know | 20 |
| No book, none, nothing | 10 |
| Bought one book | 1 |
| Bought more than one book | 1 |

**41.** (Germany Feb 14 '46) German publishers intend to bring out a number of books dealing with present-day problems of Germany. Which of these problems would you like to see handled in such books? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 30% |
| Reconstruction; future of Germany; future of Europe | 44 |
| Food | 2 |
| Youth and education | 6 |
| Economic matters; trade (international, domestic) | 9 |
| Labor problems; union organization | 1 |
| History of last twelve years; how war started; what has happened during war | 4 |
| Problems of displaced and evacuated persons | 2 |
| Emigration from Germany; information about United States | * |
| Other: art; religion; future of our soldiers; morale | 8 |
| Farmers' problems; technical books | 2 |
| Personal problems; women; family life | 1 |
| | 109%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**42.** (Germany Feb 14 '46) Which books do you think are harmful to German youth? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 2% |
| War books; militaristic books; soldier books; hero-worshipping books | 35 |
| Love stories; immoral; indecent; erotic; doctor's books; too sophisticated books | 25 |
| Cheap literature; adventure; joke books; criminal books | 15 |
| Nazi books; books written during war; during Third Reich; Hitler's books | 17 |
| Political books; biased politics; communistic books | 7 |
| Anti-religious books | 2 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**43.** (Hungary May '46) What books should be bought?* Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

ADULTS BY SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX

| | EDUCATED | | SMALL BOURGEOIS | | WORKERS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* |
| Old Hungarian writers | 81.8% | 87.9% | 81.8% | 81.4% | 57.5% | 66.3% |
| New Hungarian prose | 83.7 | 96.6 | 87.3 | 84.2 | 67.9 | 84.1 |
| New Hungarian poets | 82.5 | 79.3 | 72.5 | 69.2 | 51.6 | 63.4 |
| Translations from French | 46.2 | 51.0 | 36.2 | 37.1 | 17.5 | 20.0 |
| Translations from German | 20.6 | 16.5 | 15.9 | 20.7 | 8.7 | 5.9 |
| Translations from English | 36.2 | 57.5 | 34.6 | 38.5 | 20.8 | 32.6 |
| Translations from American | 20.8 | 23.9 | 15.3 | 19.2 | 23.3 | 25.7 |
| Translations from Russian | 13.1 | 7.6 | 14.8 | 12.8 | 14.1 | 8.9 |

| | EDUCATED | | SMALL BOURGEOIS | | WORKERS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* |
| Popular scientific works | 3.1% | 7.6% | 4.9% | 10.0% | 5.0% | 6.9% |
| Sociology | 26.8 | 35.8 | 22.5 | 15.0 | 20.4 | 8.9 |
| Natural science | 18.1 | 10.9 | 6.5 | 13.5 | 5.8 | 1.9 |
| Art | 27.5 | 29.3 | 14.8 | 25.7 | 8.7 | 13.8 |
| Travel | 26.2 | 15.2 | 23.6 | 31.4 | 19.6 | 42.6 |
| Technical | 19.3 | 13.8 | 19.7 | 11.4 | 21.6 | 4.9 |
| Other; no answer | 8.1 | 3.1 | 8.8 | 2.8 | 3.3 | 2.9 |

BUDAPEST AND SUBURBAN CHILDREN BY SEX

| | *Boys* | *Girls* |
|---|---|---|
| Old Hungarian writers | 32.9% | 36.2% |
| New Hungarian prose | 39.1 | 37.0 |
| New Hungarian poets | 29.8 | 74.4 |
| Translation from French | 48.0 | 19.1 |
| Translation from German | 45.3 | 19.6 |
| Translation from English | 39.5 | 25.9 |
| Translation from American | 44.4 | 15.2 |
| Translation from Russian | 39.5 | 9.3 |
| Popular scientific works | 10.4 | 2.9 |
| Sociology | 34.5 | 7.2 |
| Natural science | 13.5 | 7.2 |
| Art | 22.8 | 18.6 |
| Travel | 16.2 | 8.4 |
| Technical | 22.6 | 7.2 |
| Other; no answer | 17.3 | 13.8 |

* Many respondents mentioned more than one type of book.

**44.** (Great Britain Sept 14 '46) Do you happen to be reading a novel or other book at the moment? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 45% | 55% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 44% | 56% |
| Women | 47 | 53 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 21–29 years | 55% | 45% |
| 30–49 years | 50 | 50 |
| 50 years and over | 36 | 64 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Higher | 69% | 31% |
| Middle | 62 | 38 |
| Lower | 38 | 62 |
| Very poor | 29 | 71 |

**45.** (Great Britain Sept 14 '46) What is it [the novel or other book you are now reading]? Asked of 45% of the sample who said they were reading a novel or other book at the moment. (BIPO)

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Modern fiction (general) | 23% | 16% | 28% |
| Detective stories; crime; mystery; thrillers | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Classic fiction; poetry | 5 | 5 | 4 |
| Biography; memoirs | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Travel books | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| War books | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Technical and scientific books | 2 | 4 | — |
| Politics; history; social science; philosophy | 3 | 5 | 2 |
| Religious books | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| | 45% | 44% | 47% |

**46.** (Great Britain Sept 14 '46) Did you borrow it [the book you are reading] or is it your own? Asked of 45% of the sample who said they were reading a novel or other book at the moment. (BIPO)

| | *Own* | *Public library* | *2d-shop library* | *Subscription library* | *Borrowed* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 12% | 14% | 5% | 4% | 10% | 45% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | |
| Men | 14% | 14% | 4% | 4% | 8% | 44% |
| Women | 10 | 15 | 7 | 4 | 11 | 47 |
| BY AGE | | | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 18% | 17% | 6% | 3% | 11% | 55% |
| 30–49 years | 12 | 16 | 6 | 4 | 12 | 50 |
| 50 years and over | 11 | 10 | 4 | 4 | 7 | 36 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Higher | 31% | 11% | 2% | 12% | 13% | 69% |
| Middle | 20 | 16 | 7 | 7 | 12 | 62 |
| Lower | 8 | 14 | 5 | 2 | 9 | 38 |
| Very poor | 6 | 11 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 29 |

**47.** (Czechoslovakia Oct '46) How many books do you have in your family library? (CZIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| None | 17% |
| 1–10 books | 26 |
| 10–100 books | 38 |
| Over 100 books | 19 |

**48.** (Czechoslovakia Oct '46) How many books have you bought this year? (CZIPO)

| | *None* | *One* | *Two to five* | *More than five* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 50% | 13% | 23% | 14% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Laborers | 61% | 16% | 17% | 6% |
| White-collar | 31 | 10 | 33 | 26 |
| Farmers | 61 | 12 | 18 | 9 |
| Business and professional | 32 | 9 | 33 | 26 |

**49.** (Czechoslovakia Oct '46) What prompted you to buy your last book? (CZIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Advertisement | 5.0% |
| Press criticism | 9.5 |
| Shop window display | 20.0 |
| Recommendation of a friend | 16.0 |
| Book-cover notice | 0.5 |
| Other suggestions | 20.0 |
| No answer | 29.0 |

**50.** (Czechoslovakia Oct '46) Do you prefer books of Czechoslovak authors or translations of foreign writers? (CZIPO)

| | *Czechoslovak* | *Foreign* | *No general opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 46% | 6% | 43% | 5% |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 18–29 years | 39% | 10% | 46% | 5% |
| 30–49 years | 47 | 6 | 42 | 5 |
| 50 years and over | 48 | 4 | 42 | 6 |

**51.** (Czechoslovakia Oct '46) What book would you take with you to a desert island? (CZIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know | 37% |
| Works by well known Czechs | 10 |
| The Bible | 8 |
| Histories; encyclopedias; dictionaries | 8 |
| Books by T. G. Masaryk or Eduard Benes | 5 |
| Robinson Crusoe | 2 |
| Gone with the Wind | 2 |
| The Rains Came | 1 |
| Books by Dostoyevski and Munthe | 1 |
| Other | 26 |

## BOOTS AND SHOES

**1.** (US July 11 '42) Do you ever wear overshoes, or rubbers, or rubber boots? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Overshoes | 45% |
| Rubbers | 32 |
| Rubber boots | 13 |
| Don't wear any | 32 |
| | 122%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (US July 11 '42) How long have you had them [overshoes, rubbers, rubber boots]? Asked of a national cross-section of people who said they wore overshoes or rubbers or rubber boots. 68% of the sample is represented. (NORC)

| | *Overshoes* | *Rubbers* | *Rubber boots* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 3% | 6% | 11% |
| 6 months to 9 months | 11 | 14 | 12 |
| 10 months to 1 year | 20 | 23 | 24 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 30 | 27 | 21 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 16 | 14 | 9 |
| 37 months to 5 years | 14 | 9 | 8 |
| Over 5 years | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| Don't know | 1 | 3 | 6 |

**3.** (US Oct 22 '43 and May 18 '44) Do you think the rationing of shoes has been handled very well, only fairly well, or poorly? The 1943 question was asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | *Oct '43* | *May '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Very well | 69% | 76% |
| Only fairly well | 15 | 10 |
| Poorly | 13 | 9 |
| Don't know | 3 | 5 |

**4.** (US Oct 22 '43 and May 18 '44) In what way hasn't it [shoe rationing] been handled as well as it could have been? The question was asked of those who thought shoe rationing had been handled poorly or only fairly well—28% of the 1943 sample of women and 19% of the 1944 sample are represented. (NORC)

| | *Oct '43* | *May '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Points too high, should have more points, ration too small | 4% | 4% |
| Too few points for children, children need more | 19 | 11 |
| Poor distribution | * | 1 |
| Individual allotments are unfair, unequal | 2 | — |
| Black-market practices | * | — |
| Rationing stimulated buying | 1 | — |
| Answers in terms of shortages | 2 | — |
| Rationing not necessary | — | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1% | 1% |
| Not ascertainable or don't know | * | 2 |
| | 29%** | 20%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 28 and 19 because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

**5.** (US Oct 22 '43 and May 18 '44) Who do you think is mainly responsible [for the only fair or poor handling of shoe rationing]? The question was asked of those who thought shoe rationing had been handled poorly or only fairly well—28% of the 1943 sample of women and 19% of the 1944 sample are represented. (NORC)

| | *Oct '43* | *May '44* |
|---|---|---|
| General government bureaucracy | 3% | — |
| People in charge of rationing (national) | 3 | 5% |
| OPA | 5 | 3 |
| Big producers and packers | 1 | 1 |
| Small dealers and storekeepers | * | — |
| Consumers | 1 | 1 |
| Local ration board | 1 | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | * |
| Not ascertainable or don't know | 13 | 8 |
| | 28% | 19% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**6.** (US Dec 10 '43) Of course, we know there isn't enough for everyone to have all he wants, but how about shoes? Does your ration allow you and your family as much as you need, less than you need, or more than you need? (June 2 '44) Does your ration allow you to get all the rationed shoes your family really needs? Both questions asked of a national cross-section of women who did the family marketing. (NORC)

| | *Dec '43* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|
| As much | 72% | 72% |
| Less | 24 | 27 |
| More | 4 | 1 |
| Don't know or don't use | * | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**7.** (US Dec 10 '43 and June 2 '44) Have you ever tried to get any extra allowances of shoes from your ration board? This question was asked of those women marketers who said their ration didn't allow them and their families enough shoes—24% of the 1943 sample and 27% of the 1944 sample were questioned. (NORC)

| | *Dec '43* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 5% | 8% |
| No | 19 | 18 |
| Don't know | — | 1 |
| | 24% | 27% |

**8.** (US Dec 10 '43 and June 2 '44) What happened [when you asked your ration board for extra shoe allowances]? This question was asked of those women marketers who had asked for extra shoe allowances—5% of the 1943 sample and 8% of the 1944 sample are represented. (NORC)

| | *Dec '43* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Got allotment asked for | 3% | 5% |
| Got allotment but criticize procedure | * | 1 |
| Only got part of allotment asked for | * | ** |
| Plea was denied | 1 | 1 |
| Plea denied and respondent feels unfairly treated | * | ** |

| | Dec '43 | June '44 |
|---|---|---|
| Haven't heard from board | — | ** |
| Miscellaneous | * | ** |
| Don't know | * | 1% |
| | * = 1% | |
| | 5% | 8% |

** Less than 0.5%.

**9.** (Netherlands Dec 12 '45) In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the system and working of the disttribution of boots and shoes? (NIPO)

Satisfied 28% Dissatisfied 61% No opinion 11%

**10.** (Germany July 25 '46) How many pairs of shoes do you have that are fit to wear? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 3% |
| 1 pair | 40 |
| 2 pairs | 40 |
| 3 pairs | 12 |
| 4 pairs | 4 |
| 5 pairs | 1 |
| 6 pairs | * |
| Have no shoes; borrowed them | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**11.** (Germany July 25 '46) How many more pairs of shoes do you have that could be repaired? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 pair | 43% |
| 2 pairs | 13 |
| 3 pairs | 2 |
| 4–5–6 pairs | 1 |
| Have no shoes | 7 |
| None that need repairing | 34 |

**12.** (Germany July 25 '46) How many pairs of shoes suited for winter wear do you absolutely need to get through next winter? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 pair | 55% |
| 2 pairs | 33 |
| 3 pairs | 2 |
| 4–5–6 pairs | 1 |
| Need none | 9 |

**13.** (Germany July 25 '46) How many pairs of shoes fit for winter wear do you have that you can use? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 pair | 41% |
| 2 pairs | 11 |
| 3 pairs | 2 |
| 4–5–6 pairs | 1 |
| No shoes | 46 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**14.** (Belgium July–Oct '46) When buying shoes are you aware of, or do you take note of, the official price (maximum legal price)? (INSOC)

| | Always | Often | Rarely | Never | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40% | 11% | 11% | 25% | 13% |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | | | | |
| Urban | 39% | 10% | 11% | 26% | 14% |
| Rural | 39 | 13 | 12 | 25 | 11 |
| Industrial | 42 | 12 | 11 | 22 | 13 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Farmers | 34% | 16% | 12% | 27% | 11% |
| Workers | 37 | 11 | 13 | 21 | 18 |
| White-collar | 35 | 12 | 12 | 27 | 14 |
| Businessmen | 46 | 8 | 9 | 24 | 13 |
| Professional | 30 | 9 | 8 | 40 | 13 |
| Living on income | 48 | 9 | 8 | 24 | 11 |
| Housewives | 45 | 11 | 12 | 27 | 5 |

**15.** (Belgium July–Oct '46) When buying [shoes] with ration stamps or certificates of entitlement, do you ever have to pay more than the fixed official price (maximum legal price)? (INSOC)

| | Always | Often | Rarely | Never | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 5% | 11% | 10% | 42% | 32% |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | | | | |
| Urban | 5% | 11% | 10% | 41% | 33% |
| Rural | 6 | 14 | 11 | 40 | 29 |
| Industrial | 4 | 7 | 10 | 45 | 34 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Farmers | 7% | 18% | 11% | 34% | 30% |
| Workers | 4 | 10 | 10 | 39 | 37 |
| White-collar | 8 | 8 | 10 | 41 | 33 |
| Businessmen | 4 | 10 | 16 | 42 | 28 |
| Professional | 6 | 15 | 4 | 45 | 30 |
| Living on income | 4 | 11 | 11 | 46 | 28 |
| Housewives | 5 | 11 | 10 | 48 | 26 |

**16.** (Belgium July–Oct '46) Did you ever buy [shoes] without ration stamps or certificates? (INSOC)

| | Often | Rarely | Never | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 23% | 29% | 40% | 8% |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | | | |
| Urban | 23% | 27% | 41% | 9% |
| Rural | 28 | 29 | 37 | 6 |
| Industrial | 14 | 33 | 45 | 8 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Farmers | 39% | 29% | 27% | 5% |
| Workers | 17 | 29 | 43 | 11 |
| White-collar | 22 | 33 | 38 | 7 |
| Businessmen | 27 | 34 | 28 | 11 |
| Professional | 31 | 27 | 33 | 9 |
| Living on income | 15 | 24 | 54 | 7 |

## BOUNTIES, MILITARY

**1.** (US Nov 2 '35) Do you favor immediate cash payment of the soldiers' bonus? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 45% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Republican | 49% | 51% |
| Democratic | 59 | 41 |

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 50.5% | 49.5% |
| Middle Atlantic | 56 | 44 |
| East central | 56 | 44 |
| West central | 53 | 47 |
| South | 57 | 43 |
| Mountain | 57 | 43 |
| Pacific coast | 52 | 48 |

**2.** (US Jan '36) Do you favor the payment of the bonus now or when it is due in 1945? (FOR)

| | *Now* | *When due* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 45.0% | 40.4% | 14.6% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Northeast | 37.7% | 48.8% | 13.5% |
| Midwest | 46.1 | 40.1 | 13.8 |
| Southeast | 47.1 | 32.3 | 20.6 |
| Southwest | 56.5 | 34.7 | 8.8 |
| West | 36.4 | 44.1 | 19.5 |
| Pacific coast | 46.0 | 38.8 | 15.2 |

**3.** (US Jan 4 '44) A bill in Congress provides that members of the armed forces be given a certain sum of money by the government when they leave the service. Do you approve or disapprove of this idea? (AIPO)

Approve 88% Disapprove 8% Undecided 4%

**4.** (US Jan 4 '44) Here are the amounts that have been proposed for servicemen who have served outside the United States —$500 for 18 months or more, $400 for 12 to 18 months, $300 for less than 12 months; for servicemen who have served only in the United States—$300 for 12 months or more, $200 for less than 12 months. Do you think these amounts are too large, too small, or about right? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Oppose any payment | 8% |
| Too large | 3 |
| Too small | 11 |
| About right | 64 |
| Undecided | 7 |
| Qualified approval | 7 |

**5.** (US Jan 4 '44) Would you, personally, be willing to pay higher taxes in order to make these payments [to veterans] possible? (AIPO)

Yes 70% No 20% Undecided 10%

**6.** (US Mar 27 '46) Would you be willing to pay higher taxes to have your state government pay a bonus to war veterans of this state? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 52% | 39% | 9% |
| BY VETERAN STATUS | | | |
| Veterans | 63% | 33% | 4% |
| Rest of population | 50 | 41 | 9 |

**7.** (US Mar 27 '46) How much do you think the [veterans'] bonus should be? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Unwilling to pay higher tax for bonus or no opinion on the subject | 48% |
| $100 and under | 3 |
| Over $100 to $200 | 4 |
| Over $200 to $300 | 6 |
| Over $300 to under $500 | 1 |
| $500 | 9 |
| Over $400 to under $1,000 | 2 |
| $1,000 | 5 |
| Over $1,000 to $2,000 | 2% |
| Over $2,000 | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| Don't know or no answer | 14 |

Median $200*

* This includes the views of the total sample.

**8.** (US Mar 27 '46) Would you favor or oppose a lottery run by the state to pay veterans' bonuses? Asked of 52% of the sample who would be willing to pay higher taxes to have the state government pay a bonus to war veterans of the state. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Favor | 25% |
| Oppose | 21 |
| No answer | 2 |
| No opinion | 4 |
| | 52% |

# BRAZIL

## Appropriations and Expenditures

**1.** (Brazil Nov '46) If you were an official executive and had to reduce governmental expenses by cutting down budgets of three Ministries, at which of them would you rather do the cutting? (IBOPE)

| | |
|---|---|
| Ministry of War | 23% |
| Air forces | 17 |
| Justice | 15 |
| Navy | 14 |
| Treasury | 11 |
| Labor | 7 |
| Transport | 4 |
| Health and education | 4 |
| Agriculture | 2 |
| State Department | 1 |
| Don't know | 61 |
| No cutting at all | 1 |
| Cut all of them | 1 |
| Increase all budgets | 1 |
| | 162%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (Brazil Nov '46) If you were an official executive in charge of distributing a special appropriation, to which of the following would you distribute it? (IBOPE)

| | |
|---|---|
| Foundation of new schools | 44% |
| Foundation of new hospital | 25 |
| Construction of new highways | 9 |
| Agricultural implements | 9 |
| Steel and iron works | 2 |
| Oil research and drilling | 1 |
| Settlement of immigrants | 1 |
| Civil aviation | 1 |
| Military equipment | 1 |
| Government staff | 1 |
| Don't know | 6 |

**3.** (Brazil Nov '46) Do you think the money the government invested in building up the steel and iron works of Volta Redonda was well used or wasted? (IBOPE)

Well used 74% Wasted 6% No opinion 20%

**4.** (Brazil Nov '46) Do you think the money invested by the government in building up the national factory of aviation motors was well used or wasted? (IBOPE)

Well used 66% Wasted 11% No opinion 23%

## BREAD

**1.** (Sweden Apr '42) Would you prefer that fewer kinds of bread were made if this would mean lower prices? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total... | 57% | 10% | 33% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Towns..... | 68% | 14% | 18% |
| Country..... | 51 | 8 | 41 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class..... | 62% | 12% | 26% |
| Middle class..... | 54 | 10 | 36 |
| Others..... | 59 | 10 | 31 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men..... | 60% | 10% | 30% |
| Women..... | 55 | 10 | 35 |

**2.** (Sweden Apr '42) Would you prefer that fewer kinds of cakes were made if this would mean lower prices? (SGI)

Yes 53% No 11% No opinion 36%

**3.** (Great Britain Jan 24 '43) Lord Woolton says that we must eat less bread. Do you think people will cut down voluntarily, or should there be rationing? (BIPO)

Voluntary 47% Ration 42% Don't know 11%

**4.** (Australia Apr '43) Do you object to day-baking if it means that bread baked yesterday is delivered today? (APOP)

Don't object 64% Object 28% Undecided 8%

**5.** (Australia Oct '43) Do you find that zoning of bread and milk is working out fairly well? Asked in the zoned districts. (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Satisfied with both..... | 59% |
| Satisfied with bread..... | 17 |
| Satisfied with milk..... | 3 |
| Dissatisfied..... | 16 |
| Undecided..... | 5 |

**6.** (Australia Oct '43) Would you like it [bread and milk zoning] continued after the war? Asked in the zoned districts. (APOP)

Favored 34% Oppose 49% Undecided 17%

**7.** (Australia June–July '45) Would you like zoning of bread to continue after the war? Asked in the zoned districts. (APOP)

Opposed 55% In favor 30% Indifferent 15%

**8.** (Australia Nov '45) Would you mind if zoning of bread continues? Asked in the zoned districts. (APOP)

| | *Opposed* | *In favor* |
|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | |
| Men..... | 69% | 31% |
| Women..... | 55 | 45 |

**9.** (France Feb 16 '46) In your opinion, is anyone responsible for the present bread crisis? Who? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| M. Pineau..... | 23% |
| The Ministers of Food..... | 20 |
| The De Gaulle government. | 21 |
| The farmers..... | 12 |
| The black market..... | 3 |
| The administration..... | 2 |
| The capitalists..... | 1 |
| The Americans..... | 1 |
| Other answers..... | 4 |
| No answer..... | 16 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**10.** (France Feb 16 '46) What quantity of bread do you consider necessary for your nourishment each day? (FIPO)

| | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | |
| Less than 350 grams..... | 6% | 17% |
| 350–450 grams..... | 30 | 43 |
| 450–550 grams..... | 40 | 30 |
| 550–650 grams..... | 8 | 3 |
| 650–750 grams..... | 5 | 2 |
| 750–850 grams..... | 6 | 3 |
| 850 grams and over..... | 5 | 2 |
| Median.....520 grams | | 450 grams |

| | |
|---|---|
| MEDIAN BY AGE | |
| 20–34 years..... | 540 grams |
| 35–49 years..... | 520 grams |
| 50–64 years..... | 510 grams |
| 65 years and over..... | 470 grams |

**11.** (US Mar 27 '46) Have you heard or read anything which told exactly how much less bread you are to use? How much less bread? Results for the two questions have been combined. (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 69% No answer 1%

Median 20% less bread

**12.** (Great Britain Apr '46) Would you approve or disapprove if rationing of bread were introduced into this country? (BIPO)

Approve 41% Disapprove 50% Don't know 9%

**13.** (Great Britain Apr '46) Do you think it would be possible to make bread rationing work? (BIPO)

Yes 51% No 35% Don't know 14%

**14.** (Great Britain Apr '46) What do you think would be a reasonable weekly ration [of bread] for each person? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 2–3 lbs. per week..... | 17% |
| 4 lbs. per week..... | 19 |
| 5 lbs. per week..... | 13 |
| 6 lbs. per week..... | 14 |
| 7 lbs. per week..... | 21 |
| More than 7 lbs..... | 11 |
| Don't know..... | 5 |

**15.** (US Apr 10 '46) Have you heard or read anything which told exactly how much less bread you are to use? How much less bread? Results for these two questions have been combined. (AIPO)

Yes 27% No 62% Don't know 9% No answer 2%

Median 25% less bread

**16.** (Belgium July–Oct '46) Did you ever buy bread or flour without ration stamps or certificates? (INSOC)

| | *Often* | *Rarely* | *Never* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 17.3% | 23.4% | 53.2% | 6.1% |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | | | |
| Urban | 15.2% | 20.1% | 57.1% | 7.6% |
| Rural | 21.6 | 23.7 | 50.0 | 4.7 |
| Industrial | 15.0 | 29.3 | 50.2 | 5.5 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Farmers | 18.2% | 19.6% | 57.7% | 4.5% |
| Workers | 22.5 | 24.1 | 44.7 | 8.7 |
| White-collar | 14.5 | 25.5 | 52.6 | 7.4 |
| Businessmen | 12.2 | 29.1 | 51.1 | 7.6 |
| Living on income | 8.6 | 18.4 | 67.5 | 5.5 |
| Professional | 10.0 | 21.1 | 58.9 | 10.0 |
| Housewives | 17.3 | 22.5 | 59.0 | 1.2 |

**17.** (Great Britain Aug '46) How are you and your family managing on bread rationing? (BIPO)

| | *Very well* | *Fairly well* | *With difficulty* | *Badly* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 43% | 18% | 6% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 34% | 44% | 17% | 5% |
| Women | 33 | 41 | 20 | 6 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 37% | 48% | 11% | 4% |
| Middle | 36 | 44 | 15 | 5 |
| Lower | 32 | 42 | 20 | 6 |
| Very poor | 29 | 41 | 22 | 8 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Conservative | 27% | 46% | 20% | 7% |
| Labor | 39 | 39 | 17 | 5 |
| Liberal | 32 | 47 | 15 | 6 |
| Other voters | 34 | 34 | 32 | — |
| Non-voters | 31 | 42 | 19 | 8 |

**18.** (Great Britain Sept 14 '46) If bread rationing stops, should cakes also be off the ration, or should they still be rationed? (BIPO)

| | *Off ration* | *Still rationed* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40% | 50% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 40% | 43% | 17% |
| Women | 39 | 58 | 3 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 38% | 52% | 10% |
| 30–49 years | 38 | 52 | 10 |
| 50 years and over | 42 | 48 | 10 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 40% | 43% | 17% |
| Middle | 39 | 52 | 9 |
| Lower | 40 | 50 | 10 |
| Very poor | 44 | 44 | 12 |
| Housewives | 37% | 60% | 3% |

# BUDGET

## U.S.

**1.** (US Dec 18 '35 and Apr 12 '37) Do you think it necessary at this time to balance the budget and start reducing the national debt? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 70% | 30% = 100% | — |
| Apr '37 | 71 | 29 = 100 | 14% |
| DEC '35 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 55% | 45% | |
| Republican | 89 | 11 | |
| DEC '35 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 75% | 25% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 70 | 30 | |
| East central | 72 | 28 | |
| West central | 71 | 29 | |
| South | 67 | 33 | |
| Mountain | 70 | 30 | |
| Pacific coast | 66 | 34 | |

**2.** (US Dec 28 '35 and Apr 12 '37) Should this [balancing the budget] be done by higher taxes, government economies, or both? The question was asked of those who thought it necessary to balance the budget and start reducing the national debt—70% of the 1935 sample and 71% of the 1937 sample are represented. (AIPO)

| | *Dec '35* | *Apr '37* |
|---|---|---|
| Higher taxes | 2% | 2% |
| Government economies | 80 | 72 |
| Both | 18 | 26 |
| | 100%* | 100%* |

* 100% of those who thought it necessary to balance the budget and start reducing the national debt.

**3.** (US Nov 13 '36) Do you think it necessary for the new administration to balance the budget? (AIPO)

Yes 70% No 30%

**4.** (US Nov 13 '36) In your opinion, whose responsibility for balancing the budget is greater, the President's or Congress'? (AIPO)

President 38% Congress 62% = 100% No opinions 19%

**5.** (US Jan 25 '37) Do you believe it necessary to reduce the national debt at this time in order to prepare for future emergency borrowing? (AIPO)

Yes 65% No 35% = 100% No opinion 25%

**6.** (US Jan 25 '37) In your estimation, how much is the national debt today? (Mar 29 '44) About how much do you think the national public debt is now? (AIPO)

| *1937 results* | | *1944 results* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Under 100 millions | 3% | In the millions | 6% |
| 100–999 millions | 1 | Under 100 billions | 18 |
| 1–9 billions | 5 | 100 to under 150 billions | 12 |
| 10–19 billions | 5 | 150 to under 175 billions | 5 |
| 20–29 billions | 5 | 175 to under 200 billions | 3 |
| 30–39 billions | 23 | 200 billions (correct) | 9 |
| 40–49 billions | 5 | Over 200 including 225 billions | 1 |
| 50–99 billions | 4 | Over 225 including 250 billions | 3 |
| 100 billions and over | 1 | Over 250 including 300 billions | 3 |
| No opinion | 48 | Over 300 billions | 3 |
| | | Billions | 5 |
| | | No estimate | 32 |

Median 100 to 150 billions

**7.** (US Apr 19 '37) Would you favor increasing income taxes as a means of balancing the national budget? (AIPO)

Yes 52% No 39% No opinion 9%

**8.** (US Apr 26 '37) As a means of balancing the national budget, which of these two ways do you prefer: national sales tax or increasing income taxes? (AIPO)

National sales tax 31% Income taxes 58% No opinion 11%

**9.** (US Aug 16 '37) Do you think this administration will be able to balance the national budget during the next year? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 16% | 84% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic | 24% | 76% |
| Republican | 6 | 94 |

**10.** (US Dec 23 '38) Do you think the Roosevelt administration will balance the federal budget by 1940? (AIPO)

Yes 11% No 89% = 100% No opinion 18%

**11.** (US Mar '39) If you were a member of the incoming Congress, would you vote yes or no on a bill to reduce federal spending to the point where the national budget is balanced? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 61.3% | 17.4% | 21.3% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 76.3% | 11.1% | 12.6% |
| Upper middle | 67.1 | 17.8 | 15.1 |
| Lower middle | 62.2 | 17.8 | 20.0 |
| Poor | 54.8 | 18.3 | 26.9 |
| Negroes | 40.2 | 19.5 | 40.3 |
| Unemployed | 57.5 | 20.0 | 22.5 |
| BY ATTITUDES TOWARD ROOSEVELT | | | |
| Roosevelt essential | 45.6% | 22.3% | 32.1% |
| Good outweighs bad | 54.4 | 21.8 | 23.8 |
| Usefulness over | 77.5 | 12.3 | 10.2 |
| Roosevelt a calamity | 84.6 | 7.4 | 8.0 |

**12.** (US Nov 15 '39) Should the federal government increase taxes at this time in order to balance its budget or should it borrow money to make up the deficit? A comparable cross-section was asked the question in the following form: Do you think the federal government should borrow money at this time to make up the deficit, or should the government increase taxes in order to balance the budget? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Increase taxes | 31% |
| Borrow money | 31 |
| No opinion | 33 |
| No answer | 5 |

**13.** (US Dec 22 '39) At present, the federal government is spending several billion dollars more than it takes in each year. If the Republicans win the next presidential election, do you think they will make the government's income equal expenses within two years? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, strongly felt | 4% |
| Yes, not strongly | 8 |
| No, strongly felt | 38 |
| No, not strongly | 30 |
| Don't know | 20 |

**14.** (US Dec 22 '39) If the Democrats win the next presidential election, do you think they will make the government's income equal expenses within two years? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, strongly felt | 2% |
| Yes, not strongly | 4 |
| No, strongly felt | 48 |
| No, not strongly | 27% |
| Don't know | 18 |
| No answer | 1 |

**15.** (US Jan 30 '40) Which political party do you think is more likely to balance the federal government's budget in the next four years—the Republicans or the Democrats? (AIPO)

| | *Republicans* | *Democrats* | *Neither* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 23% | 35% = 100% | 16% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democratic | 15% | 41% | 44% | |
| Republican | 75 | 4 | 21 | |

**16.** (US Apr '40) Which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings: (1) The federal budget should be balanced immediately at all costs. (2) The government should make whatever changes are necessary in spending and taxation to bring the budget into balance. (3) We should continue with an unbalanced budget until real recovery has set in. (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9.1% | 48.4% | 25.9% | 16.6% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 12.3% | 63.7% | 16.7% | 7.3% |
| Upper middle | 10.3 | 60.7 | 19.6 | 9.4 |
| Lower middle | 9.3 | 50.4 | 27.0 | 13.3 |
| Poor | 6.0 | 38.1 | 33.4 | 22.5 |
| Negro | 9.1 | 23.5 | 25.9 | 41.5 |

**17.** (US May '40) How would you want this [balancing the budget] done? Asked of a national cross-section of people who thought the next administration should balance the budget. (FOR)

| | *By reducing expenditures* | *By increasing taxes* | *Both* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 71.1% | 4.0% | 15.0% | 9.9% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 68.7% | 1.7% | 23.3% | 6.3% |
| Poor | 68.0 | 5.7 | 12.6 | 13.7 |

**18.** (US Oct '43) With which of these two statements are you more nearly in agreement: (1) There is no difference between government and private debt. In both cases, current budgets should be balanced as soon as possible—otherwise ruin follows. (2) Provided we have an expanding national income, it is not necessary to fear the expansion of government debt in the way that we fear an unbalanced private or business budget. Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Statement 1 86.2% Statement 2 13.8%

**19.** (US Aug 14 '46) Can you tell me what is meant by balancing the federal budget? (AIPO)

| | *Correct* | *Incorrect or don't know* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 51% |
| BY EDUCATION | | |
| College | 77% | 23% |
| High school | 55 | 45 |
| Grammar school or no school | 37 | 63 |

**20.** (US Aug 14 '46) Some people say that if we're going to balance the federal budget we've got to keep income taxes at the present rates. Others say it's more important to cut income

taxes than it is to balance the budget. Which do you think is the more important to do in the coming year—balance the budget or cut income taxes? (AIPO)

| | *Favor balancing budget* | *Favor cutting tax* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 71% | 20% | 9% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional and business | 78% | 15% | 7% |
| Farmers | 75 | 17 | 8 |
| White-collar | 72 | 21 | 7 |
| Manual workers | 64 | 25 | 11 |

## BUDGET, HOUSEHOLD

**1.** (Sweden Feb '43) Do you try to budget your expenses? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 54% | 46% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper class | 64% | 36% |
| Middle class | 60 | 40 |
| Workers | 49 | 51 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 20–29 years | 49% | 51% |
| 30–49 years | 56 | 44 |
| 50 years and over | 54 | 46 |

**2.** (Australia Nov '43) If a wife doesn't spend all the housekeeping money, who should own what's left? (APOP)

| | *Wife own it* | *Husband own it* | *Both share it* | *Spend it on home* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 60% | 5% | 25% | 7% | 3% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| | | | | *Spend it on home and Undecided* | |
| Men | 51% | 9% | 28% | 12% | |
| Women | 69 | 1 | 21 | 9 | |

**3.** (Great Britain Nov 20 '43) Do you think that wives should be allowed to keep any savings out of housekeeping money? (BIPO)

Yes 78% No 15% Don't know 7%

**4.** (Great Britain Nov 20 '43) Does your wife know how much you earn each week? Asked of a national cross-section of husbands. (BIPO)

Yes 75% No 25%

**5.** (Great Britain Nov 20 '43) Does your husband tell you how much he earns each week? Asked of a national cross-section of wives. (BIPO)

Yes 72% No 28%

**6.** (Great Britain Nov 20 '43) How do you arrange about the spending of money? (BIPO)

Wife fixed 49% Husband fixed 17% Differs 34%

**7.** (Sweden June '45) Does your wife (do you) receive a certain sum for household expenses? Asked of a national cross-section of men and married women who were not breadwinners outside their homes. (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40% | 56% | 4% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 42% | 54% | 4% |
| Women | 39 | 57 | 4 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 50% | 46% | 4% |
| Middle class | 35 | 61 | 4 |
| Workers | 44 | 52 | 4 |

**8.** (Sweden June '45) Does your wife (do you) get this money [certain sum for household expenses] every month, every week, or once a fortnight? Asked of a national cross-section of men and married women who were not breadwinners outside their homes, but who received a fixed household allowance. 40% of the sample is represented. (SGI)

| | *Every month* | *Every week* | *Once a fortnight* | *Other replies* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 46% | 17% | 4% = 100%* |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 37% | 41% | 18% | 4% |
| Women | 29 | 52 | 15 | 4 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 61% | 19% | 17% | 3% |
| Middle class | 47 | 36 | 12 | 5 |
| Workers | 23 | 55 | 19 | 3 |

* Percentages are based on the total number of men and married women who were not breadwinners outside of their homes, but who received a fixed household allowance.

**9.** (Sweden June '45) How much [household expense money does your wife or you receive]? Asked of a national cross-section of men and married women who were not breadwinners outside their homes, but who received a fixed household allowance. 40% of the sample is represented. (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 20 kr. a week** | 2% |
| 20–29 kr. a week | 14 |
| 30–39 kr. a week | 37 |
| 40–49 kr. a week | 17 |
| 50–59 kr. a week | 15 |
| 60 kr. a week or more | 11 |
| Wife gets whole salary | 4 |
| | 100%* |

* Percentages are based on the total number of men and married women who were not breadwinners outside their homes, but who received a fixed household allowance.

** The krona was approximately 25 cents in American money at this time.

**10.** (Denmark June 15 '46) Does your wife receive a fixed sum weekly or monthly for [household] expenses? Asked of a national cross-section of married men. (DGI)

Yes 41% No 59%

**11.** (Denmark June 15 '46) What amount, approximately, does your wife receive? Asked of 41% of the sample of married men whose wives received a fixed sum weekly or monthly for household expenses. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 150 kr.* | 11% |
| 150–179 kr. | 20 |
| 180–239 kr. | 40 |
| 240–299 kr. | 15 |
| 300–349 kr. | 9 |
| More than 350 kr. | 5 |
| | 100% of those whose wives received a fixed sum monthly for household expenses |

HOUSEKEEPING MONEY PER NUMBER OF PERSONS

| | |
|---|---|
| 2 people (average) | 180 kr. |
| 3 people (average) | 213 kr. |
| 4 people (average) | 237 kr. |
| 5 people (average) | 256 kr. |
| 6 people or over | 295 kr. |

* The Danish krone was approximately 21 cents in American money at this time.

**12.** (US June 26 '46 and Great Britain Dec '46) In some families the wife manages most of the money while in others the husband does. Who manages most of the money in your household? Asked of a national cross-section of married people. (AIPO and BIPO)

| | *Husband* | *Wife* | *Both* |
|---|---|---|---|
| US | 29% | 32% | 39% |
| Great Britain | 22 | 54 | 24 |
| AMERICAN OPINIONS BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional and business | 30% | 26% | 44% |
| White-collar | 29 | 32 | 39 |
| Farmers | 37 | 16 | 47 |
| Manual workers | 24 | 42 | 34 |
| BRITISH OPINIONS BY MARITAL STATUS | | | |
| Husbands | 26% | 50% | 24% |
| Wives | 18 | 59 | 23 |

**13.** (US June 26 '46) Do you think this is the best arrangement [of management of money] in your case? (AIPO) (Great Britain Dec '46) Do you think that this is the best arrangement? (BIPO) Asked of the same sample as the preceding question.

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| OPINION IN THE UNITED STATES | | | |
| National total | 93% | 4% | 3% |
| OPINION IN GREAT BRITAIN | | | |
| Families in which the husband manages most of the money | 86% | 10% | 4% |
| Families in which the wife manages most of the money | 92 | 4 | 4 |
| Families in which the money is managed equally | 93 | 3 | 4 |

**14.** (US Aug '46) Who do you think should have the most to say in deciding how the family money is to be spent, the husband or the wife? (FOR)

BY SEX

| | *Husband* | *Wife* | *Both the same* | *Depends* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 27.2% | 16.2% | 46.1% | 8.4% | 2.1% |
| Women | 11.0 | 23.3 | 55.2 | 7.7 | 2.8 |

## BUSINESS CYCLES

**1.** (US May 9 '36) Are the acts and policies of the present administration helping or hindering recovery? (AIPO)

| | *Helping* | *Hindering* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 45% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic | 93% | 7% |
| Republican | 10 | 90 |
| Socialist | 48 | 52 |
| Others | 24 | 76 |
| STATE BY STATE | | |
| South Carolina | 87% | 13% |
| Mississippi | 83 | 17 |
| Texas | 82 | 18 |
| Alabama | 82 | 18 |
| Georgia | 81 | 19 |
| Tennessee | 81 | 19 |
| Utah | 80 | 20 |
| North Carolina | 78 | 22 |
| Oregon | 78 | 22 |
| Kentucky | 77 | 23 |
| Arkansas | 76 | 24 |
| Florida | 75 | 25 |
| Washington | 75 | 25 |
| Louisiana | 73 | 27 |
| New Mexico | 72 | 28 |
| Montana | 69 | 31 |
| Missouri | 68 | 32 |
| Virginia | 68 | 32 |
| Arizona | 68 | 32 |
| Minnesota | 64 | 36 |
| Michigan | 62 | 38 |
| Ohio | 61 | 39 |
| Indiana | 60 | 40 |
| Oklahoma | 59 | 41 |
| Illinois | 58 | 42 |
| Idaho | 58 | 42 |
| Wisconsin | 57 | 43 |
| California | 57 | 43 |
| Delaware | 55 | 45 |
| West Virginia | 55 | 45 |
| Wyoming | 53 | 47 |
| Nebraska | 51 | 49 |
| Iowa | 50 | 50 |
| South Dakota | 50 | 50 |
| Vermont | 49 | 51 |
| New York | 49 | 51 |
| Kansas | 49 | 51 |
| North Dakota | 49 | 51 |
| Pennsylvania | 48 | 52 |
| Colorado | 48 | 52 |
| Connecticut | 47 | 53 |
| Massachusetts | 46 | 54 |
| Nevada | 46 | 54 |
| New Hampshire | 45 | 55 |
| New Jersey | 45 | 55 |
| Maryland | 45 | 55 |
| Maine | 44 | 56 |
| Rhode Island | 42 | 58 |

**2.** (US July '36; Jan '37; Apr '37) Do you believe the depression is over? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *Partly* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| July '36 | 16.3% | 36.3% | 40.8% | 6.6% |
| Jan '37 | 25.5 | 34.8 | 31.9 | 7.8 |
| Apr '37 | 26.3 | 51.4 | 19.8 | 2.5 |

**3.** (US July '36) Do you believe the present state of affairs is due to or in spite of the policies of the government? (FOR)

| | *Due to* | *In spite of* | *Both* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY OPINIONS ABOUT THE DEPRESSION | | | | |
| The depression is over | 28.8% | 45.2% | 17.4% | 8.6% |
| The depression is not over | 22.6 | 38.3 | 19.0 | 20.1 |
| The depression is partly over | 22.4 | 39.8 | 26.2 | 11.6 |

| | *Due to* | *In spite of* | *Both* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY CURRENT ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Personally better off than in the last two or three years | 24.5% | 44.3% | 18.4% | 12.8% |
| Not better off | 23.9 | 34.9 | 19.5 | 21.7 |
| Same | 19.9 | 35.3 | 25.8 | 19.0 |

**4.** (US Nov 1 '36) Do you think there will be another serious depression? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 67% | 33% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic | 56% | 44% |
| Republican | 84 | 16 |
| Socialist | 88 | 12 |
| Lemke voters | 40 | 60 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | |
| Farmers | 65% | 35% |
| Small towns | 72 | 28 |
| Cities | 67 | 33 |

**5.** (US Nov 4 '36) In what year [do you think the depression will come]? Asked of 67% of the sample who thought there would be another serious depression. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1936–1940 | 21% |
| 1941–1945 | 27 |
| 1946–1950 | 30 |
| 1951–1956 | 12 |
| Later than 1956 | 10 |
| | 100% of those who thought there would be another depression |

**6.** (US Oct 18 '37, Dec 13 '37, Mar 8 '38) Do you expect general business conditions will be better or worse during the next six months? (Jan 19 '38 and Apr 27 '38) Do you think business will be better or worse six months from now? (Aug 8 '39) Do you personally expect business conditions throughout the country to be more prosperous or less prosperous during the next six months than they are now? (AIPO)

| | *Better* | *Worse* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '37 | 64% | 36% = 100% | 19% |
| Dec '37 | 58 | 42 | 15 |
| Jan '38 | 78 | 22 | 17 |
| Mar '38 | 76 | 24 | 24 |
| Apr '38 | 69 | 31 | 29 |
| Aug '39 | 64 | 36 | 9 |
| OCT '37, DEC '37, JAN '38, AUG '39 OPINIONS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| *New England* | | | |
| Oct '37 | 67% | 33% | |
| Dec '37 | 69 | 31 | |
| Jan '38 | 77 | 23 | |
| Aug '39 | 80 | 20 | |
| *Middle Atlantic* | | | |
| Oct '37 | 60 | 40 | |
| Dec '37 | 62 | 38 | |
| Jan '38 | 79 | 21 | |
| Aug '39 | 66 | 34 | |
| *East central* | | | |
| Oct '37 | 60 | 40 | |
| Dec '37 | 66 | 34 | |
| Jan '38 | 81 | 19 | |
| Aug '39 | 61 | 39 | |
| *West central* | | | |
| Oct '37 | 70% | 30% | |
| Dec '37 | 55 | 45 | |
| Jan '38 | 76 | 24 | |
| Aug '39 | 55 | 45 | |
| *South* | | | |
| Oct '37 | 67 | 33 | |
| Dec '37 | 48 | 52 | |
| Jan '38 | 75 | 25 | |
| Aug '39 | 72 | 28 | |
| *Mountain* | | | |
| Oct '37 | 65 | 35 | |
| Dec '37 | 31 | 69 | |
| Jan '38 | 82 | 18 | |
| *West* | | | |
| Aug '39 | 63 | 37 | |
| *Pacific coast* | | | |
| Oct '37 | 78 | 22 | |
| Dec '37 | 50 | 50 | |
| Jan '38 | 77 | 23 | |
| OCT '37 OPINIONS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 69% | 31% | |
| Republican | 51 | 49 | |

**7.** (US Nov 12 '37) Have you noticed any decline in business in this community during the last two months? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 63% | 37% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 69% | 31% |
| Middle Atlantic | 60 | 40 |
| East central | 70 | 30 |
| West central | 61 | 39 |
| South | 63 | 37 |
| Mountain | 61 | 39 |
| Pacific coast | 59 | 41 |

**8.** (US Nov 12 '37) Do you think the Roosevelt administration is to blame for this decline [in business during the last two months]? Asked of 63% of the sample who had noticed a decline in business. (Mar 8 '38) Do you think the Roosevelt administration is to blame for the present decline in business—entirely, partly, or not at all? (AIPO)

| | *Entirely* | *Partly* | *Not at all* | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '37 | 19% | 39% | 42% | — | = 100%* |
| Mar '38 | 12 | 49 | 33 | 6% | |
| NOV '37 OPINIONS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| New England | 16% | 41% | 43% | = 100%* | |
| Middle Atlantic | 18 | 41 | 41 | | |
| East central | 20 | 39 | 41 | | |
| West central | 18 | 45 | 37 | | |
| South | 19 | 35 | 46 | | |
| Mountain | 23 | 32 | 45 | | |
| Pacific coast | 14 | 40 | 46 | | |
| NOV '37 OPINIONS BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Democratic | 6% | 31% | 63% | | |
| Republican | 40 | 49 | 11 | | |

* 100% of those who had noticed a decline.

**9.** (US Dec 28 '37 and Mar 15 '38) Should the principal blame for the present decline in business be placed on business, on labor, on the Roosevelt administration, or on natural economic forces? The '38 question read "most of the blame" instead of "principal blame." (AIPO)

| | *Business* | *Labor* | *Roosevelt administration* | *Economic forces* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '37 | 21% | 12% | 21% | 27% | 19% |
| Mar '38 | 17 | 12 | 21 | 27 | 23* |

* No opinion included persons who could not decide upon one single cause. They amount to 8% of the total vote.

**10.** (Great Britain Jan '38) Do you think England will have a decline in business this year, like that now occurring in the United States? (BIPO)

Yes 13% No 50% No opinion 37%

**11.** (US Apr 6 '38) If you were in President Roosevelt's place, what would you do to fight the depression? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Remove restrictions on business initiative | 27% |
| Just what he is doing | 11 |
| Reduce government spending and try to balance budget | 10 |
| Increase government spending | 7 |
| Reduce taxes | 5 |
| All other suggestions | 40 |
| | 100% |
| No opinion | 50% |

**12.** (US Apr 6 '38) Would you call the present state of business a recession or a depression? (AIPO)

| | *Recession* | *Depression* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 58% = 100% | 12% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republican | 28% | 72% | |
| Democratic | 50 | 50 | |

**13.** (US Apr 6 '38) Do you think it is fair to call it [present state of business] the Roosevelt recession (depression)? (AIPO)

Yes 43% No 57% = 100% No opinion 10%

**14.** (US Apr 6 '38) Do you think it was fair to call the 1929 slump in business the Hoover depression? (AIPO)

Yes 24% No 65% No opinion 11%

**15.** (US May 25 '38) Do you think we have passed the worst point in the present depression? (AIPO)

Yes 34% No 47% No opinion 19%

**16.** (US May 25 '38) About when do you think business will pick up again? A comparable cross-section was asked: About when do you think another rise in business will begin? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No opinion | 46% |
| Fall 1938 | 13 |
| Summer 1938 | 8 |
| 1940 | 8 |
| End of 1938 | 5 |
| End of present administration | 4 |
| Has begun | 3 |
| 1941 | 2 |
| Other answers | 11 |

**17.** (US May 27 '38) What is your own explanation of the cause of the present depression? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Policies of the present administration; spending; etc | 30% |
| Lack of cooperation between government and business | 12 |
| Lack of confidence; unwillingness to spend; etc | 9 |
| Lack of purchasing power; unequal distribution of wealth; etc | 7 |
| Business; sit-down strike by capital | 7 |
| Technological unemployment | 5% |
| Aftermath of war | 5 |
| Labor trouble; strikes; CIO; etc | 5 |
| Overproduction | 3 |
| Natural causes; business cycle; etc | 3 |
| People living beyond their means | 2 |
| Lack of cooperation between business and labor | 2 |
| Political graft | 2 |
| All others | 8 |
| | 100% |
| No opinion | 30% |

| | *Blaming Roosevelt and New Deal* | *Blaming all other causes* | *Blaming business* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| All 1936 Republicans | 53% | 47% | — |
| All 1936 Democrats | 15 | 85 | — |
| 1936 Democrats now Republicans | 38 | 62 | |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper | 42% | 48% | 10% |
| Middle | 31 | 58 | 11 |
| Lower | 21 | 63 | 16 |

**18.** (US June 21 '38) Do you think business would be better or worse today if we had a Republican president? (May 18 '39 and Nov 18 '39) Do you think business would be more prosperous or less prosperous if we had a Republican president in the White House? A comparable cross-section was asked the question in the following form: Do you think business would be better or worse if we had a Republican president in the White House? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *More prosperous or better* | *Less prosperous or worse* | *About the same* |
|---|---|---|---|
| June '38 | 60% | 40% | — |
| May '39 | 50 | 26 | 24% |
| Nov '39 | 41 | 27 | 32 |
| MAY '39 AND NOV '39 OPINIONS BY POLITICS | | | |
| *Republican* | | | |
| May '39 | 85% | 3% | 12% |
| Nov '39 | 79 | 2 | 19 |
| *Democratic* | | | |
| May '39 | 29 | 42 | 29 |
| Nov '39 | 10 | 50 | 40 |
| MAY '39 OPINIONS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 62% | 20% | 18% |
| Middle class | 54 | 22 | 24 |
| Lower class | 40 | 34 | 26 |
| Reliefers | 37 | 38 | 25 |

**19.** (US July '38) Do you think that economic conditions in this country are better or worse now than they were a year ago? (FOR)

IN COMPARISON WITH APR '38

| | *Apr '38* | *July '38* |
|---|---|---|
| Better | 25.3% | 16.3% |
| Same | 17.2 | 18.1 |
| Worse | 51.0 | 60.2 |
| Don't know | 6.5 | 5.4 |

**20.** (US July '38) Do you think better times are coming soon —perhaps within the next twelve months? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 36.6% |
| Depends | 19.6 |
| No | 24.3 |
| Don't know | 19.5 |

**21.** (US July '38) What do you think will bring it [better times] about? Asked of 56.2% of the sample who thought better times were coming soon or gave qualified answers. (FOR)

| | *Industrial activity* | *Government activity* | *Other* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 36.9% | 32.7% | 21.3% | 9.1% = 100.0%* |
| BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS | | | | |
| Executives | 39.4% | 28.9% | 28.4% | 3.3% = 100.0%* |
| Factory labor | 37.0 | 34.0 | 14.0 | 15.0 = 100.0* |

* 100% of those who thought there was a possibility of better times coming soon.

**22.** (US Jan 25 '39) Do you think that, to improve business conditions, it would be better to follow the leadership of big businessmen or the leadership of the Roosevelt administration? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Business | 48% |
| Administration | 33 |
| No opinion | 14 |
| Other answers | 5 |

**23.** (US Mar 2 '39 and May 10 '39) Do you think the attitude of the Roosevelt administration toward business is delaying business recovery? A comparable cross-section was asked the same question about businessmen instead of business. Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Yes, a lot* | *Yes, a little* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '39 | 41% | 26% | 33% = 100% | 20% |
| May '36 | 63% | | 37 = 100 | 16 |

**24.** (US Apr '39) Which of these do you think is the main thing now holding back greater prosperity in this country? (FOR)

| | *The New Deal* | *Leaders of business* | *Labor* | *Events abroad* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 23.3% | 25.1% | 17.5% | 11.1% | 23.0% = 100% |
| BY OPINIONS ABOUT WHAT THE ADMINISTRATION SHOULD DO | | | | | |
| Continue with more reforms along same lines | 2.8% | 28.8% | 19.8% | 23.5% | |
| Make necessary improvements, but try nothing new | 29.1 | 49.3 | 41.6 | 48.7 | |
| Let conservatives undo damage already done | 62.4 | 12.1 | 28.1 | 17.3 | |
| Don't know | 5.7 | 9.8 | 10.5 | 10.5 | |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | |

**25.** (US May '39) With which of these two statements do you come closest to agreeing—the policies of the administration have so affected the confidence of businessmen that recovery has been seriously held back; businessmen generally have been unjustly blaming the administration for their troubles? (FOR)

| | *Administration delays recovery* | *Business fears are unfounded* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 39.3% | 37.4% | 23.3% = 100% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 63.0% | 27.5% | 9.5% = 100% |
| Poor | 28.4 | 42.4 | 29.2 = 100 |
| BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS | | | |
| Executives | 64.8% | 25.6% | 9.6% = 100% |
| Farm labor | 22.2 | 45.3 | 32.5 = 100 |
| BY OPINIONS ABOUT ROOSEVELT | | | |
| Roosevelt, or man like him, is essential | 5.2% | 22.8% | |
| Roosevelt's good outweighs bad | 21.6 | 63.9 | |
| His usefulness is now over | 47.1 | 10.4 | |
| More Roosevelt is a calamity | 26.1 | 2.9 | |
| | 100% | 100% | |
| BY POLITICAL PREFERENCE* | | | |
| Garner | 55.6% | 52.8% | |
| La Guardia | 22.7 | 26.3 | |
| No choice | 21.7 | 20.9 | |
| | 100% | 100% | |
| Hull | 32.6% | 55.6% | |
| Vandenberg | 39.9 | 14.1 | |
| No choice | 27.5 | 30.3 | |
| | 100% | 100% | |

* As indicated in answer to the question: If you had to choose between these two men to succeed President Roosevelt in 1940, which one would you prefer as you feel now?

**26.** (US May 10 '39) Do you think the attitude of business toward the Roosevelt administration is delaying business recovery? (AIPO)

Yes 69% No 31% = 100% No opinion 17%

**27.** (US Jan '40) Do you think that general business conditions have improved, grown worse, or stayed the same during the past few months? (FOR)

| | *Business improved* | *Business the same* | *Business worse* | *Don't know about business* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42.5% | 34.1% | 12.0% | 11.4% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 56.9% | 23.3% | 9.0% | 10.8% |
| Poor | 34.5 | 38.4 | 12.1 | 15.0 |
| Negroes | 23.7 | 39.3 | 16.9 | 20.1 |
| BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS | | | | |
| Executives | 71.7% | 19.2% | 7.6% | 1.5% |
| Unemployed | 38.1 | 33.2 | 18.5 | 10.2 |
| Farm labor | 25.2 | 47.6 | 14.6 | 12.6 |

**28.** (US July 29 '41) Do you think we are likely to have greater prosperity or another depression after the present war? A comparable cross-section was asked the question omitting the word "greater." Results were combined. (AIPO)

Prosperity 13% Depression 77% No opinion 10%

**29.** (US May 21 '42) Which do you think the United States will have for the first two or three years after the war—depression or prosperity? (AIPO)

| | *Depression* | *Prosperity* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 45% | 12% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Business and professional | 34% | 57% | 9% |
| White-collar | 39 | 50 | 11 |
| Workers | 42 | 44 | 14 |
| Farmers | 51 | 36 | 13 |

**30.** (US May 30 '42) Do you think there'll be a depression right after the war? Those who believed there would be a depression were asked: Do you think it will be worse than the one that started in 1932, or not as bad as that one? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Won't be a depression | 36% |
| Don't know whether or not there will be a depression | 13 |
| Depression will be worse than 1932 | 24 |
| Will be the same | 8 |
| Won't be as bad | 13 |
| Don't know whether things will be better or worse | 6 |

**31.** (US July 1 '42) Do you think there will be a depression after the war? Those who believed there would be a depression were asked: Do you think it will be a worse depression than the one that started in 1929, or not as bad as that one? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Won't be a depression | 16% |
| Don't know whether or not there will be a depression | 8 |
| Depression will be worse than 1929 | 36 |
| Will be the same | 9 |
| Won't be as bad | 25 |
| Don't know whether things will be better or worse | 6 |

**32.** (US Sept 24 '42) The way things look now, do you think this war will be followed by a depression? Those who believed there would be a depression were asked: Do you think the government might be able to prevent such a depression? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't believe there will be a depression | 29% |
| Don't know whether or not there will be a depression | 12 |
| Government might be able to prevent a depression | 26 |
| Government won't be able to prevent a depression | 24 |
| Don't know whether or not the government will be able to prevent a depression | 9 |

**33.** (US Sept 24 '42) What makes you think so [that the war will not be followed by a depression]? Asked of 29% of the sample who didn't think that there would be a depression after the war. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Need for consumer goods after the war will prevent depression | 13% |
| Need of men to serve in standing army will prevent depression | 5 |
| Need for rebuilding the world will prevent a depression | 3 |
| Economic planning in general | 9 |
| Reservoir of savings | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 2 |
| | 37%* |

* Percentages add to more than 29 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**34.** (US Jan 11 '43, June 18 '43, Nov 15 '43) Do you think it will be possible for this country to have prosperity after the war at the same time that other countries are having depressions? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '43 | 46% | 39% | 15% |
| June '43 | 44 | 45 | 11 |
| Nov '43 | 45 | 40 | 15 |

**35.** (US Oct '43) It seems likely that immediately after the war there will be a mixed condition of economic expansion and contraction, depending on the area and industry. Granted a period of two years for this condition, do you think we will eventually go into a general boom or a general slump? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *All business* | *Respondent's business* |
|---|---|---|
| A general boom | 70.3% | 66.7% |
| A general slump | 17.6 | 18.6 |
| Don't know | 12.1 | 14.7 |

**36.** (US Oct '43) If we have a depression after the war, what do you think is likely to be the reaction of the American public? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Demand relief from government | 72.4% |
| Rapid growth of a political labor party | 41.1 |
| Grin and bear it | 29.4 |
| Rioting and disorder | 12.4 |
| Rise of a new type of leader in the tradition of Huey Long, Father Coughlin, etc | 11.8 |
| Vote Socialist or Communist | 6.9 |
| All other | 10.5 |
| | 184.5%* |

* People giving more than one answer account for the total of more than 100.

**37.** (US Oct '43) In the event of a new depression what one or several of these means would you advocate to alleviate it? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Economy by government departments | 77.3% |
| Lower corporate taxes | 51.9 |
| A cooperative credit and employment effort on the part of business | 53.6 |
| A huge public-works program | 27.1 |
| A spread-the-work program | 24.1 |
| Liberalization of consumer credit | 17.8 |
| Liberalization of bank credit | 15.2 |
| Government subsidies to business | 3.4 |
| Greater government regulation of business | 1.3 |
| Devaluation of the dollar | 1.3 |
| All other | 13.2 |
| | 286.2%* |

* Some respondents gave more than one answer which accounts for the total of more than 100.

**38.** (US July '44) A national cross-section of college students were asked their opinions about the following statement: If we separated the economy of this country from that of other nations, we could avoid world depressions and preserve our system of free competition. (FOR)

Approve 3% Disapptove 89% Uncertain 8%

**39.** (US Aug '44 and Jan '46) Do you expect we will probably have a widespread depression within ten years or so or do you think we probably will be able to avoid it? (Jan '45) Do you expect we probably shall have a widespread depression within ten years or so after the war is over, or do you think we probably shall be able to avoid it? (Aug '45) Do you expect we will have a widespread depression within ten years or so after the whole war is over, or do you think we probably will be able to avoid it? (FOR)

| | *Will have depression* | *Will avoid it* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '44 | 50.6% | 35.9% | 13.5% |
| Jan '45 | 48.9 | 40.9 | 10.2 |
| Aug '45 | 44.2 | 41.0 | 14.8 |
| Jan '46 | 44.8 | 41.5 | 13.7 |
| JAN '45 RESULTS BY POLITICAL PREFERENCE | | | |
| Roosevelt | 38.7% | 50.5% | 10.8% |
| Dewey | 62.1 | 30.4 | 7.5 |

**40.** (Canada July 12 '44) Which of these things do you think is most likely to follow this war—a short period of depression, a long period of depression, a short period of prosperity, or a long period of prosperity? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Short prosperity | 37% |
| Long prosperity | 18 |
| Long depression | 18 |
| Short depression | 16 |
| Undecided | 11 |

**41.** (Canada Sept 6 '44) Which of these do you think is the best way to keep up employment and avoid a depression after the war—remove wartime controls on business and industry; keep wartime controls on business and industry; the government to start large programs of public works; the government to take over the ownership of business and industry? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Remove controls | 17% |
| Keep controls | 19 |
| Public works | 41 |
| Government ownership | 14 |
| Undecided | 9 |

**42.** (US Apr 18 '45) A business leader says that after the war we will have at least five to seven years of prosperity. Do you agree or disagree with this statement? (AIPO)

Agree 61% Disagree 26% No opinion 13%

**43.** (US Apr 18 '45) A government advisor says that after the war we will have at least five to seven years of prosperity. Do you agree or disagree with this statement? (AIPO)

Agree 60% Disagree 28% No opinion 12%

**44.** (US Aug '45) With which of these statements do you come closest to agreeing—the United States is such a great and powerful country that she can be prosperous even though most other countries are having a depression; although the United States is a great and powerful country she cannot be prosperous for long if most other countries are having a depression? (FOR)

| | *US can be prosperous alone* | *US cannot be prosperous if most other countries are having a depression* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 23.0% | 65.7% | 11.3% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 17.1% | 81.3% | 1.6% |
| Upper middle | 17.3 | 78.7 | 4.0 |
| Lower middle | 22.9 | 69.3 | 7.8 |
| Poor | 28.9 | 49.7 | 21.4 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| Grade school | 26.0% | 51.8% | 22.2% |
| High school | 25.4 | 68.9 | 5.7 |
| College | 13.4 | 83.8 | 2.8 |

**45.** (US Sept '45) As you know, a lot of things helped bring about the last depression. But of these two things, which one of them do you think had the most to do with bringing it about—do you think too much was produced in this country, or didn't people have enough money to buy what was produced? (NORC)

Too much produced 11% Not enough money 71% Don't know 18%

**46.** (US Sept '45) During this time, what do you think was one of the main reasons that some people didn't have the kind of food, clothing, and housing they needed? Asked of 11% of the sample who thought that too much production was a more important cause for the last depression than scarcity of money. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not enough money; not enough purchasing power | 3% |
| Lack of jobs | 3 |
| Wages were too low; wages were below living costs | * |
| People used up their savings; careless spending | 2 |
| Introduction of new machinery and techniques | * |
| Overproduction closed the factories | 1 |
| Due to government interference | * |
| Lack of government planning | * |
| Some people were satisfied to live on relief | * |
| Other answers | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 11% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**47.** (US Mar '46) Generally speaking, do you think the United States is better off when foreign countries are well-to-do, or are we just as well off when other countries are having depressions? (NORC)

Better off 75% Just as well 17% Don't know 8%

**48.** (US July 24 '46) Do you think there will be a serious business depression in the United States within the next ten years? The 60% who thought there would be a serious depression within the next ten years were asked: When do you think this depression will come? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 60% | 20% | 20% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 64% | 17% | 19% |
| 30–49 years | 59 | 21 | 20 |
| 50 years and over | 57 | 22 | 21 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional and business | 63% | 22% | 15% |
| Farmers | 65 | 17 | 18 |
| White-collar | 59 | 23 | 18 |
| Manual workers | 56 | 20 | 24 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 70% | 20% | 10% |
| High school | 64 | 20 | 16 |
| Grade school or less | 55 | 20 | 25 |

Median 5 years

**49.** (France Sept '46) Do you believe that the next five years will be an era of crisis or an era of prosperity for France? (FIPO)

Prosperity 29% Crisis 29% Neither 24% No opinion 18%

**50.** (Great Britain Sept 14 '46) Do you think that there will be or will not be a serious business depression in Britain during the next ten years? (BIPO)

| | *Will be* | *Will not be* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 32% | 36% | 32% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 33% | 42% | 25% |
| Women | 32 | 29 | 39 |

| | *Will be* | *Will not be* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 36% | 33% | 31% |
| 30–49 years | 32 | 38 | 30 |
| 50 years and over | 30 | 34 | 36 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 42% | 37% | 21% |
| Middle | 39 | 39 | 22 |
| Lower | 29 | 34 | 37 |
| Very poor | 29 | 29 | 42 |
| BY LABOR STATUS | | | |
| Union members | 30% | 42% | 28% |
| Non-union members | 33 | 32 | 35 |

**51.** (Australia Nov 23 '46) In your opinion, is Australia likely to have a serious business depression, with a lot of unemployment, in the next two years? (APOP)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 28% | 54% | 18% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 25% | 61% | 14% |
| Women | 30 | 46 | 24 |

**52.** (Australia Nov 23 '46) Do you think business and employment are fairly normal now or do you believe we are having a boom? (APOP)

| | *Having a boom* | *Fairly normal* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 52% | 34% | 14% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 56% | 33% | 11% |
| Women | 48 | 35 | 17 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farmers | 66% | 25% | 9% |
| Business owners and managers | 57 | 29 | 14 |
| White-collar and other wage earners | 51 | 36 | 13 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Liberal-Country party | 57% | 30% | 13% |
| Labor | 49 | 38 | 13 |

**53.** (US Dec 31 '46) Do you think there will be a business depression in 1947? 31% of the sample who said they expected a business depression in 1947 were asked: Well, how serious a depression—very serious, fairly serious, or not serious? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Very serious | 5% |
| Fairly serious | 9 |
| Not too serious | 16 |
| Don't know how serious | 1 |
| Don't expect a depression | 61 |
| No opinion | 8 |

## BUTTER

**1.** (Canada Mar 17 '43) At the present time it is against the law to sell oleomargarine. Would you like to see oleomargarine sold by the stores, or do you favor continuing the present ban? (CIPO)

| | *Permit sale* | *Continue ban* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 35% | 45% | 20% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Farm | 25% | 54% | 21% |
| City | 38 | 42 | 20 |

**2.** (Australia Apr '44) Do you think your family would get along all right if the butter ration were reduced from one pound to three quarters of a pound fortnightly? (APOP)

Yes 29% No 71%

**3.** (US June 2 '44) Does your ration allow you to get all the rationed butter your family really needs? Asked of a national cross-section of women who do the family marketing. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 85% |
| No | 9 |
| More | 2 |
| Don't use | 4 |
| Don't know | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**4.** (Australia Aug–Sept '44) Do you find you can get along fairly well with the reduced butter ration? (APOP)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 57% | 43% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | |
| Business owners, managers, professional | 70% | 30% |
| Farm owners | 70 | 30 |
| Clerks, shophands | 56 | 44 |
| Skilled workers | 55 | 45 |
| Semi-skilled workers | 52 | 48 |
| Unskilled workers | 49 | 51 |

**5.** (Belgium July–Oct '46) When buying butter are you aware of, or do you take note of, the official price (maximum legal price)? (INSOC)

| | *Always* | *Often* | *Rarely* | *Never* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46.9% | 10.4% | 8.5% | 20.9% | 13.3% |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | | | | |
| Urban | 47.5% | 9.3% | 6.9% | 21.2% | 15.1% |
| Rural | 44.6 | 9.2 | 10.4 | 24.4 | 11.4 |
| Industrial | 49.3 | 14.3 | 8.7 | 15.0 | 12.7 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Farmers | 41.0% | 8.8% | 12.4% | 27.2% | 10.6% |
| Workers | 45.5 | 9.7 | 8.7 | 17.2 | 18.9 |
| White-collar | 42.1 | 14.2 | 7.4 | 19.3 | 17.0 |
| Business | 45.8 | 9.2 | 5.5 | 22.3 | 17.2 |
| Professional | 29.6 | 7.7 | 12.1 | 30.8 | 19.8 |
| Living on income | 57.1 | 7.4 | 7.9 | 18.4 | 9.2 |
| Housewives | 55.9 | 12.1 | 7.4 | 22.0 | 2.6 |

**6.** (Belgium July–Oct '46) When buying [butter] with ration stamps or certificates of entitlement, do you ever have to pay more than the fixed official prices (maximum legal ptice)? (INSOC)

| | *Always* | *Often* | *Rarely* | *Never* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 3.8% | 6.0% | 7.2% | 62.4% | 20.6% |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | | | | |
| Urban | 2.7% | 5.9% | 7.0% | 61.6% | 22.8% |
| Rural | 4.7 | 7.1 | 7.1 | 61.7 | 19.4 |
| Industrial | 4.7 | 4.7 | 7.6 | 64.8 | 18.2 |

| | *Always* | *Often* | *Rarely* | *Never* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Farmers | 6.4% | 5.3% | 6.7% | 59.7% | 21.9% |
| Workers | 4.3 | 5.8 | 7.0 | 57.6 | 25.3 |
| White-collar | 3.5 | 5.8 | 8.4 | 59.2 | 23.1 |
| Business | 1.7 | 8.8 | 9.2 | 55.9 | 24.4 |
| Professional | 4.4 | 5.6 | 8.9 | 52.2 | 28.9 |
| Living on income | 4.3 | 6.7 | 4.9 | 68.1 | 16.0 |
| Housewives | 2.6 | 5.4 | 6.4 | 76.1 | 9.5 |

**7.** (Belgium July-Oct '46) Did you ever buy [butter] without ration stamps or certificates? (INSOC)

| | *Often* | *Rarely* | *Never* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 66.8% | 14.2% | 13.2% | 5.8% |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | | | |
| Urban | 71.8% | 13.7% | 7.5% | 7.0% |
| Rural | 57.9 | 15.4 | 21.8 | 4.9 |
| Industrial | 70.2 | 13.4 | 11.8 | 4.6 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Farmers | 40.9% | 14.7% | 39.8% | 4.6% |
| Workers | 65.3 | 15.8 | 11.1 | 7.8 |
| White-collar | 72.8 | 15.5 | 5.5 | 6.2 |
| Business | 79.8 | 5.5 | 5.5 | 9.2 |
| Professional | 78.9 | 8.9 | 4.4 | 7.8 |
| Housewives | 73.8 | 14.9 | 9.9 | 1.4 |

## BUYING

**1.** (US July '35) If you get more money this year, what will you spend it for first? (FOR)

| | *National total* | *Prosperous* | *Upper middle class* | *Lower middle class* | *Poor* | *Negro* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Clothes | 14.4% | 6.2% | 10.7% | 15.1% | 21.2% | 26.0% |
| House repairs | 13.7 | 14.2 | 15.7 | 14.3 | 8.5 | 12.6 |
| Savings | 12.4 | 12.4 | 13.7 | 11.5 | 11.9 | 12.6 |
| Debts | 12.0 | 9.8 | 14.7 | 11.5 | 9.9 | 10.1 |
| House furnishings or equipment | 9.0 | 10.2 | 8.4 | 10.2 | 7.6 | 4.2 |
| Travel | 6.7 | 13.5 | 8.3 | 6.0 | 3.6 | 0.8 |
| Automobile | 6.5 | 4.7 | 7.4 | 6.7 | 5.8 | 4.2 |
| General necessities | 6.5 | 3.6 | 5.7 | 7.3 | 7.6 | 5.9 |
| Food | 2.0 | 0.7 | 0.6 | 1.3 | 3.8 | 17.7 |
| Move to other place | 1.6 | 0.7 | 1.0 | 1.5 | 3.2 | 1.7 |
| Other | 2.6 | 4.4 | 2.6 | 2.5 | 2.6 | — |
| Don't know | 12.6 | 19.6 | 11.2 | 12.1 | 14.3 | 4.2 |

**2.** (US Oct '36) If you had more income, which of the following would you rather spend it for?* (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Rent | 1.1% |
| Down payment on new home | 20.3 |
| Daily needs like food and clothing | 14.7 |
| Automobile | 5.4 |
| New furniture | 4.1 |
| Insurance | 9.6 |
| Savings | 20.1 |
| Travel | 16.3 |
| Pay debts | 1.0% |
| Improvements | 2.1 |
| None of these and other answers | 5.3 |

* Allowing for double answers, the total came to 128.5. Results have here been reduced to the basis of 100 per cent.

**3.** (US Apr 27 '38) If you received a gift of one hundred dollars what would you do with it? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Pay bills | 26% |
| Spend it | 3 |
| Put it in the bank | 12 |
| Put it toward a house | 1 |
| Buy a car | 1 |
| Buy government bonds | 1 |
| Take a trip | 1 |
| Buy clothes | 7 |
| Take a vacation | 1 |
| Get teeth fixed, false teeth | 1 |
| Use it toward children's education | 1 |
| Put it into my business | 1 |
| Use it to help pay my way through school | 2 |
| Apply it to my mortgage | 1 |
| Improve my property | 1 |
| Hold on to it | 1 |
| Use it to take care of my family, necessities (food, clothing) | 6 |
| Household needs | 1 |
| Give it to charity | 1 |
| Pay my taxes | 1 |
| Repair my home | 2 |
| Give it to my wife (her financial judgment is better) | 1 |
| Buy a cow and some pigs (livestock) | 1 |
| Buy furniture | 1 |
| Invest it | 2 |
| Others | 10 |
| No opinion | 13 |

**4.** (US Apr 27 '38) If you received a gift of five hundred dollars tomorrow, what would you do with it? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Pay bills | 25% |
| Spend it | 2 |
| Put it in the bank | 11 |
| Get married | 1 |
| Put it toward a house | 4 |
| Buy a car | 4 |
| Buy government bonds | 1 |
| Take a trip | 2 |
| Buy clothes | 3 |
| Take a vacation | 2 |
| Pay on my notes | 1 |
| Use it toward children's education | 2 |
| Use it to help pay my way through school | 2 |
| Apply it to my mortgage | 1 |
| Improve my property | 1 |
| Hold on to it | 1 |
| Use it to take care of my family, necessities (food, clothing) | 3 |
| Household needs | 1 |
| Give it to charity | 1 |
| Pay my taxes | 1 |
| I'd buy a little business and make a living with it | 1 |
| Invest in properties, real estate | 1 |
| Invest it in preferred stock, common stock | 1 |
| Invest it | 3 |
| Invest in farm land | 1 |
| Repair my home | 2 |
| Buy a cow and some pigs, livestock | 1 |
| Buy furniture | 1 |
| Postal savings | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Put it into my business | 1% |
| Others | 9 |
| No opinion | 9 |

**5.** (US Apr '39) Can you name any large, important thing that you would like to have and would probably buy if it only cost half as much as it now costs? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| House or home | 21.9% |
| Cars and trucks | 15.2 |
| Farm | 3.2 |
| Household appliances; refrigerators; washing and sewing machines; stoves | 3.0 |
| Renovations; additions; plumbing; heating | 2.3 |
| Farm machinery; equipment; etc | 1.8 |
| Radio; phonograph; piano; other musical instruments | 1.8 |
| Furniture and house furnishings | 1.5 |
| Real estate | 1.2 |
| Other answers | 7.4 |
| Don't know | 40.7 |

**6.** (US Apr '39) Can you name a smaller, less expensive item you would also buy if it cost half its present price? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Clothes; coats; shoes | 9.1% |
| Household appliances; sewing and washing machines; etc | 8.3 |
| Cars and trucks | 7.6 |
| Radio; phonograph; piano; other musical instruments | 6.0 |
| Furniture and furnishings; rugs; carpets | 5.9 |
| Farm equipment and livestock | 1.9 |
| Renovation; plumbing; heating | 1.3 |
| Other answers | 8.7 |
| Don't know | 51.2 |

**7.** (Great Britain May '39) When you buy anything do you first find out whether it is made in Britain? (BIPO)

Yes 46% No 54%

**8.** (Great Britain May '39) Are there any countries whose goods you do not buy? Asked of 46% of the sample who checked to see if products are British made. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany | 15% |
| Japan | 11 |
| Germany, Italy, Japan | 10 |
| Germany, Italy | 3 |
| Germany, Japan | 16 |
| Prefer British | 45 |
| | 100% of those who checked |

**9.** (Great Britain Apr '41) Would you approve or disapprove of a scheme limiting the amount of money which anybody could spend on their needs to, say 25 shillings per week for an adult and 15 shillings for a child under fourteen? (BIPO)

Approve 32% Disapprove 55% Don't know 13%

**10.** (US Nov '41) Do you see any signs that consumers are switching from buying for current needs to stocking up as much as they can? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| A very few are | 43.5% |
| Quite a number are | 44.2 |
| Most of them show this tendency | 12.3 |

**11.** (US Nov '41) In what lines is this tendency [of consumers to switch from buying current needs to stocking up] most marked? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives who felt that quite a few or most consumers were switching from buying current needs to stocking up as much as they could. 56.5% of the sample is represented. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Clothing; underwear; hosiery | 31.0% |
| Foods; canned or other preserved foods; staples | 29.2 |
| Household furnishings | 26.3 |
| Linen; rayon; wool; furs; silks; textiles | 24.0 |
| Metals; lumber; plastics | 16.9 |
| All lines | 10.0 |
| Others | 8.2 |
| | 145.6%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who thought that quite a few or most consumers were switching to stocking up, and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**12.** (US Nov '41) Have you received complaints from retail customers concerning shortages or substitution? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| None | 17.3% |
| Very few | 42.7 |
| Some | 30.5 |
| Many | 9.5 |

**13.** (US Nov '41) Have manufacturers helped you by keeping you well advised in advance of merchandise shortages or changes? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hardly any have done this consistently | 16.5% |
| A few have done it | 28.0 |
| Many have done it | 55.5 |

**14.** (Great Britain Dec 19 '41) Do you have difficulty in finding time to do your shopping? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (BIPO)

Yes 45% No 55%

**15.** (US Sept 24 '42) Do you and your family have more money coming in now than you did before the war started or not as much? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 31% |
| About same | 43 |
| Not as much | 24 |
| Don't know | 2 |

**16.** (US Sept 24 '42) What are you doing with this extra money—spending it or saving it? Asked of 31% of the sample who said that they and their family had more money coming in now than before the war started. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Spending | 12% |
| Both | 9 |
| Saving | 10 |
| Don't know | * |
| | 31% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**17.** (US Sept 24 '42) What sort of things are you spending the extra money for? Asked of 21% of the sample who said they were spending or spending and saving the extra money they and their family had coming in since the war started. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Meeting high cost of living | 8% |
| Defense bonds | 6 |
| Paying off old debts | 4 |
| Home improvements | 3 |
| Clothing | 2 |
| Business improvements | 2 |
| Food | 1 |
| Family expenditures | 1 |
| Payments on home (except new homes) | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Miscellaneous | 2% |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 31%* |

* Percentages add to more than 21 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**18.** (US Oct 6 '42) Considering everything you're buying now, does it seem this year that you and your family are buying more things than you bought last year or fewer things? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More things | 12% |
| Same amount | 37 |
| Fewer things | 50 |
| Don't know | 1 |

**19.** (US Oct 6 '42) Might I ask what particular things you are buying more of? Asked of 12% of the sample who said they and their family were buying more than last year. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Clothing | 5% |
| Food | 4 |
| Home improvements | 4 |
| Business improvements | 1 |
| Meeting high cost of living | 1 |
| Family expenditures; increase in family; education; etc. | 1 |
| Bonds | * |
| Payments on homes | * |
| Old debts | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | * |
| | 17%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 12 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**20.** (US Oct 6 '42) Might I ask what particular things you are buying less of? Asked of 50% of the sample who said they and their family were buying less than last year. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Clothing | 34% |
| Food | 19 |
| Home improvements | 10 |
| Luxuries and entertainment | 8 |
| General living | 7 |
| Gas; tires; car | 6 |
| Business improvements | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 89%* |

* Percentages add to more than 50 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**21.** (Australia Dec '42) While daylight saving operates, should shopping hours be changed once a week to, say, 11 o'clock in the morning to 7 o'clock in the evening? (APOP)

Yes 53% No 39% Don't know 8%

**22.** (Australia Oct 30 '42) Should the government continue to rely on voluntary reduction of private spending or should it compel people to spend less on non-essentials? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Favored voluntary reductions | 49% |
| Compel less spending | 45 |
| Undecided | 6 |

**23.** (Australia Oct 30 '42) Should reduced spending be enforced by heavier taxes, compulsory saving, or more rationing of goods? Asked of 45% of the sample who favored compulsory reduction. (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Compulsory saving | 58% |
| Additional rationing | 27 |
| Raised taxes | 15 |
| | 100% of those favoring compulsory reduction |

**24.** (US Jan 20 '43) Would you mind telling me who usually does the marketing for your family? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Respondent | 74% |
| Husband | 9 |
| Mother | 7 |
| Sister | 2 |
| Maid-housekeeper | 2 |
| Daughter | 2 |
| Father | 1 |
| None (lives at hotel) | 1 |
| Other mentions | * |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 102%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**25.** (Great Britain June 1 '43) Are you registered with small shops, with a chain store, or a cooperative society? (BIPO)

Chain store 52% Small shop 21% Cooperative 35% = 108%*

* The total is more than 100 because some people were registered with more than one type of shop.

**26.** (Great Britain June 10 '43) Which, in general, do you think gives the best service to the customer [the chain store, the small shop, or a cooperative society]? (BIPO)

Chain store 53% Shop 20% Cooperative 27%

**27.** (US Sept 9 '43 and Jan 7 '44) Are you living better now—that is, are you buying more things, or better things than you used to before the war? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '43 | 13% | 86% | 1% |
| Jan '44 | 9 | 90 | 1 |

**28.** (US Jan 7 '44) In what way are you living better? Asked of the 9% of the January 1944 sample who said they were living better. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Clothes | 4% |
| Food | 3 |
| Home | 2 |
| Furniture | 1 |
| Buying necessities couldn't afford before | 1 |
| Pleasure and entertainment | * |
| Paying off debts | * |
| Saving money; buying bonds | * |
| Miscellaneous and not specified | 1 |
| | 12%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 9 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**29.** (US Oct 22 '43) From what you know, do most storekeepers save scarce items for their regular customers, or do they sell to anyone who comes into the store? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

Regular customers 47% Sell to anyone 39% Don't know 14%

**30.** (US Oct 22 '43) Do you think they [storekeepers] should save things for their regular customers? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

Yes 46% No 49% Don't know 5%

**31.** (US Nov 9 '43) What are the first big purchases you definitely plan to make after the war is over and things can be bought again? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Automobile | 24% |
| Real estate, home, farm, property, etc | 16 |
| Furniture, piano, bedroom set, furnish home, etc | 12 |
| Refrigerator | 9 |
| Clothing, fur coat, shoes, stockings, etc | 4 |
| Farm machinery, tractors, plows, etc | 5 |
| Washing machine | 6 |
| Repair home | 4 |
| Radio | 4 |
| Stove | 4 |
| Electrical equipment, iron, toaster, vacuum cleaner, appliances, etc | 3 |
| Building materials for shed, for home, for garage, etc | 2 |
| Airplane | 1 |
| Furnace | 1 |
| Phonograph | 1 |
| Other | 10 |
| Nothing | 19 |
| Don't know | 7 |
| | 132%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**32.** (Sweden Dec '43) Is there anything big you want to get for yourself when peace comes? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 23% | 59% | 18% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 29% | 49% | 22% |
| 30–49 years | 27 | 55 | 18 |
| 50 years and over | 12 | 72 | 16 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 32% | 51% | 17% |
| Middle class | 25 | 58 | 17 |
| Workers | 20 | 60 | 20 |

**33.** (Sweden Dec '43) What [would you like for yourself when peace comes]? Asked of 23% of the sample who said they wanted something big for themselves after the war. (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Purchase of house, summerhouse, flat | 45% |
| Car | 20 |
| Furniture | 12 |
| Modernizing, improvements | 5 |
| Clothes, furs | 4 |
| Purchase of business | 3 |
| Agricultural implements | 2 |
| Sailing boat, motor boat | 2 |
| Other replies | 7 |
| | 100% of those who wanted something big for themselves after the war |

**34.** (US Dec '43) What one or two things do you plan to buy as soon as times are peaceful again? (FOR)

| | *National total* % | *High* % | *Upper middle* % | *Lower middle* % | *Low* % | *Negro* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Car | 21.0 | 29.9 | 28.4 | 22.2 | 12.6 | 7.8 |
| Tires | 0.8 | 2.2 | 0.8 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.9 |
| Truck | 0.7 | 1.1 | 0.8 | 0.7 | 0.3 | 0.9 |
| House | 13.3 | 6.8 | 13.4 | 13.4 | 14.0 | 16.2 |
| House repair | 5.3 | 7.1 | 5.3 | 5.9 | 4.5 | 2.9 |
| Farm | 1.4 | 1.1 | 1.5 | 1.1 | 1.6 | 2.4 |
| New heating arrangement | 1.0 | 1.6 | 1.3 | 1.1 | 0.8 | 0.2 |
| Property | 0.9 | 1.6 | 1.3 | 0.8 | 0.6 | 0.7 |
| Furniture | 9.2 | 5.2 | 8.9 | 9.4 | 10.3 | 9.6 |
| Mechanical refrigerator | 8.6 | 6.6 | 10.6 | 8.1 | 9.3 | 6.0 |
| Washing machine | 5.1 | 5.2 | 5.0 | 5.7 | 5.0 | 2.4 |
| Stove | 4.5 | 2.7 | 3.7 | 5.0 | 4.4 | 5.6 |
| Miscellaneous electric | 4.3 | 7.1 | 5.3 | 4.7 | 2.8 | 0.7 |
| Rugs | 3.6 | 4.7 | 4.7 | 3.5 | 3.1 | 1.3 |
| Radio | 3.4 | 3.8 | 3.3 | 4.3 | 2.5 | 1.6 |
| Miscellaneous furnishings | 2.7 | 3.0 | 2.6 | 3.0 | 2.8 | 1.3 |
| Miscellaneous household fixtures | 1.5 | 3.8 | 1.9 | 1.2 | 0.8 | 2.2 |
| Phonograph and radio phonograph | 0.7 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 1.1 |
| Air conditioning | 0.3 | 1.4 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.2 | — |
| Clothes | 4.4 | 2.5 | 2.9 | 4.3 | 5.0 | 8.9 |
| Fur coat | 1.0 | 1.4 | 1.5 | 1.0 | 0.4 | 0.2 |
| Farm machinery and implements | 4.1 | 7.9 | 4.9 | 3.8 | 3.0 | 3.1 |
| Livestock | 0.7 | — | 0.3 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 2.7 |
| Airplanes, etc | 0.6 | 1.9 | 0.9 | 0.5 | 0.3 | — |
| Business | 0.4 | — | 0.4 | 0.6 | — | 0.7 |
| Boat | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.4 | — | 0.4 |
| Other | 5.7 | 9.0 | 6.3 | 5.8 | 4.7 | 3.3 |
| Don't know | 28.5 | 21.1 | 23.4 | 27.1 | 37.7 | 32.9 |
| Nothing | 3.2 | 3.3 | 2.6 | 2.7 | 4.1 | 4.4 |
| Percentages | 137.2* | 143.6* | 144.1* | 138.2* | 132.4* | 120.4* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**35.** (US Dec 10 '43) Do you do most of your shopping at a chain store, or at an independent dealer? Asked of a national cross-section of women who did the family marketing. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Both | 4% |
| Chain | 45 |
| Independent | 51 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**36.** (US Dec 10 '43) About how long have you been dealing with that store? Asked of 55% of the sample of women marketers who did most of their shopping at an independent store or at both an independent and chain store. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Up to 1 year | 10% |
| Over 1 year to 2 years | 7 |
| Over 2 years to 3 years | 5 |
| Over 3 years to 4 years | 3 |
| Over 4 years to 5 years | 4 |
| Over 5 years to 10 years | 12 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Over 10 years | 11% |
| Not ascertainable | 3 |
| | 55% |

**37.** (US Dec 10 '43) Do you do most of your shopping in person or by phone? Asked of a national cross-section of women who did the family marketing. (NORC)

Person 94% Phone 5% No answer 1%

**38.** (US Jan 1 '44) Do you do most of the marketing for your family? (NORC)

Yes 80% No 20%

**39.** (US Jan 21 '44) Do you do any of the marketing or cooking for your family? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Respondent cooks or markets | 91% |
| Respondent does neither | 9 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**40.** (Denmark Jan 22 '44) Have you sorted out your shops so that you know which you are going to frequent after the war and which you will leave? (DGI)

Yes 26.2% No 62.8% Don't know 11.0%

**41.** (Denmark Jan 22 '44) Will you keep your dairy? Asked of 26.2% of the sample who had decided which shops they would frequent after the war. (DGI)

Yes 84.3% No 4.6% Don't know 11.1%
= 100% of those who had decided on shops

**42.** (Denmark Jan 22 '44) Will you keep your grocer? Asked of 26.2% of the sample who had decided which shops they would frequent after the war. (DGI)

Yes 77.5% No 17.0% Don't know 5.5%
= 100% of those who had decided on shops

**43.** (Denmark Jan 22 '44) Will you keep your clothing shop? Asked of 26.2% of the sample who had decided which shops they would frequent after the war. (DGI)

Yes 60.4% No 7.3% Don't know 32.3%
= 100% of those who had decided on shops

**44.** (Denmark Jan 22 '44) Will you keep your tobacconist? Asked of 26.2% of the sample who had decided which shops they would frequent after the war. (DGI)

Yes 56.3% No 23.6% Don't know 20.1%
= 100% of those who had decided on shops

**45.** (Denmark Apr 22 '44) Are you for or against a general week-end closing [of shops] from Saturday at 2 o'clock? (DGI)

For 70.3% Against 17.8% Don't know 11.9%

**46.** (Australia May–June '44) After the war, when things can be bought again, what is the first big purchase you definitely plan to make? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| No plans | 40% |
| A home | 18 |
| Clothing | 14 |
| Furniture | 7 |
| A car | 6 |
| A refrigerator | 4 |
| House repairs | 3 |
| Household appliances | 2 |
| A farm | 2 |
| Motor tires | 1 |
| Other answers | 3 |

**47.** (US June 2 '44) In the past six months, have you shopped for groceries and meats? Asked of women marketers who were familiar with ceiling prices. (NORC)

Yes 89% No 11%

**48.** (US June 2 '44) During the last year, would you say grocery prices have gone up or down? Asked of women marketers familiar with ceiling prices. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Up | 68% |
| Stayed same | 16 |
| Down | 2 |
| Not asked the question | 11 |
| Don't know | 3 |

**49.** (US June 2 '44) Do you generally find out what the ceiling prices are before you buy [groceries and meats]? Asked of women marketers familiar with ceiling prices. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 38% |
| No | 50 |
| No answer | 1 |
| Not asked the question | 11 |

**50.** (US June 2 '44) In the past six months, have you bought anything in a department or dry goods store? Asked of women marketers familiar with ceiling prices. (NORC)

Yes 82% No 7% Not asked the question 11%

**51.** (US June 2 '44) During the last year, would you say department store prices have gone up or down? Asked of 82% of a sample of women marketers familiar with ceiling prices who have bought in department or dry goods stores in the previous six months. (NORC)

Up 69% Stayed same 10% Down * Don't know 3% = 82%

* Less than 0.5%.

**52.** (US June 2 '44) Do you generally find out what the ceiling prices are before you buy in a department (or dry goods) store? Asked of 82% of a sample of women marketers familiar with ceiling prices who have bought in department or dry goods stores in the previous six months. (NORC)

Yes 24% No 57% No answer 1% = 82%

**53.** (US June 2 '44) In general, do you think the things you buy today are as good quality as the things you got for the same price a couple of years ago? Asked of a national cross-section of women who did the family marketing. (NORC)

Yes 9% No 87% Don't know 4%

**54.** (US June 2 '44) What sort of things [that you buy] aren't as good? Asked of 87% of a sample of women marketers who thought the quality of goods had gone down. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| All clothing | 52% |
| Dry goods | 35 |
| Shoes | 26 |
| Everything | 10 |
| Children's clothes | 9 |
| Hardware | 8 |
| Meats | 7 |
| Furniture | 6 |
| Canned foods | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | 14 |
| Don't know | * |
| | 172%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 87 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**55.** (US June 2 '44) Do you buy most of your groceries and meats at a chain store or an independent dealer? Asked of a national cross-section of women marketers. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Chain | 34% |
| Independent | 46 |
| Both | 20 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**56.** (Denmark July 22 '44) Which one of the commodities now scarce because of the war, do you miss the most? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Tobacco | 13% |
| Coffee | 10 |
| Clothing | 7 |
| Working clothes | 5 |
| Bicycle tires | 5 |
| Fabrics | 5 |
| Stockings | 5 |
| Sugar | 4 |
| Underwear | 3 |
| Children's clothes | 3 |
| Tea | 2 |
| Linen, etc | 2 |
| Butter | 2 |
| Wool | 1 |
| Other things | 18 |
| Don't know | 15 |

**57.** (Australia Dec '44 to Jan '45) After the war, do you think shops should remain open Friday nights till about 9 p.m.? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Oppose late shopping | 51% |
| Open till 8 p.m. | 8 |
| Open till 9 p.m. | 41 |

**58.** (Australia Dec '44 to Jan '45) And on other weekdays [other than Friday], what should be the closing time of shops after the war? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Close at 5 p.m. | 15% |
| Close at 5:30 p.m. | 42 |
| Close at 6 p.m. | 43 |

**59.** (Australia Dec '44 to Jan '45) And what about Saturday (morning) shopping [hours] after the war? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Close all Saturday | 22% |
| Close at noon | 37 |
| Close at 12:30 p.m. | 20 |
| Close at 1 p.m. | 19 |
| Close at 6 p.m. | 2 |

**60.** (France Jan 1 '45) Do you intend to buy a camera after the war? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Paris | 39% | 52% | 9% |
| Provinces | 32 | 60 | 8 |

**61.** (Great Britain Feb '45) Is there anything you are anxious to buy and for which you have looked in the shops without finding it? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Household items | 26% |
| Food | 3 |
| Clothing | 13 |
| Miscellaneous | 16 |
| Others | 10 |
| No reply | 32 |

**62.** (Australia June–July '45) Which of these suggestions is your idea for week-end shopping after the war—open both Friday night and Saturday morning, close both Friday night and Saturday morning, open Friday night but close Saturday morning, or close Friday night but open Saturday morning? A card with the four alternatives was handed the respondent. (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Open Friday night and Saturday morning | 24% |
| Close Friday night and Saturday morning | 6 |
| Open Friday night but close Saturday morning | 20 |
| Close Friday night but open Saturday morning | 45 |
| No opinion | 5 |

**63.** (Australia June–July '45) At what hour should shops close on Friday nights? Asked of 44% of the sample who wanted shops open on Friday evenings. (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| 7 p.m. | 1% |
| 8 p.m. | 17 |
| 9 p.m. | 74 |
| 10 p.m. | 8 |
| | 100% of those who wanted shops open on Friday evenings |

**64.** (Australia June–July '45) At what hour should shops close on Saturday mornings? Asked of 69% of the sample who wanted shops open on Saturday mornings. (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| 11 a.m. | 3% |
| Noon | 51 |
| 12:30 p.m. | 27 |
| 1 p.m. | 19 |
| | 100% of those who wanted shops open on Saturday mornings |

**65.** (Great Britain July '45) On the whole, have you found that the things you want to buy are easier to get since VE–Day, or more difficult? (BIPO)

| | *Easier* | *Same* | *More difficult* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 11% | 37% | 44% | 8% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 10% | 39% | 40% | 11% |
| Women | 12 | 35 | 49 | 4 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 17% | 36% | 44% | 3% |
| 30–49 years | 10 | 37 | 45 | 8 |
| 50 years and over | 10 | 38 | 43 | 9 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 10% | 40% | 47% | 3% |
| Middle | 13 | 40 | 41 | 6 |
| Lower | 10 | 37 | 45 | 8 |

**66.** (US July 5 '45) Are you now saving money for something in particular you want to buy after the war? (NYHT)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 35.1% | 62.6% | 2.3% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 30.9% | 68.3% | .8% |
| Upper middle class | 36.4 | 62.1 | 1.5 |
| Lower middle class | 38.8 | 59.7 | 1.5 |
| Poor | 29.4 | 65.9 | 4.7 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Northeast | 32.2% | 64.9% | 2.9% |
| Midwest | 36.3 | 61.6 | 2.1 |
| South | 33.9 | 64.2 | 1.9 |
| Far West | 42.4 | 55.0 | 2.6 |
| SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Over 100,000 | 36.0% | 61.8% | 2.2% |
| Under 100,000 | 35.7 | 61.8 | 2.5 |
| Rural farm | 32.1 | 65.6 | 2.3 |

**67.** (US July 5 '45) What are you saving your money for? Asked of 35.1% of the sample who said they were saving for something in particular. (NYHT)

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Buy, build a home | 42.9% | 34.7% | 50.0% |
| Remodeling, painting | 6.8 | 5.1 | 8.1 |
| Buy a farm | 5.7 | 9.7 | 2.3 |
| Real estate, land | 4.1 | 5.1 | 3.3 |
| Improvements for farm | 1.7 | 2.3 | 1.2 |
| Refrigerator | 3.5 | 3.9 | 3.2 |
| Electrical appliances (other than refrigerator) | 4.1 | 3.0 | 5.1 |
| House furnishings, furniture | 6.0 | 3.5 | 8.1 |
| Radio | 1.1 | .9 | 1.4 |
| Other household equipment | 2.2 | .9 | 3.2 |
| Automobile | 12.1 | 14.7 | 9.9 |
| Education for children | 2.7 | 2.7 | 2.7 |
| Own education | .6 | .5 | .6 |
| Start, expand own business | 5.0 | 8.3 | 2.1 |
| Help sons, husband get started | 1.8 | 1.1 | 2.4 |
| For retirement; security in later life | 1.4 | 2.3 | .6 |
| All other | 7.1 | 9.4 | 5.1 |
| Don't know and no answer | 1.4 | 2.8 | .3 |
| | 110.2%* | 110.9%* | 109.6%* |

* Percentages are based on those who said they were saving for something specific and add to more than 100 because some mentioned more than one item.

**68.** (Great Britain Nov 3 '45) On the whole, do you think that queuing is worse or better than it was a year ago? (Apr 27 '46) Do you, personally, have to spend more time or less time in queues of all kinds than a year ago? (BIPO)

| | *More time or worse* | *Same* | *Less time or better* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '45 | 28% | 36% | 18% | 18% |
| Apr '46 | 31 | 36 | 19 | 14 |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| *Men* | | | | |
| Nov '45 | 22% | 33% | 17% | 28% |
| Apr '46 | 24 | 36 | 18 | 22 |
| *Women* | | | | |
| Nov '45 | 33 | 39 | 19 | 9 |
| Apr '46 | 38 | 35 | 20 | 7 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| *21–29 years* | | | | |
| Nov '45 | 27% | 37% | 16% | 20% |
| Apr '46 | 30 | 33 | 23 | 14 |
| *30–49 years* | | | | |
| Nov '45 | 29 | 34 | 19 | 18 |
| Apr '46 | 31 | 35 | 20 | 14 |
| *50 years and over* | | | | |
| Nov '45 | 26 | 39 | 17 | 18 |
| Apr '46 | 30 | 38 | 16 | 16 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| *Higher* | | | | |
| Nov '45 | 27% | 30% | 18% | 25% |
| Apr '46 | 21 | 41 | 16 | 22 |
| *Middle* | | | | |
| Nov '45 | 26 | 33 | 20 | 21 |
| Apr '46 | 29 | 37 | 20 | 14 |
| *Lower* | | | | |
| Nov '45 | 28% | 38% | 17% | 17% |
| Apr '46 | 33 | 35 | 18 | 14 |
| *Housewives* | | | | |
| Apr '46 | 41 | 32 | 22 | 5 |

**69.** (US Jan 3 '46) Since the war ended, have you bought anything that you probably wouldn't have bought if the war had continued? (NYHT)

| | *No* | *Yes* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 86.3% | 12.8% | .9% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 85.8% | 14.2% | — |
| Upper middle | 83.7 | 16.1 | .2 |
| Lower middle | 86.9 | 12.1 | 1.0 |
| Poor | 87.6 | 10.9 | 1.5 |

**70.** (US Jan 3 '46) What [have you bought since the war ended that you wouldn't have bought if the war had continued]? Anything else? Asked of 12.8% of the sample who said they had bought something since the war ended that they probably wouldn't have bought if the war had continued. (NYHT)

| | *National total* | *Prosperous* | *Upper middle* | *Lower middle* | *Poor* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Personal items (mostly clothing) | 3.6% | 3.9% | 3.7% | 3.5% | 3.8% |
| Electric appliances | 2.7 | 3.0 | 3.0 | 3.0 | 2.0 |
| Home furnishing | 1.9 | 1.3 | 2.4 | 1.9 | 1.5 |
| Automobiles, fuel and accessories | 1.6 | 2.2 | 1.8 | 1.2 | 1.8 |
| Real estate (homes, remodeling) | 1.3 | 2.1 | 2.4 | .9 | .8 |
| Food stuffs | 1.1 | 1.7 | 1.2 | 1.0 | 1.0 |
| Business investments | .9 | — | 1.8 | .9 | .5 |
| All other | .9 | 2.6 | 1.1 | .8 | .6 |
| No answer as to what was bought | .8 | .9 | 1.5 | .8 | .2 |
| | 14.8%* | 17.7% | 18.9% | 14.0% | 12.2% |

* Percentages add to more than 12.8 etc. because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**71.** (US Jan 3 '46) The 86.3% who reported having bought nothing since the war that they would not have bought had the war been on were asked why they had not bought anything. Results follow: (NYHT)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't need anything | 26.2% |
| Can't find what I want | 22.9 |
| Don't have enough money | 19.1 |
| Want to wait for better quality of materials | 9.0 |
| Prices are too high | 7.7 |
| Fear of economic insecurity | 4.8 |
| Haven't seen anything I wanted | 3.8 |
| Haven't had the time to shop | 2.6 |
| Didn't want to cash war bonds or use savings | 1.5 |
| All other reasons | 3.2 |
| No reason | 2.1 |
| Don't know | 2.1 |
| No answer | 1.5 |
| | 106.5%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who reported having bought nothing since the war and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**72.** (Hungary Feb '46) In general, where do you prefer to shop—in department stores, cooperative society shops, small shops, or some other shop? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Stores* | *Cooperative society shops* | *Small shops* | *Others* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Educated class* | | | | |
| Men with fixed income | 7.9% | 16.7% | 73.5% | 1.9% |
| Men with variable income | 4.2 | 6.9 | 87.9 | 1.0 |
| Women with fixed income | 18.5 | 9.2 | 72.3 | — |
| Women with variable income | 16.0 | 14.0 | 68.0 | 2.0 |
| *Small bourgeoisie* | | | | |
| Men with fixed income | 18.8 | 25.5 | 54.8 | 0.9 |
| Men with variable income | 12.0 | 7.6 | 80.4 | — |
| Women with fixed income | 23.1 | 8.2 | 66.8 | 1.9 |
| Women with variable income | 21.0 | 7.9 | 71.1 | — |
| *Workers* | | | | |
| Men with fixed income | 25.4 | 23.0 | 49.4 | 2.2 |
| Men with variable income | 23.0 | 25.5 | 51.5 | — |
| Women with fixed income | 20.0 | 12.5 | 67.5 | — |
| Women with variable income | 19.6 | 26.6 | 52.4 | 1.4 |

**73.** (Belgium Apr–June '46) Among the following articles, which one do you want to buy first? (INSOC)

| | *Plates* | *Cups* | *Drinking glasses* | *Spoons and forks* | *Knives* | *Saucepans* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 17% | 20% | 6% | 4% | 3% | 31% | 19% |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 15% | 22% | 6% | 4% | 3% | 31% | 19% |
| Rural | 21 | 18 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 28 | 20 |
| Industrial | 16 | 15 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 35 | 21 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | | | |
| Farm and farm labor | 22% | 17% | 5% | 3% | 2% | 26% | 25% |
| Workers and artisans | 17 | 13 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 35 | 22 |
| White-collar | 16 | 19 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 27 | 25 |
| Business | 15 | 17 | 8 | 4 | 4 | 25 | 27 |
| Professional | 11 | 21 | 14 | 3 | 4 | 22 | 25 |
| Living on income | 10 | 24 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 30 | 25 |
| Housewives | 17 | 29 | 7 | 5 | 3 | 34 | 5 |

**74.** (Belgium Apr–June '46) Do you find these articles that you want to buy in the shops? (INSOC)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 44% |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | |
| Urban | 55% | 45% |
| Rural | 51 | 49 |
| Industrial | 70 | 30 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | |
| Farm and farm labor | 49% | 51% |
| Workers and artisans | 62 | 38 |
| White-collar | 58 | 42 |
| Business | 54 | 46 |
| Professional | 59 | 41 |
| Living on income | 50 | 50 |
| Housewives | 54 | 46 |
| BY ARTICLES | | |
| Plates | 42% | 58% |
| Cups | 33 | 67 |
| Drinking glasses | 62 | 38 |
| Spoons and forks | 60 | 40 |
| Knives | 60 | 40 |
| Saucepans | 72 | 28 |

**75.** (Belgium Apr–June '46) Among the following articles, which one do you wish you could buy first? (INSOC)

| | *Shoes* | *Underclothing* | *Suit or dress* | *Work clothes* | *Bedding* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 25% | 25% | 24% | 6% | 13% | 7% |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | | | | | |
| Urban | 25% | 26% | 27% | 4% | 12% | 6% |
| Rural | 23 | 24 | 22 | 8 | 15 | 8 |
| Industrial | 27 | 24 | 22 | 6 | 14 | 7 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | | |
| Farm and farm labor | 25% | 19% | 17% | 14% | 13% | 12% |
| Workers and artisans | 24 | 23 | 23 | 10 | 13 | 7 |
| White-collar | 24 | 25 | 34 | 2 | 8 | 7 |
| Business | 25 | 23 | 30 | 2 | 10 | 10 |
| Professional | 36 | 16 | 36 | — | 6 | 6 |
| Living on income | 23 | 33 | 24 | 1 | 9 | 10 |
| Housewives | 24 | 31 | 20 | 2 | 21 | 2 |

**76.** (Belgium Apr–June '46) Do you find the cloth articles or shoes that you want to buy with your ration points in the shops? (INSOC)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 60% | 40% |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | |
| Urban | 62% | 38% |
| Rural | 53 | 47 |
| Industrial | 67 | 33 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | |
| Farm and farm labor | 48% | 52% |
| Workers and artisans | 64 | 36 |
| White-collar | 61 | 39 |
| Business | 55 | 45 |
| Professional | 69 | 31 |
| Living on income | 50 | 50 |
| Housewives | 62 | 38 |
| BY ARTICLES | | |
| Shoes | 56% | 44% |
| Underclothing | 63 | 37 |
| Suit or dress | 62 | 38 |
| Work clothes | 57 | 43 |
| Bedding | 56 | 44 |

**77.** (Great Britain June '46) What is the first thing you would buy for your home if you could find it in the shops? (BIPO)

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Household furnishings | 61% | 53% | 72% |
| Appliances and tools | 11 | 10 | 12 |
| Motor car | 1 | 1 | — |
| Amusements, hobbies | 6 | 8 | 2 |
| Foodstuffs | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Clothing | 1 | — | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 | 9 | 4 |
| No reply | 12 | 17 | 8 |

**78.** (Great Britain June '46) Have you re-registered with your old butcher/grocer, or are you going to change? (BIPO)

| | Butcher | | | Grocer | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Re-registered* | *Change* | *Don't know* | *Re-registered* | *Change* | *Don't know* |
| National total.. | 77% | 13% | 10% | 78% | 13% | 9% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | |
| Men..... | 74% | 11% | 15% | 74% | 11% | 15% |
| Women..... | 81 | 15 | 4 | 82 | 14 | 4 |
| BY AGE | | | | | | |
| 21–29 years..... | 68% | 15% | 17% | 69% | 15% | 16% |
| 30–49 years..... | 79 | 13 | 8 | 79 | 14 | 7 |
| 50 years and over | 79 | 12 | 9 | 80 | 10 | 10 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Higher..... | 75% | 13% | 12% | 74% | 14% | 12% |
| Middle..... | 79 | 11 | 10 | 79 | 11 | 10 |
| Lower..... | 77 | 14 | 9 | 78 | 13 | 9 |

**79.** (Great Britain Aug '46) What is the first item on the list of things you want to buy for your own personal use? (BIPO)

| | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| Clothes (general), new outfit.... | 19% | 19% |
| Suit, overcoat, costume, dress.... | 12 | 13 |
| Boots, shoes..... | 5 | 11 |
| Socks, stockings..... | 1 | 6 |
| Underwear ..... | 2 | 6 |
| Corsets ..... | — | 3 |
| House, bungalow..... | 3 | 2 |
| Motorcar..... | 15 | 4 |
| Motorcycle..... | 4 | — |
| Bicycle..... | 2 | 1 |
| Furniture, household equipment.. | 1 | 4 |
| Sewing machine..... | — | 1 |
| Washing machine..... | — | 1 |
| Sports uipment..... | 4 | 1 |
| Radio..... | 2 | 1 |
| Musical instrument..... | — | 1 |
| Watch..... | 3 | 2 |
| Fountain pen..... | 2 | — |
| Pipe..... | 3 | — |
| Cigarette lighter..... | 1 | — |
| Razor..... | 2 | — |
| Tools..... | 1 | — |
| Handbag..... | — | 3 |
| Umbrella..... | — | 2 |
| Cosmetics..... | — | 1 |
| Miscellaneous articles..... | 10 | 10 |
| None..... | 8 | 8 |

**80.** (US Aug '46) On the whole, which sex do you think is more extravagant in spending money, men or women? (FOR)

| BY SEX | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Men* | *Women* | *No difference* | *Don't know* |
| Men..... | 21.0% | 51.3% | 20.7% | 7.0% |
| Women..... | 30.4 | 44.9 | 18.3 | 6.4 |

**81.** (Hungary Sept '46) Can you now buy sufficient luxuries? (HIPOR)

Yes 18% No 61% Partly 17% Uncertain 4%

**82.** (Hungary Nov '46) What were your expenditures yesterday? Asked of a cross-section of Budapest residents. (HIPOR)

| | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| Food ..... | 42.9% | 64.4% |
| Tramway, bus, taxi..... | 15.1 | 12.6 |
| Newspaper..... | 13.5 | 2.2 |
| Tobacco, cigars, cigarettes..... | 28.2 | 3.5 |
| Electric, gas bills, etc..... | 3.2 | 6.7 |
| Fuel..... | 1.5 | 3.7 |
| Doctor, medicine..... | 0.4 | 4.2 |
| Theater, movies, entertainment..... | 4.3 | 3.9 |
| Cosmetics..... | 0.1 | 0.8 |
| Soap, soda, etc., for washing..... | 0.3 | 1.4 |
| Drinks..... | 4.6 | 1.3 |
| Bills, debts..... | 0.3 | 0.8 |
| Textiles, clothes..... | 3.1 | 3.6 |
| Tax, rent, radio, mail, ration cards, fees for release from obligatory public labor, etc..... | 3.5 | 7.4 |
| Sewing utensils, thread, yarn, etc..... | 0.3 | 2.8 |
| Book..... | 0.8 | 1.3 |
| Shoes..... | 0.9 | 0.2 |
| Repairs..... | 0.1 | 1.8 |
| No expenditures..... | 7.2 | 11.7 |
| Other..... | 10.0 | 10.7 |
| | 140.3%* | 145.0%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**83.** (Hungary Nov '46) If you unexpectedly got five hundred forints, what would you buy for Christmas? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | MEN | | | WOMEN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Well-to-do* | *Middle* | *Poor* | *Well-to-do* | *Middle* | *Poor* |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Nothing..... | 2.5 | 0.7 | 0.8 | 2.9 | 0.6 | 0.3 |
| Clothing, textiles, underwear..... | 55.0 | 57.8 | 54.7 | 61.8 | 61.8 | 64.1 |
| Shoes..... | 25.0 | 20.6 | 36.5 | 32.3 | 36.2 | 40.7 |
| Food, sweets..... | 10.0 | 25.0 | 22.0 | 11.8 | 26.0 | 21.9 |
| Toys..... | — | 1.8 | 5.1 | 2.9 | 7.1 | 4.0 |
| Books..... | 10.0 | 6.4 | 5.9 | 5.7 | 9.5 | 2.3 |
| Fuel..... | — | 12.8 | 10.2 | 8.8 | 6.5 | 16.2 |
| Drink, tobacco..... | — | 1.4 | 0.8 | — | 0.6 | — |
| Cosmetics..... | — | — | — | 2.9 | 0.6 | 1.1 |
| Luxury, fur coat, jewelry..... | 10.0 | 1.4 | 1.7 | 11.8 | 3.0 | 1.4 |
| Household articles. | — | 1.4 | 1.3 | — | 1.8 | 0.8 |
| Watch, fountain pen, pencil..... | 5.8 | 2.1 | 0.8 | 2.9 | — | 0.6 |
| Don't know yet.... | 5.0 | 2.1 | 1.3 | — | 1.8 | 1.4 |
| Radio..... | 7.5 | 4.3 | 0.8 | — | 0.6 | 2.5 |
| Bicycle..... | — | 1.4 | — | — | — | 0.3 |
| Trousseau, furniture | 2.5 | — | 1.3 | 8.8 | 2.4 | 1.1 |
| Other, no answer .. | 7.5 | 9.3 | 9.8 | 8.8 | 7.1 | 9.4 |
| Percentages... | 140.8* | 148.5* | 153.0* | 161.4* | 165.6* | 168.1* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**84.** (Hungary Nov '46) What do you intend to buy for Christmas? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | MEN | | | WOMEN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Well-to-do* | *Middle* | *Poor* | *Well-to-do* | *Middle* | *Poor* |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Nothing | 12.5 | 18.0 | 26.2 | 20.6 | 21.9 | 31.9 |
| Textiles, clothes, linen | 35.0 | 44.1 | 37.3 | 47.0 | 36.8 | 33.9 |
| Knitted articles, shoes | 12.5 | 15.7 | 13.1 | 11.8 | 11.2 | 13.6 |
| Food, sweets | 10.0 | 11.5 | 14.0 | 5.7 | 10.6 | 10.0 |
| Toys | 7.5 | 7.2 | 3.4 | 14.6 | 8.9 | 6.5 |
| Books | 12.5 | 6.4 | 1.3 | 8.8 | 7.7 | 3.4 |
| Fuel | — | 3.6 | 1.7 | 2.9 | 1.8 | 1.7 |
| Drink, tobacco | — | 2.1 | 1.7 | — | 1.2 | — |
| Cosmetics | 2.5 | — | 0.8 | — | 1.8 | 0.3 |
| Luxuries, fur coat, jewelry | 2.5 | 2.1 | 0.4 | — | 4.7 | 0.3 |
| Household articles | — | 1.4 | 1.3 | 2.9 | — | 0.3 |
| Watch, fountain pen, pencil | 2.5 | 1.4 | — | 2.9 | — | — |
| Radio, bicycle, furniture, trousseau | — | 2.1 | 1.2 | — | — | 0.3 |
| Don't know yet | 17.5 | 11.5 | 11.4 | 5.7 | 14.2 | 14.8 |
| Other, no answer | 10.0 | 9.3 | 7.6 | 5.7 | 7.1 | 3.7 |
| Percentages | 125.0* | 136.4* | 121.4* | 128.6* | 127.9* | 120.7* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**85.** (Australia Nov 23 '46) If it were put to a vote that retail shops should open on either Friday evening (to 9 p.m.) or on Saturday morning (to 12:30)—which would you favor? (APOP)

Favor opening Friday 48% Favor Saturday 48%
No opinion 4%

**86.** (Canada Dec 21 '46) If someone gave you five thousand dollars on condition that you spend it all, what would you spend most of it on? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Buy a home; invest in property; improve my home; add land to my farm; pay off my home; etc. | 43% |
| Travel; see the world; head for New York; etc. | 16 |
| Invest it in securities; annuities; insurance; bonds; etc. | 14 |
| Buy a car | 10 |
| Buy household furnishings | 7 |
| Buy clothes | 5 |
| Improve education; go to university; study music, art, drama, etc. | 4 |
| Spend it on the family | 3 |
| Recreation; vacation | 2 |
| Buy farm machinery | 2 |
| Miscellaneous replies | 11 |
| Couldn't decide | 2 |
| | 119%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

# CABINET OFFICERS

## Australia

**1.** (Australia Oct '41) Should an Australian Cabinet Minister attend the British War Cabinet when it is discussing war policy affecting Australia? (APOP)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 72% | 19% | 9% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 76% | 13% | 11% |
| 30–39 years | 75 | 17 | 8 |
| 40–49 years | 74 | 18 | 8 |
| 50–59 years | 71 | 19 | 10 |
| 60 years and over | 64 | 27 | 9 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Labor voters | 67% | 22% | 11% |
| Other voters | 77 | 16 | 7 |

## Canada

**1.** (Canada Sept 9 '42) Do you think that the war effort would be helped if the Cabinet were chosen from all political parties and not just from the Liberal Party as at present or do you think it would make no difference? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Would help war effort | 59% |
| Would hurt war effort | 8 |
| Would make no difference | 26 |
| No opinion | 7 |

**2.** (Canada Mar 10 '45) Do you happen to know the names of any of the members of Mackenzie King's Ottawa Cabinet? What are their names? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Ilsley | 52% |
| McNaughton | 43 |
| Howe | 24 |
| Macdonald | 21 |
| Couldn't name any | 22 |
| Incorrect answers | 11 |
| | 173%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## France

**1.** (France June 1 '45) Were you surprised at the resignation of M. Mendes-France, Minister of National Economy? (FIPO)

Yes 15% No 42% No answer 43%

**2.** (France Dec 16 '45) Should General De Gaulle have given one of the three following ministries to the Communist Party —War, Foreign Affairs, Interior? (FIPO)

Yes 45% No 45% No opinion 10%

**3.** (France Feb 1 '46) Have you ever heard of M. Jean Monnet? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 41% | 59% |
| Informed opinion | 54 | 46 |

**4.** (France Feb 1 '46) Do you approve of his [M. Jean Monnet's] nomination as Commissioner General of the [Economic] Plan? Asked of 41% of the sample who had heard of M. Monnet. (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40% | 15% | 45% = 100% |
| | of those who had heard of M. Jean Monnet | | |
| Informed opinion | 22 | 13 | 65 |

**5.** (France Feb 1 '46) Of the two ministries, Finance and National Economy, which do you consider the most important? (FIPO)

| | *National economy* | *Finance* | *Equal* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 24% | 28% | 15% |
| Informed opinion | 40 | 26 | 27 | 7 |

**6.** (France Feb 1 '46) Should one of these two ministries [Finance and National Economy], in your opinion, be subject to the authority of the other? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 32% | 26% |
| Informed opinion | 49 | 35 | 16 |

**7.** (France Feb 1 '46) Which [ministry] should be subject to the authority of the other? Asked of 42% of the sample who thought one of the two ministries, Finance and National Economy, should be subject to the authority of the other. (FIPO)

| | *Ministry of Finance* | *Ministry of National Economy* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 62% | 36% | 2% = 100% of those questioned |
| Informed opinion | 31 | 17 | 52 |

**8.** (France Feb 1 '46) In your opinion should the [Constituent] deputies be subject to recall if they have acquitted themselves badly? (FIPO)

Yes 90% No 4% No opinion 6%

**9.** (France Feb 1 '46) Who would recall them [the Constituent deputies], their party or the electors? Asked of 90% of the sample who thought the deputies should be recalled if they acquitted themselves badly. (FIPO)

Electors 66% Party 24% No opinion 10%

**10.** (France Feb 16 '46) In your opinion, have the following ministers done well or badly: MM. Pleven, Billoux, Marcel Paul, Tanguy-Prigent, Bidault, Tillon, Michelet, Teitgen? (FIPO)

| | *Done well* | *Done badly* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| M. Bidault | 57% | 14% | 29% |
| M. Marcel Paul | 23 | 36 | 41 |
| M. Tillon | 21 | 25 | 54 |
| M. Billoux | 15 | 38 | 47 |
| M. Pleven | 15 | 63 | 22 |
| M. Teitgen | 12 | 55 | 33 |
| M. Michelet | 11 | 29 | 60 |
| M. Tanguy-Prigent | 7 | 73 | 20 |

**11.** (France Aug 1 '46) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the composition of the Ministry set up by Georges Bidault? (FIPO)

| | *Satisfied* | *Dissatisfied* | *Indifferent* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 22% | 32% | 13% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Communists | 21% | 50% | 29% | |
| Socialists | 26 | 28 | 46 | |
| Other left parties | 37 | 19 | 44 | |
| MRP | 62 | 9 | 29 | |
| PRL | 37 | 25 | 38 | |

**12.** (France Sept '46) Was it right to validate the election of M. Reynaud? And that of M. Daladier? (FIPO)

| | *Reynaud* | *Daladier* |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 36% | 35% |
| No | 36 | 37 |
| No opinion | 28 | 28 |

Would you have wanted that [the election] of M. Reynaud invalidated? And that of M. Daladier?

| | *Reynaud* | *Daladier* |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 40% | 40% |
| No | 33 | 34 |
| No opinion | 27 | 26 |
| COMBINED RESULTS | | |
| For validation | 34% | 35% |
| For invalidation | 38 | 38 |
| No opinion | 28 | 27 |

**13.** (France Sept '46) In your opinion will M. Yves Farge, Minister of Food, succeed? (FIPO)

Yes 31% No 24% No opinion 45%

## Great Britain

**1.** (Great Britain Mar 5–12 '38*) Do you believe Mr. Eden was right in resigning? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar 5 '38 | 72% | 18% | 10% |
| Mar 12 '38 | 73 | 13 | 14 |

* Release dates.

**2.** (Great Britain Mar 5–12 '38*) Do you agree with Mr. Eden's reasons for resigning? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar 5 '38 | 69% | 19% | 12% |
| Mar 12 '38 | 62 | 17 | 21 |

* Release dates.

**3.** (Great Britain Mar '40) If a smaller war cabinet were formed for the more active prosecution of the war, which five leaders would you like to see in it? (Jan 16 '42) If Churchill formed a smaller war cabinet, for the more active prosecution of the war, which four men should he choose? (BIPO)

| *Mar '40* | | *Jan '42* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Attlee | 24%* | Eden | 70%* |
| Hore-Belisha | 46 | Beaverbrook | 60 |
| Churchill | 67 | Bevin | 41 |
| Duncan | 3 | Attlee | 21 |
| Eden | 65 | Stafford Cripps | 16 |
| George | 29 | Morrison | 16 |
| Greenwood | 26 | Alexander | 9 |
| Halifax | 34 | Hore-Belisha | 8 |
| Hoare | 12 | Lloyd George | 8 |
| Morrison | 18 | Duff Cooper | 7 |
| Reith | 7 | Representatives of Dominions | 7 |
| Simon | 22 | Sinclair | 7 |
| Sinclair | 16 | Forces Chiefs | 6 |
| Stanley | 11 | Shinwell | 6 |
| Wood | 24 | Woolton | 4 |
| Duff Cooper | 10 | Greenwood | 4 |
| Chamberlain | 34 | Halifax | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 10 | Kingsley Wood | 2 |
| No reply | 6 | Margesson | 1 |
| | | Simon | 1 |
| | | Ernest Brown | 1 |
| | | Miscellaneous | 20 |
| | | No comment | 15 |

* Since respondents were asked to choose five men in 1940 and four men in 1942 percentages add to considerably more than 100.

**4.** (Great Britain Apr '41) In general, do you think that Mr. Bevin is doing a good job as Minister of Labor? (Mar 1 '43)

Do you think that Bevin is doing a good job or a bad job as Minister of Labor? (BIPO)

| | *Good* | *Bad* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '41 | 63% | 14% | 23% |
| Mar 1 '43 | 64 | 16 | 20 |

**5.** (Great Britain June '41 and May '42) Do you think that Lord Woolton is or is not doing a good job as Minister of Food? (BIPO)

| | *Is* | *Is not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| June '41 | 57% | 31% | 12% |
| May '42 | 79 | 12 | 9 |

**6.** (Great Britain Feb '42) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the personnel of the Cabinet as made up at present? (BIPO)

Satisfied 32% Dissatisfied 41% Don't know 27%

**7.** (Great Britain Apr '42) Do you think that Mr. Herbert Morrison is or is not doing a good job as Minister of Home Affairs and Security? (Dec '43) Do you think that Mr. Morrison is or is not doing a good job as Home Secretary? (BIPO)

| | *Is* | *Is not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '42 | 50% | 20% | 30% |
| Dec '43 | 49 | 31 | 20 |

**8.** (Great Britain Dec 14 '45, Feb 16 '46, Nov '46, Dec '46) Do you think that Ernest Bevin is or is not doing a good job as Foreign Secretary? (BIPO)

| | *Is* | *Is not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '45 | 47% | 18% | 35% |
| Feb '46 | 73 | 12 | 15 |
| Nov '46 | 58 | 19 | 23 |
| Dec '46 | 54 | 20 | 26 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| *Men* | | | |
| Dec '45 | 55% | 20% | 25% |
| Feb '46 | 77 | 14 | 9 |
| Nov '46 | 67 | 21 | 12 |
| Dec '46 | 62 | 21 | 17 |
| *Women* | | | |
| Dec '45 | 39 | 16 | 45 |
| Feb '46 | 69 | 10 | 21 |
| Nov '46 | 49 | 17 | 34 |
| Dec '46 | 47 | 17 | 36 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| *21–29 years* | | | |
| Dec '45 | 42% | 19% | 39% |
| Feb '46 | 73 | 13 | 14 |
| Nov '46 | 53 | 22 | 25 |
| Dec '46 | 46 | 21 | 33 |
| *30–49 years* | | | |
| Dec '45 | 48 | 18 | 34 |
| Feb '46 | 74 | 13 | 13 |
| Nov '46 | 61 | 20 | 19 |
| Dec '46 | 58 | 19 | 23 |
| *50 years and over* | | | |
| Dec '45 | 47 | 18 | 35 |
| Feb '46 | 72 | 11 | 17 |
| Nov '46 | 57 | 16 | 27 |
| Dec '46 | 55 | 18 | 27 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| *Higher* | | | |
| Dec '45 | 42% | 32% | 26% |
| Feb '46 | 72 | 22 | 6 |
| Nov '46 | 57 | 29 | 14 |
| Dec '46 | 50 | 32 | 18 |
| *Middle* | | | |
| Dec '45 | 47% | 25% | 28% |
| Feb '46 | 74 | 15 | 11 |
| Nov '46 | 58 | 25 | 17 |
| Dec '46 | 55 | 24 | 21 |
| *Lower* | | | |
| Dec '45 | 48 | 14 | 38 |
| Feb '46 | 73 | 10 | 17 |
| Nov '46 | 58 | 16 | 26 |
| Dec '46 | 56 | 16 | 28 |
| *Very poor* | | | |
| Nov '46 | 53 | 14 | 33 |
| Dec '46 | 51 | 15 | 34 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| *Conservative* | | | |
| Feb '46 | 64% | 20% | 16% |
| Nov '46 | 55 | 24 | 21 |
| Dec '46 | 49 | 28 | 23 |
| *Labor* | | | |
| Feb '46 | 82 | 7 | 11 |
| Nov '46 | 69 | 13 | 18 |
| Dec '46 | 67 | 13 | 20 |
| *Liberal* | | | |
| Feb '46 | 76 | 10 | 14 |
| Nov '46 | 51 | 29 | 20 |
| Dec '46 | 48 | 24 | 28 |
| *Other* | | | |
| Feb '46 | 64 | 26 | 10 |
| Nov '46 | 53 | 42 | 5 |
| Dec '46 | 50 | 35 | 15 |
| *Non-voters* | | | |
| Feb '46 | 62 | 11 | 27 |
| Nov '46 | 45 | 18 | 37 |
| Dec '46 | 42 | 18 | 40 |
| *Refused to answer* | | | |
| Feb '46 | 77 | 16 | 7 |
| BY LABOR STATUS | | | |
| *Union members* | | | |
| Feb '46 | 80% | 12% | 8% |
| Nov '46 | 67 | 20 | 13 |
| Dec '46 | 61 | 20 | 19 |
| *Non-union* | | | |
| Feb '46 | 71 | 12 | 17 |
| Nov '46 | 55 | 19 | 26 |
| Dec '46 | 52 | 19 | 29 |

**9.** (Great Britain May '46) On the whole, do you think that Mr. Dalton is doing a good job or a bad job as Chancellor of the Exchequer? (BIPO)

| | *Good job* | *Bad job* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 14% | 31% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 61% | 16% | 23% |
| Women | 49 | 11 | 40 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 52% | 11% | 37% |
| 30–49 years | 57 | 13 | 30 |
| 50 years and over | 53 | 16 | 31 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 48% | 26% | 26% |
| Middle | 55 | 20 | 25 |
| Lower | 55 | 11 | 34 |

| | *Good job* | *Bad job* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative | 42% | 27% | 31% |
| Labor | 68 | 7 | 25 |
| Liberal | 57 | 17 | 26 |
| Other voters | 57 | 10 | 33 |
| Non-voters | 43 | 9 | 48 |

## Italy

**1.** (Italy Oct '46) Which of the following sentences comes closest to expressing your opinion of Mr. de Gasperi as Minister of Foreign Affairs? (DOXA)

| | *Full approval* | *On the whole he did well* | *Mediocre job without too many mistakes* | *Made several mistakes which could have been avoided* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 16.2% | 30.0% | 15.4% | 11.1% | 9.3% | 18.0% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | |
| Men | 14.4% | 32.9% | 17.4% | 14.6% | 11.8% | 8.9% |
| Women | 18.3 | 26.7 | 13.0 | 6.9 | 6.4 | 28.7 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | | |
| North Italy | 17.9% | 34.8% | 14.5% | 10.9% | 6.7% | 15.2% |
| Central Italy | 15.9 | 29.5 | 19.9 | 11.1 | 8.5 | 15.1 |
| South Italy | 14.3 | 23.2 | 14.0 | 12.9 | 12.7 | 22.9 |
| Islands | 13.8 | 24.9 | 15.5 | 8.3 | 14.1 | 23.4 |
| POLITICS AS INDICATED BY NEWSPAPERS READ | | | | | | |
| Christian Democrat | 45.9% | 34.9% | 10.3% | 1.4% | 2.1% | 5.4% |
| Socialist | 5.8 | 28.0 | 24.4 | 23.8 | 11.6 | 6.4 |
| Communist | 3.3 | 13.9 | 18.5 | 30.6 | 25.8 | 7.9 |
| Other parties | 13.8 | 34.2 | 17.6 | 10.7 | 10.5 | 13.2 |
| Independent | 18.1 | 37.1 | 16.5 | 10.7 | 7.4 | 10.2 |
| No newspapers | 13.8 | 15.4 | 8.2 | 4.3 | 8.4 | 49.9 |

## Netherlands

**1.** (Netherlands May '46) When a new Cabinet is being formed, in what type of men would you have most confidence as Ministers? (NIPO)

| | *Party politicians* | *Big businessmen* | *Professors* | *Diplomats* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 39% | 27% | 22% | 9% | 25% = 122%* |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 40% | 29% | 21% | 10% | 25% |
| Women | 38 | 24 | 23 | 8 | |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Lowest incomes | 47% | 15% | 20% | 3% | |
| Low incomes | 43 | 22 | 22 | 9 | 25% |
| Middle class | 32 | 38 | 24 | 13 | |
| Well-to-do | 25 | 42 | 25 | 3 | |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Labor party | 49% | 22% | 27% | 9% | |
| Catholic People's party | 30 | 26 | 26 | 11 | |
| Anti-Revolutionary | 51% | 31% | 21% | 11% | 25% |
| Liberal | 18 | 64 | 20 | 12 | |
| Communist | 63 | 8 | 11 | 4 | |
| Christian-Historic | 35 | 35 | 19 | 9 | |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (Netherlands May '46) Shortly a new government will have to be formed. What things should this new Cabinet get busy on first of all? (NIPO)

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* | *Low income* | *Middle* | *High income* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A better ratio between wages and prices | 19% | 19% | 19% | 22% | 15% | 12% |
| More goods more easily procurable | 14 | 18 | 11 | 13 | 19 | 20 |
| More clothing, shoes, linen, etc. | 11 | 7 | 16 | 13 | 6 | 3 |
| Quick building and rebuilding of houses | 11 | 10 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 16 |
| Finish judging political delinquents quickly | 10 | 10 | 9 | 9 | 11 | 11 |
| Solving of Indonesian problems | 8 | 10 | 6 | 7 | 10 | 16 |
| Old age pensions, pensions for relatives of war victims | 6 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 1 |
| Put aside the obstructions of trade (national and international) | 4 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 10 |
| Stamp out black markets | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| No opinion | 15 | 12 | 18 | 15 | 17 | 10 |

**3.** (Netherlands May '46) In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the work done by the Schermerhorn-Drees Cabinet? (NIPO)

Satisfied 49% Dissatisfied 34% Don't know 17%

**4.** (Netherlands May '46) Why [are you satisfied with the work done by the Schermerhorn-Drees Cabinet]? Asked of the 49% who were satisfied. (NIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Did a good job in difficult circumstances, etc. | 36% |
| Successful handling of financial matters | 1 |
| No reason | 12 |
| | 49% |

**5.** (Netherlands May '46) Why [are you dissatisfied with the work of the Schermerhorn-Drees Cabinet]? Asked of the 34% who were dissatisfied. (NIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Weak leadership; too many compromises, too slow; etc. | 10% |
| Because not in agreement with political views of Cabinet | 3 |
| Because too many civil servants; bureaucracy | 3 |
| Indonesian problems wrongly handled | 2 |
| Spending too much money | 2 |
| Government undemocratic; like dictators; etc. | 2 |
| Other reasons | 3 |
| No reason | 9 |
| | 34% |

**6.** (Netherlands June '46) The Schermerhorn-Drees Cabinet has offered its resignation to the Queen. Consequently, a new Cabinet has to be formed. In your opinion, which parties together should form this new government? (NIPO)

OPINIONS BEFORE AND AFTER THE ELECTIONS

| | *After elections* | *Before elections* |
|---|---|---|
| Roman Catholic | 67% | 55% |
| Labor | 61 | 52.5 |
| Anti-Revolutionary | 26 | 21 |
| Christian-Historic | 22 | 17 |
| Communist | 18 | 10 |
| Liberal | 13 | 13 |
| Others | 9 | 2.5 |
| No answer | 15 | 17 |
| | 231%* | 188%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**7.** (Netherlands Dec 12 '46) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the work of the Beel Cabinet? (NIPO)

Dissatisfied 47% Satisfied 34% Don't know 19%

## Sweden

**1.** (Sweden Feb '43) If Per Albin Hansson were to retire from political life who, inside or outside the Cabinet, would you suggest as his successor to lead the coalition government? (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Townsmen* | *Work parties* | *Upper class* | *Middle class* | *Workers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Don't know | 83% | 77% | 82% | 60% | 80% | 87% |
| State Councilor Bagge (Right) | 4 | 9 | 1 | 20 | 5 | 1 |
| Foreign Minister Günther (unpolitical) | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 2 |
| Agricultural Minister Bramstorp | 2 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Minister for Defense Sköld (Socialist) | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Minister of Finance Wigforss (Socialist) | 1 | — | 2 | — | 1 | 1 |
| State Councilor Andersson (Liberal) | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | — |
| Others | 5 | 5 | 8 | 9 | 6 | 5 |

## U.S.

**1.** (US Nov 4 '36) Should the national chairman of the Democratic Party also hold a position in the President's new Cabinet? (AIPO)

Yes 37% No 63% = 100% No opinion 15%

**2.** (US Nov 30 '37 and Apr 19 '39) Do you think Henry Wallace has done a good job as Secretary of Agriculture? The 1937 question was asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (Feb 6 '40) Do you think Henry Wallace has done a good job or a poor job as Secretary of Agriculture? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | *Yes, good job* | *No, poor job* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '37 | 69% | 31% = 100% | 32% |
| Apr '39 | 58 | 42 | |
| Feb '40 | 73 | 27 | |

| | *Yes, good job* | *No, poor job* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| NOV '37 RESULTS BY TYPES OF FARMERS | | | |
| Tobacco farmers | 89% | 11% | |
| Cotton farmers | 80 | 20 | |
| Wheat farmers | 71 | 29 | |
| Corn farmers | 68 | 32 | |
| Other farmers | 63 | 37 | |

**3.** (US May 20 and May 27 '38) Do you think the following Cabinet members have done a good or poor job in their office—Secretary of State Hull, Secretary of War Woodring, Postmaster General Farley, Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, Secretary of Commerce Roper? The May 27th list was: Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, Attorney-General Cummings, Secretary of Labor Perkins, Secretary of the Navy Swanson, Secretary of the Interior Ickes. (AIPO)

| | *Good* | *Poor* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| NATIONAL TOTAL | | | |
| Hull | 53% | 8% | 39% |
| Woodring | 37 | 8 | 55 |
| Farley | 39 | 26 | 35 |
| Wallace | 37 | 23 | 40 |
| Roper | 26 | 12 | 62 |
| Morgenthau | 44 | 13 | 43 |
| Cummings | 36 | 13 | 51 |
| Perkins | 31 | 38 | 31 |
| Swanson | 44 | 8 | 48 |
| Ickes | 37 | 22 | 41 |
| DEMOCRATIC OPINION | | | |
| Hull | 58% | 5% | 37% |
| Farley | 53 | 14 | 33 |
| Wallace | 49 | 15 | 36 |
| Woodring | 43 | 5 | 52 |
| Roper | 32 | 9 | 59 |
| Morgenthau | 52 | 8 | 40 |
| Cummings | 44 | 7 | 49 |
| Perkins | 40 | 30 | 30 |
| Swanson | 50 | 5 | 45 |
| Ickes | 47 | 14 | 39 |

**4.** (US July '38 and Oct '38) On the whole, do you like or dislike his [President Roosevelt's] advisers and political associates? (FOR)

| | *Like* | *Dislike* | *No knowledge or undecided* | *Not sure or uninformed* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| July '38 | 28.3% | 32.3% | 20.2% | 19.2% |
| Oct '38 | 32.4 | 31.4 | 17.6 | 18.6 |

**5.** (US Oct '38) Can you name one of the President's advisers, associates, or Cabinet members of whom you approve? One of whom you disapprove? (FOR)

| | *Associates approved* | *Associates disapproved* |
|---|---|---|
| Cordell Hull | 22.2% | 1.0% |
| James A. Farley | 11.6 | 18.8 |
| John N. Garner | 9.6 | 2.5 |
| Henry A. Wallace | 4.4 | 6.4 |
| Harold L. Ickes | 4.3 | 7.4 |
| Frances Perkins | 3.6 | 10.1 |
| Harry L. Hopkins | 3.4 | 5.8 |
| Henry Morgenthau, Jr. | 3.4 | — |
| Joseph P. Kennedy | 1.9 | — |
| Claude A. Swanson | 0.8 | — |
| James Roosevelt | 0.6 | 1.0 |
| Hugo Black | — | 1.9 |

| | *Associates approved* | *Associates disapproved* |
|---|---|---|
| Thomas Corcoran | — | 1.4% |
| John L. Lewis | — | 1.0 |
| All others | 13.2% | 10.1 |
| All | 3.4 | 4.0 |
| None | 17.6 | 28.6 |

**6.** (US Nov 22 '38) Do you think Cordell Hull has done a good or a poor job as Secretary of State? (AIPO)

| | *Good* | *Poor* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 85% | 15% | = 100% | 43% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Republican | 75% | 25% | | |
| Democratic | 91 | 9 | | |

**7.** (US Nov 22 '38) Do you think Harry Hopkins has done a good job as director of the WPA? (AIPO)

| | *Good* | *Poor* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 47% | 53% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic | 60% | 40% |
| Republican | 22 | 78 |

**8.** (US Nov 22 '38) Harry Hopkins has been mentioned for the post of Secretary of Commerce. Would you approve of his appointment? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 34% | 66% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic | 45% | 55% |
| Republican | 14 | 86 |

**9.** (US Jan 10 '39) A bill is being introduced in Congress to impeach the United States Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins. Do you think she should be removed from office? Without introducing the idea of impeachment, a comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think the United States Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins, should be removed from office? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Results of first form | 33% | 34% | 33% |
| Results of second form | 40 | 28 | 32 |

**10.** (US Mar '39) What is your opinion of WPA Administrator Harry Hopkins—do you feel that (1) he has done a fine job and should be kept in mind for higher office; (2) he has made some mistakes but on the whole he has handled a difficult job well; (3) he has done a fairly good job, but not good enough; (4) he has done a bad job and should retire to private life?* (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9.4% | 31.5% | 15.0% | 12.5% | 31.6% |
| Unemployed only | 18.7 | 31.5 | 15.3 | 7.9 | 26.6 |

* This question was framed just at the time when Mr. Hopkins' promotion was being rumored and was asked immediately before his appointment as Secretary of Commerce was announced. As a matter of fact the last few hundred interviews were made after, but they were too few to upset the results of the question as asked.

**11.** (US Oct 18 '39) It has been suggested that since President Roosevelt wants the country to forget politics while the war lasts, he should invite some Republican leaders to join the Cabinet. Do you favor or oppose this idea? (AIPO)

Favor 62% Oppose 22% No opinion 16%

**12.** (US Oct 18 '39) It has been suggested that President Roosevelt should replace some of the Democrats now in the Cabinet with Republicans. Do you favor or oppose this idea? (AIPO)

Favor 33% Oppose 40% No answer 1% No opinion 26%

**13.** (US Dec '39) Do you think Roosevelt would do well to invite some of his political opponents, like Senator Vandenberg, Alfred Landon, ex-President Hoover, and Carter Glass to join in a non-political emergency Cabinet now, or that he should continue as now with his regular Cabinet? (FOR)

| *Emergency Cabinet* | *Continue as now* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|
| 48.9% | 34.5% | 16.6% |

**14.** (US June 25 '40) President Roosevelt has named two Republicans, Frank Knox and Henry Stimson, to be Secretaries of Navy and War in the Cabinet, filling one vacancy and replacing one Democrat, Harry Woodring. Do you approve or disapprove of his action? A comparable cross-section was asked: President Roosevelt has named two Republicans, Frank Knox and Henry Stimson, to be Secretaries of Navy and War in his Cabinet. Do you approve or disapprove of his action? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 71% | 29% | = 100% | 28% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Republican | 57% | 43% | | |
| Democratic | 85 | 15 | | |

**15.** (US July 31 '40) If Wendell Willkie is elected President this fall, should he invite Cordell Hull to remain as his Secretary of State? (AIPO)

Yes 45% No 18% Undecided 37%

**16.** (US Mar 18 '42) In England, public opinion has forced Churchill to change some members of his Cabinet. Do you think Roosevelt should make any changes in his Cabinet here? (AIPO)

Yes 36% No 28% No opinion 36%

**17.** (US Mar 18 '42) What changes should be made? Asked of 36% of the sample who thought Roosevelt should make some changes in his Cabinet. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should change Secretary of Labor, eliminate Perkins | 23% |
| Should change Secretary of Navy, eliminate Knox | 6 |
| Should change Secretary of War, eliminate Stimson | 5 |
| Should change Secretary of Interior, eliminate Ickes | 3 |
| Should change Secretary of Treasury, eliminate Morgenthau | 1 |
| Should change Secretary of Commerce, eliminate Jones | 1 |
| Should change Secretary of State, eliminate Hull | 1 |
| Should change Attorney-General, eliminate Biddle | * |
| Should change Postmaster-General, eliminate Walker | * |
| Should change Secretary of Agriculture, eliminate Wickard | 1 |
| Should change entire Cabinet | 1 |
| Should have younger, more aggressive men in Cabinet | 2 |
| Should make changes, couldn't say what | 6 |
| More capable, more efficient men | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| | 52%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 36 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**18.** (US Dec 22 '42) Which of these Cabinet members has done the best job with his department during the past year? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hull | 36% |
| Knox | 18 |
| Morgenthau | 13 |
| Wickard | 10 |
| Stimson | 8 |
| Ickes | 6 |
| Walker | 4 |
| Biddle | 2 |
| Perkins | 2 |
| Jones | 2 |
| No opinion | 13 |
| | 114%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**19.** (US Dec 22 '42) Do you approve or disapprove of having some Republicans in the President's Cabinet? (AIPO)

Approve 77% Disapprove 4% No opinion 19%

**20.** (US Jan 21 '43) Do you think that Claude Wickard has done a good job or a poor job as Secretary of Agriculture? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Good job 33% Fair job 32% Poor job 9% No opinion 26%

**21.** (US Mar 10 '43) Have you heard of any of the following persons: Claude Wickard? Sumner Wells? Can you tell me briefly what his job is now? (AIPO)

| | *Yes, correct* | *Yes, incorrect* | *Yes, but didn't give an answer* | *No* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Claude Wickard | 48% | 2% | 16% | 34% |
| Sumner Wells | 29 | 15 | 29 | 27 |

**22.** (US July 7 '43) Have you been following the fight between Jesse Jones and Henry Wallace?* (AIPO)

Yes 36% No 64%

* Wallace accused Jesse Jones of obstructing the war effort.

**23.** (US July 7 '43) Which man are you more inclined to side with—Jones or Wallace? Asked of 36% of the sample who had been following the debate between Jesse Jones and Henry Wallace. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Jones | 36% |
| Wallace | 26 |
| Neither | 27 |
| No opinion | 11 |
| | 100% of those who had followed the debate |

**24.** (US Nov 24 '43) A member of Congress has suggested that heads of government departments and agencies appear before Congress, when requested, to answer questions about what their departments are doing. Do you approve or disapprove of this idea? A comparable cross-section was asked the question in the following form: Would you approve or disapprove of having members of the President's Cabinet appear before Congress, when requested, to answer questions or explain what their departments are doing? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 72% | 7% | 21% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republican | 75% | 25% | |
| Democratic | 68 | 32 | |

**25.** (US Nov 24 '43) Would you approve or disapprove if both the Republican and Democratic parties agree to name Cordell Hull Secretary of State after the next election? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 16% | 28% |
| Republican voters | 52 | 22 | 26 |

**26.** (US Dec 28 '44) A bill has been introduced in Congress to increase the salaries of the Vice-President of the United States and members of the President's Cabinet from fifteen thousand dollars to twenty-five thousand dollars a year. Do you approve or disapprove of this increase? (AIPO)

Approve 27% Disapprove 62% No opinion 11%

**27.** (US Jan 31 '45) Have you heard or read about the appointment of Henry Wallace as Secretary of Commerce? (AIPO)

Yes 80% No 20%

**28.** (US Jan 31 '45) Would you like to see Congress vote for or against the appointment of Henry Wallace as Secretary of Commerce? (AIPO)

| | *For* | *Against* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40% | 37% | 23% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Roosevelt voters | 61% | 19% | 20% |
| Dewey voters | 17 | 64 | 19 |

**29.** (US Apr 18 '45) Which members of the President's Cabinet would you like to see kept on in their jobs? Each respondent was given a card with a list of the President's Cabinet on it. (AIPO)

| | *Kept on* | *Not kept on* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Biddle | 45% | 17% | 38% |
| Forrestal | 67 | 4 | 29 |
| Ickes | 49 | 23 | 28 |
| Morgenthau | 57 | 18 | 25 |
| Perkins | 29 | 49 | 22 |
| Stettinius | 65 | 11 | 24 |
| Stimson | 71 | 5 | 24 |
| Walker | 51 | 9 | 40 |
| Wallace | 54 | 23 | 23 |
| Wickard | 52 | 10 | 38 |

**30.** (US Nov '45) Can you tell me which one of the organizations on this card is headed by James Byrnes, or don't you remember right now? Each respondent was handed a card with the following organizations listed on it: WMC, WPB, OPA, WLB, State, Interior. (NORC)

Right 35% Wrong 17% Don't know 48%

**31.** (US Nov '45) Is your impression of James Byrnes favorable, unfavorable, or haven't you heard enough to say? Asked of all those who gave an answer—the 35% who were correct and the 17% who were wrong. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| OPINIONS OF THOSE WHO GAVE A CORRECT ANSWER | |
| Favorable | 24% |
| Unfavorable | 4 |
| Don't know | 7 |
| | 35% |
| OPINIONS OF THOSE WHO GAVE AN INCORRECT ANSWER | |
| Favorable | 8% |
| Unfavorable | 1 |
| Don't know | 8 |
| | 17% |

**32.** (US Dec 19 '45 and Jan 3 '46) These are some public figures who have been in the news. Have you ever heard of any of them? Included in a list were James Byrnes and Henry Wallace. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| *James Byrnes* | | |
| Dec '45 | 79% | 21% |
| Jan '46 | 82 | 18 |
| *Henry Wallace* | | |
| Dec '45 | 88 | 12 |
| Jan '46 | 89 | 11 |

**33.** (US Jan '46) Now we want to ask about some key men in government offices. For instance, do you think James Byrnes (Vinson, etc.) looks like an excellent, good, only fair, or poor man for the job of Secretary of State (Secretary of the Treasury, etc.)? (FOR)

| | *Excellent* | *Good* | *Fair* | *Poor* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Byrnes | 7.4% | 34.4% | 17.7% | 2.4% | 38.1% |
| Vinson | 4.2 | 29.4 | 12.0 | 1.6 | 52.8 |
| Snyder | 2.1 | 20.3 | 10.8 | 3.8 | 63.0 |
| Ickes | 6.5 | 32.0 | 13.4 | 13.5 | 34.6 |
| Anderson | 5.1 | 27.8 | 7.7 | 2.0 | 57.4 |
| Schwellenbach | 4.0 | 24.9 | 14.4 | 7.5 | 49.2 |
| Wallace | 7.4 | 29.0 | 17.4 | 16.4 | 29.8 |
| OPINIONS ON CLINTON P. ANDERSON BY OCCUPATION* | | | | | |
| Farm (proprietor and worker) | 4.6% | 41.1% | 12.1% | 6.1% | 36.1% |
| Proprietor (except farm) | 8.5 | 31.2 | 12.4 | 4.3 | 43.6 |
| Wage worker (except farm) | 3.4 | 27.5 | 9.2 | 2.2 | 57.7 |
| OPINIONS ON LEWIS B. SCHWELLENBACH BY OCCUPATION* | | | | | |
| Proprietor (except farm) | 3.9% | 24.5% | 24.1% | 14.2% | 33.3% |
| Salaried, minor | 6.0 | 29.5 | 17.9 | 7.2 | 39.4 |
| Wage workers (except farm) | 3.8 | 25.6 | 14.0 | 8.1 | 48.5 |
| OPINIONS ON HENRY WALLACE BY ECONOMIC STATUS* | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 6.0% | 25.9% | 25.4% | 32.3% | 10.4% |
| Upper middle | 7.9 | 27.4 | 21.3 | 26.4 | 17.0 |
| Lower middle | 7.7 | 29.1 | 20.1 | 15.7 | 27.4 |
| Poor | 7.1 | 30.7 | 9.1 | 6.1 | 47.0 |

* Breakdowns from *New York Herald Tribune* Jan 10 '46.

**34.** (France Oct 16 '46) Have you heard about the statements which Mr. Byrnes made at Stuttgart on September 6th? 61% of the sample who had heard about the speech were asked: Do you approve or disapprove of these statements? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve | 8% |
| Disapprove | 41 |
| No opinion | 12 |
| Hadn't heard of speech | 39 |

## CALORIES AND VITAMINS

**1.** (US Mar 7 '40) Do you happen to know what food calories are? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct | 15% |
| Doubtful | 9 |
| Incorrect | 12 |
| Don't know | 64 |

**2.** (US Mar 7 '40) Do you happen to know what vitamins are? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct | 9% |
| Doubtful | 22 |
| Incorrect | 7 |
| Don't know | 62 |

**3.** (US Nov 13 '41 and Great Britain Apr '42) Can you explain the difference between a vitamin and a calorie? What is the difference? The United States question was asked of a national cross-section of housewives. (AIPO and BIPO) (Canada Jan 6 '43) Do you happen to know the difference between a calorie and a vitamin? (CIPO)

| | *Correct, know difference* | *Incorrect, vague, or don't know* |
|---|---|---|
| US | 16% | 84% |
| Great Britain | 19 | 81 |
| Canada | 12 | 88 |

**4.** (US Nov 13 '41) Is there any one vitamin which you have heard about a lot in recent months? 54% of the sample who said they had heard a lot about one vitamin were asked: Which one? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Vitamin A | 7% |
| Vitamin B-1 (B and B-2) | 42 |
| Vitamin C | 2 |
| Vitamin D | 7 |
| Other vitamins | 2 |
| Haven't heard anything | 46 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents mentioned more than one vitamin.

**5.** (US Nov 13 '41) Do you consider this talk about vitamins just a passing fad? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 25% | 68% | 7% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 29% | 64% | 7% |
| Women | 21 | 73 | 6 |

**6.** (Great Britain Apr '42) Can you tell me why vitamins are important? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| They are necessary for good health | 24% |
| They are body-building | 7 |
| You can get the most out of your food if you know which contains vitamins | 3 |
| Had heard or read that they were important | 2 |
| Energizing | 1 |
| Thought they were the most important element in food | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Couldn't say | 59 |

**7.** (US Apr 15 '42) Have you taken any vitamin pills since October? (AIPO)

Yes 23% No 76% No answer 1%

## CANADA

### Army

**1.** (Canada Jan 24 '45) Some people say Canadian political leaders should visit the war fronts in order to find out what

our troops need. Others say political leaders should stay at home. What are your views on this? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should visit fronts | 57% |
| Should stay at home | 28 |
| No opinion | 15 |

## Army Air Forces

**1.** (Canada June 27 '42) Do you think Canadian airmen should fight as a separate Canadian air force, or should they continue to fight as part of the RAF as at present? (CIPO)

| | *Separate air force* | *Part of RAF* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Quebec | 60% | 20% | 20% |
| Rest of Canada | 21 | 62 | 17 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 34% | 51% | 15% |
| Women | 28 | 50 | 22 |

## Army and Navy (Demobilization)

**1.** (Canada Mar 8 '44) When the war is over, the government will not be able to release all the men from the armed forces at the same time. Which of these plans would be the fairest way to release them: release all married men first, according to length of service; release men with longest service first, whether married or not; release some married men and some single men according to the number of married and single men in the service; release men as soon as they have jobs to go to, regardless of length of service or whether they are married or single? (CIPO)

| | *National total* | *Quebec only* |
|---|---|---|
| Married men first | 27% | 38% |
| Long service | 22 | 20 |
| Quota basis | 4 | 5 |
| When they have jobs | 41 | 28 |
| Other plans | 1 | 1 |
| Undecided | 5 | 8 |

## Army and Navy (Pay, Allowances, etc.)

**1.** (Canada Feb 18 '42) What do you think would be a fair amount to be paid per week to a private's wife with two young children? (CIPO)

| | *Under $15* | *$15–$19* | *$20–$24* | *$25 and over* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 10% | 35% | 30% | 25% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 12% | 38% | 30% | 20% |
| Women | 9 | 32 | 30 | 29 |

**2.** (Canada Feb 18 '42) Do you think the living allowance now being paid to families of private soldiers is too much, about right, or too little? (CIPO)

| | *Too much* | *About right* | *Too little* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 3% | 47% | 33% | 17% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 3% | 50% | 32% | 15% |
| Women | 3 | 44 | 34 | 19 |

**3.** (Canada Mar 11 '44) Would you approve or disapprove of a plan providing that members of the armed forces be given a certain amount of money by the government when they leave the service? (CIPO)

Approve 87% Disapprove 8% No opinion 5%

**4.** (Canada Mar 11 '44) Do you think that whether or not a man is an officer or a private he should receive the same amount of money, or do you think the payments should be made according to rank? Asked of 87% of the sample who favored a plan providing for terminal pay for the armed forces. (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Equal payments | 65% |
| According to rank | 31 |
| Undecided | 4 |
| | 100% of those who favored terminal pay |

**5.** (Canada Mar 11 '44) Do you think these payments [to discharged members of the armed forces] should be made in one lump sum when the man is discharged, or should they be spread over a period of time? Asked of 87% of the sample who favored a plan for providing terminal pay for the armed forces. (CIPO)

Deferred payments 56% Lump sum 37%
Undecided 7% = 100% of those who favored terminal pay

**6.** (Canada Mar 15 '44) One plan suggests that, in addition to a clothing allowance, they should receive one month's pay for each year of service. This would mean that a private, married with two children, who has been in the army for two years would receive $216. In your opinion, is this amount too much, about right, or not enough? Asked of 31% of the sample who favored terminal pay for the armed forces according to rank. (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| About right | 50% |
| Not enough | 44 |
| Too much | 1 |
| Undecided | 5 |
| | 100% of those who favored pay according to rank |

**7.** (Canada Mar 15 '44) One plan suggests that a married man with two children who has been in the army for two years would receive $216 in addition to a clothing allowance. In your opinion is this amount too much, about right, or not enough? Asked of 65% of the sample who favored equal payments to the armed forces regardless of rank. (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not enough | 52% |
| Adequate | 38 |
| Too much | 2 |
| Undecided | 8 |
| | 100% of those who favored equal payments |

**8.** (Canada Mar 15 '44) Do you think men and women who have served overseas should be paid the same amount when they leave the service as men and women who have served in Canada? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Larger payments for overseas | 61% |
| Payments same | 33 |
| Undecided | 6 |

**9.** (Canada May 31 '44) Do you think that women who join the armed forces should or should not receive the same rate of pay as men who join the armed forces? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should get same pay | 57% |
| Should not get same pay | 34 |
| No opinion | 9 |

**10.** (Canada Oct 21 '44) Under present plans soldiers who have volunteered for active service will get a sum of money in addition to such things as the clothing allowance after they are discharged. Soldiers who have not volunteered for active service will not receive this additional money. Do you approve of this or not? (CIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total... | 62% | 34% | 4% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Quebec..... | 39% | 54% | 7% |
| Rest of Canada... | 69 | 28 | 3 |

**11.** (Canada Oct 21 '44) Do you think soldiers who have not volunteered for active service should receive the same amount as those who have volunteered, or not as much? Asked of 34% of the sample who disapproved of the plan of giving soldiers who had volunteered a sum of money in addition to their clothing allowance upon discharge. (CIPO)

Same amount 16% Not as much 16% Undecided 2% = 34%

## Constitution (Amendments)

**1.** (Canada Dec 24 '43) At the present time, Canada cannot change her own Constitution without going to the British Parliament. Do you think that Canada should be able to change her own Constitution without going to the British Parliament, or should we continue as at present? (CIPO)

| | *Change* | *Continue* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total... | 64% | 30% | 6% |
| BY SELECTED PROVINCES | | | |
| Ontario..... | 58% | 37% | 5% |
| Quebec..... | 73 | 19 | 8 |

## Defenses

**1.** (Canada Feb 25 '42) Would you like to see a force of Canadian soldiers sent to Australia to help defend that country from Japanese attack? (CIPO)

Yes 55% No 31% No opinion 14%

**2.** (Canada Sept 4 '43) Since the war Canada has greatly increased her navy. Do you think that after the war we should maintain this navy even though it is expensive, or should Canada get along with a small navy again? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Maintain large navy..... | 59% |
| Maintain small navy..... | 23 |
| No opinion..... | 18 |

## Foreign Relations

**1.** (Canada Aug 19 '42) Do you think of Canada as an independent country or as still dependent on Great Britain? (CIPO)

| | *Independent* | *Dependent* | *Uncertain* |
|---|---|---|---|
| English Canadians..... | 52% | 42% | 6% |
| French Canadians..... | 25 | 70 | 5 |

**2.** (Canada Aug 19 '42) Do you think Canada would be fighting in this war if she were completely independent and not a part of the British Empire? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| English Canadians..... | 81% | 14% | 5% |
| French Canadians..... | 33 | 59 | 8 |

**3.** (Canada Nov 7 '42) At present, the Vichy-French government has a diplomatic representative in Ottawa. Do you think Vichy should continue to have a representative in Canada, or do you think the Canadian government should ask him to leave? (CIPO)

| | *Continue relations* | *Break relations* |
|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 42% | 58% |
| BY LANGUAGE SPOKEN | | |
| French-Canadians..... | 71% | 29% |
| English-Canadians..... | 35 | 65 |

**4.** (Canada July 13 '46) Would you be willing to have Canada turn over control of her foreign policy (policy towards other nations) to such a [world] parliament, if leading countries of the world did the same? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total... | 51% | 34% | 15% |
| Quebec..... .... | 30 | 55 | 15 |

**5.** (Canada Oct 5 '46) Do you feel more friendly or less friendly towards Russia than a year ago? (CIPO)

| | *More friendly* | *Less friendly* | *Same* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 6% | 51% | 32% | 11% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Progressive-Conservative.... | 5% | 60% | 28% | 7% |
| Liberal..... | 3 | 57 | 31 | 9 |
| CCF..... | 13 | 35 | 43 | 9 |

## Foreign Relations (Germany)

**1.** (Canada Jan 19 '44) Which of these comes closest to the way you feel about the people of Germany? A list of terms was given each respondent. (July 14 '45) What are your feelings at the present time toward the German people? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Opinion in Jan '44* | |
| Hate, anger, etc..... | 27% |
| Pity, sympathy, etc..... | 31 |
| Contempt, dislike..... | 25 |
| Indifference, friendliness, etc.... | 17 |
| *Opinion in July '45* | |
| Hatred..... | 27% |
| Dislike..... | 15 |
| Caution..... | 7 |
| Sympathy..... | 22 |
| Must educate them..... | 3 |
| Miscellaneous..... | 21 |
| No particular feeling..... | 5 |

## Parliament

**1.** (Canada June 13 '42) Do you think the present session of Parliament in Ottawa has wasted too much time in political talk, or do you think that on the whole they have done a pretty good war job? (CIPO)

| | *Wasted too much time* | *Done good job* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 49% | 41% | 10% |
| BY ATTITUDES TOWARD CONSCRIPTION | | | |
| For conscription..... | 57% | 37% | 6% |
| Opposing conscription..... | 37 | 48 | 15 |
| BY THE VOTE IN THE APRIL PLEBISCITE | | | |
| Voted yes..... | 54% | 40% | 6% |
| Voted no..... | 35 | 48 | 17 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Liberals..... | 38% | 52% | 10% |
| Conservatives..... | 65 | 29 | 6 |

**2.** (Canada July 15 '42) Do you happen to know the name of your local member of Parliament in Ottawa? (CIPO)

| | *Correct* | *Incorrect* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 67% | 33% |
| BY VOTE | | |
| Voted | 74% | 26% |
| Didn't vote | 44 | 56 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Liberals | 77% | 23% |
| Conservatives | 72 | 28 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| Quebec | 77% | 23% |
| Ontario | 54 | 46 |
| Rest of Canada | 64 | 36 |

**3.** (Canada Sept 12 '42) Parliament at Ottawa has adjourned until next January. Do you approve of this, or do you think that they should remain in session longer in wartime? (CIPO)

| *Approve adjournment* | *Should remain in session* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|
| 31% | 52% | 17% |

**4.** (Canada Oct 31 '42) It has been suggested that the Senate be done away with altogether. Would you approve or disapprove if this were done? (CIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48% | 24% | 28% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Liberal | 50% | 23% | 27% |
| Conservative | 43 | 29 | 28 |

**5.** (Canada Feb 5 '44 and Feb 16 '46) Which of these three things would you like to see done about the Canadian Senate—continue the present system under which the government appoints Senators for life; elect Senators as we elect members of Parliament; do away with the Senate altogether? (CIPO)

| | *Continue* | *Elect* | *Abolish* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '44 | 18% | 31% | 36% | 15% |
| Feb '46 | 18 | 36 | 28 | 18 |

**6.** (Canada Feb 20 '46) Is there any member of Parliament in Ottawa whom you think is doing a particularly good job? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No selection | 57% |
| J. L. Isley | 15 |
| L. S. St. Laurent | 4 |
| M. J. Coldwell | 3 |
| C. D. Howe | 2 |
| John Bracken | 2 |
| J. G. Gardiner | 1 |
| J. G. Diefenbaker | 1 |
| Donald Gordon* | 1 |
| Others (Liberal M.P.'s) | 5 |
| Others (Prog.-Cons. M.P.'s) | 3 |
| Other parties | 4 |
| Others (non-members) | 2 |

* Donald Gordon was not a member of Parliament.

**7.** (Canada June 22 '46) If the number of members of Parliament from each province were based on the population of each province, Quebec would have at least seven more members in the Ottawa House of Commons than it used to have. Do you think the present law should be changed to bring this about or not? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 51% | 16% |
| Total excluding Quebec | 21 | 63 | 16 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 41% | 44% | 15% |
| 30–49 years | 33 | 50 | 17 |
| 50 years and over | 29 | 56 | 15 |

**8.** (Canada July 6 '46) Which of these three things do you think a member of Parliament should rely on most when he votes on a national problem—the opinions of the people from his own riding, who elected him; or the opinions of the country as a whole; or his own judgment? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| The opinions of the people from his own riding | 35% |
| The opinions of the country as a whole | 40 |
| His own judgment | 20 |
| Don't know | 5 |

**9.** (Canada July 6 '46) Which one do you think members of Parliament do rely on most—the opinions of the people from their own riding; or the opinions of the country as a whole; or their own judgment? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| The opinions of the people from their own riding | 26% |
| The opinions of the country as a whole | 12 |
| Their own judgment | 36 |
| Other answers | 12 |
| Don't know | 14 |

## Politics and Government

**1.** (Canada Sept 9 '42) Do you think Prime Minister King should or should not invite Conservative and CCF members into his government to form an all-party government? (CIPO)

| Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|
| 60% | 25% | 15% |

**2.** (Canada Sept 19 '42) Do you feel that Ottawa is giving the people enough information about the sinkings in the St. Lawrence? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46% | 40% | 14% |
| Quebec | 30 | 58 | 12 |

**3.** (Canada Mar 13 '43) Would you approve or disapprove if more powers were taken away from the provincial governments and given to the federal government in Ottawa? (CIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '43 | 29% | 45% | 26% |

**4.** (Canada Sept 22 '43 and Aug 26 '44) After the war would you like to see many changes or reforms made in Canada, or would you rather have the country remain pretty much the way it was before the war? (CIPO)

| | *Reform* | *No reform* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '43 | 71% | 23% | 6% |
| 1943 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Liberal | 61% | 33% | 6% |
| Progressive-Conservative | 67 | 26 | 7 |
| CCF | 85 | 12 | 3 |
| 1944 RESULTS BY AGE | | | |
| Youth | 62% | 26% | 12% |
| Adults | 71 | 23 | 6 |
| 1944 RESULTS BY SELECTED PROVINCES | | | |
| Prairies and British Columbia | 74% | 18% | 8% |
| Quebec | 45 | 34 | 21 |

**5.** (Canada Oct 23 '43) Some people say the present government has not been as fair to labor in handling wages and taxes as it has been to farmers, office workers, and other groups. Do you agree or disagree? (CIPO)

Agree 25% Disagree 52% No opinion 23%

**6.** (Canada Dec 8 '43) Most people believe the government should not be controlled by any one group. However, if you had to choose, which would you prefer to have control of the government, big business, or labor unions? (CIPO)

Big business 26% Labor unions 49% No opinion 25%

**7.** (Canada Aug 19 '44) Can you tell me what an "order-in-council" is? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good or fair answers | 22% |
| Wrong or inadequate | 22 |
| Couldn't answer | 56 |

**8.** (Canada Aug 19 '44) Do you think too many orders-in-council have been passed since the war started or do you think the war makes it necessary to have this many? Asked of 22% of the sample who had a reasonably correct idea of the meaning of an order-in-council. (CIPO)

Too many 7% Necessary 12% Undecided 3% = 22%

**9.** (Canada Dec 6 '44) During the war, the dominion government has taken over a number of powers which belonged to the provinces before the war, such as control of prices, production, and employment. Do you think the dominion government should continue to hold these powers after the war, or do you think it should give them back to the provinces? (CIPO)

Give them back 50% Keep them 33% Undecided 17%

**10.** (Canada Jan 20 '45) Some people say that the differences between various parts of Canada are now so great that they will never be solved, and that confederation will break up. Do you agree with this, or do you think these differences will be solved? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Will be solved | 63% |
| Won't be solved | 18 |
| Undecided and qualified | 19 |

**11.** (Canada Feb 7 '45) What kind of government would you like to see leading the country in the period following the war: a Liberal, Progressive-Conservative, CCF, or some other government? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Liberal | 28% |
| Progressive-Conservative | 21 |
| CCF | 17 |
| Other | 13 |
| Undecided | 21 |

**12.** (Canada Sept 1 '45) In answer to the question: Do you know which party won the recent election in Britain? 83% of the sample said either Labor or Attlee. These were asked: In general do you think the election of a Labor government in Britain is a good thing or a bad thing? (CIPO)

Good thing 46% Bad 15% Undecided 22% = 83%

**13.** (Canada Mar 2 '46) At the present time, which do you think has the most influence on the laws passed in this country —big business or labor? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Big business | 66% |
| Labor | 18 |
| No difference | 5 |
| Undecided | 11 |

**14.** (Canada Mar 2 '46) Which do you think should have the most influence [on laws passed in this country—big business or labor]? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Labor | 50% |
| Big business | 11 |
| Undecided | 11 |
| Other answers | 28 |

**15.** (Canada Apr 17 '46) Do you think Canada would be better off or worse off if all provincial governments were abolished and the whole country governed from Ottawa? (CIPO)

| | *Better off* | *Worse off* | *No difference* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 25% | 50% | 7% | 18% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Liberal | 25% | 50% | 7% | 18% |
| Progressive-Conservative | 25 | 52 | 7 | 16 |
| CCF | 37 | 42 | 6 | 15 |

**16.** (Canada June 15 '46) From what you have read of this conference [between provincial and federal governments at Ottawa], whom do you think was most to blame for its failure —the dominion or the provinces? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dominion to blame | 23% |
| Provinces to blame | 24 |
| Both to blame | 20 |
| Don't know | 33 |

**17.** (Canada June 15 '46) Which provinces [do you think were most to blame for the failure of the conference]? Asked of 24% of the sample who thought the provinces were most to blame. (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Ontario | 21% |
| Quebec | 20 |
| Maritimes | 2 |
| Prairies | 2 |
| British Columbia | 1 |
| All provinces | 1 |
| No province named | 1 |
| | 48%* |

* Percentages add to more than 24 because some people named more than one province.

**18.** (Canada July 31 '46) Do you think Canada should invite Newfoundland to become the tenth province or not? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should be invited | 57% |
| Should not be invited | 16 |
| Qualified | 3 |
| No opinion | 24 |

**19.** (Canada Sept 14 '46) Some people think Canada is going to see a period of big development in the coming ten to twenty years. Do you agree with this or not? (CIPO)

Yes 77% No 12% Undecided 11%

**20.** (Canada Sept 14 '46) Which of these areas do you think will show the greatest change—cities, farming areas, west coast, the north, or the prairies? Asked of 77% of the sample who thought Canada would see a period of big development in ten to twenty years. (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| The north | 22% |
| Cities | 17 |
| Farming areas | 17 |
| West coast | 6 |
| The prairies | 5 |
| Other (miscellaneous) | 4 |
| Don't know | 6 |
| | 77% |

# CANCER

**1.** (US Mar 30 '39, Mar 6 '40, Jan 31 '45; Great Britain Sept 29 '45) Do you think cancer is curable? (AIPO and BIPO) (Canada Mar 30 '46) Do you think that today it is possible to cure cancer? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Qualified* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '39 | 64% | 36% | — | — |
| Mar '40 | 56* | 27 | — | 17% |
| Jan '45 | 62* | 26 | — | 12 |
| Sept '45 | 35 | 31 | — | 34 |
| Mar '46 | 36 | 34 | 12% | 18 |
| SEPT '45 RESULTS BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 38% | 28% | — | 34% |
| Women | 32 | 33 | — | 35 |
| SEPT '45 RESULTS BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 37% | 23% | — | 40% |
| 30–49 years | 38 | 29 | — | 33 |
| 50 years and over | 31 | 36 | — | 33 |
| SEPT '45 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 50% | 26% | — | 24% |
| Middle | 45 | 28 | — | 27 |
| Lower | 30 | 32 | — | 38 |

* Includes qualified answers such as: Yes, if caught in time.

**2.** (US Mar 30 '39, Mar 6 '40, Jan 31 '45; Great Britain Sept 29 '45; Canada Mar 30 '46) Do you think cancer is contagious? In Mar '39, Jan '45, and Mar '46 the alternate term "catching" was suggested for use in the interviewing when necessary. (AIPO, BIPO, CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '39 | 20% | 59% | 21% |
| Mar '40 | 15 | 57 | 28 |
| Jan '45 | 21 | 59 | 20 |
| Sept '45 | 19 | 46 | 35 |
| Mar '46 | 16 | 66 | 18 |
| BRITISH RESULTS BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 18% | 47% | 35% |
| Women | 20 | 45 | 35 |
| BRITISH RESULTS BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 12% | 45% | 43% |
| 30–49 years | 20 | 45 | 35 |
| 50 years and over | 21 | 47 | 32 |
| BRITISH RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 17% | 65% | 18% |
| Middle | 17 | 58 | 25 |
| Lower | 20 | 40 | 40 |

**3.** (US Mar 30 '39, Mar 6 '40, Jan 31 '45) What do you think causes cancer? (AIPO)

MAR '39 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Bruise, bump, injury | 27% |
| Constant irritation of sore, bruised part of body | 8 |
| Infection of cut or sore | 7 |
| Hereditary | 6 |
| Blood condition | 3 |
| Tumor or growth | 2 |
| Germ | 2 |
| Improper diet | 2 |
| All others | 11% |
| No answer | 48 |
| | 116%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

MAR '40 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Bruises, injuries, lumps | 25% |
| Irritations | 6 |
| Inherited | 4 |
| Sores | 3 |
| Improper diet | 3 |
| Neglect of infections | 3 |
| Poor blood condition | 3 |
| Tumors, growths, moles | 2 |
| Germs | 2 |
| Ulcers | 1 |
| Poor health | 1 |
| Worry, malnutrition | 1 |
| Injury to tissues | 1 |
| All others | 12 |
| Don't know | 51 |
| | 118%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

JAN '45 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Injury, irritation, sores that don't heal* | 40% |
| Bumps, lumps, tumors, uncontrolled growth of cells, warts, moles, etc. | 7 |
| Inherited | 3 |
| Neglect, improper mental and physical life | 4 |
| Blood condition, lack of red corpuscles | 3 |
| Improper diet, lack of vitamins, malnutrition* | 3 |
| Filth, germs, dirty environment | 3 |
| Worry, fear, nerves, mental distress | 1 |
| Deterioration of tissues | 2 |
| Others (smoking, drinking, rupture, fast living, childbirth) | 4 |
| Causes not known* | 6 |
| Didn't say | 37 |
| | 113%** |

* Various sources show these are theories held by authorities in the field.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**4.** (US Mar 30 '39) It has been proposed that the federal government spend three million dollars for clinics to fight cancer. Do you favor this proposal? (AIPO)

Yes 90% No 10% = 100% No opinion 6%

**5.** (US Mar 6 '40 and Jan 31 '45; Great Britain Sept 29 '45) Do you happen to know any of the symptoms of cancer? In the United States in Jan '45 the alternate term "signs" was suggested for use in the interviewing when necessary. 43% of the 1945 American sample who said they knew some symptoms of cancer were asked: What? (AIPO, BIPO) (Canada Mar 30 '46) Can you tell me what any symptoms of cancer are? (CIPO)

RESULTS IN UNITED STATES

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Mar '40 | 38% | 62% |
| Jan '45 | 43 | 57 |

The 1945 sample named the following symptoms:

| | |
|---|---|
| Any persistent lump (particularly in the breast); tumor | 43% |
| Any sore that doesn't heal normally | 28 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Any irregular bleeding or discharge from any body opening | 13% |
| Any persistent and unexplained indigestion; nausea | 7 |
| Any sudden change in the form or rate of growth of a mole or wart | 3 |
| Pains, aches, stomachache | 18 |
| Skin irritations and rashes, inflammations | 6 |
| Discoloration of skin—gray, yellow, blue, green | 7 |
| Loss of weight | 7 |
| Bruise | 1 |
| Fatigue, rundown condition | 3 |
| Others include eating of tissue, pimples, nervousness, odor | 5 |
| Didn't say | 2 |
| | 143%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who said they knew some symptoms of cancer and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

RESULTS IN GREAT BRITAIN

| | |
|---|---|
| No reply, don't know | 61% |
| Swellings, lumps, growths | 9 |
| Acute pain | 9 |
| Loss of weight, gradual debility, wasting | 6 |
| Yellow skin | 2 |
| Intestines or stomach—vomiting; indigestion | 2 |
| Smell | 1 |
| Yes, some, several | 6 |
| Brought on by blow | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |

RESULTS IN CANADA

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct | 32% |
| Incorrect | 57 |
| No answer | 4 |
| Too vague to classify | 7 |

**6.** (US Mar 6 '40 and Jan 31 '45) Some people who have cancer are ashamed to admit it to their family and friends. Do you think there is anything shameful in having cancer? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '40 | 2% | 98% | — |
| Jan '45 | 3 | 94 | 3% |

**7.** (US Jan 31 '45) If someone in your family had cancer that couldn't be cured, do you think they should be told this? (AIPO)

Yes 46% No 38% Don't know 16%

**8.** (US June 12 '45 and May 15 '46) Should Congress pass a law which would provide two hundred million dollars for the study and treatment of cancer in this country? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| June 12 '45 | 81% | 10% | 9% |
| May 15 '46 | 82 | 11 | 7 |

**9.** (US June 12 '45 and May 15 '46) Would you be willing to pay more taxes to provide this money [for government-financed cancer research]? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer or No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| June '45 | 75% | 20%* | 5% |
| May '46 | 69 | 27* | 4 |

* Those unwilling to pay more taxes include those who disapprove of the whole program.

**10.** (US May 15 '46) Do you approve or disapprove of having the government spend one hundred million dollars to find possible ways of preventing or curing cancer in this country? (AIPO)

Approve 87% Disapprove 9% No opinion 4%

**11.** (US May 15 '46) Would you be willing to pay more taxes to provide this money [for government-financed cancer research]? (AIPO)

Yes 72% No 27%* No opinion 1%

* Those unwilling to pay more taxes include those who disapprove of the whole program.

## CANNING AND PRESERVING

**1.** (US Jan 23 '42) Do you think there will be a shortage of canned goods within the next year? (AIPO)

Yes 53% No 47%

**2.** (US Jan 23 '42) Have you (has your wife) bought any canned goods to protect yourself against higher prices or a shortage later on? (AIPO)

Yes 5% No 95%

**3.** (US Mar 10 '43) Do you plan to do any home canning this year? (AIPO)

Yes 74% No 26%

**4.** (US Mar 10 '43) Did you do any canning last year? (AIPO)

Yes 64% No 36%

**5.** (Canada May 1 '43) Are you (anyone in your family) planning to can or preserve any more fruits or vegetables than you did last year? (CIPO)

| | *Will preserve more* | *Same as last year* | *Less than last year* | *None planned* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fruits, vegetables | 43% | 35% | 3% | 19% |
| Jams, jellies | 39 | 41 | 4 | 16 |
| BY GARDENING PLANS | | | | |
| Plan garden | 50% | 40% | 3% | 7% |
| No garden | 32 | 29 | 3 | 36 |

**6.** (US May 7 '43) Have you done any canning in the past? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

Yes 75% No 25%

**7.** (US May 7 '43) Are you planning to do any canning this year? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

Yes 74% No 18% Depends 8%

**8.** (US May 7 '43) Are you planning to can as much this year as last year? Asked of 72% of the sample of women who have done canning in the past and who would possibly do some canning in '43. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, as much | 18% |
| No, not as much | 3 |
| More | 49 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 72% |

**9.** (US May 7 '43) Do you have enough jars and rings on hand to do your canning? Asked of 74% of the sample of women who were planning to do some canning. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, have both | 21% |
| No | 45 |
| Have jars, not rings | 7 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 74% |

**10.** (US May 7 '43) Do you think you will have trouble getting them [jars or jar rings]? Asked of 52% of the sample of women who didn't have enough jars and rings on hand to do their canning, or had jars and not rings enough. (NORC)

Yes 11% No 25% Don't know 16% = 52%

**11.** (US May 7 '43) Do you think you will be able to get all the sugar you need for canning? Asked of 74% of the sample of women who were planning to do canning. (NORC)

Yes 46% No 15% Don't know 13% = 74%

**12.** (US May 7 '43) Do you use a pressure cooker for canning? Asked of 74% of the sample of women who were planning to do some canning. (NORC)

Yes 16% No 57% No answer 1% = 74%

**13.** (US May 7 '43) Do you own one [a pressure cooker]? Asked of 16% of the sample of women who did use a pressure cooker for canning. (NORC)

Yes 8% No 7% No answer 1% = 16%

**14.** (US May 12 '43) Do you plan to do any home canning this year? 76% of the sample who planned to do home canning were then asked: As well as you can estimate it today, how many cans or jars do you plan to put up? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (AIPO)

| | *Plan to can* | *Don't plan to can* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 76% | 24% |
| BY TYPES OF CONTAINER | | |
| Cans | 13% | 87% |
| Jars | 70 | 30 |

76% of the total estimated that they planned to put up a mean average of 175 cans and jars.

The 13% who expected to use cans estimated that they planned to put up a mean average of 155 cans.

The 70% who expected to use jars estimated that they planned to put up a mean average of 160 jars.

**15.** (US May 12 '43) Will you have to buy any cans, jars, or jar tops? How many would you guess? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (AIPO)

| | *Plan to can* | *Don't plan to can* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 28% | 72% |
| BY TYPE OF CONTAINERS | | |
| Cans | 5% | 95% |
| Jars | 24 | 76 |
| Jar tops | 50 | 50 |

28% of the total estimated that they would have to buy a mean average of 70 jars and cans per person.

The 5% who had to buy cans estimated that they would have to buy a mean average of 95 cans per person.

The 24% who had to buy jars estimated that they would have to buy a mean average of 65 jars per person.

The 50% who had to buy jar tops estimated that they would have to buy a mean average of 105 jar tops per person.

**16.** (US Oct 22 '43, May 18 '44, May 26 '44) Do you think the rationing of canned goods has been handled very well, only fairly well, or poorly? The Oct '43 question was asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | *Very well* | *Only fairly well* | *Poorly* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oct 22 '43 | 77% | 11% | 5% | 7% |
| May 18 '44 | 75 | 11 | 4 | 10 |
| May 26 '44 | 55 | 26 | 8 | 11 |

**17.** (US Oct 22 '43 and May 18 '44) In what way hasn't it [the rationing of canned goods] been handled as well as it could have been? The Oct '43 question was asked of 16% of the sample of women who thought rationing of canned goods had been handled only fairly well or poorly. The May '44 question was asked of 15% of the sample who thought that rationing of canned goods had been handled only fairly well or poorly. (NORC)

OCT '43 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Points too high; should have more points; ration too small (general) | 9% |
| Too few points for a small family; too many points for children | 1 |
| Poor distribution (general) | 1 |
| Regional distribution is unfair, unequal | * |
| Individual allotments are unfair, unequal | 1 |
| Dealers distribute unfairly | * |
| Black market practices | * |
| Rationing stimulated buying | 1 |
| Answers in terms of shortages | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 17%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 16 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

MAY '44 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Allotments too small; points too high | 7% |
| Poor distribution | 2 |
| Black market | * |
| Rationing not necessary | 1 |
| Point values changed too often | 1 |
| Prices too high | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 16%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 15 because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

**18.** (US Oct 22 '43 and May 18 '44) Who do you think is mainly responsible [for the unsatisfactory rationing of canned goods]? Asked of 16% of the 1943 sample of women and 15% of the 1944 sample who thought rationing of canned goods had been handled only fairly well or poorly. (NORC)

OCT '43 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| General government bureaucracy | 3% |
| People in charge of rationing (national) | 1 |
| OPA | 4 |
| Big producers and packers | * |
| Small dealers and storekeepers | * |
| Consumers | 1 |
| Local ration board | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 6 |
| | 16% |

* Less than 0.5%.

MAY '44 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Local ration boards | 1% |
| Dealers and producers | 1 |
| Government | 4 |
| OPA | 4 |
| The public | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know | 5% |
| | 16%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 15 because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

**19.** (US Oct 26 '43) Did you (or your family) put up any cans or jars of food this year? How many cans or jars of fruits, vegetables, fruit butter, jams, jellies, marmalades, meat, fish, or poultry? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (AIPO)

| | *Canned* | *Didn't can* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 75% | 25% |
| ITEMS CANNED | | |
| Vegetables | 64% | 36% |
| Fruits | 59 | 41 |
| Fruit butter, jams, jellies, marmalades | 54 | 46 |
| Meat, fish, or poultry | 9 | 91 |

75% of the total canned a mean average of 165 cans or jars.
64% who canned vegetables canned a mean average of 90 cans or jars.
59% who canned fruits canned a mean average of 80 cans or jars.
54% who canned fruit butter, jams, jellies, marmalades canned a mean average of 30 cans or jars.
9% who canned meat, fish, or poultry canned a mean average of 35 cans or jars.

**20.** (US Oct 26 '43) Did you can in tin or glass? Asked of 75% of the sample of women who did some canning the previous year. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Tin | 1% |
| Glass | 69 |
| Both | 4 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 75% |

**21.** (US Oct 26 '43) Did you can more or less than last year? Asked of 75% of the sample of women who did some canning the previous year. (AIPO)

More 36% Less 22% Same 17% = 75%

**22.** (US Oct 26 '43) What new canning equipment did you buy this year (exclude jars, tops, or rings)? Asked of 75% of the sample of women who did some canning the previous year. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Kettle, pots or pans | 1% |
| Pressure cooker | 1 |
| Others; glass funnel, victory cooker, kraut cutter | 1 |
| Nothing | 65 |
| No answer | 7 |
| | 75% |

**23.** (US Oct 26 '43) Did you do most of your canning at home or in community canning centers (including school houses)? Asked of 75% of the sample of women who did some canning the previous year. (AIPO)

Home 73% Canning centers 1% No answer 1% = 75%

**24.** (US Oct 26 '43) What proportion of the vegetables you canned was grown by you or members of your family? Asked of 64% of the sample of women who did some vegetable canning the previous year. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| All | 31% |
| Half or more | 12 |
| Less than half | 6 |
| None | 13 |
| No answer | 2 |
| | 64% |

**25.** (US Dec 10 '43) Of course, we know there isn't enough for everyone to have all he wants, but how about canned goods? Does your ration allow you and your family as much as you need, less than you need, or more than you need? (June 2 '44) Does your ration allow you to get all the rationed canned goods your family really needs? Asked of a national cross-section of women marketers. (NORC)

| | *As much* | *Less* | *More* | *Don't use* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '43 | 72% | 12% | 16% | * | * |
| June '44 | 87 | 8 | 3 | 2% | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**26.** (US Dec 10 '43) Have you ever tried to get any extra allowances of canned goods from your ration board? Asked of 12% of the sample of women marketers whose ration allowed them less canned goods than they needed. (NORC)

Yes 1% No 11% = 12%

**27.** (US Jan 15 '44) 37% of a national sample said they had either canned or stored some of the produce from their victory garden the previous year that they didn't need for their daily use. The remaining 63% were asked: Did you can or store any fruits or vegetables last year? (NORC)

Yes 35% No 28% No answer * = 63%

* Less than 0.5%.

**28.** (US Jan 15 '44) What kind of preserving did you do? Asked of 72% of the sample who did canning or storing the previous year—37% of whom voluntarily mentioned canning or storing of surplus food, the remainder (35%) gave information only when directly asked. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Boiling water | 56% |
| Own pressure canner | 11 |
| Someone else's pressure canner | 8 |
| Pickling | 31 |
| Drying | 7 |
| Storing | 16 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 130%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who canned or stored the previous year and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**29.** (US Jan 15 '44) Did you have any difficulties [when you were canning]? What? Asked of the same sample as the previous question. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| No trouble | 60% |
| Canned goods spoiled (no explanation) | 4 |
| Trouble getting equipment | 2 |
| Canned goods spoiled due to inferior tops and rings | 2 |
| Trouble finding fruits, etc | 1 |
| Inferior equipment | 1 |
| Canned goods spoiled due to lack of sugar | * |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Don't know | * |
| | 72% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**30.** (US Jan 15 '44) Was that the first time you preserved food? Asked of the same sample as the two previous questions. (NORC)

Yes 8% No 64% No answer * = 72%

* Less than 0.5%.

**31.** (US Jan 15 '44) Are you planning to do any [canning or storing] next year? Asked of the same sample as three previous questions. (NORC)

Yes 68% No 1% Don't know 3% = 72%

**32.** (US Jan 15 '44) How did it happen that you didn't do any preserving? Asked of 28% of the sample who did not can or store anything last year. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Lack of time and/or working | 8% |
| Lack of home facilities | 5 |
| Moved | 1 |
| High prices of produce | 5 |
| Lack of produce | 4 |
| Lack of/or scarcity of sugar in locality | 1 |
| Lack of skill and/or interest | 4 |
| Physical disability | 2 |
| Prefer use of fresh vegetables | 1 |
| Had someone else do the cooking | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Don't know | * |
| | 34%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 28 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**33.** (US Jan 15 '44) Is there a community canning center around here? (NORC)

Yes 19% No 53% Don't know 28%

**34.** (US May 18 '44) Did you (or your family) can or store any fruit or vegetables last year? (NORC)

Yes 73% No 27%

**35.** (US May 18 '44) Are you (or your family) planning to do any canning or storing this year? (NORC)

Yes 74% No 22% Don't know 4%

**36.** (US May 18 '44) Why [are you] not [planning to do any canning or storing this year]? Asked of 22% of the sample who were not planning to do any canning or storing. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Lack of produce | 5% |
| Lack of time | 4 |
| Lack of home facilities | 4 |
| Lack of skill and/or interest | 4 |
| Family too small to make it worthwhile | 3 |
| Canning is too expensive | 2 |
| Miscellaneous personal reasons | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 26%* |

* Percentages add to more than 22 because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

**37.** (US May 18 '44) Are you (or your family) planning to can or store more food, about the same amount, or less than you did last year? Asked of 68% of the sample who did home canning the previous year and planned to can in '44. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 26% |
| About same | 36 |
| Less | 4 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 68% |

**38.** (US May 18 '44) Why [are you planning to can more this year than last year]? Asked of 26% of the sample who were planning to do more canning in '44. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Needed more last year | 8% |
| Expect gardens to produce more | 5 |
| To save money | 3 |
| Expect shortages | 2 |
| Enjoy experience and/or results | 2 |
| Family larger | 2 |
| To help war efforts | 1 |
| To save ration points | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 28%* |

* Percentages add to more than 26 because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

**39.** (US May 18 '44 and May 26 '44) In your opinion, did home canning help the food supply last year? Those who thought it did help were asked: Did it help a lot or only a little? (NORC)

| | *May 18 '44* | *May 26 '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Helped a lot | 83% | 84% |
| Helped a little | 9 | 10 |
| Didn't help at all | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know whether or not it helped | 4 | 3 |
| Don't know to what extent it helped | 3 | 2 |

**40.** (US May 18 '44 and May 26 '44) How about this year—do you think as much home canning is needed this year as last? (NORC)

| | *May 18 '44* | *May 26 '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 89% | 87% |
| No | 5 | 9 |
| Don't know | 6 | 4 |

**41.** (US May 18 '44) Why not? Asked of 5% of the sample who did not think as much home canning would be needed in '44 as in '43. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| There is plenty of food | 2% |
| Rationing has been lifted on foods | 1 |
| People themselves still have food from last year | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know | * |
| | 4 |
| | * = 1 |
| | 5% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**42.** (Germany May 8 '46) Do you help out [on your food supply] with preserves that you made yourself? (OMGUS)

Yes 40% No 60%

**43.** (Germany Nov 25 '46) Have you already eaten any of your canned food from this summer or fall? (OMGUS)

Yes 45% No 51% Had none 4%

**44.** (Germany Nov 25 '46) Were you able to can at all during the summer or fall? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, fruit | 42% |
| Yes, vegetables | 26 |
| Yes, not specified | * |
| No | 44 |
| | 112%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

# CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

**1.** (US Apr 18 '36, Nov 30 '36, Nov 30 '37) Are you in favor of the death penalty for murder? (AIPO) (Australia Dec '41) Do you oppose or favor capital punishment? (APOP)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *Undecided or no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '36 | 65% | 35% = 100% | 5% |
| Nov '36 | 61 | 39 = 100 | — |
| Nov '37 | 65 | 35 = 100 | 7 |
| Dec '41 | 52 | 33 | 15 = 100% |

AMERICAN OPINION IN NOV '36 STATE BY STATE

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* |
|---|---|---|
| *States having no capital punishment* | | |
| Wisconsin | 49% | 51% = 100% |
| Rhode Island | 52 | 48 |
| South Dakota | 52 | 48 |
| Michigan | 53 | 47 |
| Minnesota | 55 | 45 |
| Maine | 56 | 44 |
| North Dakota | 58 | 42 |
| *States having capital punishment* | | |
| Indiana | 54% | 46% |
| Colorado | 56 | 44 |
| Oklahoma | 59 | 41 |
| Oregon | 59 | 41 |
| Delaware | 60 | 40 |
| Iowa | 61 | 39 |
| Ohio | 62 | 38 |
| Maryland | 62 | 38 |
| New Mexico | 62 | 38 |
| Kansas | 63 | 37 |
| California | 64 | 36 |
| Montana | 64 | 36 |
| Texas | 65 | 35 |
| Virginia | 65 | 35 |
| Nebraska | 66 | 34 |
| Pennsylvania | 67 | 33 |
| New York | 67 | 33 |
| Connecticut | 67 | 33 |
| Massachusetts | 67 | 33 |
| North Carolina | 67 | 33 |
| South Carolina | 68 | 32 |
| Kentucky | 68 | 32 |
| Louisiana | 68 | 32 |
| Washington | 68 | 32 |
| Missouri | 69 | 31 |
| Alabama | 69 | 31 |
| New Jersey | 69 | 31 |
| Tennessee | 69 | 31 |
| Vermont | 70 | 30 |
| Illinois | 70 | 30 |
| West Virginia | 71 | 29 |
| New Hampshire | 72 | 28 |
| Arizona | 73 | 27 |
| Georgia | 75 | 25 |
| Florida | 75 | 25 |
| Arkansas | 76 | 24 |
| Idaho | 76 | 24 |
| Wyoming | 77 | 23 |
| Mississippi | 79 | 21 |
| Utah | 82 | 18 |
| Nevada | 84 | 16 |

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* |
|---|---|---|
| AMERICAN OPINION IN NOV '37 BY SEX | | |
| Men | 69% | 31% |
| Women | 57 | 43 |

**2.** (US Nov 30 '36) Are you in favor of it [the death penalty] for persons under twenty-one? Asked of a national cross-section of people who favored capital punishment—61% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 46% | 54% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 31% | 69% |
| Middle Atlantic | 50 | 50 |
| East central | 48 | 52 |
| West central | 50 | 50 |
| South | 46 | 54 |
| Mountain | 41 | 59 |
| Pacific coast | 46 | 54 |

**3.** (US Nov 30 '37) Are you in favor of it [death penalty] for women? Asked of a national cross-section of people who favored capital punishment—65% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Yes 58% No 42%

**4.** (Great Britain Nov '38) Should the death penalty be abolished? (BIPO) (Canada Oct 6 '43) Some people say we should do away altogether with capital punishment—that is, executing a person for murder. Do you agree or disagree? (CIPO)

| | *Yes, or agree* | *No, or disagree* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Great Britain | 45% | 55% = 100% | 11% |
| Canada | 18 | 73 | 9 = 100% |

**5.** (Sweden Feb '42) Do you think that prison is sufficient, or should the death penalty be introduced in the present situation for more serious crimes such as espionage, sabotage, and premeditated murder? (SGI)

| | *Long terms of imprisonment* | *Death penalty* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *National total* | | | |
| Treacherous activities | 25% | 44% | 31% |
| Premeditated murder | 32 | 32 | 36 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| *Men* | | | |
| Treacherous activities | 25% | 55% | 20% |
| Premeditated murder | 35 | 41 | 24 |
| *Women* | | | |
| Treacherous activities | 24 | 34 | 42 |
| Premeditated murder | 30 | 23 | 47 |

**6.** (Denmark Jan 21 '45) Do you think the death penalty should be re-introduced? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 32.9% |
| No | 54.5 |
| Don't know | 8.8 |
| Will not answer | 3.8 |

**7.** (Netherlands Oct '45) Should the worst political criminals be punished by death? (NFS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 73% | 22% | 5% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 76% | 20% | 4% |
| Women | 69 | 24 | 7 |

**8.** (Australia Feb–Mar '46) When Japanese are condemned to death as war criminals, should the executions be carried out? (APOP)

Yes 91% No 6% No opinion 3%

## CATHOLIC CHURCH

**1.** (US Feb 1 '37 and Mar 25 '40) Would you vote for a Catholic for president who was well qualified for this position? The 1940 question was asked of a comparable cross-section in the following form: If your party nominated a generally well-qualified man for president this year, and he happened to be a Catholic, would you vote for him? Results in '40 were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '37 | 67% | 33% = 100% | 11% |
| Mar '40 | 61 | 32 | 7 = 100% |

**2.** (US Nov 22 '38) Do you approve or disapprove of the Nazis' treatment of Catholics in Germany? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 3% | 97% = 100% | 13% |
| BY RELIGION | | | |
| Catholic | — | 100% | |
| Protestant | 3% | 97 | |

## CATTLE

### Diseases

**1.** (US Dec 28 '44) Do you know of any cows in this area that have Bang's disease now? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Yes 9% No 91%

**2.** (US Dec 28 '44) Do you think a law should be passed requiring all farmers to kill animals having Bang's disease if the government paid for the animals? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Yes 81% No 11% No opinion 8%

## CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA

**1.** (US Dec 10 '40) Which kind of government do you think they have in most Central and South American countries—dictatorship or democracies? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dictatorship | 22% |
| Democracies | 60 |
| Other | 8 |
| No answer | 1 |
| Don't know | 9 |

**2.** (US Dec 10 '40, Mar 29 '41, Jan 16 '42) Which of the following statements best describes Central and South America—(1) Central and South America have very few natural resources such as good farm land, oil, coal, silver, gold, water-power, etc. and will probably always be poor, weak, and backward; (2) Central and South America have some natural resources and some time may become fairly wealthy and strong; (3) Central and South America have many natural resources and probably will become very wealthy and powerful. Each respondent was given a card with these three statements. (OPOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '40 | 8% | 33% | 48% | 11% |
| Mar '41 | 5 | 32 | 49 | 14 |
| Jan '42 | 7 | 34 | 48 | 11 |

**3.** (US Jan 16 '42) Where do you get most of your information about what the people in Central and South America are like and how they live? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Movies | 18% |
| Radio | 30 |
| Travel | 5 |
| Newspapers | 57 |
| Books | 26 |
| Lectures | 7 |
| Magazines | 36 |
| Conversations | 15 |
| Don't get much information | 13 |
| Others | 6 |
| | 213%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**4.** (US June 17 '42) Can you name any of the products or goods which are produced in South America? 83% of the sample who said they could name some were asked: What are they? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correctly named one | 8% |
| Correctly named two | 20 |
| Correctly named three | 23 |
| Correctly named four | 17 |
| Correctly named five | 9 |
| Correctly named six | 3 |
| Correctly named seven | 2 |
| Correctly named eight or more | 1 |
| Didn't know any | 17 |

**5.** (Brazil Sept '46) Do you think Brazil is, by now, a rich or a poor country? (IBOPE)

Rich 51% Poor 48% No opinion 1%

## CHAIN STORES

**1.** (US Aug 8 '36, June 1 '37, Jan 11 '38) Are you in favor of legislation requiring chain stores in your state to pay special taxes? In 1937 and 1938 the question was: Are you in favor of requiring chain stores in this state to pay special taxes? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '36 | 69% | 31% = 100% | 16% |
| June '37 | 63 | 37 = 100 | 12 |
| Jan '38 | 65 | 35 = 100 | 12 |

**2.** (US Jan '37) Do you generally buy most of your groceries at chain stores? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *Some* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 37.5% | 13.7% | 47.1% | 1.7% |

| | *Yes* | *Some* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 31.0% | 11.9% | 54.2% | 2.9% |
| Poor | 42.1 | 13.6 | 43.2 | 1.1 |

For which reason [do you usually buy most of your groceries at a chain store]? Asked of 37.5% of the sample who said they bought mostly at chain stores. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better prices | 62.4% |
| More convenient | 19.7 |
| More variety | 6.8 |
| Better quality | 5.3 |
| Better service | 5.0 |
| Don't know | 0.8 |
| | 100.0% of those who bought mostly at chain stores |

**3.** (US Jan '37) Would you favor taxing chain stores enough so that they would have no advantage as to price over the independent grocer? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48.7% | 38.4% | 12.9% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 51.1% | 36.5% | 12.4% |
| Poor | 48.6 | 39.1 | 12.3 |

**4.** (US May 10 '37) Would you favor prohibiting all chain stores in this state? (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 60% No opinion 10%

**5.** (US June 7 '37) Do you think chain stores should be required to pay higher taxes than independent stores? (AIPO)

Yes 63% No 37% = 100% No opinion 8%

**6.** (US Feb '39) Which do you think would be the best policy toward chain stores—legislate or tax them out of business; tax them extra to make up for the buying advantages they are supposed to have over independent stores; treat them like any other business, and let them make what profits they can? (FOR)

| | *Let alone* | *Tax extra* | *Put out of business* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 47.9% | 37.3% | 6.3% | 8.5% |
| BY SELECTED GROUPS | | | | |
| Housekeepers | 52.2% | 32.4% | 4.8% | 10.6% |
| Executives | 52.8 | 39.0 | 4.3 | 3.9 |
| Non-farm proprietors | 32.3 | 47.0 | 14.1 | 6.6 |
| Students | 35.0 | 50.0 | — | 15.0 |

## CHAMBERLAIN, NEVILLE

**1.** (Great Britain Oct '38 to May '40, dates listed below) Are you satisfied with Mr. Neville Chamberlain as Prime Minister? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion or don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '38 | 57% | 43% = 100% | 10% |
| Nov '38 | 55 | 45 = 100 | 11 |
| Dec '38 | 56 | 44 = 100 | 9 |
| Jan '39 | 57 | 43 = 100 | 6 |
| Feb '39 | 87 | 13 = 100 | 15 |
| Mar '39 | 58 | 42 = 100 | 10 |
| Apr '39 | 59% | 41% = 100% | 7% |
| May '39 | 55 | 45 = 100 | 4 |
| June '39 | 55 | 45 = 100 | 5 |
| July '39 | 59 | 41 = 100 | 7 |
| Oct '39 | 65 | 29 | 6 = 100% |
| Nov '39 | 68 | 27 | 5 = 100 |
| *Dec '39 | 64 | 30 | 6 = 100 |
| *Jan '40 | 56 | 32 | 12 = 100 |
| *Feb '40 | 59 | 30 | 11 = 100 |
| *Mar '40 | 57 | 36 | 7 = 100 |
| *May '40 | 33 | 60 | 7 = 100 |

* The question was asked simply: In general, do you approve or disapprove of Mr. Chamberlain as Prime Minister?

**2.** (US May 3 '40) Do you think Prime Minister Chamberlain has done a good job or a poor job as head of the British War Cabinet? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good job | 12% |
| Fair job | 25 |
| Poor job | 63 |
| | 100% |
| Don't know | 21% |

## CHARACTER

**1.** (US Mar 23 '38) Do you think stock brokers are more honest or less honest than bankers? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 3% |
| Less | 30 |
| No difference | 39 |
| No opinion | 28 |

**2.** (US Mar 26 '42) Do you think most people can be trusted? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 66% |
| No | 25 |
| No opinion | 4 |
| Qualified answers | 5 |

**3.** (Great Britain Nov 3 '45) Compared with prewar, do you think that people are more selfish or less selfish? (BIPO)

| | *More* | *The same* | *Less* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 30% | 16% | 12% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 41% | 29% | 17% | 13% |
| Women | 43 | 30 | 16 | 11 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 36% | 27% | 21% | 16% |
| 30–49 years | 43 | 29 | 17 | 11 |
| 50 years and over | 42 | 31 | 15 | 12 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 44% | 34% | 12% | 10% |
| Middle | 44 | 30 | 17 | 9 |
| Lower | 41 | 30 | 17 | 12 |

**4.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statements: (OMGUS)

| | AMERICAN ZONE AND BERLIN | | | BERLIN ONLY | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
| The experience of enduring bombing and shellfire steels a man's character.. | 26% | 67% | 7% | 32% | 65% | 3% |
| Ambition for personal fame is not a good trait of character..... | 52 | 43 | 5 | 55 | 43 | 2 |
| It is a sign of weakness in a people's character to instigate a war..... | 59 | 27 | 14 | 65 | 32 | 3 |
| Seeking self-glorification by self-mortification is praiseworthy..... | 10 | 78 | 12 | 15 | 81 | 4 |
| The best citizens of a country are those who have been brought up to think of themselves first..... | 13 | 83 | 4 | 22 | 77 | 1 |

**5.** (US Aug '46) On the whole, which sex do you think is more unselfish, men or women? (FOR)

BY SEX

| | *Men* | *Women* | *No difference* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men..... | 31.6% | 39.0% | 19.1% | 10.3% |
| Women..... | 28.1 | 47.1 | 15.5 | 9.3 |

**6.** (Norway Oct 31 '46) In your opinion, are people more or less honest now than before the war? (NGI)

| | *More* | *Less* | *As before* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 1% | 76% | 17% | 6% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men..... | 1% | 76% | 18% | 5% |
| Women..... | 1 | 76 | 16 | 7 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 18–25 years..... | 1% | 77% | 17% | 5% |
| 25–35 years..... | 1 | 77 | 15 | 7 |
| 35–50 years..... | 1 | 77 | 17 | 5 |
| 50 years and over..... | 1 | 72 | 18 | 9 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| High..... | 1% | 75% | 16% | 8% |
| Middle..... | — | 79 | 16 | 5 |
| Low..... | 1 | 75 | 17 | 7 |

## CHARITIES

**1.** (Hungary Oct '46) On Red Cross collection day a national cross-section of Hungarians was asked whether in future charity should be organized more by private or by state support. Results follow: (HIPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Private..... | 29% |
| State..... | 38 |
| Both..... | 28 |
| No opinion..... | 5 |

## CHEESE

**1.** (Great Britain Oct '42) Is your family using the full cheese ration? 35% of the sample who said they weren't using the full ration were asked: Why not? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Using full ration..... | 57% |
| Don't know if full ration is being used..... | 8 |
| Ration too large, especially for children..... | 16 |
| Some of the family don't like cheese..... | 11 |
| The cheese is a poor quality..... | 4 |
| Can't afford full ration..... | 1 |
| Miscellaneous..... | 1 |
| No comment..... | 2 |

**2.** (Great Britain Mar '44) Do you think that the increase in points makes up for the cut in the cheese ration? (BIPO)

Yes 38% No 35% Don't know 27%

## CHILD LABOR

**1.** (US Mar 28 '36) Do you favor an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting child labor? (AIPO)

Yes 82% No 18%

**2.** (US Apr 4 '36, Apr 18 '36, Apr 25 '36, Feb 1 '37) Do you favor an amendment to the Constitution giving Congress the power to regulate the labor of persons under eighteen? The question asked Apr 11 was phrased "limit or prohibit the labor"; the Apr 25 and the 1937 samples were asked the question with the phrase "limit, regulate, and prohibit." (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Apr 4 '36..... | 66% | 34% |
| Apr 18 '36..... | 61 | 39 |
| Apr 25 '36..... | 63 | 37 |
| Feb 1 '37..... | 76 | 24 |
| APR 18 '36 RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | |
| Farmers..... | 46% | 54% |
| Small towns..... | 57 | 43 |
| Big cities..... | 66 | 34 |
| APR 18 '36 RESULTS BY AGE | | |
| Young people..... | 72% | 28% |
| Old people..... | 58 | 42 |

APR 18 '36 AND FEB 1 '37 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | 1936 | | 1937 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *Yes* | *No* |
| Democratic..... | 72% | 28% | 77% | 23% |
| Republican..... | 46 | 54 | 67 | 33 |
| Socialist..... | 81 | 19 | — | — |

APR 18 '36 AND FEB 1 '37 RESULTS BY STATES

| | 1936 | | 1937 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *Yes* | *No* |
| South Dakota..... | 46% | 54% | 56% | 44% |
| Kansas..... | 46 | 54 | 66 | 34 |
| Maryland..... | 48 | 52 | 71 | 29 |
| Rhode Island..... | 51 | 49 | 88 | 12 |
| Vermont..... | 52 | 48 | 70 | 30 |
| Missouri..... | 52 | 48 | 66 | 34 |
| Nebraska..... | 52 | 48 | 72 | 28 |

| | 1936 | | 1937 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *Yes* | *No* |
| Maine* | 53 | 47 | 65 | 35 |
| Kentucky* | 53 | 47 | 77 | 23 |
| Alabama | 54 | 46 | 70 | 30 |
| Mississippi | 55 | 45 | 74 | 26 |
| Idaho* | 55 | 45 | 55 | 45 |
| Massachusetts | 56 | 44 | 55 | 45 |
| North Carolina | 56 | 44 | 67 | 33 |
| West Virginia* | 57 | 43 | 55 | 45 |
| Arkansas* | 57 | 43 | 67 | 33 |
| Virginia | 58 | 42 | 58 | 42 |
| Florida | 58 | 42 | 71 | 29 |
| Tennessee | 58 | 42 | 63 | 37 |
| Indiana* | 60 | 40 | 78 | 22 |
| Iowa* | 60 | 40 | 75 | 25 |
| Georgia | 60 | 40 | 76 | 24 |
| Oklahoma* | 60 | 40 | 74 | 26 |
| Connecticut | 61 | 39 | 81 | 19 |
| New Jersey* | 61 | 39 | 84 | 16 |
| Illinois* | 61 | 39 | 74 | 26 |
| South Carolina | 61 | 39 | 66 | 34 |
| Louisiana | 61 | 39 | 80 | 20 |
| Utah* | 61 | 39 | 67 | 33 |
| New York | 63 | 37 | 83 | 17 |
| Montana* | 63 | 37 | 81 | 19 |
| Wyoming* | 63 | 37 | 64 | 36 |
| New Mexico | 63 | 37 | 79 | 21 |
| New Hampshire* | 64 | 36 | 88 | 12 |
| Pennsylvania* | 64 | 36 | 71 | 29 |
| Ohio* | 64 | 36 | 80 | 20 |
| Minnesota* | 64 | 36 | 53 | 47 |
| Texas | 64 | 36 | 69 | 31 |
| Oregon* | 67 | 33 | 76 | 24 |
| Delaware | 68 | 32 | 65 | 35 |
| North Dakota* | 69 | 31 | 60 | 40 |
| California* | 69 | 31 | 82 | 18 |
| Nevada* | 69 | 31 | 55 | 45 |
| Colorado* | 70 | 30 | 86 | 14 |
| Washington* | 70 | 30 | 67 | 33 |
| Michigan* | 71 | 29 | 78 | 22 |
| Wisconsin* | 71 | 29 | 84 | 16 |
| Arizona* | 75 | 25 | 75 | 25 |

* States which had ratified amendment by 1937.

**3.** (US Oct 27 '42) If you had a son who wanted to deliver newspapers, would you permit him to do so? (AIPO)

Yes 90% No 7% No opinion 3%

**4.** (US Oct 27 '42) If he had to get up at six in the morning to deliver newspapers, would you permit him to do so? Asked of a national cross-section of people who would permit sons to deliver newspapers. 90% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 79% | 14% | 7% |
| BY PARENTS | | | |
| Mothers | 81% | 19%* | |
| Fathers | 77 | 23* | |

* This figure includes the undecided percentages.

**5.** (US Oct 27 '42 and Canada Mar 12 '43) Do you think delivering newspapers is helpful to a boy? In Canada the phrase "or not" was added to the question. (AIPO, CIPO)

| | *Yes, helpful* | *No, not helpful* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| United States | 87% | 7% | 6% |
| Canada | 73 | 17 | 10 |

**6.** (US Oct 27 '42) In what ways [is delivering newspapers helpful to a boy]? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who thought delivering newspapers was helpful to a boy. 87% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Makes him more dependable, more self-reliant | 36% |
| The actual experience of working, of handling business in a small way | 19 |
| Gives him money of his own | 18 |
| Teaches him the value of money | 14 |
| Teaches him how to approach people; gives him an ability to talk to all sorts of people | 11 |
| Keeps him busy; out of mischief | 10 |
| Broadens his outlook on life; he learns views and ways of different types of people | 2 |
| Teaches him to use his time to advantage | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Didn't say | 6 |
| | 119%* |

* Percentages are based on number of people who thought delivering newspapers was helpful to a boy and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**7.** (US Oct 27 '42) Do you think delivering newspapers is harmful in any way to a boy? (AIPO)

Yes 17% No 82% No opinion 1%

**8.** (US Oct 27 '42) In what ways [do you think delivering newspapers is harmful to a boy]? Asked of a national cross-section of people who thought delivering newspapers was harmful to a boy. 17% of sample represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not right environment, some districts and associations are bad | 39% |
| Bad for his health—no indication of how | 7 |
| Loses too much sleep | 21 |
| Keeps him from his studies, prevents him from giving time he should to school work | 8 |
| Too much of a strain physically; heavy bundles, running upstairs | 9 |
| Prevents him from getting recreation he needs | 4 |
| Has to work in all sorts of weather | 8 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 |
| Didn't say | 5 |
| | 108%* |

* Percentages are based on number of people who thought delivering newspapers was harmful to a boy and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**9.** (US Nov 17 '42) If you had a boy fourteen years old, would you let him deliver newspapers or do you think this is too young? (AIPO)

Deliver 90% Too young 7% No opinion 3%

**10.** (US Jan 27 '43) If you had a boy twelve years old, would you let him deliver newspapers or do you think this is too young? (AIPO) (Canada Mar 12 '43) If you had a son twelve years old who wanted to deliver newspapers, would you permit him to do so? (CIPO)

| | *Yes, deliver* | *No, too young* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| United States | 81% | 17% | 2% |
| Canada | 76 | 19 | 5 |

**11.** (Great Britain Nov '44) It has been suggested that boys and girls leaving school should register at labor exchanges and get jobs only through them. Do you approve or disapprove? (BIPO)

Approve 29% Disapprove 57% Don't know 14%

# CHILDREN

**1.** (US May 29 '40) In which of the following respects do you think boys and girls in their teens have improved since you were their age—initiative and courage; moral standards and ideals; honesty and dependability; physical fitness; knowledge of the world they live in; haven't improved at all? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Initiative and courage | 27% |
| Moral standards and ideals | 18 |
| Honesty and dependability | 16 |
| Physical fitness | 43 |
| Knowledge of the world they live in | 68 |
| Haven't improved at all | 12 |
| No opinion | 9 |
| | 193%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (US Mar 19 '41) If you could have only one (one more) child which would you prefer to have—a boy or a girl? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Boy | 34% |
| Either one | 26 |
| Girl | 24 |
| Wouldn't want any more | 16 |

**3.** (US Mar 26 '42) Do you have any children? 62% of the sample who were parents were asked: Do you think your children twenty years from now will be better off or worse off than you are now? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 27% |
| Worse | 16 |
| Same | 10 |
| Don't know | 9 |
| Have no children | 37 |
| No answer | 1 |

**4.** (US Mar 26 '42) Well, suppose you had some children. Do you think that if you had some children they would be better off or worse off twenty years from now than you are now? Asked of 37% of the sample who had no children. (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 16% |
| Worse | 9 |
| Same | 7 |
| No opinion | 5 |
| | 37% |

**5.** (US Aug '43) A national cross-section of women were asked how many children they wanted. Results follow: (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| One | 5.2% |
| Two | 38.9 |
| Three | 24.3 |
| Four | 18.1 |
| Five or more | 6.1 |
| None | 4.4 |
| Don't know | 3.0 |

**6.** (Netherlands Oct '45) Should the children whose mothers are confined [for collaboration with the enemy] be lodged with families or in educational homes? (NFS)

| | |
|---|---|
| With families | 57% |
| In educational homes | 36 |
| No opinion | 7 |

**7.** (Canada Apr 3 '46) Some people say it is harmful to children to tell them there is a Santa Claus. What are your views on this? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Agree, it is harmful | 11% |
| Not harmful | 85 |
| No opinion | 4 |

**8.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statements: (OMGUS)

| | AMERICAN ZONE AND BERLIN | | | BERLIN ONLY | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
| A boy is more important to a family than a girl | 40% | 54% | 6% | 50% | 49% | 1% |
| In a family a girl should have the same rights as a boy | 93 | 5 | 2 | 91 | 9 | |
| Children need much tenderness and affection from both mother and father | 92 | 7 | 1 | 95 | 4 | 1 |

**9.** (US Aug '46) Suppose a young married couple is trying to decide when to have children. Who do you think should have the most to say in making the decision, the husband or the wife? (FOR)

| | *Husband* | *Wife* | *Both the same* | *Refused to answer* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 11.9% | 37.2% | 36.1% | 4.7% | 10.1% |
| Women | 7.3 | 45.6 | 35.0 | 3.6 | 8.5 |

**10.** (Great Britain Dec '46) Do you agree or disagree with letting children believe that there is a Santa Claus? (BIPO)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 83% | 11% | 6% |
| BY PARENTAL STATUS | | | |
| Having children under 17 | 87% | 9% | 4% |
| Not having children under 17 | 81 | 11 | 8 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 85% | 9% | 6% |
| 30–49 years | 84 | 12 | 4 |
| 50 years and over | 82 | 11 | 7 |

## Care and Hygiene

**1.** (Denmark Mar '44) Do you give your children cod-liver oil, vitaminol, or any other strengthening medicine in the winter? Asked of a national cross-section of parents with children of a suitable age. (DGI)

Yes 79.6% No 20.4%

## Management

**1.** (US Mar 21 '38) Do you think schoolteachers should be allowed to spank disobedient children at school? (Aug 28 '46) Do you think teachers in grade school should have the right to spank children at school? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '38 | 53% | 44% | 3% |
| Aug '46 | 35 | 61 | 4 |
| AUG '46 RESULTS BY PARENTS | | | |
| All parents | 38% | 59% | 3% |
| Parents who were spanked as children | 41 | 56 | 3 |

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Parents not spanked as children | 20 | 77 | 3 |
| Fathers | 43 | 54 | 3 |
| Mothers | 34 | 63 | 3 |

**2.** (Sweden May '42) Do you think your parents allow you enough liberty, do they interfere too much, or do they allow you too much liberty? Asked of a national cross-section of young people. (SGI)

BY SEX

| | *Enough* | *Interfere too much* | *Too much liberty* | *Don't know* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Boys | 84% | 6% | 1% | 4% | 5% |
| Girls | 83 | 8 | 1 | 3 | 5 |

**3.** (Sweden May '42) Would you be for or against further interference with the amusements of the young? Asked of a national cross-section of parents. (SGI)

| | *For* | *Against* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *National total* | | | |
| Fathers | 45% | 34% | 21% |
| Mothers | 49 | 25 | 26 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Town fathers | 49% | 36% | 15% |
| Town mothers | 55 | 22 | 23 |
| Provincial fathers | 46 | 38 | 16 |
| Provincial mothers | 50 | 36 | 14 |
| Country fathers | 42 | 31 | 27 |
| Country mothers | 42 | 23 | 35 |

**4.** (Sweden May '42) Do you think that such interference [with the amusements of the young] should come from the home first or from society? Asked of a national cross-section of parents. (SGI)

| | *Society* | *Home* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fathers | 43% | 43% | 14% |
| Mothers | 40 | 43 | 17 |

**5.** (Sweden May '42) Do young people have too much money to squander? Asked of a national cross-section of parents. (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 35% | 46% | 19% |
| BY PARENTAL STATUS | | | |
| Fathers | 34% | 49% | 17% |
| Mothers | 35 | 43 | 22 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Towns | 46% | 38% | 16% |
| Provinces | 44 | 35 | 21 |
| Country | 23 | 56 | 21 |

**6.** (Sweden Dec '43 and Denmark Aug '44) How much pocket money did they [the children] get last week? Asked of a national cross-section of adults in families with children from eleven to fourteen years of age. (SGI, DGI)

RESULTS IN SWEDEN BY SEX AND AGE

| | NATIONAL TOTAL *11–14 years* | | *11 yrs.* | | *12 yrs.* | | *13 yrs.* | | *14 yrs.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Boys* | *Girls* | *Boys* | *Girls* | *Boys* | *Girls* | *Boys* | *Girls* | *Boys* | *Girls* |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| None | 27 | 38 | 29 | 41 | 27 | 41 | 27 | 44 | 30 | 25 |
| Under 50 öre | 18 | 10 | 25 | 12 | 19 | 13 | 20 | 13 | 6 | 4 |
| 50 öre to less than 1 kr.* | 19 | 22 | 20 | 21 | 23 | 22 | 22 | 20 | 12 | 27 |
| 1 kr. to less than 2 kr. | 17 | 15 | 9 | 8 | 16 | 16 | 14 | 10 | 25 | 26 |
| 2 kr. to less than 3 kr. | 5 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 9 | 3 |
| 3 kr. to less than 5 kr. | 2 | 2 | — | — | — | 1 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 7 |
| 5 kr. to less than 10 kr. | 1 | — | — | — | — | 1 | 2 | — | 3 | 1 |
| 10 kr. or more | 1 | — | 1 | — | 1 | — | 1 | — | 2 | — |
| Don't know | 10 | 10 | 13 | 15 | 10 | 5 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 7 |

* The Swedish krona at this period was worth approximately 27 cents in American money.

RESULTS IN DENMARK

| | |
|---|---|
| Nothing | 37.7% |
| 25 öre | 10.2 |
| 50 öre | 10.8 |
| 75 öre | 3.7 |
| 1.-kr.* | 12.1 |
| 1.50 kr | 2.4 |
| 2.-kr | 5.0 |
| Over 2.-kr | 3.0 |
| Don't know | 15.1 |

* The Danish krone was worth approximately 27 cents in American money at this period.

**7.** (Denmark Aug '44) On what was this [pocket] money spent? Asked of the same sample as the previous question. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Saved | 25.9% |
| Sweets | 24.3 |
| Cinema | 21.6 |
| Amusements | 5.7 |
| School implements | 4.6 |
| Scout expenses, subscriptions, etc. | 2.7 |
| Toys | 2.4 |
| Help to buy clothes | 2.2 |
| Don't know | 22.4 |
| | 111.8%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**8.** (Denmark Aug '44) Has the child earned this money by getting good marks, doing little services, etc., for you, or was the money a gift? Asked of the same cross-section as the two previous questions. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Little services | 63.3% |
| Gift | 25.6 |
| Good marks | 10.1 |
| Earn it themselves (errand boys, etc.) | 2.4 |
| | 101.4%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (Sweden Dec '43) About what time did they [the children] go to bed last night? Asked of a national cross-section of adults in families with children from eleven to fourteen years of age. (SGI)

| | NATIONAL TOTAL 11–14 yrs. | | 11 yrs. | | 12 yrs. | | 13 yrs. | | 14 yrs. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys % | Girls % | Boys % | Girls % | Boys % | Girls % | Boys % | Girls % | Boys % | Girls % |
| Before 7 p.m. | 7 | 5 | 10 | 5 | 9 | 9 | 2 | 5 | 4 | — |
| 7–8 p.m. | 23 | 31 | 34 | 44 | 33 | 28 | 12 | 27 | 12 | 20 |
| 8–9 p.m. | 40 | 37 | 38 | 34 | 44 | 42 | 54 | 37 | 30 | 34 |
| 9–10 p.m. | 20 | 18 | 13 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 21 | 25 | 31 | 34 |
| After 10 p.m. | 4 | 3 | 2 | — | 1 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 7 | 9 |
| Don't know | 6 | 6 | 3 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 5 | 4 | 16 | 3 |

**10.** (Sweden Dec '43) What age do you consider suitable for a girl to begin going to dances without escort by older people? (SGI)

| | 14–15 yrs. | 16–17 yrs. | 18–19 yrs. | 20 yrs. | When of age | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 7% | 38% | 33% | 5% | 2% | 15% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | |
| Men | 7% | 37% | 34% | 6% | 2% | 14% |
| Women | 8 | 39 | 32 | 4 | 2 | 15 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | | |
| Town | 4% | 38% | 34% | 5% | 3% | 16% |
| Country | 9 | 38 | 32 | 5 | 2 | 14 |
| BY AGE | | | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 24% | 39% | 22% | 3% | 1% | 11% |
| 30–49 years | 7 | 39 | 33 | 6 | 2 | 13 |
| 50 years and over | 4 | 35 | 35 | 5 | 1 | 20 |

**11.** (Sweden Feb '45) What do you think of physical punishment as a means of bringing up children? (SGI)

| | Suitable | Suitable in some cases | Unnecessary | Wrong | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9% | 50% | 19% | 17% | 5% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 11% | 49% | 18% | 17% | 5% |
| Women | 8 | 51 | 20 | 16 | 5 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Upper class | 9% | 56% | 11% | 21% | 3% |
| Middle class | 10 | 53 | 18 | 15 | 4 |
| Workers | 10 | 47 | 21 | 17 | 5 |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 20–24 years | 8% | 47% | 21% | 17% | 7% |
| 25–29 years | 8 | 58 | 16 | 14 | 4 |
| 30–49 years | 8 | 49 | 20 | 17 | 6 |
| 50–64 years | 12 | 48 | 21 | 15 | 4 |
| 65 years and over | 17 | 43 | 18 | 18 | 4 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | |
| Large towns | 7% | 48% | 15% | 26% | 4% |
| Other towns | 10 | 47 | 21 | 19 | 3 |
| Country | 11 | 51 | 20 | 13 | 5 |

**12.** (Sweden Feb '45) Do you think that the teachers in the elementary schools should have the right to punish children physically or should this right be reserved for parents? Asked of 59% of the sample who said they thought corporal punishment was a suitable punishment or suitable in some cases. (SGI)

| | Parents only | Both teachers and parents | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 54% | 4% = 100% of those questioned |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 38% | 59% | 3% |
| Women | 46 | 49 | 5 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 41% | 56% | 3% |
| Middle class | 39 | 57 | 4 |
| Workers | 44 | 51 | 5 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–24 years | 59% | 38% | 3% |
| 25–29 years | 50 | 45 | 5 |
| 30–49 years | 44 | 53 | 3 |
| 50–64 years | 33 | 60 | 7 |
| 65 years and over | 25 | 72 | 3 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Country | 34% | 62% | 4% |
| Large towns | 56 | 38 | 6 |
| Other towns | 53 | 44 | 3 |

**13.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statements: (OMGUS)

| | AMERICAN ZONE AND BERLIN | | | BERLIN ONLY | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Yes | No | No opinion | Yes | No | No opinion |
| It is not necessary that children obey rules as strictly as adults | 55% | 42% | 3% | 46% | 54% | — |
| Children should blindly obey the laws and orders established for adults | 54 | 42 | 4 | 60 | 39 | 1% |
| In bringing up children the main thing to keep in mind is the development of the individual personality, not the needs of the state. | 80 | 13 | 7 | 81 | 17 | 2 |
| Obedience to the father should be based on love and understanding and not on his absolute power | 96 | 2 | 2 | 97 | 3 | — |
| The weakness of most western European schools is their lack of military discipline | 13 | 66 | 21 | 18 | 76 | 6 |

**14.** (US July 24 '46) In San Francisco judges require the parents of delinquent children to attend classes to learn to handle their children better. Do you think such classes should be started in this community? (AIPO) (Great Britain Sept 14 '46) In San Francisco courts deal with parents when children are in trouble. They must attend classes to learn to handle their children better. Would you approve or disapprove of the same thing in this country? (BIPO)

| | Approve | Disapprove | Don't know or no opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| United States | 78% | 12% | 10% |
| Great Britain | 56 | 32 | 12 |

| | Approve | Disapprove | Don't know or no opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | |
| *Men* | | | |
| United States | 75% | 14% | 11% |
| Great Britain | 53 | 34 | 13 |
| *Women* | | | |
| United States | 81 | 10 | 9 |
| Great Britain | 59 | 31 | 10 |
| BRITISH OPINION BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 66% | 25% | 9% |
| 30–49 years | 56 | 33 | 11 |
| 50 years and over | 52 | 34 | 14 |
| Having children under 17 years | 52 | 39 | 9 |
| BRITISH OPINION BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 67% | 26% | 7% |
| Middle | 65 | 27 | 8 |
| Lower | 52 | 35 | 13 |
| Very poor | 43 | 42 | 15 |

**15.** (US Aug '46) Who do you think should have the most to say in deciding how to discipline the children, the husband or the wife? (FOR)

| | Husband | Wife | Both the same | Depends | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 7.5% | 37.3% | 48.9% | 3.8% | 2.5% |
| Women | 3.4 | 29.0 | 62.1 | 2.9 | 2.6 |

**16.** (US Aug 28 '46) Do you approve or disapprove of spanking children? (AIPO)

| | Approve | Disapprove | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 71% | 25% | 4% |
| BY PARENTAL STATUS | | | |
| All parents | 74% | 24% | 2% |
| Parents who were spanked as children | 81 | 17 | 2 |
| Parents not spanked as children | 38 | 58 | 4 |
| Fathers | 73 | 24 | 3 |
| Mothers | 76 | 22 | 2 |

**17.** (US Aug 28 '46) Were you spanked as a child? (AIPO)

Yes 84% No 15% No answer 1%

**18.** (Great Britain Dec '46) Do you think that ill-treatment of children is due mainly to cruelty or to ignorance and bad conditions? (BIPO)

| | Cruelty | Bad conditions | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 39% | 53% | 8% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 36% | 55% | 9% |
| Women | 43 | 50 | 7 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 33% | 59% | 8% |
| 30–49 years | 38 | 55 | 7 |
| 50 years and over | 45 | 45 | 10 |
| Children under 17 | 40 | 54 | 6 |
| No children under 17 | 39 | 51 | 10 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 38% | 57% | 5% |
| Middle | 39 | 57 | 4 |
| Lower | 40 | 50 | 10 |
| Very poor | 39 | 50 | 11 |

**19.** (Great Britain Dec '46) In dealing with such parents [who ill-treat their children] should the main emphasis of the treatment be on punishing or on educating them? (BIPO)

| | Punishing | Educating | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 45% | 47% | 8% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 43% | 49% | 8% |
| Women | 48 | 44 | 8 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 39% | 55% | 6% |
| 30–49 years | 43 | 50 | 7 |
| 50 years and over | 51 | 39 | 10 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 34% | 64% | 2% |
| Middle | 43 | 54 | 3 |
| Lower | 48 | 42 | 10 |
| Very poor | 48 | 38 | 14 |
| BY PARENTAL STATUS | | | |
| With children under 17 | 45% | 47% | 8% |
| No children under 17 | 45 | 46 | 9 |

## CHILDREN AND STATE

**1.** (US Nov 13 '36) Do you approve of the Toronto Baby Derby? (AIPO)

Yes 13% No 87% = 100% No opinion 18%

**2.** (US June '39) Do you think our government should or should not take over all present duties of the family in caring for children and bringing them up? (FOR)

Should 4.6% Should not 92.2% Don't know or depends 3.2%

**3.** (Great Britain June '39) Would you favor a system of family allowances, parents receiving a money grant for each child after the second or third? (BIPO)

Yes 67% No 24% No opinion 9%

**4.** (Great Britain June '39) Should the grant [for family allowances] be paid by the state or employers? Asked of 67% of the sample who said they would favor family allowances. (BIPO)

State 85% Employers 10% No opinion 5% = 100% of those who favored family allowances

**5.** (Australia Nov '41) Are you satisfied with the child endowment scheme? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Satisfied | 54% |
| Dissatisfied | 28 |
| Undecided | 12 |
| No opinion | 6 |

**6.** (Canada Oct 20 '43) It has been suggested that the government should pay a family allowance of nine dollars per child every month to families in the lower income group instead of raising wages. Cost of such a plan is estimated at one hundred eighty billion dollars a year. Do you think this would be a good idea or a bad idea? (CIPO)

Good idea 43% Bad idea 45% No opinion 12%

**7.** (Canada Oct 20 '43) It has been suggested that the government should pay a family allowance of nine dollars per child every month to families in the lower income group instead of

raising wages. Do you think this is a good idea or a bad idea? (CIPO)

Good idea 49% Bad idea 42% No opinion 9%

**8.** (Australia Nov '43) Do you think child endowment of five shillings a week is likely to result in larger families? 68% of the sample who thought it wouldn't were asked: Do you think a larger amount would? How much a week would it have to be? Results from the three questions follow: (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Five shillings would raise the birthrate | 21% |
| Larger amount (average ten shillings) would be effective | 29 |
| No amount will raise the birthrate | 39 |
| No opinion | 11 |

**9.** (Canada Aug 2 '44) It has been suggested that the government should pay a family allowance of between five and eight dollars per child every month to families in the lower income group. Do you think this is a good idea or not? (CIPO)

| | *Good idea* | *Not good idea* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Quebec | 81% | 12% | 7% |
| Rest of Canada | 57 | 35 | 8 |

**10.** (Canada Oct 14 '44) Have you heard or read anything about the family allowance or baby bonus plan recently passed by the Ottawa government? 87% of the sample who had heard of the plan were asked: Some people claim that this plan is a political bribe just to get votes. Others deny this, and claim that it is a necessary law. Which of these points of view comes closest to describing the way you personally feel about this law? (CIPO)

| | *Political bribe* | *Necessary law* | *Both* | *Undecided* | *Never heard of it* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 29% | 34% | 16% | 8% | 13% |
| BY SELECTED PROVINCES | | | | | |
| Ontario | 39% | 26% | 13% | 10% | 12% |
| Quebec | 13 | 49 | 17 | 3 | 18 |

**11.** (Australia Nov '44) Do you think an increase in child endowment from five shillings to ten shillings a week would result in larger families? (APOP)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 47% | 47% | 6% |
| Women | 37 | 55 | 8 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Owners, managers, and professional people | 32% | 64% | 4% |
| Farmers | 32 | 60 | 8 |
| Clerks and shophands | 44 | 52 | 4 |
| Skilled and semi-skilled workers | 47 | 47 | 6 |
| Unskilled workers | 59 | 34 | 7 |

**12.** (Great Britain Mar '45) Should children's allowances be paid over to the father or to the mother? (BIPO)

Father 13% Mother 62% Either 25%

**13.** (Canada May 30 '45) Have you heard or read anything about the family allowance (baby bonus) law passed by the Ottawa government? 95% of the sample who had heard of the law were asked: As you probably know, these allowances are to be used for food, clothing, and education for the children. In your opinion, are a large number of Canadians likely to use this money for other purposes, or are only a few likely to use it improperly? (CIPO)

| | *Haven't heard* | *Improperly* | *Properly* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 5% | 30% | 56% | 9% |
| BY SELECTED PROVINCES | | | | |
| Ontario | 5% | 37% | 50% | 8% |
| Quebec | 6 | 25 | 58 | 11 |

**14.** (Canada May 30 '45) Have you applied, or do you intend to apply, for these [family] allowances? Asked of a cross-section of parents who had heard about the family allowances and who had children under sixteen. (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Intend to apply or have applied | 74% |
| Do not intend to apply | 19 |
| Undecided | 7 |

**15.** (Canada Aug 18 '45) Do you think that checks now being sent out for family allowances (baby bonus) should be made payable to mother or father? (CIPO)

| | *Mother* | *Father* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 71% | 15% | 14% |
| Women | 84 | 6 | 10 |
| BY SELECTED PROVINCES | | | |
| Quebec | 61% | 25% | 14% |
| Ontario | 80 | 8 | 12 |

**16.** (US Sept 19 '45) In Canada, the government gives each family a sum of money amounting to about five to eight dollars a month for each child until the child is sixteen. Would you be willing to pay higher taxes here to provide the same thing in this country? (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 63% No opinion 7%

**17.** (US Sept 19 '45) In Canada, the government gives each family a sum of money amounting to about five to eight dollars per month for each child until the child is sixteen. Do you think we should have the same thing in this country? The question was asked of a separate cross-section comparable to the one used for the previous question. (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 58% No opinion 12%

**18.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statement: Children are the property of the state. (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| American zone and Berlin | 17% | 80% | 3% |
| Berlin only | 26 | 74 | — |

**19.** (US Aug 14 '46) To encourage having children, England now pays one dollar per week for each child under sixteen years of age. Do you think we should have a baby bonus plan of that type in this country? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 30% | 61% | 9% |
| BY PARENTAL STATUS | | | |
| Those with children under 16 years | 34% | 56% | 10% |
| Those without children under 16 years | 29 | 63 | 8 |

**20.** (US Aug 14 '46) How much should be paid per week for each child? Asked of 30% of the sample who thought the United States should have a baby bonus similar to the one in England. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $1.00 | 1% |
| $1.00 | 28 |
| Over $1.00 to under $2.00 | 2 |
| $2.00 | 22 |
| Over $2.00 to under $3.00 | 3 |
| $3.00 | 10 |
| Over $3.00 to under $5.00 | 3 |
| $5.00 | 11 |
| Over $5.00 | 7 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| No answer | 11 |

100% of those who thought the US should have a baby bonus

Median $2

**21.** (US Aug 14 '46) Would you be willing to pay higher taxes in order to make a baby bonus plan possible? Asked of 30% of the sample who thought the United States should have a baby bonus similar to the one in England. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 66% |
| No | 22 |
| No opinion | 12 |

100% of those who thought the US should have a baby bonus plan

**22.** (US Aug 14 '46) To help parents support their children, England now pays one dollar per week for each child under sixteen years of age. Do you think we should have a baby bonus plan of that type in this country? This question and the two following were asked of a separate but comparable cross-section to the one used for the preceding questions. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 38% | 49% | 13% |
| BY PARENTAL STATUS | | | |
| Those with children under 16 years | 46% | 42% | 12% |
| Those without children under 16 years | 34 | 55 | 11 |

**23.** (US Aug 14 '46) How much should be paid per week for each child? Asked of 38% of the sample who thought the United States should have a baby bonus plan similar to the one in England. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $1.00 | 2% |
| $1.00 | 32 |
| Over $1.00 to under $2.00 | 6 |
| $2.00 | 17 |
| Over $2.00 to under $3.00 | 4 |
| $3.00 | 6 |
| Over $3.00 to under $5.00 | 3 |
| $5.00 | 11 |
| Over $5.00 | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| No answer | 12 |

100% of those who thought the US should have a baby bonus plan

**24.** (US Aug 14 '46) Would you be willing to pay higher taxes in order to make a baby bonus plan possible? Asked of 38% of the sample who thought the United States should have a baby bonus plan similar to the one in England. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 70% |
| No | 21 |
| No opinion | 9 |

100% of those who thought the US should have a baby bonus

**25.** (Great Britain Sept 14 '46) If people are getting children's allowances, that amount is deducted from other payments such as relief or workmen's compensation. Do you approve, or should they get children's allowances as well? (BIPO)

| | *Deduct* | *Get both* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 13% | 78% | 9% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 14% | 79% | 7% |
| Women | 13 | 77 | 10 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 11% | 77% | 12% |
| 30–49 years | 14 | 79 | 7 |
| 50 years and over | 14 | 77 | 9 |
| BY PARENTAL STATUS | | | |
| Having children under 17 years | 8% | 86% | 6% |
| Not having children under 17 years | 16 | 75 | 9 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 29% | 63% | 8% |
| Middle | 18 | 73 | 9 |
| Lower | 11 | 81 | 8 |
| Very poor | 8 | 84 | 8 |

**26.** (Australia Nov '46) Do you think child endowment should be increased, or not? (APOP)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 53% | 40% | 7% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Labor | 60% | 33% | 7% |
| Liberal-Country | 47 | 47 | 6 |

**27.** (Australia Nov '46) If [child] endowment is increased, which would you favor—keeping the rate at seven shillings sixpence a week but paying for the first child, or increase the rate from seven shillings sixpence to ten shillings without including the first child? (APOP)

| | *Pay for first child* | *Increase to ten shillings* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 67% | 14% | 19% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Labor | 68% | 18% | 14% |
| Liberal-Country | 66 | 11 | 23 |

## CHURCH AND STATE

**1.** (US June '39) Do you think our government should or should not supervise all religious observances by establishing a national church? (FOR)

Should 4.3% Should not 92.0% Don't know or depends 3.7%

**2.** (Germany Mar 8 '46) Since the beginning of the occupation, has the American military government given too much or too little support to the church? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too much support | 4% |
| Too little support | 1 |
| Adequate support | 72 |
| No answer | 1 |
| No opinion | 22 |

**3.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Has the attitude of the church toward the state changed in any way? (OMGUS)

Yes 42% No 38% No opinion 20%

## CHURCH UNITY

**1.** (US Feb 23 '37) It has been suggested that all Protestant churches in the United States combine into one church. Do you think it would be a good thing? (May 20 '38) Do you think it would be a good thing for all Protestant churches in the United States to combine into one church? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Feb '37 | 44% | 56% |
| May '38 | 47 | 53 |
| BY RELIGION | | |
| *Northern Baptist* | | |
| Feb '37 | 47% | 53% |
| May '38 | 46 | 54 |
| *Southern Baptist* | | |
| Feb '37 | 25 | 75 |
| May '38 | 14 | 86 |
| *Methodist* | | |
| Feb '37 | 43 | 57 |
| May '38 | 50 | 50 |
| *Lutheran* | | |
| Feb '37 | 33 | 67 |
| May '38 | 40 | 60 |
| *Presbyterian* | | |
| Feb '37 | 48 | 52 |
| May '38 | 50 | 50 |
| *Episcopalian* | | |
| Feb '37 | 40 | 60 |
| May '38 | 44 | 56 |
| *Congregationalist* | | |
| Feb '37 | 65 | 35 |
| May '38 | 60 | 40 |
| *Reformed* | | |
| Feb '37 | 52 | 48 |
| *Catholic* | | |
| Feb '37 | 46 | 54 |
| *Others* | | |
| Feb '37 | 59 | 41 |
| May '38 | 47 | 53 |
| FEB '37 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 61% | 39% |
| Middle Atlantic | 46 | 54 |
| East central | 39 | 61 |
| West central | 51 | 49 |
| Southern | 36 | 64 |
| Mountain | 42 | 58 |
| Pacific coast | 40 | 60 |

**2.** (Great Britain Feb '38) Are you in favor of the unification of all Protestant churches? (BIPO)

Yes 56% No 16% No opinion 28%

**3.** (US June '43) Do you think that the churches should make plans for the kind of peace which should be established after the war, or don't you think this is part of their work? 63% of the sample who thought they should make plans were asked: Do you think it would be better for Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant churches to have their own separate plans for world peace, or do you think it would be better if they would all get together and agree on one plan? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Get together | 57% |
| Have separate plans | 5 |
| Don't know whether they should get together or not | 1 |
| Not their work | 33 |
| Don't know whether or not this is their work | 4 |

**4.** (US June '43) Do you think it is likely that they [churches] will get together and agree on one plan or not? Asked of 57% of the sample who thought that churches of all sects should get together and make plans for world peace. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 29% |
| No | 19 |
| Qualified answers | 1 |
| Don't know | 8 |
| No answer | * |
| | 57% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**5.** (Germany Mar 8 '46) Do you think it is possible for Catholics and Protestants to cooperate in the same Christian political party? 55% of the sample who thought it possible were asked: What makes you think so? 20% of the sample who thought it impossible were asked: What makes you think not? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Both have same basic Christian principles; both have same God; the religious differences are insignificant; Christians can get along togerher | 26% |
| Both are working for a common cause—reconstruction; fighting same enemy—National Socialism; have same interests | 18 |
| Religion plays no part in politics | 2 |
| They've done it before and can do it again, as in the Zentrum party and the Christian Democratic Union | 3 |
| It's their duty | 3 |
| Other answers | 1 |
| No reason given | 2 |
| Total who thought cooperation possible | 55% |
| Think it wouldn't work; fundamental differences too great; they can't work together; they are different religions and should stay separate; wouldn't last long | 8% |
| Know it wouldn't work; until now they've always disagreed; each will want to be right | 11 |
| Other answers or no reason given | 1 |
| Total who thought cooperation impossible | 20% |
| No opinion on the subject | 25 |

**6.** (Canada Aug 21 '46) Do you think that the Anglican and United Churches will ever be able to combine into one church? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know or Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 37% | 36% |
| BY RELIGION | | | |
| United Church members | 37% | 44% | 19% |
| Anglican Church members | 37 | 49 | 14 |
| Other church members | 22 | 32 | 46 |

## CHURCHILL, WINSTON

**1.** (Great Britain May '39) Are you in favor of Mr. Winston Churchill being invited to join the Cabinet? (BIPO)

Yes 56% No 26% No opinion 18%

**2.** (Great Britain July '40 to May '45, dates listed below) In general, do you approve or disapprove of Mr. Churchill as Prime Minister? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| July '40 | 88% | 7% | 5% |
| Oct '40 | 89 | 6 | 5 |
| Nov '40 | 88 | 7 | 5 |
| Jan '41 | 85 | 7 | 8 |
| Mar '41 | 88 | 7 | 5 |
| *June '41 | 87 | 9 | 4 |
| Oct '41 | 84 | 11 | 5 |
| *Dec '41 | 88 | 8 | 4 |
| *Jan '42 | 89 | 7 | 4 |
| Feb '42 | 82 | 11 | 7 |
| Mar '42 | 81 | 13 | 6 |
| Apr '42 | 82 | 13 | 5 |
| May '42 | 87 | 8 | 5 |
| June '42 | 86 | 9 | 5 |
| July '42 | 78 | 15 | 7 |
| Aug '42 | 82 | 11 | 7 |
| *Sept '42 | 82 | 10 | 8 |
| Oct '42 | 83 | 11 | 6 |
| Nov '42 | 91 | 7 | 2 |
| *Dec '42 | 93 | 5 | 2 |
| Jan '43 | 91 | 7 | 2 |
| Apr '43 | 90 | 7 | 3 |
| *June '43 | 93 | 4 | 3 |
| *Aug '43 | 93 | 5 | 2 |
| *Nov '43 | 91 | 6 | 3 |
| *Jan '44 | 89 | 7 | 4 |
| *Mar '44 | 86 | 10 | 4 |
| **Apr '44 | 88 | 9 | 3 |
| **June '44 | 91 | 7 | 2 |
| **Aug '44 | 89 | 8 | 3 |
| *Sept '44 | 89 | 8 | 3 |
| **Oct '44 | 91 | 7 | 2 |
| *Jan '45 | 81 | 16 | 3 |
| *Feb '45 | 85 | 11 | 4 |
| Mar '45 | 87 | 10 | 3 |
| **Apr '45 | 91 | 7 | 2 |
| May '45 | 83 | 14 | 3 |

* The question was asked simply: Do you approve or disapprove of Mr. Churchill as Prime Minister?

** The question was: On the whole, do you approve or disapprove of Mr. Churchill as Prime Minister?

**3.** (US Jan 5 '42) On the whole, have you been favorably or unfavorably impressed by Prime Minister Churchill since he came over two weeks ago? (NORC)

Favorably 77% Unfavorably 10% Don't know 13%

**4.** (Great Britain Jan '45 and Feb '45) Do you approve or disapprove of Mr. Churchill's attitude on the Greek question? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '45 | 43% | 38% | 19% |
| Feb '45 | 46 | 28 | 26 |

**5.** (Great Britain June 12 '45) Some people say that it is necessary to keep Churchill as Prime Minister till the Japs are beaten. Others say the war will be won anyway. Which do you agree with? (BIPO)

| | *Keep Churchill* | *War won anyway* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46% | 49% | 5% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 40% | 56% | 4% |
| Women | 53 | 41 | 6 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 45% | 49% | 6% |
| 30–49 years | 42 | 53 | 5 |
| 50 years and over | 52 | 43 | 5 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 55% | 44% | 1% |
| Middle | 46 | 49 | 5 |
| Lower | 45 | 49 | 6 |

**6.** (Czechoslovakia Oct '46) Have you altered your opinion about Mr. Churchill since the end of the war? (CZIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 38% | 26% | 35% | 1% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Laborers | 41% | 20% | 37% | 2% |
| White-collar | 45 | 34 | 21 | — |
| Farmers | 26 | 23 | 49 | 2 |
| Business and professional | 31 | 39 | 29 | 1 |

**7.** (Czechoslovakia Oct '46) Do you look upon him [Mr. Churchill] now more or less favorably [since the end of the war]? Asked of 38% of the sample who said they had changed their opinion of Mr. Churchill since the end of the war. (CZIPO)

More favorably 7.5% Less favorably 92.5% = 100% of those who had changed their opinion

## CITIES AND TOWNS

**1.** (US May 24 '37) What city in the United States do you think most interesting? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| New York City | 30% |
| Washington | 16 |
| Chicago | 10 |
| San Francisco | 5 |
| Los Angeles | 4 |
| Boston | 3 |
| New Orleans | 3 |
| Detroit | 3 |
| Philadelphia | 2 |
| Hollywood | 2 |
| Home town | 3 |
| Others | 19 |
| | 100% |
| No answer | 14% |

**2.** (US May 24 '37) Have you ever been there [to the city in the United States which you think is most interesting]? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Los Angeles | 58% | 42% |
| Washington | 55 | 45 |
| New York | 65 | 35 |

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Boston | 83% | 17% |
| Philadelphia | 89 | 11 |
| Chicago | 80 | 20 |
| Detroit | 79 | 21 |
| New Orleans | 65 | 35 |
| San Francisco | 73 | 27 |
| Hollywood | 26 | 74 |

**3.** (US Dec 10 '40) Do you think there are any big modern cities in Central and South America? (OPOR)

Yes 86% No 12% No answer 2%

**4.** (US Dec 10 '40) Can you name any city in Central or South America which you think of as a big modern city like Chicago? Asked of 86% of the sample who thought there were big modern cities in Central and South America. (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Buenos Aires | 38% |
| Rio de Janeiro | 34 |
| Others | 13 |
| Cities or countries inside or outside South America | 1 |
| No, don't know or no answer | 24 |
| | 110%* |

* Percentages add to more than 86 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**5.** (US Aug 8 '45) What is the capital of the United States? (AIPO)

Correct 94% Don't know 6%

**6.** (Norway Dec 13 '46) What are the names of the largest and second largest towns in Norway? in Sweden? in Denmark? in Finland? (NGI)

| | *Know* both* | *Know the largest* | *Don't know either* |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Norwegian Towns** | | | |
| National total | 81% | 18% | 1% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Women | 77% | 21% | 2% |
| Men | 86 | 14 | — |
| **Swedish Towns** | | | |
| National total | 74% | 23% | 3% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Women | 67% | 29% | 4% |
| Men | 81 | 17 | 2 |
| **Danish Towns** | | | |
| National total | 34% | 62% | 4% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Women | 29% | 66% | 5% |
| Men | 38 | 59 | 3 |
| **Finnish Towns** | | | |
| National total | 26% | 60% | 14% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Women | 18% | 64% | 18% |
| Men | 34 | 57 | 9 |

* All those who knew the second largest towns also knew both and are included in the "both" percentages.

## CITIZENSHIP

**1.** (US Jan 22 '41) Do you plan to take out American citizenship papers soon? Asked of a national cross-section of people who were born outside of the United States. (AIPO)

Citizen already 98% Yes 1% No opinion 1%

**2.** (US May 30 '42) Do people have to be citizens of the United States to get a job where you (or your husband or wife) work? 25% of the sample who said citizenship was not required were asked: From what you have heard, are there any workers there who are not citizens? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Have to be citizens | 52% |
| Don't know whether or not they have to be citizens | 23 |
| Some employees are not citizens | 6 |
| All employees are citizens | 13 |
| Don't know whether or not all employees are citizens | 6 |

**3.** (US May 30 '42) Do you think people working where you (or your husband or wife) are should have to be citizens? (NORC)

Yes 79% No 16% Don't know 5%

**4.** (US Oct 21 '42) Should all workers in war industries have to be citizens of this country, or do you think it is all right to hire some people who are not citizens? (NORC)

Citizens only 66% Some not citizens 31% Don't know 3%

## CIVIL RIGHTS

**1.** (US Dec 28 '36) Do you think everyone in the United States should be fingerprinted? (Jan 10 '39) Do you think everybody in this country should be fingerprinted by the federal government? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '36 | 68% | 32% = 100% | 9% |
| Jan '39 | 71 | 29 = 100 | 7 |
| DEC '36 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 70% | 30% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 68 | 32 | |
| East central | 66 | 34 | |
| West central | 67 | 33 | |
| South | 72 | 28 | |
| Mountain | 71 | 29 | |
| Pacific coast | 66 | 34 | |

**2.** (US Feb 2 '39) Have you heard about the La Follette committee on civil liberties? (AIPO)

Yes 24% No 76%

**3.** (US Feb 2 '39) Do you think the findings of the committee have been important enough to justify continuing its investigations? Asked of 24% of the sample who had heard of the La Follette committee. (AIPO)

Yes 58% No 42% = 100% of those who had heard of the La Follette committee

**4.** (US Nov '40) Do you feel that the federal government is now interfering too much with your individual freedom? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27.1% | 63.4% | 9.5% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 47.9% | 48.9% | 3.2% |
| Poor | 17.2 | 68.9 | 13.9 |
| BY SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Mountain states | 41.4% | 50.0% | 8.6% |
| Pacific coast | 18.2 | 75.1 | 6.7 |

**5.** (US Sept 9 '41) Do you think Americans' rights to live, work, speak, and worship as they please are safe, or do you think they are in danger of being taken away? (AIPO)

Safe 56% In danger 38% No opinion 6%

**6.** (Great Britain Dec 19 '41) Have you followed the debate in the House of Commons on whether the Home Secretary should be able to order imprisonment without trial (Regulation 181)? (BIPO)

Yes 51% No 49%

**7.** (Great Britain Dec 19 '41) Do you approve or disapprove of Mr. Herbert Morrison's decision? Asked of 51% of the sample who had followed the debate. (BIPO)

Approve 54% Disapprove 28% Don't know 18%
= 100% of those familiar with the subject

**8.** (US Jan 6 '42 and July 1 '42) Do you believe everyone in the United States should be required to carry an identification card containing, among other things, his picture and his fingerprints? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '42 | 69% | 25% | 6% |
| July '42 | 72 | 22 | 6 |

**9.** (US July '42) After the war do you feel it likely or unlikely that we will do away with national elections; we will have government regulation of newspapers; we will have a secret service that keeps checking up on everybody? (FOR)

| | *Likely* | *Unlikely* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Do away with elections | 3.4% | 87.4% | 9.2% |
| Government regulation of newspapers | 17.7 | 65.9 | 16.4 |
| Secret service | 44.6 | 43.1 | 12.3 |

**10.** (US Nov '42) If you had to give up one of these things, which one would you be least willing to give up? Which one would you be most willing to give up? Asked of a national cross-section of high school students. (FOR)

| | *Least willing* | *Most willing* | *Boys would be most willing to give up** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Freedom of speech | 46.0% | .9% | 1.0% |
| Freedom of religion | 36.5 | 1.8 | 2.9 |
| The right to vote | 5.2 | 6.4 | 4.6 |
| Trial by jury | 3.8 | 3.9 | 4.7 |
| The right to change jobs if you want to | 3.0 | 20.8 | 19.8 |
| The right to earn more than $3,000 a year if you can | 2.3 | 59.8 | 60.0 |
| Don't know | 3.2 | 6.4 | 7.0 |

* From *New York Herald Tribune* Dec 21 '44.

**11.** (Great Britain May '45) After the war, do you think that identity cards should be continued or should be scrapped? (BIPO)

Continued indefinitely 32%
Continued temporarily 19
Scrapped 36
Don't know 13

**12.** (Canada June 30 '45) Do you think that pupils in public or high schools should be made to salute the flag or sing the national anthem if it is against their beliefs? (CIPO)

Yes 58% No 32% Undecided 10%

**13.** (Canada Feb 27 '46) You may recall that in 1940 the government ordered national registration, which meant that everyone in Canada who was sixteen years or over had to register. Do you think we should have national registration every few years, or should it be discontinued now that the war is over? (CIPO)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 61% | 33% | 6% |
| BY SPECIAL PROVINCES | | | |
| Ontario | 68% | 29% | 3% |
| Quebec | 48 | 42 | 10 |

**14.** (Germany Mar 29 '46) Do you think that the individual should always obey the orders of the State without question? (OMGUS)

Yes 40%
No 54
No opinion 5
No answer 1

**15.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statements: (OMGUS)

| | AMERICAN ZONE AND BERLIN | | | BERLIN ONLY | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
| Revision of government orders is not allowed | 35% | 55% | 10% | 34% | 63% | 3% |
| Citizens should not be allowed to criticise the conduct of their government because that is the business of the government chiefs only | 28 | 67 | 5 | 34 | 66 | — |

**16.** (Canada Aug 3 '46) Have you ever been called upon to appear as witness in court? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 24% | 76% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 33% | 67% |
| Women | 15 | 85 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 21–29 years | 14% | 86% |
| 30–49 years | 23 | 77 |
| 50 years and over | 30 | 70 |

**17.** (Canada Aug 3 '46) Do you happen to know whether or not you must appear as a witness if summoned? (CIPO)

| | *Yes, obliged* | *No, not obliged* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 83% | 5% | 12% |
| Persons who had been called as witnesses | 92 | 4 | 4 |
| Persons never called as witnesses | 79 | 6 | 15 |

**18.** (Canada Aug 3 '46) Do you know whether or not a policeman needs a warrant to arrest a person and lock him up in jail? (CIPO)

| | *Yes, needs a warrant* | *No, doesn't need one* | *Qualified* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 49% | 8% | 10% |
| BY SPECIAL PROVINCES | | | | |
| Quebec | 56% | 23% | 8% | 13% |
| Rest of Canada | 24 | 59 | 8 | 9 |

**19.** (Canada Aug 7 '46) Which of these things are within the rights of an arrested person—to have a lawyer advise him before or during questioning by the police; to be told exactly what crime he has been arrested for; to have his friends or family called to come and arrange bail; to refuse to answer questions asked him by the police about the crime of which he is accused? (CIPO)

| | *Within rights* | *Not within rights* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Have a lawyer advise, etc. | 80% | 8% | 12% |
| Be told exactly what crime, etc. | 89 | 4 | 7 |
| Have family called, etc. | 87 | 5 | 8 |
| Refused to answer | 74 | 15 | 11 |

**20.** (US Nov 13 '46) Do you think a citizen of Spain has more freedom or less freedom than a citizen of Russia? (AIPO)

More 31% Less 13% Same 17% No opinion 39%

# CIVIL SERVICE

## France

**1.** (France Jan 16 '46) Do you approve or disapprove of the government's refusal to give a raise of one thousand francs to all civil service employees at the present time? (FIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 29% | 60% | 11% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Business | 51% | 36% | 13% |
| Living on income | 54 | 37 | 9 |
| Workers | 63 | 28 | 9 |
| White-collar | 72 | 20 | 8 |

**2.** (France Jan 16 '45) Do you consider the cleaning out of collaborators from government jobs to be adequate, inadequate, or too severe? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Adequate | 14% |
| Inadequate | 65 |
| Too severe | 6 |
| Conditional answers | 3 |
| No opinion | 12 |

**3.** (France Feb 1 '46) In your opinion, should the number of civil service employees be kept the same, increased, or decreased? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Decreased | 85% |
| Kept the same | 11 |
| Increased | — |
| No opinion | 4 |

**4.** (France Feb 1 '46) Among the three following plans, which do you prefer—increase the salaries of civil service employees on condition their number is decreased; increase their salaries in any case; don't increase their salaries in any case? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Increase salaries on condition number is decreased | 65% |
| Increase salaries in any case | 22 |
| Don't increase salaries in any case | 8 |
| Undecided | 5 |

**5.** (France Feb 16 '46) Do you approve of the recent decision reached by the national Constituent Assembly to increase parliamentary pay from 240,000 to 350,000 francs a year? (FIPO)

Approve 15% Disapprove 74% No opinion 11%

**6.** (France Mar 16 '46) Are you for suspending the hiring of civil service employees for a year? The promotion of civil service employees? (FIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hiring | 64% | 22% | 14% |
| Promotion | 32 | 53 | 15 |

## Great Britain

**1.** (Great Britain July 12 '43) Concerning civil service employees and affiliation to the Trades Union Congress, should all civil service employees be debarred, some be debarred, or none of them be debarred from affiliating? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| All debarred | 12% |
| Some debarred | 4 |
| None debarred | 43 |
| Don't know | 41 |

## Netherlands

**1.** (Netherlands Mar 26 '46) Some people maintain that at present there are too many civil service employees; others maintain that nowadays this large number of civil service employees is absolutely necessary. What is your opinion, too many or necessary? (NIPO)

Too many 73% Necessary 17% No opinion 10%

## Sweden

**1.** (Sweden May '46) A committee has recently been appointed in Sweden to decide whether there are persons in the service of the state or local government who are not reliable from a political point of view, with the idea of expurgation if necessary. Do you consider it right to undertake such an investigation or do you think it unnecessary? (SGI)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 82% | 7% | 11% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 76% | 15% | 9% |
| Middle class | 81 | 8 | 11 |
| Workers | 83 | 4 | 13 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Right party | 69% | 22% | 9% |
| National party | 84 | 6 | 10 |
| Agrarian | 89 | 5 | 6 |
| Social Democratic | 86 | 5 | 9 |
| Communist | 88 | 3 | 9 |

## U.S.

**1.** (US Oct 26 '35) Should most federal government jobs be filled by appointment by the winning party or civil service examinations? (Feb 8 '36) Should government positions, except those concerned with important matters of policy, be given to those who help put their political party into office or those who receive the highest marks in civil service examinations? (AIPO)

| | *Those who help put their political party in office* | *Highest mark on civil service examinations* |
|---|---|---|
| Oct 26 '35 | 13% | 87% |
| Feb 8 '36 | 12 | 88 |
| 1936 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic | 15% | 85% |
| Republican | 9 | 91 |
| Socialist | 7 | 93 |

| | *Those who help put their political party in office* | *Highest mark on civil service examinations* |
|---|---|---|
| 1936 RESULTS STATE BY STATE | | |
| Alabama | 20% | 80% |
| Arizona | 2 | 98 |
| Arkansas | 16 | 84 |
| California | 6 | 94 |
| Colorado | 11 | 89 |
| Connecticut | 6 | 94 |
| Delaware | 22 | 78 |
| Florida | 8 | 92 |
| Georgia | 14 | 86 |
| Idaho | 8 | 92 |
| Illinois | 13 | 87 |
| Indiana | 14 | 86 |
| Iowa | 15 | 85 |
| Kansas | 16 | 84 |
| Kentucky | 20 | 80 |
| Louisiana | 14 | 86 |
| Maine | 10 | 90 |
| Maryland | 18 | 82 |
| Massachusetts | 6 | 94 |
| Michigan | 9 | 91 |
| Minnesota | 7 | 93 |
| Mississippi | 24 | 76 |
| Montana | 13 | 87 |
| Missouri | 15 | 85 |
| Nebraska | 13 | 87 |
| Nevada | 9 | 91 |
| New Hampshire | 6 | 94 |
| New Jersey | 9 | 91 |
| New Mexico | 14 | 86 |
| New York | 9 | 91 |
| North Carolina | 17 | 83 |
| North Dakota | 16 | 84 |
| Ohio | 14 | 86 |
| Oklahoma | 12 | 88 |
| Oregon | 4 | 96 |
| Pennsylvania | 14 | 86 |
| Rhode Island | 3 | 97 |
| South Carolina | 13 | 87 |
| South Dakota | 17 | 83 |
| Tennessee | 14 | 86 |
| Texas | 12 | 88 |
| Utah | 14 | 86 |
| Vermont | 4 | 96 |
| Virginia | 19 | 81 |
| Washington | 8 | 92 |
| West Virginia | 18 | 82 |
| Wisconsin | 7 | 93 |
| Wyoming | 12 | 88 |

**2.** (US Feb 22 '36) Should all postmasters hereafter be selected by civil service examinations? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 86% | 14% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic | 85% | 15% |
| Republican | 87 | 13 |

**3.** (US Feb 22 '36) Should all Washington employees of the emergency agencies created by the present administration be placed under civil service? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 69% | 31% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic | 68% | 32% |
| Republican | 71 | 29 |
| Socialist | 71 | 29 |

**4.** (US July 11 '36) Should husband and wife both be permitted to hold government jobs? (AIPO)

Yes 11% No 89% = 100% No opinion 5%

**5.** (US July 11 '36) Should the entire post-office department, including the postmaster general, be put under civil service? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 86% | 14% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic | 84% | 16% |
| Republican | 88 | 12 |
| Labor union | 87 | 13 |
| Socialist | 88 | 12 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | |
| Farmers | 82% | 18% |
| Small towns | 84 | 16 |
| Cities | 88 | 12 |

**6.** (US Apr '37) Do you believe all government jobs, except Cabinet appointments, should be put under civil service and controlled by competitive examinations? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| All (except Cabinet appointments) | 49.2% |
| All except major executive ones | 9.6 |
| Most of them | 11.0 |
| Some of them | 11.5 |
| None of them | 3.7 |
| Don't know | 15.0 |

**7.** (US June 28 '37) Would you like the CIO to organize civil service employees throughout the country? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 19% | 81% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic | 26% | 74% |
| Republican | 7 | 93 |
| Others | 22 | 78 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 17% | 83% |
| Middle Atlantic | 21 | 79 |
| East central | 16 | 84 |
| West central | 18 | 82 |
| South | 24 | 76 |
| Mountain | 19 | 81 |
| Pacific coast | 22 | 78 |
| Civil service employees | 29% | 71% |

**8.** (US July 12 '37) Should government employees join labor unions? (Oct 7 '41) Should government employees be allowed to join labor unions? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| July '37 | 26% | 74% | — |
| Oct '41 | 28 | 64 | 8% |

**9.** (US July 12 '37) Would you like to see them join the CIO or the AFL? Asked of a national cross-section of people who thought government employees should join labor unions. 26% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

CIO 41% AFL 59%

**10.** (US Mar 21 '38) Would you favor placing all federal employees, except department heads, under the civil service? The question was asked of a comparable cross-section with the phrase "except department heads" excluded. Results were combined. (Mar 26 '38) Except in the case of department heads, would you favor placing all federal employees under the civil service? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar 21 '38..... | 73% | 16% | 11% |
| Mar 26 '38..... | 69 | 17 | 14 |

**11.** (US Mar 26 '38) Except in the case of policy-making officials, would you favor placing all federal employees under the civil service? (AIPO)

Yes 69% No 18% No opinion 13%

**12.** (US Nov 14 '38) Do you think officials in charge of relief should be under civil service? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 75% | 25% | = 100% | 19% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democratic..... | 73% | 27% | | |
| Republican..... | 77 | 23 | | |
| WPA workers..... | 76 | 24 | | |

**13.** (US Jan 20 '39) Do you think the country would get better men to head government departments if the government paid higher salaries? (AIPO)

Yes 20% No 69% No opinion 11%

## CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS

**1.** (US Apr 18 '36) Are you in favor of the CCC camps? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 82% | 18% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England..... | 85% | 15% |
| Middle Atlantic..... | 82 | 18 |
| East central..... | 80 | 20 |
| West central..... | 80 | 20 |
| South..... | 83 | 17 |
| Mountain..... | 83 | 17 |
| Pacific coast..... | 87 | 13 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic..... | 92% | 8% |
| Republican..... | 67 | 33 |
| Socialist..... | 79 | 21 |
| Third party..... | 67 | 33 |

**2.** (US Apr 18 '36 and Mar 23 '38*) Should military training be part of the duties of those who attend [CCC camps]? (AIPO) (Mar 23 '38*) Do you think part of the duties of those who attend [CCC camps] should be training for war? (AIPO) (Sept 23 '38) Should military training be part of the duties of the young men in the CCC camps? (AIPO) (Dec 2 '38) Do you think military training should be part of the duties of the boys in the CCC camps? (AIPO) (Sept 11 '39) Do you think all young men in CCC camps should be required to have military training? (AIPO) (Dec '39) Would you favor giving military training to the CCC boys? (FOR) (May 16 '40) Do you think that the CCC camps should give military training to every young man in the CCC? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *Yes, if necessary* | *No* | | *Don't know or no opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '36..... | 77% | — | 23% | | — | = 100% |
| Mar 23 '38**... | 75 | — | 25 | = 100% | 7% | |
| Mar 23 '38†.... | 63 | — | 37 | | — | = 100 |
| Sept '38..... | 77 | — | 23 | = 100 | 5 | |
| Dec '38..... | 75 | — | 25 | | — | = 100 |
| Sept '39..... | 53 | — | 47 | = 100 | 5 | |
| Dec '39..... | 64.2 | 9.3% | 20.5 | | 6.0 | = 100 |
| May '40..... | 85 | — | 15 | = 100 | 7 | |
| APR '36 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | | |
| New England.. | 78% | | 22% | | | |
| Middle Atlantic | 74 | | 26 | | | |
| East central.... | 75 | | 25 | | | |
| West central... | 69 | | 31 | | | |
| South..... | 83 | | 17 | | | |
| Mountain..... | 75 | | 25 | | | |
| Pacific coast... | 73 | | 27 | | | |
| APR '36 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | | | | |
| Democratic.... | 80% | | 20% | | | |
| Republican.... | 74 | | 26 | | | |
| Socialist..... | 43 | | 57 | | | |
| Third party.... | 59 | | 41 | | | |
| DEC '39 RESULTS BY SEX | | | | | | |
| Men..... | 67.2% | 8.9% | 20.3% | | 3.6% | |
| Women..... | 61.1 | 9.6 | 20.8 | | 8.5 | |
| DEC '39 RESULTS BY AGE | | | | | | |
| Under 40 years. | 63.1% | 9.6% | 21.7% | | 5.6% | |
| Over 40 years.. | 65.2 | 8.9 | 19.5 | | 6.4 | |

* The two Mar 23 '38 questions asked by AIPO were asked of separate but comparable cross-sections.
** Results of first question.
† Results of second question.

**3.** (US Mar 23 '38) Do you think CCC camps should be made permanent? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 78% | 22% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic..... | 85% | 15% |
| Republican..... | 62 | 38 |

**4.** (US Jan 7 '39) Do you think government spending should be increased or decreased on CCC? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Increase..... | 32% |
| Decrease..... | 16 |
| No opinion..... | 11 |
| Remain same..... | 41 |

**5.** (US Sept 11 '39) Should the CCC camps be permitted to give military training to the young men who want it? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 90% | 10% | = 100% | 4% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democratic..... | 90% | 10% | | |
| Republican..... | 90 | 10 | | |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper income group..... | 91% | 9% | | |
| Lower income group..... | 89 | 11 | | |

**6.** (US Mar 31 '42) Should the CCC, in its present form, be done away with until the end of the war? (AIPO)

Yes 54% No 37% No opinion 9%

# CIVILIAN DEFENSE

**1.** (Great Britain Sept '39) Do you think ARP staffs should be voluntary, all be paid, or left as they are? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| All voluntary | 15% |
| Voluntary, if warden can afford it | 28 |
| All paid | 38 |
| Left as it is | 19 |

**2.** (US Dec 31 '40) Would you personally be willing to start, this week, doing any of the following to aid the defense program—spend five hours each week on some kind of defense work without pay, spend an hour each day training for home guard, nursing, first aid work, ambulance driving, etc.? (AIPO)

*Defense work without pay*

Yes 66% No 23% Don't know 11%

*Training for home guard, etc.*

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 67% | 22% | 11% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 66% | 22% | 12% |
| Women | 68 | 22 | 10 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 70% | 20% | 10% |
| East central | 65 | 25 | 10 |
| West central | 57 | 25 | 18 |
| South | 71 | 18 | 11 |
| West | 70 | 20 | 10 |

**3.** (Great Britain Jan '41) Is anyone in your family a fire-spotter or a member of a fire party? (BIPO)

Yes 49% No 50% Don't know 1%

49% of the sample who said that a member of their family was a fire-spotter were asked: When did they join? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Joined since Morrison's appeal | 60% |
| Joined since the Sept blitz | 26 |
| Joined between the beginning of the war and Sept '40 | 14 |
| | 100% of those who had fire-spotters in the family |

**4.** (US July 10 '41) Are you employed at the present time? Is your work in any way connected with national defense? Asked of a national cross-section of employers or employed. (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, directly connected | 5% |
| Yes, indirectly | 12 |
| No, not connected | 43 |
| No answer to either question | 6 |
| Not employed at present | 34 |

**5.** (US July 10 '41) Would you like to do something in your spare time without pay to help national defense? Asked of 43% of a sample of employers or employed persons whose work was not connected with national defense. (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Already am | 2% |
| Undecided | 4 |
| No answer | 2 |
| Yes | 27 |
| No | 8 |
| | 43% |

**6.** (US July 10 '41) Can you think of anything that you, yourself, could do to help the defense program? Asked of 31% of the same sample who said their work was not connected with national defense but who would either like to or were undecided about doing volunteer defense work. (OPOR)

Yes 8% No 20% No answer 3% = 31%

**7.** (Great Britain Aug 30 '41) Do you or do you not think that the present fire-watching arrangements are adequate? (BIPO)

Are adequate 47% Are not adequate 32% Don't know 21%

**8.** (Great Britain Aug 30 '41) Do you think that they [fire-watching arrangements] are being properly carried out? (BIPO)

Yes 42% No 35% Don't know 23%

**9.** (US Dec 10 '41, Jan 6 '42, Feb 23 '42) Outside of your regular employment, are you doing work in the civilian defense program such as air-raid warning, first aid, and the like? (AIPO) (Mar 26 '42) Are you doing any work in the civilian defense program such as air raid warning, first aid, and the like? (OPOR) (Aug 21 '42, Nov 27 '42, Dec 30 '42, Apr 6 '43) Are you doing any civilian defense work, such as air-raid warning, first aid, Red Cross work, and the like? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No, but have signed up for something* | *Don't know or no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '41 | 9% | 82% | 9% | — |
| Jan '42 | 16 | 71 | 12 | 1% |
| Feb '42 | 23 | 66 | 10 | 1 |
| Mar '42 | 24 | 68 | 7 | 1 |
| Aug '42 | 29 | 69 | — | 2 |
| Nov '42 | 32 | 65 | 3 | * |
| Dec '42 | 26 | 72 | 2 | — |
| Apr '43 | 36 | 63 | 1 | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**10.** (US Dec 10 '41 and Jan 6 '42) Have you been called on yet to do any work? The 1941 question was asked of 9% of the sample who were doing civilian defense work and the 1942 question was asked of 28% of the sample who were doing work in civilian defense programs or had signed up to do work. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '41 | 5% | 4% | — = 9% |
| Jan '42 | 11 | 15 | 2% = 28 |

**11.** (US Dec 10 '41) Have you received any special training [in civilian defense work] yet? Asked of 9% of the sample who were doing civilian defense work. (Jan 6 '42) Have you received any special training as yet? Asked of 28% of the sample who were doing work in civilian defense programs or had signed up to do some work. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '41 | 4% | 4% | 1% = 9% |
| Jan '42 | 9 | 17 | 2 = 28 |

**12.** (US Dec 18 '41) Have you thought of anything in particular which you, personally, would like to do now for national defense? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, something in particular | 28% |
| Signed up for defense program | 7 |
| No, nothing in particular | 49 |
| Already working in the defense program | 7 |
| Nothing, but willing | 5 |
| No opinion | 4 |

**13.** (US Jan 28 '42) Is there any sort of volunteer war activity you would like to do, and would have time to do, but are

not doing? (Aug 21 '42) Is there any sort of volunteer activity you would like to do, but haven't been given a chance to do? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '42 | 29% | 65% | 6% |
| Aug '42 | 21 | 74 | 5 |

**14.** (US Jan 28 '42) Do you think there are enough things to do around here for people who want to get into some sort of civilian defense work (that is, Red Cross, home defense courses, air raid wardens, etc.)? (NORC)

Yes 80% No 9% Don't know 11%

**15.** (US Jan 28 '42) Now that we are at war, which of these two statements comes closest to your own feeling: I feel that I can serve the country best by doing my own job as well as I possibly can, and not trying to volunteer for a lot of extra things which I can't do nearly as well; I don't feel that just doing my job well is enough. I think I ought to volunteer for defense work whenever I possibly can, even if it means my own job may suffer a little bit. Each respondent was handed a card with the two statements printed on it. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Doing job enough | 59% |
| Ought to volunteer | 34 |
| Don't know | 7 |

**16.** (US Jan 28 '42 and Oct 6 '42) How do you feel about the way civilian defense is being run in your community? Do you think it is being run very well, only fairly well, or poorly? (NORC)

JAN '42 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Very well | 42% |
| Only fairly well | 20 |
| Poorly | 8 |
| Don't know | 29 |
| No answer | 1 |

24% of the October sample who thought civilian defense was being handled only fairly well and 8% who thought it was being handled poorly were asked further: What do you think might be done to make it better? Results of both Oct questions are tabulated below. (NORC)

OCT '42 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Arouse public interest | 8% |
| Better air-raid wardens needed | 2 |
| Criticism of leadership and demand for improved leadership | 5 |
| Community needs instruction | 5 |
| All criticisms of organizations, methods, etc | 3 |
| Need more air-raid wardens or other personnel | 1 |
| Need more equipment | 2 |
| Lack of interest among personnel | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| No suggestions | 7 |
| Civilian defense very well handled | 54 |
| Don't know how it is handled | 14 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**17.** (US Feb 3 '42) Have you thought of anything in particular which you, personally, would like to do now for national defense? 42% of the sample who said they had thought of something or who were already doing something were asked: What is it? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Civilian defense | 9% |
| Red Cross, sewing, knitting | 6 |
| Taking a job in defense industry | 6 |
| Buying defense bonds and stamps | 5% |
| Army, navy, coast guard, air corps | 4 |
| Saving and giving money | 1 |
| Knitting; sewing; nursing, etc | 1 |
| Care of casualties; first aid | 2 |
| Miscellaneous jobs | 4 |
| Didn't say | 4 |
| Have thought of nothing in particular | 32 |
| Have thought of nothing but willing to do anything | 23 |
| No opinion on the subject or no answer | 3 |

**18.** (US Feb 3 '42) Is it (would it be) [what you would like to do for the national defense program] full time or part time? Asked of 42% of the sample who had thought of something they would like to do for the program or were already doing something. (AIPO)

Full 12% Part 19% No answer 11% = 42%

**19.** (US Feb 10 '42) Do you have any time which you could devote free to national defense ourside your usual occupation? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 44% |
| No | 39 |
| Already doing something | 16 |
| No answer | 1 |

**20.** (US Feb 10 '42) Should a committee be set up in each community to tell every citizen just what he should do as his part in winning the war and require him to do it? (AIPO)

Yes 55% No 33% No opinion 12%

**21.** (US Feb 23 '42, Mar 10 '42, Oct 13 '42, July 7 '43) Should all men and women over eighteen who are not already in military service be required to register with the government for some kind of civilian defense or war work? The 1943 question read: Should all men and women between the ages of eighteen and sixty-five who are not already in, etc. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion or Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '42 | 82% | 12% | 6% |
| Mar '42 | 80 | 14 | 6 |
| Oct '42 | 76 | 16 | 8 |
| July '43 | 59 | 33 | 8 |

**22.** (US Feb 23 '42, Mar 10 '42, Mar 26 '42, Oct 13 '42) After finding out what each person can do, should the government have the power to tell each citizen what to do as his part in the war effort and require him or her to do it? The Feb '42 and Oct '42 questions were asked of a national cross-section of people who favored national registration. 82% of the Feb and 76% of the Oct samples are represented. (AIPO, OPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion or Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| AIPO Feb '42 | 61% | 32% | 7% = 100%* |
| AIPO Mar 10 '42 | 58 | 33 | 9 = 100* |
| OPOR Mar 26 '42 | 67 | 27 | 6 = 100* |
| AIPO Oct '42 | 53 | 36 | 11 = 100* |

FEB '42 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| New England | 57% | 36% | 7% |
| Middle Atlantic | 60 | 33 | 7 |
| East central | 56 | 35 | 9 |
| West central | 62 | 32 | 6 |
| South | 66 | 25 | 9 |
| Rocky mountain | 69 | 24 | 7 |
| Pacific coast | 63 | 33 | 4 |

FEB '42 RESULTS BY SEX

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 66% | 29% | 5% |
| Women | 55 | 36 | 9 |

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion or Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| FEB '42 RESULTS BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 56% | 38% | 6% |
| 30–49 years | 61 | 31 | 8 |
| 50 years and over | 62 | 30 | 8 |
| FEB '42 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 62% | 34% | 4% |
| Middle income | 61 | 33 | 6 |
| Lower income | 60 | 30 | 10 |
| FEB '42 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 67% | 26% | 7% |
| Republican | 57 | 37 | 6 |

* 100% of those questioned.

**23.** (US Feb 23 '42) (Including the defense work you are already doing,) what is the greatest number of hours a week you would be willing to spend doing defense work without pay? (AIPO)

Average per person 13 hours

**24.** (Australia Mar '42) Has the government done enough toward using civilians for the war effort? (APOP)

Yes 26% No 61% Undecided 13%

**25.** (US Mar 26 '42 and June 17 '42) Do you feel that you, personally, are doing something that is important in helping to win the war? 77% of the June sample who felt that they were doing something important were asked: What sort of thing are you doing? (OPOR) (Aug 21 '42) Do you feel that anything you, yourself, are now doing is helping the United States total war effort? (NORC)

MAR AND AUG '42 RESULTS

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Qualified answer* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '42 | 56% | 38% | 6% | — |
| Aug '42 | 83 | 15 | — | 2% |

JUNE '42 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Civilian defense activities and courses; Red Cross; rationing | 11% |
| Buying war stamps and bonds | 39 |
| Saving materials | 8 |
| Civilian war work; draft board; government administrative work; defense job | 9 |
| Armed forces | 2 |
| Reducing purchases and consumption | 2 |
| Raising farm products; farm woman | 10 |
| Psychological and ideological work; morale building; religion; USO; etc | 3 |
| Home guard; rifle practice; other military training; ROTC | 1 |
| Working at usual job; just working; being a good citizen; taking care of my family; giving my son to the country | 13 |
| Not doing anything | 22 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 121%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**26.** (US May '42) Are you doing any volunteer war work? If not, have you tried to get some? (FOR)

Yes 31.6% No, but tried to get some 6.7% No 61.7%

61.7% of the sample who had not tried to get volunteer work were asked why not. Results follow: (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| No time; because of jobs; children; etc | 39.5% |
| Age or illness | 17.3 |
| There's no organization; don't know where to go; etc. | 6.6 |
| Have defense job or expect call to service | 4.5 |
| Other; or no particular reason | 32.1 |
| | 100.0% |

of those who had not tried to get volunteer war work

**27.** (Great Britain Sept 20 '42) Do you think that women should be compelled to do fire-watching at night on business premises? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 22% |
| No | 53 |
| Don't know | 5 |
| Qualified answers | 20 |

**28.** (Sweden Oct '42) Have you done any voluntary preparation work this summer? 7% of the men and 6% of the women who said they had done some work were asked: What? (SGI)

BY SEX

| | *Farm work* | *Forest work* | *Aircraft guard* | *Have done nothing* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 5.0% | 0.5% | 1.5% | 93.0% |
| Women | 4.8 | — | 1.2 | 94.0 |

**29.** (Sweden Oct '42) How long [did you work on voluntary preparation this summer]? Asked of those who said they had done some work this summer—7% of the men, 6% of the women. (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| A week or less | 4% |
| 1–2 weeks | 34 |
| 3–4 weeks | 21 |
| 1–2 months | 25 |
| Longer than 2 months | 16 |
| | 100% |

of those who had done some voluntary preparation work

**30.** (Great Britain Mar 1 '43) Do you think that the Home Guard should be disbanded at the end of the war, or should it continue after the war? (Aug '44) Do you think that the Home Guard may now be abolished or should it be continued? (BIPO)

| | *Disbanded or abolished* | *Continued* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '43 | 57% | 29% | 14% |
| Aug '44 | 51 | 37 | 12 |

**31.** (Denmark May 9 '43) Are you for or against women's national preparedness? Asked of a national cross-section of people eighteen to twenty-five years of age. (DGI)

For 63.1% Against 19.2% Don't know 17.7%

**32.** (US July 7 '43) If such a [national registration] law were passed, how do you think it would affect you—would you have to change your job, or do you think you would be permitted to go on doing what you are doing now? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Change job | 18% |
| What doing now | 70 |
| No opinion | 12 |

**33.** (Sweden Aug '43) If Sweden should go to war, is it clear to you what you have to do at the outbreak of war? Have you been given any special job? If so, what? (SGI)

| | *Special job* | *Nothing special, but know what to do* | *No idea* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 54% | 20% | 26% |

| | *Special job* | *Nothing special, but know what to do* | *No idea* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 72% | 15% | 13% |
| Women | 35 | 25 | 40 |

**34.** (Sweden Aug '43) Have you or your family received the pamphlet *If War Comes*? Have you read it? (SGI)

| | *Have received the pamphlet and read it throughout or partly* | *Have received the pamphlet and have not read it* | *Have not received the pamphlet* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 11% | 33% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 59% | 8% | 33% |
| Women | 52 | 15 | 33 |

**35.** (Sweden Aug '43) Do you consider that joining the Home Guard should be voluntary or compulsory? Asked of a national cross-section of men. (SGI)

| | *Voluntary* | *Compulsory* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 58% | 26% | 16% |
| Total Home Guard | 71 | 22 | 7 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| North Sweden | 54% | 32% | 14% |
| Mälar district | 61 | 25 | 14 |
| East Gotland | 58 | 23 | 19 |
| West Gotland | 61 | 25 | 14 |
| Skåne | 52 | 27 | 21 |

**36.** (Sweden Feb '44) When did you last take part in your National Protection Society or any other air-protection unit? (SGI)

| | *Within the past week* | *In January* | *Autumn 1943* | *Spring 1943* | *Earlier than spring 1943* | *Never taken part* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 2% | 3% | 14% | 3% | 5% | 73% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | |
| Men | 2% | 3% | 12% | 1% | 5% | 77% |
| Women | 2 | 3 | 16 | 4 | 5 | 70 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | | |
| Towns | 3% | 4% | 18% | 3% | 7% | 65% |
| Country | 1 | 2 | 12 | 2 | 3 | 80 |

**37.** (Sweden Feb '44) Do you think that you have learned anything during these exercises [with air-protection units] that might be useful in case of war? Asked of 27% of the sample who had taken part in air-protection exercises. (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 72% | 16% | 12% = 100% of those who had taken part in air-protection exercises |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 75% | 15% | 10% |
| Women | 70 | 17 | 13 |

**38.** (Sweden Feb '44) Do you think that the interest in these air-protection tests used to be greater than it is now? (SGI)

| | *Greater* | *The same* | *Less* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 15% | 32% | 11% | 42% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 17% | 33% | 11% | 39% |
| Women | 12 | 31 | 11 | 46 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Towns | 22% | 30% | 11% | 37% |
| Country | 11 | 33 | 10 | 46 |

**39.** (Denmark Apr 29 '44) Are you for or against married (unmarried) women giving voluntary service in times of crisis, like now? (DGI)

| | *For* | *Against* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Married women | 67.9% | 19.4% | 12.7% |
| Unmarried women | 82.4 | 6.4 | 11.2 |

**40.** (Denmark Apr 29 '44) All those who expressed any opinion on the subject of married or unmarried women giving voluntary service in times of crisis were asked: What is the motive for your point of view? (DGI)

*Opinions of those who disapprove of all women giving voluntary service*

| | |
|---|---|
| Women should be kept out of the war | 37.3% |
| The auxiliary service should be run by specially trained, paid women | 11.0 |
| No one should help war | 6.8 |
| Women unfit for this kind of work | 5.1 |
| War work only for men | 1.7 |
| Women should stop the war by refusing to partake | 4.2 |
| No reason | 33.9 |
| | 100.0%* |

*Opinions of those who disapproved of married women giving voluntary service but favored it for unmarried women*

| | |
|---|---|
| Married women should stay at home | 57.9% |
| Unmarried women have more time | 28.8 |
| No reason | 13.3 |
| | 100.0%* |

*Opinions of those who favored both married and unmarried women giving voluntary service*

| | |
|---|---|
| All must help in times of crisis | 44.3% |
| It is women's duty | 19.8 |
| It is help for society | 10.8 |
| It is necessary | 5.9 |
| When it is voluntary, those who have time and inclination can help | 4.9 |
| Equal rights and equal duties for men and women | 3.6 |
| Many problems in the auxiliary service can best be solved by women | 2.5 |
| We ought to be prepared in case of catastrophy | 2.0 |
| It is a worthy job | 1.6 |
| All women without children should help | 1.9 |
| This help should be given out of interest | 0.6 |
| Voluntary services usually good | 1.3 |
| Many women have enough time | 0.8 |
| | 100.0%* |

* Percentages are based in each case on the number of respondents holding that particular opinion. In the case of the group who approved of all women giving voluntary service, 39.4% of the sample who gave no reason have been excluded from the percentages.

**41.** (US Aug '44) Do you think the leaders in our country (newspapers) have given you a good idea of what things you personally can do to help the war effort? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Leaders | 84% | 10% | 6% |
| Newspapers | 80 | 11 | 9 |

**42.** (Sweden Sept '45) Do you think that the building of air raid shelters in dwelling houses and shooting practice should gradually be a part of our preparation for defense? (SGI)

BUILDING OF AIR RAID SHELTERS IN DWELLING HOUSES

| | *Should continue* | *Should stop* | *Doesn't matter* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total... | 36% | 42% | 9% | 13% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Women..... | 37% | 34% | 10% | 19% |
| Men..... | 34 | 51 | 8 | 7 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Large towns..... | 37% | 48% | 6% | 9% |
| Other towns..... | 42 | 42 | 6 | 10 |
| Country..... | 33 | 40 | 11 | 16 |
| *Civil shooting practice* | | | | |
| National toral... | 42% | 35% | 9% | 14% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Women..... | 42% | 29% | 9% | 20% |
| Men..... | 42 | 41 | 9 | 8 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Large towns..... | 40% | 44% | 6% | 10% |
| Other towns..... | 48 | 35 | 7 | 10 |
| Country..... | 40 | 33 | 11 | 16 |

**43.** (Sweden Sept '45) Why [do you think the building of air raid shelters in homes and shooting practice should stop]? Asked of those who thought these practices should stop—42% of the sample in the case of building air raid shelters, 35% in the case of shooting practice. (SGI)

*Building air raid shelters in dwelling houses*

| | |
|---|---|
| Valueless because of development of weapons..... | 13% |
| The war is just over; more important to pursue peaceful tasks..... | 17 |
| Stop now, it can easily be continued if necessary..... | — |
| The peace will last; never war again..... | 5 |
| Other replies..... | 1 |
| Vague answers..... | 6 |
| | 42% |

*Shooting practice*

| | |
|---|---|
| Valueless because of the development of weapons..... | 8% |
| The war is just over; more important to pursue peaceful tasks..... | 11 |
| Stop now, it can easily be continued if necessary..... | 4 |
| The peace will last; never war again..... | 5 |
| Other replies..... | 1 |
| Vague answers..... | 6 |
| | 35% |

## CIVILIZATION

**1.** (France June '39) Do you think that a general war would bring on the destruction of civilization? (FIPO)

Yes 73% No 20% No opinion 7%

## CLASS DISTINCTION

**1.** (US Mar 3 '39 and June 24 '41) To what social class in this country do you feel you belong—middle class, or upper, or lower? (AIPO) (Sweden June '43) Dividing the nation into four classes of society, the upper class, the upper middle class, the middle class, workers and those of similar standing, to which class do you consider that you belong? (SGI) (US Feb 13 '46) If you were asked to use one of these four names for your social class, which would you say you belong in: the middle class, lower class, working class, or upper class? (AIPO)

| | *US Mar '39* | *US June '41* | *Sweden June '43* | *US Feb '46* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Upper..... | 6% | 4.9% | 1% | 4% |
| Upper middle..... | 14 | 10.5 | 3 | — |
| Middle..... | 63 | 65.8 | 24 | 36 |
| Lower middle..... | 11 | 11.1 | — | — |
| Lower..... | 6 | 7.7 | — | 5 |
| Workers..... | — | — | 57 | 51 |
| Don't know..... | — | — | 15 | 3 |
| No answer..... | — | — | — | 1 |

| | *Upper class* | *Upper middle* | *Middle class* | *Workers etc.* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SWEDISH OPINION BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | |
| Towns..... | 1% | 5% | 27% | 55% | 12% |
| Country..... | — | 2 | 22 | 59 | 17 |
| SWEDISH OPINION BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Higher class..... | 14% | 35% | 31% | 4% | 16% |
| Middle class..... | — | 3 | 50 | 27 | 20 |
| Workers, etc..... | — | — | 5 | 84 | 11 |

**2.** (US July 8 '39) How much weekly income do you think puts a family in the upper-income (lower-income) group—everything above (below) how many dollars per week? (AIPO)

| UPPER-INCOME GROUP | | LOWER-INCOME GROUP | |
|---|---|---|---|
| No answer..... | 10% | No answer..... | 10% |
| Under $20..... | 2 | $1.00–$10..... | 8 |
| $21–$25..... | 5 | $11–$15..... | 16 |
| $26–$30..... | 4 | $16–$20..... | 20 |
| $31–$35..... | 5 | $21–$25..... | 24 |
| $36–$40..... | 8 | $26–$30..... | 8 |
| $41–$49..... | 3 | $31–$35..... | 5 |
| $50..... | 24 | $36–$40..... | 3 |
| $51–$60..... | 5 | $41–$50..... | 4 |
| $61–$75..... | 12 | Over $50..... | 2 |
| $76–$99..... | 2 | | |
| $100..... | 13 | | |
| Over $100..... | 7 | | |

**3.** (US Feb '40) What word would you use to name the class in America you belong to? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Upper..... | 1.6% |
| Other upper*..... | 1.3 |
| Upper middle..... | 1.7 |
| Other upper middle*..... | 0.8 |
| Middle..... | 38.6 |
| Other middle*..... | 5.5 |
| Lower middle..... | 0.4 |
| Lower..... | 1.2 |
| Other lower*..... | 2.8 |
| Working; laboring..... | 10.6 |
| Unemployed; idle; unfortunate..... | 0.3 |
| Business; executive; professional; white-collar.. | 2.0 |
| Other miscellaneous answers*..... | 5.7 |
| Don't know..... | 27.5 |

* Words without asterisks are the ones actually given. Other upper includes such words as best, highest, etc.; other upper middle such words as above average, better, etc.; other middle such words as moderate, normal, etc.; other lower such words as poor, poorest, pauper, etc.

**4.** (US Feb '40) If you had to describe the class to which you belong with one of these three words, which would you pick? Asked of the 56.5% of the sample who did not use the actual words "upper," "middle," or "lower." (FOR)

| | *Upper class* | *Middle class* | *Lower class* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Percentage of answers | 10.6% | 68.2% | 11.9% | 9.3% | = 100%* |
| Percentage of population including previous answers | 7.6 | 79.2 | 7.9 | 5.3 | = 100** |
| SELF-CLASSIFICATION BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 23.6% | 74.7% | 0.3% | 1.4% | |
| Upper middle | 7.9 | 89.0 | 0.6 | 2.5 | |
| Lower middle | 4.6 | 89.4 | 3.1 | 2.9 | |
| Poor | 4.5 | 70.3 | 19.1 | 6.1 | |
| Negro | 16.1 | 35.7 | 26.2 | 22.0 | |

* 100% of those who did not use the actual words "upper," "middle," or "lower."
** 100% of the sample.

**5.** (Sweden June '43) What do you think is the chief reason for the class distinctions which we have in this country? (SGI)

| | *Money, income* | *Education* | *Profession* | *Rank and position* | *Inherited position* | *Other answers* | *No definite feeling that such class distinctions exist* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40% | 10% | 5% | 5% | 5% | 4% | 31% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | | | |
| Towns | 42% | 12% | 6% | 6% | 4% | 4% | 26% |
| Country | 39 | 9 | 4 | 5 | 7 | 3 | 33 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | |
| Upper class | 25% | 23% | 6% | 8% | 5% | 8% | 25% |
| Middle class | 35 | 12 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 31 |
| Workers | 45 | 8 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 31 |

**6.** (Sweden June '43) What [social class] was (is) your father? (SGI)

| | *Well-off* | *Middle class* | *Workers* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 5% | 50% | 45% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Cities | 10% | 40% | 50% |
| Country | 2 | 57 | 41 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Well-off | 54% | 39% | 7% |
| Middle class | 5 | 72 | 23 |
| Workers, etc. | — | 35 | 65 |
| Total interviewed were | 5 | 38 | 57 |

**7.** (Finland Mar 29 '46) Do you think that the difference between the various classes of society now is less, just as great, or greater than before the war? (FGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less | 41% |
| Just as great | 24 |
| Greater | 15 |
| Don't know | 20 |

## CLERGY

**1.** (Sweden June '44) Do you think that the community should choose its own vicar, or do you consider that it would be better if he were chosen by the authorities without any election within the community? (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Vicar should be chosen by election | 77% | 76% | 78% |
| Vicar should be appointed by the authorities without election | 7 | 9 | 4 |
| Vicar should be appointed by the authorities guided by an election | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| Don't know | 13 | 11 | 14 |

**2.** (Germany Mar 8 '46) Do you think that the church warned the German people emphatically enough not to give its vote to the National Socialists? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 34% |
| No | 40 |
| Don't know, can't say, no opinion | 26 |

**3.** (Sweden Apr '46) Do you think that women are just as suited as men to be clergymen and spiritual advisers? (SGI)

| | *Just as suited (or more)* | *Equally suited in certain respect.* | *Not equally suited* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40% | 7% | 44% | 9% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Women | 41% | 7% | 43% | 9% |
| Men | 39 | 7 | 45 | 9 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 38% | 4% | 48% | 10% |
| 30–49 years | 42 | 8 | 42 | 8 |
| 50–64 years | 40 | 9 | 42 | 9 |

**4.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Do you think that the church today has too great or too little influence on politics? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too great | 32% |
| Too little | 7 |
| Just right | 43 |
| No opinion | 18 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

## CLOTHING AND DRESS

**1.** (US June 7 '39) Do you think it is indecent for women to wear shorts for street wear? A comparable cross-section was asked the question in the following form: Do you think it is all right for women to wear shorts on the streets? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 63% | 37% | = 100% | 5% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 57% | 43% | | |
| Women | 70 | 30 | | |

**2.** (US June 7 '39) Do you think it is indecent for men to wear topless bathing suits (trunks without shirts) for swimming? A comparable cross-section was asked the question in the following form: Do you think it is all right for men to wear topless bathing suits (trunks without shirts) for swimming? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 33% No 67% = 100% No opinion 4%

**3.** (Great Britain Mar '40) Do you approve or disapprove of women appearing in public in trousers? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve | 15% |
| Disapprove | 48 |
| Do not mind | 34 |
| No opinion | 3 |

**4.** (US Aug 5 '41) Have you given any thought to what you will do about the silk shortage yourself? 51% of the sample of women who said they had given the matter some thought were asked: What? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Use a substitute; use the next thing they have | 12% |
| Use cotton | 13 |
| Will do without | 12 |
| Wear lisle stockings | 1 |
| Have already bought some | 2 |
| Wear nylons | 2 |
| Buy a large supply | 1 |
| Wear ankle socks | 1 |
| Never use it anyway | 2 |
| Other answers | 2 |
| Haven't given it any thought | 45 |
| Didn't answer first question | 4 |
| Didn't answer second question | 3 |

**5.** (US Aug 5 '41) In view of the shortage of silk, would you approve of women going without stockings? (AIPO)

Yes 53% No 41% No opinion 6%

**6.** (US Jan 23 '42) Do you think there will be a shortage of any kind of clothing within the next year? 68% of the sample who thought there would be a shortage were asked: What kind? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No, no shortage | 31% |
| Woolens; heavy clothing; woolen garments | 45 |
| Silks; stockings; silk dresses | 30 |
| Cotton; gabardine; overalls; men's shirts | 7 |
| Rubber goods; girdles; rubbers; lastex | 6 |
| Leather goods; shoes | 4 |
| Suits; parts of suits (no vest, trouser cuffs) | 2 |
| Rayon; nylon; other synthetic goods | 2 |
| Everything; all kinds | 3 |
| Linens | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Think there will be a shortage of some kind of clothing but didn't say what clothing | 3 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 137%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**7.** (Canada May 13 '42) Have you been accustomed to buying two pairs of trousers with your suits or just one? (CIPO)

One pair 43% Two pairs 48% Both 9%

**8.** (Canada May 13 '42) Do you feel the recent government legislation limiting all suits to one pair of trousers will save any material? (CIPO)

Yes 38% No 49% Don't know 13%

**9.** (Canada May 16 '42) How many wearable dresses (or suits of clothes) do you have in your wardrobe in the course of a normal year? (CIPO)

| *Men* | | *Women* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 suit | 23% | 5 dresses or fewer | 50% |
| 2 suits | 38 | 6 to 10 dresses | 37 |
| 3 suits | 22 | 11 dresses or more | 13 |
| 4 suits | 10 | | |
| 5 suits or more | 7 | | |

**10.** (Canada May 16 '42) How many dresses (suits of clothes) would you have to buy to just get along on that number during the coming year? (CIPO)

| *Men* | | *Women* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| No suits | 33% | No dresses | 22% |
| 1 suit | 55 | 1 dress | 20 |
| 2 suits | 10 | 2 dresses | 29 |
| 3 suits | 1 | 3 dresses | 14 |
| 4 suits or more | 1 | 4 dresses | 9 |
| | | 5 dresses or more | 6 |

**11.** (Canada May 16 '42) If there should be a general rationing of clothing because of shortages of labor or materials, what is the smallest number of dresses (suits of clothes) you could get along with in any one year? (CIPO)

| *Men* | | *Women* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 suit | 48% | 5 dresses or fewer | 78% |
| 2 suits | 40 | 6 to 10 dresses | 20 |
| 3 suits | 8 | 11 dresses or more | 2 |
| 4 suits | 2 | | |
| 5 suits or more | 2 | | |

**12.** (Sweden Aug '42) How many coupons have you left on your clothing card? (SGI)

| | A COUPONS | | B COUPONS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Have coupons* | *Have none* | *Have coupons* | *Have none* |
| Men | 76% | 24% | 79% | 21% |
| Women | 71 | 29 | 68 | 32 |

**13.** (Australia Sept and Sept–Oct '42) How many of your first fifty-six clothing coupons have you left? The question was asked first in August and again at the end of October. The second time was eleven weeks after clothes rationing began—providing 2¼ coupons a week. (APOP)

| | AUGUST | | OCTOBER | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* |
| Had all coupons left | 6% | 2% | 24% | 7% |
| Had between 50 and 55 left | 4 | 2 | 7 | 7 |
| Had between 40 and 49 left | 9 | 4 | 17 | 17 |
| Had between 30 and 39 left | 9 | 7 | 15 | 18 |
| Had between 20 and 29 left | 16 | 14 | 15 | 20 |
| Had between 10 and 19 left | 16 | 19 | 9 | 14 |
| Had between 1 and 9 left | 16 | 22 | 5 | 9 |
| Had used all 56 coupons | 24 | 30 | 8 | 8 |

**14.** (Australia Sept '42) Do you think your ration coupons will allow you to keep up something like your usual standard of clothes? (APOP)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided or don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 54% | 41% | 5% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 55% | 40% | 5% |
| Women | 52 | 43 | 5 |

**15.** (Australia Nov '42) Have you any strong objection to the absence of a waistcoat from the victory suit? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| No strong objection | 58% |
| Did object | 32 |
| Undecided | 5 |
| No answer | 5 |

**16.** (US May 22 '43) As the war goes on, do you think you'll have to cut down on the amount of clothes you've been buying, or do you expect to get just as much as now? 60% of the sample who said they thought they'd have to cut down were asked: Will this be because you can't get enough, or because prices will be too high, or for some other reason? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Can't get enough | 33% |
| Prices too high | 26 |
| Cost of other items too high; income too low | 2 |
| Don't need any clothes | 2 |
| Clothes rationing will prevent | 2 |
| Quality is poor | 1 |
| Buying war bonds | 1 |
| Other patriotic reasons | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Will get as much as now | 38 |
| Don't know whether or not will have to cut down | 2 |
| | 113%* |

* Percentages add to more rhan 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**17.** (US May 22 '43) Do you think you'll be able to get all the clothes you'll actually need? Asked of 60% of the sample who thought they would have to cut down on the amount of clothes they had been buying. (NORC)

Yes 51% No 6% Don't know 3% = 60%

**18.** (Australia Oct '43) Do you think coupon ratings for clothes are reasonably fair? 43% of the sample—40% of the men and 45% of the women—who thought they were not fair were asked: What is the most important change you would suggest? (APOP)

| | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| Lower rating for: | | |
| Men's wear | 7% | 4% |
| Working clothes | 9 | 2 |
| Underwear | 2 | 5 |
| Children's wear | 3 | 3 |
| Lower all ratings | 11 | 11 |
| Separate ratings for linen | 6 | 19 |
| Improve quality | 2 | 1 |
| Think ratings are all right now | 60 | 55 |

**19.** (US Jan 7 '44) How about clothing prices? Have they changed since last summer? (June 23 '44) As far as you know, have clothing prices changed? 66% of the January sample and 65% of the June sample who said they had changed were asked: Have they gone up or down? (NORC)

| | *Jan '44* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Have gone up | 65% | 64% |
| Gone down | * | * |
| Some up, some down | 1 | 1 |
| Haven't changed | 17 | 21 |
| Changed, but don't know how | * | * |
| Don't know whether or not they have changed | 17 | 14 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**20.** (US Jan 7 '44) What kind of clothes in particular have you noticed going up? Asked of 66% of the sample who said clothing prices had gone up or that some had gone up and some down. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dresses | 18% |
| Underwear | 11 |
| Shoes (including boots) | 11 |
| Suits | 9 |
| Coats and overcoats | 9 |
| Yard goods | 7 |
| Shirts | 6 |
| Pants and overalls | 6 |
| Stockings | 5 |
| Sweaters and jackets | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 14 |
| Practically all clothing | 14 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 114%* |

* Percentages add to more than 66 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**21.** (Great Britain Aug '44) Did you have any of your old clothing coupons left at the beginning of this month? (BIPO)

Yes 40% No 55% Don't know 5%

**22.** (Great Britain Aug '44) How many clothing coupons did you spend during the first week of August? (BIPO)

Median 4 coupons

**23.** (Great Britain Aug '44) Have you bought any utility clothes (excluding stockings)? (BIPO)

Yes 80% No 19% Don't know 1%

**24.** (Great Britain Aug '44) Would you like to see them [utility clothes] continued after the war? (BIPO)

Yes 33% No 67%

**25.** (France Jan 16 '45) Which of the following articles would you like to be able to buy first: socks or stockings, shoes, suit or dress, underwear, overcoat, or work clothes? (FIPO)

| | *Paris* | *Provinces* |
|---|---|---|
| Shoes | 30% | 32% |
| Underwear | 21 | 18 |
| Suit or dress | 17 | 17 |
| Overcoat | 13 | 10 |
| Work clothes | 5 | 16 |
| Socks or stockings | 5 | 5 |
| No answer | 9 | 2 |

**26.** (Great Britain Feb '45) Did you have any old clothing coupons left at the beginning of February? (BIPO)

Yes 40% No 55% Don't know 5%

**27.** (Great Britain Feb '45) How many clothing coupons did you spend during the first week of February? (BIPO)

Median 5 coupons

**28.** (Great Britain Aug 26 '45) What do you think is the main cause of the clothing shortage? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Shortage of labor | 35% |
| Low wages to workers; poor working conditions | 3 |
| World shortage of materials | 12 |
| Lack of shipping to bring in supplies | 3 |
| Inevitable consequence of war | 5 |
| Equipment for the forces and demobilized men and women | 14 |
| Materials being sent abroad; exports | 8 |
| Government restrictions; red tape | 6 |
| Obsolete machinery | 1 |
| Black market; coupon rackets | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| No answer; don't know | 7 |

**29.** (Canada Dec 12 '45) Do you think women's hats are getting better or worse than they were a few years back? (CIPO)

| | *Better* | *Worse* | *No difference* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 20% | 35% | 28% | 17% |
| Women | 36 | 33 | 27 | 4 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 38% | 27% | 28% | 7% |
| 30–49 years | 30 | 31 | 30 | 9 |
| 50 years and over | 22 | 41 | 24 | 13 |

**30.** (Netherlands Dec 12 '45) In general are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the system and working of textile distribution? (NIPO)

Dissatisfied 63% Satisfied 25% No opinion 12%

**31.** (Finland Jan 4 '46) Do you own the following winter clothing? (FGI)

| | *Have not* | *Have* |
|---|---|---|
| Winter coat, cape, or other suitable outdoor apparel | 11% | 89% |
| Winter cap | 18 | 82 |
| Woolen stockings (socks) | 16 | 84 |
| Winter shoes | 22 | 78 |
| Winter gloves | 12 | 88 |

**32.** (Netherlands Apr 27 '46) Do you urgently need new clothing and linen or could you manage with what you have a little longer? (NIPO)

| | *Need new textiles very urgently* | *Could manage a little longer* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 70% | 29% | 1% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Workers | 83% | 17% | — |
| Farmers | 78 | 22 | — |
| Civil servants | 65 | 35 | — |
| Office assistants | 62 | 38 | — |
| Independent middle class | 59 | 41 | — |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Lower incomes | 79% | 20% | 1% |
| Middle incomes | 53 | 47 | — |
| Higher incomes | 35 | 64 | 1 |

**33.** (Hungary June '46) Have you managed to get new clothing this year? Asked of Budapest residents and suburban people. (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Other, no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY TYPE OF INCOME AND SEX | | | |
| *Fixed income* | | | |
| Men | 17.6% | 82.1% | 0.3% |
| Women | 20.4 | 79.6 | — |
| *Variable income* | | | |
| Men | 23.8 | 76.2 | — |
| Women | 28.0 | 72.0 | — |
| BY AGE | | | |
| *Under 40 years* | | | |
| Men | 20.5% | 79.3% | 0.2% |
| Women | 22.9 | 77.1 | — |
| *Over 40 years* | | | |
| Men | 17.2 | 82.8 | — |
| Women | 20.2 | 79 8 | — |

**34.** (Hungary June '46) Do you hope to be able to supply the deficiency in your clothing this year? Asked of Budapest residents and suburban people. (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Other, no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY TYPE OF INCOME AND SEX | | | |
| *Fixed income* | | | |
| Men | 41.9% | 58.0% | 0.1% |
| Women | 40.2 | 59.6 | 0.2 |
| *Variable income* | | | |
| Men | 45.1 | 54.5 | 0.4 |
| Women | 40.8 | 58.0 | 1.2 |
| BY AGE AND SEX | | | |
| *Under 40 years* | | | |
| Men | 41.6% | 58.3% | 0.1% |
| Women | 42.7 | 57.0 | 0.3 |
| *Over 40 years* | | | |
| Men | 47.0 | 52.6 | 0.4 |
| Women | 31.0 | 68.2 | 0.8 |

**35.** (Germany July 25 '46) Is your work especially hard on your shoes or your clothes? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, shoes | 10% |
| Yes, clothes | 7 |
| No, neither | 39 |
| Yes, shoes and clothes | 44 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**36.** (Germany July 25 '46) Has lack of suitable clothing or shoes so far hindered you from following your profession? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, lack of shoes | 6% |
| Yes, lack of clothes | 1 |
| No, neither | 90 |
| Yes, both | 3 |

**37.** (Germany July 25 '46) Did lack of suitable shoes or clothes prevent you from accepting a certain type of work? (OMGUS)

Yes 4% No 96% No answer *

* Less than 0.5%

**38.** (Belgium July–Oct '46) When buying material are you aware of, or do you take note of the official price (maximum legal price)? (INSOC)

| | *Always* | *Often* | *Rarely* | *Never* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 34.7% | 15.0% | 12.2% | 24.8% | 13.3% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | |
| Urban | 34.2% | 14.5% | 11.8% | 25.7% | 13.8% |
| Rural | 33.9 | 14.8 | 13.5 | 26.2 | 11.6 |
| Industrial | 36.9 | 16.1 | 11.2 | 21.0 | 14.8 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Farmers | 32.8% | 17.4% | 12.2% | 26.1% | 11.5% |
| Workers | 32.7 | 15.4 | 12.5 | 20.5 | 18.9 |
| White-collar | 28.7 | 16.8 | 14.8 | 25.5 | 14.2 |
| Businessmen | 43.6 | 10.2 | 10.2 | 22.5 | 13.5 |
| Professional | 22.0 | 14.3 | 7.7 | 40.6 | 15.4 |
| Living on income | 38.9 | 11.7 | 9.3 | 25.3 | 14.8 |
| Housewives | 39.3 | 15.3 | 13.1 | 28.0 | 4.3 |

**39.** (Belgium July–Oct '46) Did you ever buy [material] without ration stamps or certificates? (INSOC)

| | *Often* | *Rarely* | *Never* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27.0% | 30.5% | 34.7% | 7.8% |

| | *Often* | *Rarely* | *Never* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Urban | 27.8% | 26.7% | 36.6% | 8.9% |
| Rural | 31.0 | 32.6 | 30.4 | 6.0 |
| Industrial | 19.8 | 34.7 | 37.0 | 8.5 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Farmers | 41.9% | 26.9% | 24.5% | 6.7% |
| Workers | 19.4 | 31.9 | 38.0 | 10.7 |
| White-collar | 25.1 | 37.0 | 30.5 | 7.4 |
| Businessmen | 35.4 | 31.2 | 22.8 | 10.6 |
| Professional | 45.1 | 20.8 | 24.2 | 9.9 |
| Living on income | 17.3 | 21.0 | 54.3 | 7.4 |
| Housewives | 27.0 | 31.0 | 39.2 | 2 8 |

**40.** (Hungary Aug '46) Are you able to supply deficiencies in clothing from your forint income? Asked of Budapest residents and suburban people. (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Partly* | *Not yet, but hope* | *No opinion yet* | *Other, no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| MEN'S OPINIONS BY TYPE OF INCOME | | | | | | |
| *Fixed income* | | | | | | |
| Higher income | 17.2% | 67.7% | 15.1% | — | — | — |
| Lower income | 19.0 | 70.2 | 6.2 | 2.8% | 1.8% | — |
| *Variable income* | | | | | | |
| Higher income | 39.7 | 45.6 | 12.2 | 0.8 | 1.7 | — |
| Lower income | 20.3 | 68.4 | 5.9 | 2.9 | 2.5 | — |
| Lowest income | 7.7 | 85.6 | 4.8 | 1.9 | — | — |
| WOMEN'S OPINIONS BY TYPE OF INCOME | | | | | | |
| *Fixed income* | | | | | | |
| Higher income | 21.0% | 68.5% | 3.5% | 3.5% | 3.5% | — |
| Lower income | 24.8 | 67.2 | 4.6 | — | 1.5 | 1.9% |
| *Variable income* | | | | | | |
| Higher income | 38.8 | 46.2 | 7.5 | — | 7.5 | — |
| Lower income | 31.4 | 57.0 | 8.3 | — | 3.3 | — |
| Lowest income | 14.8 | 81.2 | — | 2.7 | 1.3 | — |

**41.** (Hungary Sept '46) Are you now able to buy sufficient clothing? (HIPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 21% |
| No | 42 |
| Partly | 28 |
| Uncertain | 9 |

**42.** (Netherlands Sept '46) How long do you think it will take before all clothing can be bought without rationing? (NIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 1 year | 1% |
| 1 year | 14 |
| 1–2 years | 5 |
| 2 years | 31 |
| 2–3 years | 3 |
| 3 years | 20 |
| 4 years | 9 |
| 5 years | 8 |
| 6 and more years | 4 |
| Don't know | 5 |

**43.** (US Sept 11 '46) Do you think the present price ceilings should be kept on or taken off the following items? Among others was listed: Clothing? (AIPO)

Kept on 49% Taken off 44% No opinion 7%

**44.** (Hungary Oct '46) What textile goods do you need most? Asked of Budapest residents. (HIPOR)

| BY SEX | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| Woolen material | 28.3% | 24.2% |
| Linen | 13.6 | 11.8 |
| Jerseys; knitted goods | 12.9 | 11.9 |
| Flannel | 0.9 | 2.4 |
| Cloth | 2.7 | 1.1 |
| Cotton | 1.0 | 2.6 |
| Silk | 2.8 | 6.8 |
| Yarn | 0.5 | 1.2 |
| Underwear | 18.3 | 15.9 |
| Stockings, socks | 5.2 | 10.0 |
| Suits, dresses | 6.4 | 5.8 |
| Damask | 2.1 | 3.9 |
| Other; no answer | 5.3 | 2.4 |

**45.** (Hungary Oct '46) What color do you like best for your dresses or suits? Asked of Budapest residents. (HIPOR)

| BY SEX | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *For summer* | *Men* | *Women* | *For winter* | *Men* | *Women* |
| Green | 0.3% | 1.3% | Medium blue | 0.2% | 1.3% |
| White | 18.4 | 23.3 | Dark blue | 14.0 | 27.1 |
| Light colors | 14.4 | 11.3 | Brown | 14.0 | 18.6 |
| Blue | 2.2 | 19.6 | Dark green | 0.6 | 5.2 |
| Red, pink | — | 10.0 | Dark grey | 33.6 | 9.6 |
| Tan, yellow | 12.5 | 4.0 | Black | 12.8 | 21.2 |
| Grey | 33.9 | 4.5 | Dark colors | 13.0 | 9.7 |
| Black | 1.6 | 3.1 | Black striped | 0.6 | — |
| Variegated prints | 0.7 | 17.6 | Grey striped | — | 0.5 |
| Makes no difference | 10.3 | 2.5 | Whatever there is | 9.0 | 1.4 |
| Other; no answer | 5.7 | 2.8 | Other; no answer | 2.2 | 5.4 |

**46.** (US Oct 10 '46) Should the Congress to be elected this November keep or do away with price control on clothing? (AIPO)

Keep 33% Do away 61% No opinion 6%

## CLUBS

**1.** (Denmark Mar 4 '43) Are you a member of any club for young people? Asked of a national cross-section of people aged eighteen to twenty-five years. (DGI)

Yes 42.2% No 57.8%

**2.** (Denmark Mar 4 '43) Which ones [clubs]? Asked of 42.2% of the sample of people aged eighteen to twenty-five years who said they belonged to a club for young people. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sport clubs | 48.4% |
| Political societies | 17.1 |
| Trade unions | 6.2 |
| Christian associations | 9.1 |
| Other clubs for young people | 19.2 |
| | 100.0% of the club members |

**3.** (Denmark Mar 4 '43) Why did you join that club? Asked of 42.2% of the sample of people aged eighteen to twenty-five years who said they were members of a club for young people. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Interested in sports | 40.1% |
| Reasons of health | 1.9 |
| Open air life | 3.3 |
| Cheap holiday | 2.5 |
| Meet chums | 15.2 |
| Utilize spare time | 1.5 |
| Interested in a certain subject | 5.4 |
| Political interest | 9.1 |
| Through school, parents, etc. | 3.7 |
| Reunions, dances | 7.0 |
| Lectures | 1.1 |
| Personal attitude | 5.1 |
| Don't know | 4.1 |
| | 100.0% of the club members |

**4.** (Germany Nov 25 '46) Have you heard anything about the program of the American army to promote German youth organizations? (OMGUS)

Yes 55% No 45% No answer *

* Less than 0.5%.

**5.** (Germany Nov 25 '46) What do you think is the most important part of this program [of the American army to promote German youth organizations]—that it teaches children about the American way of life or that it takes up their spare time, or takes them off the street? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Teaches about American way of life | 26% |
| Takes up spare time | 19 |
| Takes them off streets | 41 |
| Qualified answers | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |
| No opinion | 12 |

## COFFEE

**1.** (US Jan 20 '43) At the present time, are you buying all the coffee that your ration books entitle your family to? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

Yes 85% No 14% Don't know 1%

**2.** (US Jan 20 '43) Do your ration books allow you more coffee than you need for your family, or about the right amount, or less than you need? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 13% |
| About right | 47 |
| Less | 39 |
| Don't know | 1 |

**3.** (US Jan 20 '43) Right now, are you buying more coffee per person, or not as much as you did before it was rationed? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 4% |
| About same | 38 |
| Not as much | 56 |
| Don't know | 2 |

## COMMERCE

**1.** (US Oct 19 '35) What steps, in your opinion, should America take to remain neutral—prohibit all trade with nations at war; prohibit trade in war materials only; place no restrictions on trade? (AIPO)

| | *Prohibit all trade with nations at war* | *Prohibit trade in war materials only* | *No restrictions* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 47% | 37% | 16% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 41% | 41% | 18% |
| Middle Atlantic | 43 | 36 | 21 |
| East central | 44 | 39 | 17 |
| West central | 52 | 36 | 12 |
| South | 52 | 35 | 13 |
| Mountain | 49 | 38 | 13 |
| Pacific coast | 50 | 36 | 14 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republican | 46% | 35% | 19% |
| Democratic | 47 | 38 | 15 |

**2.** (US Jan '36) If one nation insists on attacking another, do you think we should join other nations in refusing to trade with the attacking nation? (FOR)

Yes 47.9% No 40.8% Don't know 11.3%

**3.** (US Jan '36) Would you be willing to fight or to have a member of your family fight in case our foreign trade were seriously interfered with by force? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 34.4% | 53.8% | 11.8% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 41.0% | 48.4% | 10.6% |
| Women | 27.1 | 59.7 | 13.2 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Northeast | 33.6% | 51.2% | 15.2% |
| Southwest | 36.5 | 55.2 | 8.3 |
| West | 48.2 | 34.9 | 16.9 |

**4.** (US Jan 25 '37) Should Congress renew the President's power to make trade agreements abroad? (AIPO)

Yes 64% No 36% = 100% No opinion 25%

**5.** (Great Britain Dec '37) Would you like to see a trade agreement reached with the United States? (BIPO)

Yes 96% No 4% = 100% No opinion 32%

**6.** (US Feb 14 '38) Have you heard about Secretary Hull's efforts to make trade treaties with other countries? (AIPO)

Yes 49% No 51% = 100% No opinion 1%

**7.** (US Feb 14 '38) Do you approve of Secretary Hull's policy in seeking a reciprocal trade agreement with Great Britain? Asked of a national cross-section of people who had heard about Hull's efforts to make treaties with other countries. 49% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 73% | 27% = 100% | 18% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 79% | 21% | |
| Republican | 61 | 39 | |

**8.** (US Apr '38) Are you in favor of boycotting Japan by refusing to buy Japanese goods? (FOR) (May 18 '39) Would you join a movement in this country to stop buying goods made in Japan? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Partly* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '38 | 57.5% | 25.0% | 7.8% | 9.7% |
| May '39 | 66 | 34 | — | — |

**9.** (US Sept 23 '38, Nov 22 '38, Mar 21 '39) Would you join a movement in this country to stop buying goods from Germany? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '38 | 56% | 44% | = 100% | 10% |
| Nov '38 | 61 | 39 | = 100 | 9 |
| Mar '39 | 65 | 35 | = 100 | 8 |
| NOV '38 RESULTS BY RELIGION | | | | |
| Jewish | 96% | 4% | | |
| Catholic | 64 | 36 | | |
| Protestant | 61 | 39 | | |
| Others | 50 | 50 | | |

**10.** (US May '39) There are three different opinions about our foreign trade. One is that the United States needs foreign trade to have real prosperity. Another is that foreign trade is by no means essential, but certainly helps some. The third is that this country has all the resources it needs and can get along just as well without foreign trade. With which do you agree? (FOR)

| | *We need it* | *It helps* | *Can do without it* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 47.4% | 26.7% | 18.1% | 7.8% |
| BY POLITICAL PREFERENCE* | | | | |
| Preferring Hull | 54.5% | 26.0% | 15.5% | 4.0% |
| Preferring Vandenberg | 54.6 | 27.1 | 14.6 | 3.7 |

* As indicated in answer to the question: If you had to choose between these two men to succeed President Roosevelt in 1940, which one would you prefer as you feel now?

**11.** (US May '39) Do you think we should make greater efforts to improve our business relations with South America so as to keep European nations from getting most of the trade there? 74.8% of the sample who thought we should make greater efforts were asked: Do you think we should encourage South American trade to the extent of making loans to countries that want to trade with us but could not do it otherwise? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, make loans | 38.7% |
| Don't make loans | 27.0 |
| Don't know whether or not loans should be made | 9.1 |
| Make no effort to improve business relations | 8.0 |
| Don't know whether or not effort should be made | 17.2 |

**12.** (US Aug 8 '39) Do you approve of Secretary Hull's action in serving notice on Japan that the United States may end its trade treaty with Japan in six months? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 81% | 19% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic | 81% | 19% |
| Republican | 82 | 18 |
| Other parties | 79 | 21 |

**13.** (US Sept '39) Should the United States try to develop its own industries to the point where it does not have to buy any products from foreign countries? (FOR)

Yes 64.1% No 23.6% Don't know or depends 12.3%

**14.** (US Sept '39) Do you think we should continue to trade with the dictator nations if they declare war against other nations? (FOR)

Yes 17.6% No 61.5% Don't know or depends 20.9%

**15.** (US Oct '39) From your own observation do you find that competition from imported products has a destructive or stimulating effect on American manufacturers? Asked of a national cross-section of retailers. (FOR)

| | *Destructive* | *Makes no difference* | *Stimulating* | *Depends* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40.0% | 2.7% | 33.8% | 2.2% | 21.3% |
| BY VOLUME OF BUSINESS | | | | | |
| $2,000,000 and over | 22.6% | 1.9% | 50.9% | 9.5% | 15.1% |
| $100,000 to $2,000,000 | 37.2 | 1.8 | 31.8 | 3.6 | 25.6 |
| $30,000 to $100,000 | 45.3 | 3.4 | 33.1 | — | 18.2 |
| $10,000 to $30,000 | 44.0 | 3.5 | 30.8 | — | 21.7 |

**16.** (US Oct '39) Do you favor the policy of Secretary of State Cordell Hull in promoting reciprocal trade agreements? Asked of a national cross-section of businessmen. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Depends* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 57.5% | 18.9% | 7.2% | 16.4% |
| BY TYPE OF BUSINESS | | | | |
| Manufacturers | 56.7% | 23.5% | 10.1% | 9.7% |
| Retailers | 58.1 | 15.9 | 5.3 | 20.7 |
| BY ATTITUDE OF BUSINESSMEN TOWARD TARIFF POLICY | | | | |
| *Tariff should be* | | | | |
| Higher | 41.2% | 31.2% | 4.5% | 23.1% |
| Same | 66.1 | 15.7 | 6.7 | 11.5 |
| Lower | 77.5 | 10.1 | 4.5 | 7.9 |

**17.** (US Oct '39) In what one or two particular foreign countries do you see the best chance of building up an export market for your own products or those of your industry? Asked of a national cross-section of businessmen. (FOR)

| | *National total* | *Capital goods* | *Consumers' goods* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Latin America* | 48.3% | 63.4% | 43.0% |
| England | 11.1 | 13.4 | 10.3 |
| Canada | 6.2 | 7.3 | 5.8 |
| South Africa | 5.2 | 6.1 | 5.0 |
| Australia | 3.1 | 4.9 | 2.5 |
| Other British | 3.1 | 2.4 | 3.3 |
| Scandinavian countries | 2.8 | 1.2 | 3.3 |
| Russia | 1.9 | 7.3 | — |
| Other* | 9.4 | 10.9 | 9.1 |
| None | 35.2 | 22.0 | 39.7 |
| Don't cultivate export | 7.7 | 4.9 | 8.7 |
| Don't know | 4.3 | 4.9 | 4.1 |
| | 138.3%** | 148.7%** | 134.8%** |

* 21.6 per cent simply name Latin or South America. Higher ranking countries specifically mentioned were Brazil and Argentina, 7.7 and 5.9 per cent.

Germany and Italy between them account for only .6 per cent, Japan for 1.2.

** Percentages total more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**18.** (US Oct '39) What countries give you the most competition in those markets you just named? Asked of a national cross-section of businessmen. (FOR)

| | *National total* | *Capital goods* | *Consumers' goods* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Germany | 40.6% | 56.4% | 32.7% |
| England | 30.3 | 25.5 | 32.7 |
| Japan | 9.1 | 3.6 | 11.8 |
| South American countries* | 4.2 | 1.8 | 5.5 |
| Canada | 3.6 | — | 5.5 |
| Scandinavian countries | 3.0 | 5.5 | 1.8 |
| Belgium | 3.0 | 5.5 | 1.8 |

| | *National total* | *Capital goods* | *Consumers' goods* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Other | 13.3% | 9.1% | 15.4% |
| None | 23.0 | 20.0 | 24.5 |
| Don't know | 8.5 | 9.1 | 8.2 |
| | 138.6%** | 136.5%** | 139.9%** |

* Presumably South American countries competing with each other.
** Percentages total more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**19.** (US Jan 10 '40, Jan 19 '40, Dec 15 '43) What is your understanding of the term "reciprocal trade treaties"? (AIPO)

JAN '40 RESULTS

| | *Correct* | *Incorrect* | *Doubtful* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan 10 '40 | 10% | 27% | 10% | 53% |
| Jan 19 '40 | 8 | 31 | 9 | 52 |

DEC '43 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Agreement to trade with tariff (duty) reduced between the countries concerned | 3% |
| Agreement to trade tax-free between countries in agreement | 2 |
| Agreement to trade between countries | 22 |
| Agreement to trade equal amounts between countries | 2 |
| Vague definitions | 11 |
| Incorrect definitions | 4 |
| No answer | 56 |

**20.** (US Jan 10 '40 and Jan 19 '40) Do you think Congress should give Secretary Hull the power to make more such [reciprocal trade] treaties? Asked of a national cross-section of persons informed on the subject. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan 10 '40 | 57% | 43% | | — |
| Jan 19 '40 | 54 | 46 | = 100% | 16% |

**21.** (US Jan 10 '40) What is your personal opinion about Secretary Hull's reciprocal trade treaties? Asked of a national cross-section of persons informed on the subject. (AIPO)

Favorable 71% Unfavorable 29%

**22.** (US Jan 30 '40) Some people say that in order to sell more manufactured goods to South American countries, we must buy from them more beef, grain, and other things competing with our own farm products. Would you approve of letting South America sell more farm products here? (AIPO)

Approve 22% Disapprove 64% No opinion 14%

**23.** (US July 20 '40) If Germany wins the war against England and becomes the strongest country in Europe, do you think the United States should try to get along with Germany, or do you think we should stop all trade and diplomatic relations with Germany? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Try to get along | 66% |
| Stop trade | 19 |
| Qualified answers | 6 |
| Don't know | 9 |

**24.** (US July 20 '40) Suppose it becomes clear that Germany is getting control of the South American countries—should the United States spend several hundred million dollars a year for South American beef, wheat, and other farm products so that Germany would not get control of South American trade? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should buy | 48% |
| Should not buy | 22 |
| Qualified answers | 13 |
| No answer | 1 |
| Don't know | 16 |

**25.** (US Aug '40) If Hitler wins, should we find some way of continuing our European commercial business with Hitler's new Europe, or make every effort to develop business only with countries not under Hitler's control? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Continue with new Europe | 44.2% |
| Develop business only with countries not dominated by Hitler | 40.0 |
| Don't know | 15.8 |

**26.** (US Aug 9 '40) Lindbergh says that if Germany wins the war in Europe, the United States should try to have friendly trade and diplomatic relations with Germany. Do you agree or disagree? (AIPO)

Agree 46% Disagree 41% No opinion 13%

**27.** (US Aug 9 '40) At the same time as the previous question a comparable cross-section was asked: It has been suggested that if Germany wins the war in Europe the United States should try to have friendly trade and diplomatic relations with Germany. Do you agree or disagree? (AIPO)

Agree 55% Disagree 26% Don't know 19%

**28.** (US Sept '40) Do you believe it sounder business under present conditions for the United States to try harder to expand foreign trade, or to try to contract it as much as possible toward a self-sufficiency basis, or to continue foreign-trade policies of the past few years? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Expand trade | 47.4% |
| Contract toward self-sufficiency | 29.2 |
| Continue recent policies | 12.7 |
| Don't know, or no answer | 10.7 |

**29.** (US Sept '40) If cessation of hostilities leaves Germany with a large economic bloc, would you favor doing as much business with this bloc as possible even if it means the sacrifice of considerable profits? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Much as possible* | *All that comes our way* | *Depends on circumstances* | *Little as possible* | *None at all* | *Don't know and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33.3% | 12.5% | 37.5% | 10.6% | 2.6% | 3.5% |
| BY OPINIONS ABOUT ROOSEVELT AND WILLKIE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS | | | | | | |
| Willkie better | 69.6% | 70.4% | 63.9% | 47.7% | 44.1% | |
| Roosevelt better | 9.2 | 8.6 | 11.5 | 24.6 | 31.4 | |
| Either one adequate | 9.5 | 9.8 | 12.3 | 15.0 | 12.8 | |
| Neither good enough | 3.2 | 2.6 | 1.4 | 1.4 | 2.9 | |
| Don't know; no answer | 8.5 | 8.6 | 10.9 | 11.3 | 8.8 | |

**30.** (US Nov '40) Suppose the end of the war finds Germany controlling most of Europe. Do you think we should restore normal trade with all countries even though Germany does dominate them; or have as little as possible to do with a German Europe even if it means a serious loss to our foreign trade? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Restore normal trade | 53.7% |
| Have little to do with German Europe | 27.7 |
| Don't know | 18.6 |

**31.** (US Dec 10 '40) Some people say that the best way to keep German influence out of Central and South America and to improve our relations with them is to let them sell more

grain, corn, and cotton in this country. Would you approve or disapprove of this? At the same time as the previous question a comparable cross-section was asked: Some people say that the best way to keep German influence out of Central and South America and to improve our relations with them is to let them sell more beef, grain, corn, and cotton here in competition with our own farmers? Would you approve or disapprove of this? (Mar 29 '41) Some people say that the best way to keep German influence out of Central and South America and to improve our relations with them is to let Central and South American countries sell more beef, grain, corn, and cotton here in competition with our own farmers. Would you approve, or disapprove, of this? A comparable cross-section was asked the question omitting beef. (OPOR)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| DEC '40 RESULTS | | | |
| Grain, corn, and cotton | 38% | 43% | 19% |
| Beef, grain, corn, and cotton | 32 | 52 | 16 |
| MAR '41 RESULTS | | | |
| Beef, grain, corn, and cotton | 44% | 45% | 11% |
| Grain, corn, and cotton | 37 | 51 | 12 |

**32.** (US Mar 12 '41) Do you think that, if England falls, Germany will soon be in control of all of our trade and foreign markets? (OPOR)

Yes 59.7% No 31.1% No opinion 9.2%

**33.** (US Apr '41) Three comparable cross-sections were used for the following questions. The second and third groups were confronted with interventionist and non-interventionist bias in the questions. Do you think it would ruin us if Hitler was able to take away our foreign trade? (FOR)

Yes 46.3% No 40.4% Don't know 13.3%

Even if Hitler never invaded us, he would ruin us by selling goods to foreign countries cheaper than we could sell them. (FOR)

Agree 61.9% Disagree 22.5% Don't know 15.6%

Since only a small part of our products are now shipped out of the country, it wouldn't make any great difference to us if Hitler did steal our foreign trade. (FOR)

Disagree 67.6% Agree 17.0% Don't know 15.4%

**34.** (US June 17 '42) Do you think it would make any difference in the way you personally live if this country had no foreign trade, or do you think you can get along just as well on what we grow and make in the United States? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Would make difference | 68% |
| No difference | 24 |
| No opinion | 8 |

**35.** (US Jan '43) After the war, should the United States try to develop its own industries, like rubber and sugar to such an extent that we don't have to buy any products from foreign countries, or do you think that we should keep on buying from other countries? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Develop own | 46.1% |
| Keep buying | 42.0 |
| Both | 7.7 |
| Qualified answers | 1.7 |
| Don't know | 2.5 |

**36.** (US Jan 11 '43, June 18 '43, Nov 15 '43) Do you think we should allow other countries to sell more goods in this country after the war, even though it means more competition with our goods? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '43 | 40% | 44% | 16% |
| June '43 | 32 | 53 | 15 |
| Nov '43 | 33 | 46 | 21 |

**37.** (US Sept '43) Do you think problems of trade between countries have anything to do with starting wars? (NORC)

Yes 73% No 19% Don't know 8%

**38.** (US Dec 15 '43) After the war, which of these things do you think the United States should try to do—do a lot of trading with foreign countries, selling them the things we can grow and make best in this country, and buying from them the things which they can produce more easily than we can, or try to grow and make in this country all the things that we need and use here, and do very little trading with foreign countries? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Trade with foreign countries | 74% |
| Grow and make all we need | 26 |

**39.** (US Dec 15 '43) What are the chief arguments for your choice [as to whether the United States should try to do a great deal of trading with foreign countries or very little]. Asked of those who had an opinion as to what the United States should do. (AIPO)

*Arguments in favor of foreign trade*

| | |
|---|---|
| All countries should work together and cooperate; establish good diplomatic relations, good will, good neighbor policy, etc. | 28% |
| We need the products of other countries as we can't raise all we need | 11 |
| For mutual benefits—we need products from other countries and they need our products; it's necessary; you can't do without foreign trade; etc. | 11 |
| It's important to prevent our becoming isolationist; we must not build a fence against other countries | 8 |
| It would stimulate business; free competition is best for all; it's necessary for prosperity | 7 |
| It gives a market for our surplus goods | 2 |
| We'll have to do it a few years to re-establish destroyed countries | 1 |
| We did it before and it works out well | 1 |
| It would keep prices down; the US manufacturers would produce more cheaply | 2 |
| Other reasons | 1 |
| No reason given | 3 |
| | 75%* |

*Arguments against foreign trade*

| | |
|---|---|
| It's important to be self-sufficient; in case of another war we would be ready; we're capable of producing all our needs | 9% |
| It's better not to fool with foreign countries; if we don't trade with them we are less apt to get into another war | 10 |
| Don't want American wages and living standards lowered by competition with cheap foreign labor | 1 |
| We can help employment in this country more by producing everything for our needs | 2 |
| Foreign trade benefits other countries more than it does our country; can't see any advantage to trading with other countries | 1 |
| Other reasons | 1 |
| No reason given | 2 |
| | 26% |

* Percentages add to more than 74 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**40.** (US Dec 15 '43) After the war, which of these things do you think the United States should try to do—trade a lot with foreign countries if this permits some foreign goods to sell here at lower prices than our goods, or refuse to trade with foreign countries and let our people pay higher prices for these things produced here? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Trade a lot | 60% |
| Refuse to trade | 21 |
| No opinion | 19 |

**41.** (US Dec 15 '43) What are the chief arguments for your choice [as to whether the United States should try to do a great deal of trading with foreign countries, or very little]? Asked of those who had an opinion as to what the United States should do. (AIPO)

*Arguments in favor of foreign trade*

| | |
|---|---|
| All countries should work together and cooperate; establish good diplomatic relations; good will, good neighbor policy, etc. | 18% |
| We need the products of other countries as we can't raise all we need | 9 |
| For mutual benefits; we need products from other countries and they need our products; it's necessary; you can't do without foreign trade; etc. | 8 |
| It would keep prices down; the US manufacturers would produce more cheaply | 6 |
| It would stimulate business; free competition is the best for all | 5 |
| It's important to prevent our becoming isolationist; we must not build a fence against other countries | 3 |
| It gives us a market for our surplus goods | 4 |
| We'll have to do it a few years to re-establish destroyed countries | 1 |
| We did it before and it worked out well | 1 |
| We're fighting for an equal opportunity for all and for no restrictions on trade | 1 |
| Other reasons | 1 |
| No reason given | 4 |
| | 61%* |

*Arguments against foreign trade*

| | |
|---|---|
| It's important to be self-sufficient; in case of another war we would be ready; we're capable of producing all our needs | 3% |
| It's better not to fool with foreign countries; if we don't trade with them we are less apt to get into another war | 4 |
| Don't want American wages and living standards lowered by competition with cheap foreign labor | 6 |
| We can help employment in this country more by producing everything for our needs | 4 |
| Protect our industry; buy American things first | 1 |
| Other reasons | 1 |
| No reason given | 2 |
| | 21% |

* Percentages add to more than 60 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**42.** (US Jan 4 '44) If European countries can make shoes more cheaply than we can, should we buy most of our shoes from Europe and try to employ our workers in making other things that we can produce more cheaply than Europe? (AIPO)

Yes 32% No 46% No opinion 22%

**43.** (US Jan 4 '44) If foreign countries can grow and sell certain farm products more cheaply than we can, should we buy these products and get American farmers to raise other products which we can raise more cheaply than foreign countries? (AIPO)

Yes 44% No 32% No opinion 24%

**44.** (US Jan 18 '44) After the war, should the United States try to sell more products to foreign countries? (AIPO)

Yes 76% No 12% No opinion 12%

**45.** (US Jan 18 '44) After the war, should the United States buy more products from other countries? (AIPO)

Yes 68% No 19% No opinion 13%

**46.** (US Jan 18 '44) After the war would you like to see the United States increase its foreign trade over what it was before the war? (AIPO)

Yes 62% No 10% Don't know 28%

**47.** (Sweden Apr '44) If the Germans should take new violent steps in Norway and Denmark such as arresting and deporting students and Jews, do you think that, even though it meant serious drawbacks for our trade with Germany, Sweden should stop the traffic of persons and goods that still pass through Sweden between Norway and Germany? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 54% | 16% | 30% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 61% | 18% | 21% |
| Women | 46 | 14 | 40 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Wealthy | 46% | 24% | 30% |
| Working parties | 63 | 12 | 25 |

**48.** (Sweden Apr '44) If the Germans should take new violent steps in Norway and Denmark such as arresting students and Jews, do you think that, even though it meant serious drawbacks for our trade with Germany, Sweden should stop the export of ore to Germany? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 23% | 34% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 50% | 26% | 24% |
| Women | 36 | 21 | 43 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Wealthy | 35% | 32% | 33% |
| Working parties | 53 | 19 | 28 |

**49.** (US May '44) How do you regard the prospects for a large increase in United States foreign trade after the war if there is no international organization to keep the peace, and if there is one? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Prospects good* | *Prospects dubious* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| If there is no international organization | 30.9% | 49.9% | 19.2% |
| If there is one | 67.7 | 16.7 | 15.6 |

**50.** (US May '44) Would your company benefit directly, indirectly, or not noticeably by an increase in United States foreign trade after the war? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Directly* | *Indirectly* | *Not noticeably* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 30.9% | 28.2% | 37.8% | 3.1% |
| BY TYPE OF BUSINESS | | | | |
| Manufacturing | 36.1% | 25.0% | 36.7% | 2.2% |
| Finance | 28.9 | 32.7 | 34.1 | 4.3 |
| Commerce | 20.2 | 29.9 | 44.6 | 5.3 |
| Utilities | 26.1 | 41.5 | 30.0 | 2.4 |
| Other | 25.8 | 30.2 | 40.8 | 3.2 |

**51.** (US May '44) In which one or two parts of the world listed below do you expect to see the largest increase in foreign business? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *National total* | *North-east* | *Mid-west* | *Far West* | *Relative order in 1939** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| South America | 60.0% | 60.8% | 63.8% | 49.1% | 4 |
| Asia | 33.7 | 29.4 | 30.4 | 60.1 | 3 |
| Russia | 33.0 | 35.8 | 35.9 | 23.4 | 5 |
| Europe | 23.6 | 23.0 | 22.1 | 18.9 | 2 |
| British Commonwealth | 10.9 | 12.1 | 10.7 | 10.7 | 1 |
| Middle East | 8.6 | 6.8 | 9.3 | 9.5 | 7 |
| Africa | 6.9 | 5.4 | 7.5 | 1.8 | 6 |
| | 176.7%** | 173.3%** | 179.7%** | 173.5%** | |

* Rank is based on total dollar volume of exports and imports.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**52.** (Australia July '44) It's been suggested that after the war Australia should make motor cars and trucks, even if they cost a good deal more than imported cars. Do you think we should make them or import them? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Make some cars here | 80% |
| Import all cars | 14 |
| Undecided | 6 |

**53.** (US Aug '44) About what per cent of the goods grown and manufactured in this country would you say were sold in other countries during the ten-year period before this war started in 1939? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 5 per cent | 2.7% |
| 5–10 per cent | 16.1 |
| 10–15 per cent | 18.2 |
| 15–20 per cent | 13.4 |
| 20–25 per cent | 10.9 |
| Over 25 per cent | 8.9 |
| Don't know | 29.8 |

**54.** (Denmark Dec 2 '44) After the war, do you think that the Government should interfere as little as possible with foreign trade, or do you think that it should continue regulating import and export? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Government should regulate | 48% |
| Not regulate | 20 |
| Don't know | 32 |

**55.** (Denmark Dec 2 '44) 48% of a national sample who were in favor of postwar government regulation of foreign trade were asked to what extent it should be regulated. Results follow: (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| More than before the war | 27% |
| The same as before the war | 47 |
| Less than before the war | 7 |
| Don't know | 19 |
| | 100% of those who favored government regulation of foreign trade |

**56.** (Great Britain Jan '45) When goods are short, would you agree to selling them to other countries so that we can then buy from abroad, or should the goods be sold here? (BIPO)

Sell abroad 39% Sell here 46% Don't know 15%

**57.** (US Feb '45) What can you say of your company's foreign-trade prospects after the final peace as compared to prewar? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Prewar* | *Estimated postwar* |
|---|---|---|
| None | 30.8% | 26.2% |
| 0 to 5 per cent | 12.5 | 7.6 |
| 5 to 10 per cent | 9.4 | 9.8 |
| 10 to 25 per cent | 6.3 | 11.8 |
| 25 to 50 per cent | 1.9 | 3.8 |
| Over 50 per cent | 0.4 | 0.8 |
| No answer | 38.7 | 40.0 |

**58.** (US Feb '45) In which one or two of the following areas do you think your trade prospects are best? Asked of 33.8% of the business executives who expected postwar foreign trade. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Latin America | 53.6% |
| China | 44.8 |
| Australia and New Zealand | 20.3 |
| Europe | 18.8 |
| Russia | 18.5 |
| Netherlands Indies | 16.1 |
| Japan | 12.4 |
| Other | 13.6 |
| | 198.1%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who expected postwar foreign trade and add to more than 100 because each respondent was asked to name one or two countries.

**59.** (Sweden Apr '45) Do you know anything about the Allies having blacklisted, for instance, certain Swedish concerns? 58% of the sample who said they knew something about the blacklisting were asked: Do you know what the purpose of these blacklists is? (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Know the purpose | 41% |
| Have heard of lists, but don't know the purpose | 17 |
| Don't know anything about lists | 42 |

**60.** (Sweden Apr '45) Do you think this purpose [of the Allies in blacklisting certain Swedish concerns] is justified? Asked of 41% of the sample who knew the purpose of the blacklistings. (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Justified | 39% |
| Not justified | 43 |
| Don't know | 18 |
| | 100% of those who knew the purpose of the blacklistings |

**61.** (US Apr '45) If the only way Japan could pay us for our cost of the war would be in goods, would you be willing for our country to accept any goods which could be sold cheaper than similar goods we make in this country? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Willing to accept | 21% |
| Not willing | 68 |
| Don't know | 11 |

**62.** (US May 2 '45) Will you tell me briefly what is meant by these terms? Among others was listed: Reciprocal trade. 14% of the sample who defined the term correctly were asked: Have you heard about the trade agreements made by the United States with other countries through Secretary Hull? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, have heard of agreements | 9% |
| No, have not heard of agreements | 5 |
| Defined term incorrectly | 5 |
| Defined term vaguely | 29 |
| No answer | 52 |

**63.** (US May 2 '45) Congress has to decide whether or not to continue the trade agreements program. What do you think—should the program be continued or not? Asked of a national cross-section of those who had heard of Hull's trade agreements. 9% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Yes 75% No 7% Undecided 18% = 100% of those familiar with the Hull agreements

**64.** (US May 2 '45) Would you approve or disapprove using this [trade agreements] program to get a further reduction of tariffs in both the United States and other countries? A comparable cross-section was asked the question in the following form: Do you think it would be a good thing or a bad thing to reduce tariffs further in both the United States and other countries under the trade agreements program? Results were combined. Asked of a national cross-section of those who knew what Hull's trade agreements were. 9% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Approve 57% Disapprove 20% No opinion 23% = 100% of those familiar with the Hull agreements

**65.** (US June 28 '45) There have been all sorts of ideas suggested for things we should do in this country after the war, and we'd like to know how you feel about some of them. Do you think it is a good idea or not such a good idea to have reciprocal trade agreements with foreign countries? (NYHT)

| | *Good idea* | *Not so good* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total* | 61.1% | 8.1% | 30.8% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| Grade school | 43.0% | 7.7% | 49.3% |
| High school | 67.2 | 8.4 | 24.4 |
| College | 81.7 | 8.2 | 10.1 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 81.7% | 8.0% | 10.3% |
| Upper middle class | 77.7 | 8.6 | 13.7 |
| Lower middle class | 65.1 | 8.3 | 26.6 |
| Poor | 41.3 | 8.3 | 50.4 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Urban | 63.6% | 7.8% | 28.6% |
| Rural | 51.5 | 9.3 | 39.2 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 67.2% | 9.4% | 23.4% |
| Middle Atlantic | 66.0 | 6.6 | 27.4 |
| East north-central | 67.0 | 9.8 | 23.2 |
| West north-central | 58.6 | 9.6 | 31.8 |
| South Atlantic | 51.6 | 8.2 | 40.2 |
| East south-central | 47.6 | 6.4 | 46.0 |
| West south-central | 54.3 | 5.0 | 40.7 |
| Mountain | 51.4 | 9.3 | 39.3 |
| Pacific | 68.6 | 9.3 | 22.1 |

* National total from *Fortune* Aug '45.

**66.** (US Aug 16 '45) There have been all sorts of ideas suggested for things we should do in this country after the war, and we'd like to know how you feel about some of them. Do you think it is a good idea or not such a good idea to build up our foreign trade—that is, both buy and sell more in foreign countries? (NYHT)

| | *Good idea* | *Not so good* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total* | 74.7% | 9.7% | 15.6% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 87.3% | 4.8% | 7.9% |
| Upper middle | 86.8 | 7.0 | 6.2 |
| Lower middle | 77.6 | 10.0 | 12.4 |
| Poor | 61.9 | 12.1 | 26.0 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Urban | 76.1% | 8.9% | 15.0% |
| Rural | 69.3 | 12.6 | 18.1 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| South Atlantic | 63.5% | 13.6% | 22.9% |
| East south-central | 63.3 | 13.1 | 23.6 |
| New England | 73.2 | 11.9 | 14.9 |
| East north-central | 77.6 | 11.0 | 11.4 |
| Middle Atlantic | 80.8 | 7.2 | 12.0 |
| West south-central | 72.0 | 7.0 | 21.0 |
| Pacific | 81.8 | 6.2 | 12.0 |

* National total from *Fortune* Aug '45.

**67.** (US Sept '45) In which one or two parts of the world listed below do you expect to see the largest increase in American foreign business? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| South America | 61.4% |
| Russia | 32.7 |
| Asia | 28.3 |
| Europe | 18.5 |
| British Commonwealth | 13.3 |
| Middle East | 6.3 |
| Africa | 2.4 |
| | 162.9%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**68.** (US Sept '45) How soon do you think Russia will become an important competitor in the world market? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Within 5 years | 18.6% |
| Within 10 years | 47.8 |
| Within 25 years | 20.7 |
| After 25 years | 5.8 |
| Don't know | 7.1 |

**69.** (US Sept '45) Do you think it is or is not to the long-term advantage of the United States to promote trade relations with Russia? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Is to US advantage | 91.2% |
| Is not | 6.1 |
| Don't know | 2.7 |

**70.** (Finland Dec 14 '45) Do you consider it desirable to import coffee just now, or should the same amount of currency be used to import something else? (FGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Coffee | 23% |
| Other goods | 76 |
| Don't know | 1 |

**71.** (Finland Dec 14 '45) What [things should we import]? Asked of 76% of the sample who thought it more desirable to import things other than coffee. (FGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Clothes | 54% |
| Foods in general | 26 |
| Sugar | 19 |
| Shoes and leather goods | 16 |
| Fuel and paraffin oil; artificial fertilizer; raw materials; etc. | 15 |
| Fats | 14 |
| Grain (particularly wheat) | 13 |
| Meat | 4 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Fruit | 3% |
| Tobacco | 1 |
| Others | 7 |
| | 172%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who thought it more desirable to import other things than coffee and add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**72.** (Australia Feb–Mar '46) Should we now resume trade with Japan—selling wool and wheat, in exchange for silk, toys, and other goods? (APOP)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 45% | 47% | 8% |
| Farm-owners only | 55 | 36 | 9 |

**73.** (US Mar '46) Which one of these three ideas comes closest to what you think—(1) our government should not allow any shoes from foreign countries to be sold in the United States; (2) our government should put a limit on the number of shoes from foreign countries which are sold in this country; (3) our government should allow foreign countries to sell as many shoes in the United States as they can? Each respondent was given a card with the three statements printed on it. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Statement 1 | 26% |
| Statement 2 | 54 |
| Statement 3 | 20 |
| | 100% |
| Don't know | 6% |

**74.** (US Mar '46) In general, do you think we need to buy goods from foreign countries in order to sell goods to foreign countries, or isn't it necessary? (NORC)

Need to 76% Not necessary 18% Don't know 6%

**75.** (US Mar '46) Would you be in favor of or would you be against letting goods come into this country which would sell for less than our goods? 74% of the sample who were against the idea were asked: Do you think many foreign countries could ship very much into the United States if their goods sold for more than American goods? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Could ship | 12% |
| Could not ship | 55 |
| Don't know whether or not they could ship | 7 |
| Favor foreign goods | 20 |
| No opinion on shipment of foreign goods | 6 |

**76.** (US Mar '46) Should each country make its own laws under which foreign goods can be shipped into its own country, or do you think the United Nations organization should make such laws? (NORC)

Each country 42% United Nations 47% Don't know 11%

**77.** (Netherlands Aug '46) Which goods do you think we can best spare for export to foreign countries and which ones should we get enough of in Holland? (NIPO)

| | *First for ourselves* | *Export* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Textiles | 92% | 1% | 7% |
| Bicycle tires | 86 | 5 | 9 |
| Shoes | 84 | 2 | 14 |
| Household articles | 74 | 11 | 15 |
| Furniture | 68 | 15 | 17 |
| Irons | 36 | 44 | 20 |
| Wireless sets | 27 | 57 | 16 |
| Vacuum cleaners | 26 | 61 | 13 |
| Bulbs (light) | 23 | 63 | 14 |
| Bulbs (flowers) | 1 | 98 | 1 |

**78.** (Netherlands Sept '46) A very close cooperation between Belgium and Holland is in preparation—particularly in affairs of trade, industry, harbor traffic, etc. Do you approve or disapprove of such close cooperation? (NFS)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 80% | 3% | 17% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Under 20,000 population | 78% | 2% | 20% |
| 20,000 up to 100,000 | 80 | 3 | 17 |
| 100,000 and over | 83 | 4 | 13 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Northern and Eastern provinces | 74% | 4% | 22% |
| Western provinces | 83 | 3 | 14 |
| Southern provinces | 83 | 2 | 15 |

**79.** (Hungary Oct '46) What imported articles do you miss? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *Well-off* | *Medium* | *Poor* |
| Rice | 7.7% | 6.2% | 7.9% |
| Coffee | 10.3 | 9.2 | 6.7 |
| Tea | 5.4 | 5.8 | 5.0 |
| Chocolate | 8.7 | 8.3 | 6.8 |
| Cocoa | 4.0 | 2.7 | 2.8 |
| Oranges | 5.0 | 4.9 | 4.7 |
| Lemons | 7.1 | 8.7 | 6.9 |
| Bananas | 1.7 | 1.4 | 0.7 |
| Sweetened dried fruits | 4.9 | 5.2 | 3.0 |
| Canned food | 1.1 | 1.9 | — |
| Textiles; clothes | 12.3 | 13.6 | 13.9 |
| Leather; shoes; boots | 1.3 | 3.6 | 2.6 |
| Silk | 0.8 | 1.1 | 0.8 |
| Furs | 0.3 | 0.9 | 0.2 |
| Silk stockings | 0.7 | 0.2 | — |
| Tools; machine tools | 0.9 | 0.4 | 0.6 |
| Optical instruments | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.3 |
| Mechanical instruments | 1.5 | 0.9 | 0.2 |
| Chemicals | 0.9 | 1.7 | 0.3 |
| Medicines | 3.9 | 2.1 | 1.0 |
| Cosmetics | 0.9 | 0.4 | 0.2 |
| Rubber | 0.8 | 1.8 | 0.9 |
| Books; papers | 2.4 | 0.6 | 0.3 |
| Cigarettes; tobacco | 1.3 | 0.4 | 0.2 |
| Other; no answer | 15.7 | 17.6 | 34.0 |

**80.** (Canada Oct 9 '46) Taking a long view, do you think Canada really needs to start now to sell large quantities of goods to other countries, or can this country get along without this foreign trade? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Need to start now | 62% |
| Need markets but need not start now | 16 |
| Can get along without foreign markets | 7 |
| Undecided and no opinion | 15 |

**81.** (Canada Oct 9 '46) Do you think Canada's chances of getting an equal opportunity for this world trade are being seriously hindered by our present strikes? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, seriously hindering | 63% |
| Yes, but not seriously hindering | 11 |
| No, not hindering | 11 |
| Undecided | 15 |

**82.** (Australia Nov '46) Would you favor or oppose trading with Japan again? (APOP)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 51% | 41% | 8% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional and business | 68% | 26% | 6% |
| White-collar | 59 | 35 | 6 |
| Farmers | 59 | 36 | 5 |
| Skilled labor | 51 | 43 | 6 |
| Semi-skilled labor | 48 | 42 | 10 |
| Unskilled labor | 44 | 46 | 10 |

**83.** (US Nov 13 '46) Some countries can make certain products more cheaply than we can. Would you favor a policy of letting these products come into this country and be sold here at a price which is lower than we can sell them for? 60% of the sample who were against the idea were asked: Would you approve of letting products of this type come into our country if it is necessary to build up trade between nations? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Favor allowing goods that can be sold cheaper into the country | 30% |
| Don't know whether or not goods should be allowed in.. | 10 |
| Approve if necessary to build up trade | 33 |
| Disapprove in any case | 18 |
| Don't know whether or not goods should be allowed in if necessary to build up trade | 9 |

**84.** (Hungary Dec '46) How do you think Hungary's foreign trade will develop after peace is concluded? (HIPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Rapidly | 41% |
| Slowly | 53 |
| No change | 2 |
| No opinion | 4 |

## COMMUNISM

**1.** (US Nov 12 '37) In Quebec, Canada, a law permits the police to padlock places printing Communist literature. Would you favor such a law here? (AIPO)

Yes 54% No 35% No opinion 9% No answer 2%

**2.** (US Nov 8 '39) Which of these statements best describes your opinion about the Communist party in the United States: (1) the Communist party in this country takes orders directly from Russia; (2) the policies of the Communist party in the United States are decided on by Communists in this country in consulration with Russia; (3) the policies of the American Communist party are decided entirely by Communists in the United States; (4) know nothing about the Communist party? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Statement 1 | 25% |
| Statement 2 | 27 |
| Statement 3 | 9 |
| Statement 4 and no answer.. | 39 |

**3.** (US Nov 8 '39) About how many members do you think there are in the Communist party in the United States? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with the phrase "would you guess" instead of "do you think." Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 60% |
| Less than 10,000 | 2 |
| 10,000 to 50,000 | 4 |
| 50,000 to 100,000 | 3 |
| 100,000 to 250,000 | 6 |
| 250,000 to 500,000 | 3 |
| 500,000 to 1,000,000 | 4% |
| 1 to 2 million | 5 |
| 2 to 5 million | 3 |
| 5 to 10 million | 1 |
| 10 million and over | 1 |
| Thousands | 1 |
| Millions | 1 |
| A great many | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |

Median 300,000 members

**4.** (US Nov 8 '39) Do you think members of the Communist party should be allowed to hold public office in the United States? (AIPO)

Yes 16% No 72% No answer 2% No opinion 10%

**5.** (US June '40) Would you say that the Communists in America are composed of mostly good and intelligent people or half good and half bad people, or mostly bad or misguided people? Asked of a national cross-section of workers of all classes including unemployed. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Mostly good and intelligent people | 4.1% |
| Half good people, half bad people | 21.9 |
| Mostly bad or misguided people | 55.6 |
| Don't know | 18.4 |

**6.** (US June '40) What, if anything, do you believe should be done about Communists in the United States? Asked of a national cross-section of workers of all classes including unemployed. (FOR)

| | | *Total* |
|---|---|---|
| *Drastic action* | | |
| Impose some form of capital punishment | 2.0% | |
| Put them in jail or concentration camps | 2.6 | 43.4% |
| Deport them; dispose of the leaders | 25.8 | |
| Find some way of getting rid of them | 13.0 | |
| *Regulatory action* | | |
| Curb, control, register them | 6.5 | |
| Do not allow them to have say in government, or to have their own party | 1.5 | 8.0 |
| *Curative* | | |
| Educate them, teach them democracy | 3.0 | |
| Remove the causes—poverty; unemployment; etc | 0.9 | 3.9 |
| Do nothing, let them alone | | 10.5 |
| Other | | 3.2 |
| Don't know | | 34.1 |
| | | 103.1%* |

BY LABOR STATUS

| | *Drastic measures* % | *Regulatory measures* % | *Curative measures* % | *Let them alone* % | *Other* % | *Don't know* % | %* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Semi-professionals | 34.4 | 15.8 | 10.5 | 23.0 | 1.0 | 20.1 | = 104.8 |
| Railway workers | 56.2 | 10.0 | 5.9 | 7.5 | 4.2 | 20.2 | = 104.0 |
| AFL members | 52.1 | 7.5 | 3.1 | 13.3 | 2.8 | 24.2 | = 103.0 |
| CIO members | 40.6 | 5.3 | 4.2 | 15.4 | 4.4 | 31.4 | = 101.3 |

* Multiple answers account for the total of more than 100.

**7.** (US July 31 '40, May 20 '41, June 9 '42) Do you think there should be a law to prevent people in this country from belonging to the Communist party? In 1941 a comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think membership in the Communist party in this country should be forbidden by law? Results were combined. In 1942 a comparable cross-section was asked the question with this addition: or should they be allowed to belong

to the party? (July 31 '40*) Would you be in favor of doing away with the Communist party in this country? (Mar 13 '46 and June 12 '46) Do you think membership in the Communist party in this country should be forbidden by law? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| July 31 '40 | 67% | 22% | 11% |
| July 31 '40* | 75 | 12 | 13 |
| May 20 '41 | 71 | 22 | 7 |
| June 9 '42 | 50 | 36 | 14 |
| Mar 13 '46 | 49 | 36 | 15 |
| June 12 '46 | 44 | 38 | 18 |
| 1941 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 70% | 28% | 2% |
| Middle income | 71 | 24 | 5 |
| Lower income including those on relief | 72 | 16 | 12 |

**8.** (US Oct '41) Which one of these statements comes closest to what you think the government should do about Communist sympathizers—(1) nothing, or no more than it is doing now; (2) keep track of them so they could be rounded up if necessary; (3) keep track of them and also prevent them from agitating and organizing; (4) deport them or put them in jail? (FOR) (Mar 13 '46 and June 12 '46) What do you think should be done about the Communists in this country? (AIPO)

| 1941 RESULTS | |
|---|---|
| Statement 1 | 4.5% |
| Statement 2 | 16.5 |
| Statement 3 | 37.1 |
| Statement 4 | 29.9 |
| Don't know | 12 0 |

| MAR '46 RESULTS | |
|---|---|
| No answer; don't know | 24% |
| Nothing, this is a democracy | 20 |
| Should not be encouraged; should be taught differently | 4 |
| Let them rave but watch them | 5 |
| Curb them | 11 |
| Keep them out of offices in the government | 3 |
| Try to get rid of them | 8 |
| Deport them | 18 |
| Shoot them | 2 |
| Jail them | 2 |
| Outlaw them; take away their rights | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |

JUNE '46 RESULTS

| | *Take strong measures; get rid of them; deport them; jail them* | *Curb them; keep them out of public office* | *Let them rave but watch them* | *Do nothing* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 36% | 16% | 7% | 16% | 25% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Business and professional | 36% | 18% | 10% | 20% | 16% |
| White-collar | 34 | 15 | 8 | 21 | 22 |
| Manual workers | 37 | 14 | 5 | 14 | 30 |
| Farmers | 40 | 21 | 9 | 4 | 26 |

**9.** (Canada Sept 16 '42) Do you think that people in Canada should be allowed to join the Communist party and enter candidates in future elections, or do you think the present law, which outlaws the Communist party, should continue in effect? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| People should be allowed to join | 23% |
| Ban should remain | 62 |
| No opinion | 15 |

**10.** (Canada Oct 17 '42) Do you think that Tim Buck and the other reputed Communist leaders who have recently surrendered to the authorities should be freed, or do you think they should be interned? (CIPO)

| | *Would free them* | *Would intern them* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 39% | 44% | 17% |
| BY PROVINCES | | | |
| All provinces outside Quebec | 57% | 43% | — |
| Quebec only | 20 | 80 | — |
| Ontario only | 62 | 38 | — |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| CCF | 76% | 17% | 7% |
| Other major parties | 29 | 53 | 18 |

**11.** (Australia Dec '42) Should the ban on the Communist party be lifted or maintained? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Lift the ban | 35% |
| Maintain it | 44 |
| Undecided | 14 |
| Insufficient knowledge to answer | 7 |

**12.** (US June '43) After the war, do you think Russia will or will not try to bring about Communist governments in other European countries? (FOR)

| | *Will* | *Will not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40.5% | 31.1% | 28.4% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Executives | 41.1% | 47.9% | 11.0% |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | |
| Well-informed | 46.3% | 39.5% | 14.2% |
| Poorly informed | 44.4 | 33.2 | 22.4 |
| Uninformed | 32.4 | 21.6 | 46.0 |

**13.** (Sweden Apr '44) Do you think that the Russians are still planning a world revolution or do you think they have given it up? (SGI)

| | *Still planning* | *Given it up* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 29% | 27% | 44% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 33% | 34% | 33% |
| Women | 26 | 19 | 55 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Social Democrat | 27% | 32% | 41% |
| Communist | 31 | 53 | 16 |

**14.** (Sweden June '44) Do you think it would be good or bad for Sweden if the Communists became considerably stronger? (SGI)

| | *Bad* | *Good* | *Wouldn't matter* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 60% | 7% | 11% | 22% |
| BY POLITICS* | | | | |
| National party | 76% | 2% | 7% | 15% |
| Right party | 88 | 2 | 4 | 6 |
| Agrarian | 82 | 1 | 8 | 9 |
| Social Democrat | 62 | 4 | 13 | 21 |
| Communist | 8 | 71 | 12 | 9 |

* Political breakdown is based on what the respondent voted for in 1942.

**15.** (France Nov 16 '44) Do you think there is enough, not enough, or too much Communist representation in the government? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not enough | 15% |
| Too much | 28 |
| Enough | 42 |
| No opinion | 15 |

**16.** (France Jan 1 '45) Do you think the Communist party has an important role in France? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Paris | 58% | 25% | 17% |
| Provinces | 54 | 24 | 22 |

**17.** (Germany Apr 15 '46) Do you think that the Nazi propaganda was right in saying that Russian bolshevism was dangerous? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 68% |
| No | 18 |
| No opinion | 12 |
| No answer | 2 |

**18.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statement: The Americans should put Germany on its feet again as soon as possible, before the German people fall prey to Communism. (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| American zone and Berlin | 82% | 10% | 8% |
| Berlin only | 82 | 16 | 2 |

**19.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statement: That Russian bolshevism is dangerous, was a Nazi lie. (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| American zone and Berlin | 29% | 58% | 13% |
| Berlin only | 45 | 52 | 3 |

**20.** (Canada May 1 '46) How would you define the difference between Communism and Socialism? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No difference | 27% |
| Might be a difference, but can't define it | 48 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 25 |

**21.** (US June 12 '46) Would you say there are many or only a few Communists in the United States today? 57% of the sample who thought there were a great many and 28% who thought there were a few were asked: Can you name any in the United States today? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know whether or not there are any | 17% |
| Earl Browder | 11 |
| Harry Bridges | 10 |
| Philip Murray | 1 |
| Hillman | 2 |
| Curran | 1 |
| Foster | 2 |
| John L. Lewis | 3 |
| Mentioned others | 7 |
| Named no one | 57 |
| | 111%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents named more than one person.

**22.** (US June 12 '46) How much Communism would you say there is in the labor movement—a great deal, a fair amount, only a little? (AIPO)

| | *Great deal* | *Fair amount* | *Little* | *None* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 38% | 27% | 16% | 2% | 17% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Professional and business | 42% | 30% | 18% | | 10% |
| Farmers | 47 | 26 | 7 | | 20 |
| White-collar | 34 | 32 | 18 | | 16 |
| Manual workers | 35 | 23 | 17 | | 25 |
| Union members | 30 | 28 | 22 | | 20 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | | | |
| College | 42% | 28% | 23% | | 7% |
| High school | 38 | 31 | 16 | | 15 |
| Grade school or less | 38 | 23 | 14 | | 25 |

**23.** (US July '46) Do you think Russia wants to spread the Communist way of life, or that she isn't particularly interested in whether or not other countries become communistic? (FOR)

| | *Wants to spread Communism* | *Not interested in spreading Communism* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 54.0% | 26.4% | 19.6% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 62.1% | 30.2% | 7.7% |
| High school | 58.4 | 28.9 | 12.7 |
| Grade school | 42.9 | 20.9 | 36.2 |

**24.** (US July '46) Do you think this is mainly because she believes the world will be better off with Communism, or mainly because she thinks it will make her more powerful? Asked of 54.0% of the total sample who thought Russia wanted to spread Communism. (FOR)

| | *Believes world will be better off* | *Thinks it will make her more powerful* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 7.8% | 43.2% | 3.0% | = 54.0% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | | |
| College | 12.4% | 46.3% | 3.4% | = 62.1% |
| High school | 8.1 | 47.6 | 2.7 | = 58.4 |
| Grade school | 4.1 | 35.5 | 3.3 | = 42.9 |

**25.** (US July 24 '46) In general, do you think most American citizens who belong to the Communist party in this country are loyal to America or to Russia? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Loyal to America | 23% |
| Loyal to Russia | 48 |
| No opinion | 29 |

**26.** (US July 24 '46) Should United States Communists be permitted to hold civil service jobs (regular government jobs) in this country? (AIPO)

Yes 17% No 69% No opinion 14%

**27.** (US Dec 11 '46) Why do you think people in this country become Communists? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dissatisfaction with economic conditions; living standards, poverty, etc. | 18% |
| Propaganda; Russia working here; interest aroused; curious | 11 |
| Ignorance | 10 |
| Influenced by leaders, radicals | 6 |
| Dissatisfaction; dissatisfaction with conditions as a whole | 10 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Dissatisfaction with government, government officials, present political system | 7% |
| Don't want to work | 2 |
| Want power | 1 |
| Personal gains | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Don't know | 32 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## COMPETITION

**1.** (US Sept '40) Do you believe the government should waive competitive bidding in order to allocate rearmament orders to the plants best equipped to supply them fastest? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Yes 75.5% No 23.4% No answer 1.1%

**2.** (US Oct '43) Do you think that, as compared with 1939, business in the United States after the war needs about the same amount of competition within business, more competition, or less competition? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Same 76.2% More 19.2% Less 4.6%

**3.** (US Oct '43) In your own business field, do you think after the war it would be a good thing if there were about the same number of competitors as now, more competitors, or fewer competitors? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Same 74.5% More 11.6% Fewer 13.9%

## CONGRESSMEN

**1.** (US Oct '37) Do you approve of the way your Congressmen in Washington have been representing your district and state? (FOR)

| | *Approve* | *Dis-approve* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Two Senators (average of both) | 47.9% | 17.7% | 34.4% |
| Representative | 47.4 | 15.5 | 37.1 |

**2.** (US Nov '38) Do you believe that a Congressman should vote on any question as the majority of his constituents desire or vote according to his own judgment? (FOR) (Aug 8 '39 and Apr 17 '40) Should Members of Congress vote according to their own best judgment or according to the way the people in their districts feel? (Apr 18 '40) In cases when a Congressman's opinion is different from that of the majority of the people in his district, do you think he should usually vote according to his own best judgment, or according to the way the majority of his district feels? (AIPO)

| | *Way people feel* | *Own judgment* | | *No opinion or Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '38 | 37.4% | 54.1% | | 8.5% = 100% |
| Aug 8 '39 | 61 | 39 | = 100% | 4 |
| Apr 17 '40 | 66 | 34 | = 100 | 6 |
| Apr 18 '40 | 63 | 37 | = 100 | 8 |

| | *Way people feel* | *Own judgment* | *No opinion or Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| NOV '38 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 41.5% | 53.1% | 5.4% |
| Poor | 35.0 | 54.7 | 10.3 |
| NOV '38 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHIC SECTION | | | |
| Middle West | 41.4% | 50.3% | 8.3% |
| Mountain | 29.3 | 66.0 | 4.7 |

**3.** (US Mar 18 '42 and Mar 10 '43) Do you happen to know the name of the Congressman from your district? (Nov 10 '42) Do you happen to know the name of the Congressman who was elected from your district in the election on Tuesday, November 3? (Jan 3 '46 and June 12 '46) Do you happen to know the name of the Congressman (Member of the House of Representatives) from your district? The June '46 question read: (Member of the House of Representatives in Washington). 55% of the Jan '46 sample said they knew the name but only 54% mentioned a name. (AIPO)

| | *Yes, correct answer* | *No, incorrect answer and don't know* |
|---|---|---|
| Mar '42 | 50% | 50% |
| Nov '42 | 51 | 49 |
| Mar '43 | 49 | 51 |
| Jan '46 | 46 | 54 |
| June '46 | 41 | 59 |
| MAR '42 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHIC SECTION | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 44% | 56% |
| East central | 50 | 50 |
| West central | 56 | 44 |
| South | 64 | 36 |
| Far West | 50 | 50 |
| MAR '42 RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | |
| Farmers | 67% | 33% |
| Towns under 10,000 | 61 | 39 |
| Towns 10,000 to 100,000 | 54 | 46 |
| Cities 100,000 to 500,000 | 40 | 60 |
| Cities over 500,000 | 23 | 77 |

**4.** (US Jan 3 '46) The 55% of the Jan '46 sample who said they knew their Congressman's name were asked: Have you had a chance to follow his work in Congress—for example, do you know what committees he is on and how he has voted on important issues? (AIPO)

Yes 19% No 33% No opinion 2% No answer 1% = 55%

**5.** (US Mar 18 '42) Before America entered the war, was your Congressman in favor of entering the war or staying out? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know position he took | 65% |
| Know position he took | 35 |

**6.** (US June '44) How would you rate the job your own Congressman is doing—as good, only fair, poor, or haven't you paid any attention to him? (FOR)

| | *Good* | *Fair* | *Poor* | *No attention* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24.3% | 20.4% | 5.8% | 43.9% | 5.6% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 30.1% | 25.8% | 6.9% | 32.6% | 4.6% |
| Women | 19.5 | 16.1 | 5.0 | 53.0 | 6.4 |

**7.** (US Nov 29 '44) Will you tell me for how many years Members of the United States House of Representatives are elected? (AIPO)

| | 2 years | 3 years | 4 years | Over 4 years | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 38% | 2% | 27% | 8% | 25% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | | | |
| College | 64% | 2% | 21% | 10% | 3% |
| High school | 42 | 2 | 32 | 9 | 15 |
| Grade school or less | 29 | 2 | 26 | 7 | 36 |

**8.** (US Nov 29 '44) What do you think is the ideal length of time for which they [Congressmen] should be elected? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 year | 1% |
| 2 years | 30 |
| 3 years | 2 |
| 4 years | 42 |
| 5 years | 1 |
| 6 years | 5 |
| 7 years | * |
| 8 years | 1 |
| Over 8 years | 1 |
| Depends on man | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 15 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**9.** (US Nov 29 '44) Will you tell me how much pay a United States Representative receives a year? How much do you think he should be paid? (AIPO)

| *Is paid* | | *Should be paid* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| $5,000 or under | 9% | Under $5,000 | 8% |
| $6,000–$9,000 | 9 | $5,000 | 11 |
| $10,000* | 24 | $6,000–$9,000 | 12 |
| Over $10,000 | 6 | $10,000 | 24 |
| Don't know | 52 | $11,000–$14,000 | 3 |
| | | $15,000 | 3 |
| | | Over $15,000 | 2 |
| | | Miscellaneous | 4 |
| | | Don't know | 33 |

* Correct answer.

**10.** (US June 12 '45) Do you think members of Congress in Washington should be paid higher salaries than they are now getting? (AIPO)

Yes 24% No 56% No opinion 20%

**11.** (US June 12 '45) Do you happen to know how much a Congressman is paid a year? (AIPO)

Correct ($10,000 a year) 32% Incorrect or don't know 68%

**12.** (US June 12 '45) President Truman says that he favors raising the salaries of Congressmen from $10,000 to at least $15,000 a year after general wage ceilings are removed. Would you approve or disapprove of this? (Sept 19 '45) President Truman favors raising the salaries of Congressmen from $10,000 to $20,000 a year. Do you approve or disapprove of this? (AIPO)

| | Approve | Disapprove | No opinion or don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| May '45 | 31% | 50% | 19% |
| Sept '45 | 23 | 65 | 12 |
| JUNE '45 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Business and professional | 55% | 32% | 13% |
| White-collar | 41 | 46 | 13 |
| Farmers | 24 | 55 | 21 |
| Manual workers | 22 | 56 | 22 |

**13.** (US Aug 8 '45) For the whole nation, are there more Representatives or more Senators? (AIPO)

Representatives 77% Senators 7% Don't know 16%

**14.** (US Mar 27 '46) If a Congressman is elected on the Democratic ticket and he does not vote with his party on all major issues, should he be prevented from running for office again as a Democrat? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 21% | 69% | 10% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 25% | 64% | 11% |

**15.** (US Aug '46) Do you think that the position of Member of Congress should nearly always be held by a man or by a woman? (FOR)

| | Man | Woman | Either | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 75.0% | 1.8% | 19.9% | 3.3% |
| Women | 66.9 | 3.2 | 23.8 | 6.1 |

**16.** (US Aug 15 '46) People were asked to name which Representatives they thought were good and which they thought were not so good. (NYHT)

| *Good* | | *Not so good* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Louis Ludlow | 1.4% | John E. Rankin | 2.1% |
| Clare Boothe Luce | 1.2 | Clare Boothe Luce | .6 |
| Clare E. Hoffman | .7 | Clare E. Hoffman | .6 |
| Wright Patman | .7 | Charles R. Savage | .4 |
| Sam Rayburn | .6 | Vito Marcantonio | .4 |
| Frances P. Bolton | .5 | James M. Curley | .3 |
| Merlin Hull | .5 | Robert K. Henry | .3 |
| William H. Stevenson | .5 | Herman Kopplemann | .3 |
| E. E. Cox | .4 | Paul W. Shafer | .3 |
| Joseph W. Martin, Jr. | .4 | James Wolfenden | .2 |
| All others | 18.7 | All others | 7.7 |
| Don't know | 76.6 | Don't know | 86.7 |
| No answer | 1.7 | No answer | 2.4 |
| | 103.9%* | | 102.3%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents named more than one Representative.

**17.** (US Sept 11 '46) When a man is elected to the United States House of Representatives (Congressman), how many years does he serve in one term of office? (AIPO)

| | Correct | Don't know or incorrect |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 47% | 53% |
| BY EDUCATION | | |
| College | 75% | 25% |
| High school | 55 | 45 |
| Grade school or no school | 36 | 64 |

**18.** (US Sept 11 '46) It has been suggested that the Constitution be changed to make the term of office of Congressmen in Washington four years instead of two. Would you approve or disapprove of this change? Asked of 47% of the sample who knew what the term of office was. (AIPO)

| | Approve | Disapprove | No opinion | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40% | 51% | 9% | = 100% of those who knew the term of office of a Congressman |
| BY EDUCATION | | | | |
| College | 52% | 41% | 7% | |
| High school | 36 | 53 | 11 | |
| Grade school or no school | 39 | 53 | 8 | |

**19.** (US Nov 27 '46) Will you tell me for how many years Members of the United States House of Representatives are elected? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct (2 years) | 51% |
| Incorrect (4 years) | 19 |
| Other incorrect | 8 |
| Don't know and no answer | 22 |

## CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

**1.** (Great Britain Nov '39) Should a conscientious objector, when exempted from military service, be paid on the same basis as a soldier? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Same | 38% |
| According to work | 43 |
| Less | 4 |
| Don't know | 15 |

**2.** (US Jan '40) If we do go to war, what do you think should be done with conscientious objectors (people who have either moral or religious scruples against war)? (FOR)

| | *Exempt them from military service* | *Let them serve in a military job where they don't actually have to fight* | *Make them fight* | *Put them in jail* | *Shoot them* | *Other* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 13.2% | 37.1% | 24.1% | 7.6% | 1.3% | 2.0% | 14.7% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | |
| Men | 12.1% | 36.2% | 26.5% | 11.0% | 2.0% | 2.5% | 9.7% |
| Women | 14.3 | 38.1 | 21.7 | 4.2 | 0.6 | 1.4 | 19.7 |

**3.** (US Nov 30 '40) A group of students studying for the ministry who are conscientious objectors refused to register for the draft and were sentenced to a year in jail. Do you think this punishment was too severe, or not severe enough? A comparable cross-section was asked the question as "not severe enough or too severe." Results were combined. (AIPO)

Too severe 24% About right 55% Not severe enough 21%

**4.** (Australia Mar '42) Do you approve or oppose New Zealand's idea of reducing incomes of objectors to military service to forty-nine shillings a week, the same as army privates? (APOP)

Approve 70% Oppose 14% No opinion 16%

**5.** (US Sept 6 '45) Should all conscientious objectors be released by selective service now that the war is over? A comparable cross-section was asked the question omitting "now that the war is over." Results were combined and 45% of the total sample who were against releasing the men and 12% who had no opinion on the subject were then asked: Should conscientious objectors who have risked their lives in medical experiments or done other useful work be released? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| All should be released | 43% |
| Release those who have done useful work | 40 |
| Don't release them in any case | 10 |
| Don't know whether or not the useful ones should be released | 7 |

**6.** (US Dec 31 '46) What does the term "conscientious objector" mean to you? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Personal belief against killing | 45% |
| Faith does not believe in war | 29 |
| Slackers; afraid to go to war | 11 |
| Object to way country is run | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| No opinion | 14 |

* Less than 1%.

**7.** (US Dec 31 '46) During the war, some conscientious objectors were sent to prison for refusing to serve in the armed forces. Do you think these men should now be let out of prison? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 69% | 23% | 8% |
| Veterans only | 61 | 33 | 6 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 65% | 27% | 8% |
| Women | 73 | 19 | 8 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 77% | 18% | 5% |
| High school | 70 | 23 | 7 |
| Grammar school or less | 66 | 25 | 9 |

## CONTROL OF CROPS

**1.** (US Dec 7 '35) Are you in favor of the present administration's agricultural policy as embraced in the AAA? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 41% | 59% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic | 70% | 30% |
| Republican | 8 | 92 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 22% | 78% |
| Mid-Atlantic | 30 | 70 |
| East central | 34 | 66 |
| West central | 44 | 56 |
| South | 57 | 43 |
| Mountain | 40 | 60 |
| Pacific coast | 29 | 71 |

**2.** (US Apr '36) Now that the AAA has been abolished do you think that the benefit payments to farmers should be given to them in some other way? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49.3% | 22.2% | 28.5% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Cities over 1,000,000 | 47.6% | 20.7% | 31.7% |
| 100,000 to 1,000,000 | 50.2 | 24.6 | 25.2 |
| 25,000 to 100,000 | 47.8 | 20.0 | 32.2 |
| 2,500 to 25,000 | 35.8 | 33.0 | 31.2 |
| Under 2,500 | 53.8 | 18.8 | 27.4 |

**3.** (US Apr '36) Even if it takes a constitutional amendment [to continue benefit payments to farmers, do you think they should be continued]? Asked of 49.3% of the sample who thought that benefit payments should be continued in some other way since the abolishment of the AAA. (FOR)

Yes 71.2% No and Don't know 28.8% = 100% of those who thought payments to farmers should be continued

**4.** (US June 12 '36) Do you favor the present agricultural policy of paying cash to farmers to reduce certain crops under the soil conservation plan? (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 70% = 100% No opinion 10%

**5.** (US Feb 15 '37) Would you like to see the AAA (crop control act) revived? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41% | 59% = 100% | 23% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 26% | 74% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 39 | 61 | |
| East central | 35 | 65 | |
| West central | 45 | 55 | |
| Southern | 57 | 43 | |
| Rocky Mountain | 41 | 59 | |
| Pacific coast | 40 | 60 | |
| Farmers | 53 | 47 | |

**6.** (US Nov 30 '37) Do you think the government should attempt to regulate the size of farm crops or should it adopt a hands-off policy? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Regulate crops 40% Hands off 60% = 100% No opinion 11%

**7.** (US Nov 30 '37) If a farmer goes over his quota, should he merely lose the government loans or payments, or should he be penalized by a tax? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | *Lose loans* | *Tax penalty* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 48% | 52% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 54% | 46% |
| Middle Atlantic | 54 | 46 |
| East central | 56 | 44 |
| West central | 45 | 55 |
| Southern | 41 | 59 |
| Rocky Mountain | 65 | 35 |
| Pacific coast | 50 | 50 |

**8.** (US Nov 30 '37) If two-thirds of the farmers producing any one crop agree to have marketing quotas set by the Department of Agriculture, should the other one-third be compelled to stay within these quotas? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 62% | 38% = 100% | 15% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 81% | 19% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 69 | 31 | |
| East central | 51 | 49 | |
| West central | 48 | 52 | |
| Southern | 75 | 25 | |
| Rocky Mountain | 63 | 37 | |
| Pacific coast | 50 | 50 | |
| BY PRINCIPAL CROPS | | | |
| Cotton farmers | 78% | 22% | |
| Corn farmers | 52 | 48 | |
| Wheat farmers | 52 | 48 | |
| Hog farmers | 52 | 48 | |
| Tobacco farmers | 83 | 17 | |
| Others | 64 | 36 | |

**9.** (US Nov 30 '37) Should the government soil conservation plan be continued? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Yes 77% No 23% = 100% No opinion 18%

**10.** (US Nov 30 '37) Have you an opinion on the ever-normal granary plan? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Yes 28% No 72%

**11.** (US Nov 30 '37) Do you approve of this [ever-normal granary] plan? Asked of 28% of a sample of farmers who had an opinion on the plan. (AIPO)

Yes 74% No 26% = 100% of those who had an opinion on the plan

**12.** (US Nov 30 '37) Do you wish now that the Supreme Court had declared the AAA constitutional? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Yes 42% No 58% = 100% No opinion 38%

**13.** (US June '39) Do you think our government should or should not control the price of farm products by controlling production? (FOR)

Should 22.9%
Should not 61.8
Don't know or depends 15.3

## COOKERY

**1.** (Sweden Apr '42) Do you bake more or less frequently in your household than before bread rationing? (SGI)

More often 23% Less often 39% The same 38%

**2.** (Great Britain July '42) Do you cook a mid-day meal? Asked of a national cross-section of housewives. (BIPO)

Yes 77% No 23%

## CORPORATIONS

### Taxation

**1.** (US Jan 25 '38) Do you think large corporations should pay special taxes not levied on small corporations? (AIPO)

Yes 52% No 32% No opinion 16%

**2.** (US May 2 '39) Do you think that conditions in this country would be more prosperous if taxes on business were reduced? (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 19% No opinion 20%

**3.** (US Sept '40) If the corporation tax laws were amended to permit the amortization of plants devoted to war orders within the period of emergency, would you regard it as fair or unfair if such amortization charges were paid into a suspended account, this account to be subject to tax only in so far as the plant proved to be of value after the emergency had passed? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Fair 88.0% Unfair 8.9% Don't know or no answer 3.1%

**4.** (US May 15 '45) Do you think Congress should reduce taxes on business this year, or should this wait until after Japan is defeated? (AIPO)

This year 16% Wait 74% No opinion 10%

**5.** (US Aug 23 '45) There have been all sorts of ideas suggested for things we should do in this country after the war, and we'd like to know how you feel about some of them. Do you think it is a good idea or not such a good idea to reduce taxes on corporation profits? (NYHT)

| | *Good idea* | *Not so good* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total*..... | 33.3% | 37.6% | 29.1% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous..... | 48.6% | 35.9% | 15.5% |
| Upper middle..... | 41.6 | 38.8 | 19.6 |
| Lower middle..... | 30.9 | 41.9 | 27.2 |
| Poor..... | 24.1 | 35.6 | 40.3 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Urban..... | 35.6% | 36.6% | 27.8% |
| Rural..... | 24.4 | 41.6 | 34.0 |

* National total from *Fortune* Aug '45.

## CORRUPTION (IN POLITICS)

**1.** (US Apr 4 '36, May 10 '37, Mar 23 '38) In your opinion, does politics play a part in the handling of relief in your locality? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | | | | |
| Apr '36..... | 65% | 18% | 17% | = 100% |
| Reliefers only | | | | |
| Apr '36..... | 49 | 25 | 26 | = 100 |
| May '37..... | 62 | 17 | 21 | = 100 |
| Mar '38..... | 78 | 22 | = 100% 18 | |
| APR '36 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democratic..... | 55% | 25% | 20% | |
| Republican..... | 80 | 8 | 12 | |
| Socialist..... | 77 | 9 | 14 | |
| APR '36 RESULTS STATE BY STATE | | | | |
| Arkansas..... | 83% | 14% | 3% | |
| New Jersey..... | 78 | 12 | 10 | |
| West Virginia..... | 77 | 13 | 10 | |
| Louisiana..... | 76 | 9 | 15 | |
| Rhode Island..... | 76 | 14 | 10 | |
| Connecticut..... | 75 | 14 | 11 | |
| Mississippi..... | 75 | 14 | 11 | |
| Washington..... | 73 | 12 | 15 | |
| Massachusetts..... | 72 | 14 | 14 | |
| Oklahoma..... | 71 | 19 | 10 | |
| New Mexico..... | 71 | 18 | 11 | |
| Kansas..... | 70 | 20 | 10 | |
| Minnesota..... | 69 | 17 | 14 | |
| Arizona..... | 69% | 19% | 12% | |
| Maine..... | 68 | 17 | 15 | |
| New York..... | 68 | 16 | 16 | |
| South Dakota..... | 68 | 20 | 12 | |
| Texas..... | 68 | 17 | 15 | |
| Wyoming..... | 67 | 27 | 6 | |
| Idaho..... | 67 | 21 | 12 | |
| Florida..... | 67 | 15 | 18 | |
| Alabama..... | 67 | 13 | 20 | |
| Ohio..... | 67 | 15 | 18 | |
| Pennsylvania..... | 67 | 18 | 15 | |
| California..... | 65 | 13 | 22 | |
| Tennessee..... | 65 | 22 | 13 | |
| Virginia..... | 65 | 17 | 18 | |
| Nebraska..... | 65 | 20 | 15 | |
| Nevada..... | 63 | 24 | 13 | |
| Missouri..... | 63 | 23 | 14 | |
| Indiana..... | 63 | 21 | 16 | |
| Michigan..... | 63 | 10 | 27 | |
| New Hampshire... | 63 | 9 | 28 | |
| North Dakota..... | 62 | 30 | 8 | |
| Delaware..... | 61 | 23 | 16 | |
| Iowa..... | 62 | 22 | 16 | |
| Wisconsin..... | 61 | 21 | 18 | |
| Illinois..... | 60 | 18 | 22 | |
| Georgia..... | 60 | 21 | 19 | |
| Colorado..... | 59 | 28 | 13 | |
| Maryland..... | 58 | 18 | 24 | |
| Utah..... | 56 | 27 | 17 | |
| Oregon..... | 56 | 23 | 21 | |
| North Carolina.... | 55 | 18 | 27 | |
| Montana..... | 52 | 17 | 31 | |
| Vermont..... | 51 | 38 | 11 | |
| Kentucky..... | 43 | 27 | 30 | |

**2.** (US Mar 23 '38) How large a part does politics play in giving relief in this community? (AIPO)

| | *None* | *A little* | *Quite a bit* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 16% | 31% | 53% | = 100% | 25% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Republican..... | 13% | 27% | 60% | | |
| Democratic..... | 20 | 34 | 46 | | |
| Reliefers..... | 23 | 30 | 47 | | |

**3.** (US Apr 27 '38) Would you favor a law making it a crime for a relief official to attempt to influence the vote of persons on relief? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 86% | 14% | = 100% | 6% |
| Reliefers..... | 82 | 18 | | |

**4.** (US May 27 '38) Do you think the Roosevelt administration is using the WPA to elect New Deal candidates to Congress? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 54% | 46% | = 100% | 18% |
| Reliefers only..... | 31 | 69 | | |
| BY TYPES OF DEMOCRATS | | | | |
| 1936 Democrats who are still for Roosevelt..... | 25% | 75% | | |
| 1936 Democrats who are now against Roosevelt..... | 73 | 27 | | |

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 56% | 44% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 57 | 43 | |
| East central | 57 | 43 | |
| West central | 54 | 46 | |
| South | 48 | 52 | |
| Far West | 46 | 54 | |

**5.** (US May 27 '38) Do you, or would you, approve of such use of the WPA [to elect New Deal candidates to Congress]? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9% | 91% = 100% | 7% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 8% | 92% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 11 | 89 | |
| East central | 7 | 93 | |
| West central | 8 | 92 | |
| South | 10 | 90 | |
| Far West | 9 | 91 | |

**6.** (US Sept 13 '38) In getting relief in this community do you think it makes a difference whether a man is a Republican or a Democrat? 21% of the sample who thought it made a difference were asked: In your opinion, which has the advantage, a Republican or a Democrat? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Republican has advantage | 1% |
| Democrat has advantage | 19 |
| Don't know which has the advantage | 1 |
| Politics makes no difference | 66 |
| Don't know whether or not politics makes a difference | 13 |

**7.** (US Aug 17 '39) The Hatch Bill, recently passed by Congress, prohibits regular employees of the federal government from taking an active part in political campaigns. Would you favor such a law for state employees in this state? (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 25% No opinion 15%

## COST AND STANDARD OF LIVING

**1.** (US Oct '35) Has your cost of living in the past year gone up, down, or stayed the same? (FOR)

Up 76.4% Down 2.7% Same 18.6% Don't know 2.3%

**2.** (US Oct '35) In what items did you notice the rise [in the cost of living]? Asked of 76.4% of the sample who said the cost of living had risen in the past year. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Groceries | 35.1% |
| Meats | 31.1 |
| Everything | 23.7 |
| Clothing | 6.6 |
| Housing | 2.6 |
| Other | .5 |
| Don't know | .4 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned |

**3.** (US Jan 5 '37) How much income a year do you think the average family of four needs for health and comfort in this community? (June 30 '42 and Nov 15 '44) How much income per week do you think the average family of four needs for health and comfort? (Jan 23 '46) What is the smallest amount of money a family of four (husband, wife, and two children) needs each week to get along on in this community? (AIPO)

JAN '37 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $549 | 2% |
| $550 to $1,049 | 9 |
| $1,050 to $1,549 | 15 |
| $1,550 to $2,049 | 33 |
| $2,050 to $2,549 | 22 |
| $2,550 to $3,049 | 11 |
| $3,050 to $3,549 | 2 |
| $3,550 to $4,049 | 3 |
| $4,050 to $9,999 | 3 |
| $10,000 and over | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

| *Median* | *By week* | *By year* |
|---|---|---|
| National average (median) | $38 | $1,950 |
| 1937 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | $39 | $2,020 |
| Middle Atlantic | 39 | 2,030 |
| East central | 38 | 1,980 |
| West central | 33 | 1,760 |
| South (excluding Negroes) | 33 | 1,760 |
| Mountain | 38 | 2,000 |
| Pacific coast | 39 | 2,030 |
| 1937 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | | |
| Professional and white-collar | $40 | $2,044 |
| Merchants, businessmen | 39 | 2,010 |
| Skilled laborers | 39 | 2,010 |
| Farmers | 28 | 1,480 |
| "Lower-third" | 28 | 1,500 |
| 1937 RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | |
| City dwellers | $39 | $2,010 |
| Small-town dwellers | 29 | 1,530 |

JUNE '42 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| $20 and under | 11% |
| $21 to $25 | 13 |
| $26 to $30 | 12 |
| $31 to $35 | 10 |
| $36 to $40 | 18 |
| $41 to $49 | 4 |
| $50 | 20 |
| $51 and over | 9 |
| No answer | 3 |

NOV '44 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| $20 and under | 4% |
| $21–$25 | 6 |
| $26–$34 | 6 |
| $35 | 8 |
| $35–$39 | 1 |
| $40–$44 | 15 |
| $45–$49 | 6 |
| $50–$54 | 28 |
| $55–$60 | 10 |
| $61–$79 | 9 |
| $80 and over | 4 |
| No opinion | 3 |

| | *Average sum named* |
|---|---|
| National total | $48 |

1944 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | |
|---|---|
| New England | $48 |
| Middle Atlantic | 49 |
| East central | 48 |
| West central | 42 |
| South | 40 |
| Mountain | 48 |
| Pacific coast | 50 |

1944 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Professional | $51 |
| Business | 50 |
| White-collar | 50 |
| Skilled workers | 49 |
| Semi-skilled | 48 |
| Unskilled | 42 |
| Farmers | 38 |

JAN '46 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, don't know | 4% |
| Under $25 | 7 |
| $25 to under $30 | 10 |
| $30 to under $35 | 10 |
| $35 to under $40 | 11 |
| $40 to under $45 | 16 |
| $45 to under $50 | 5 |
| $50 to under $60 | 23 |
| $60 to under $70 | 8 |
| $70 to under $75 | 1 |
| $75 to under $80 | 3 |
| $80 to under $100 | 1 |
| $100 and over | 1 |

Median—$40 to under $45

**4.** (US Jan 23 '46) Is your total weekly family income larger or smaller than this [amount mentioned by the Jan '46 sample in previous question]? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Larger | 45% |
| Smaller | 32 |
| Same | 12 |
| No answer | 6 |
| Don't know | 5 |

**5.** (Great Britain Apr 3 '37 to Nov '46, dates listed below) (BIPO)

(Apr 3 '37) What annual income do you think an average family of four needs for fitness and comfort?

Median £300 per year (or approximately $1,500 a year)

(June '37) How much a week does a family of four need to live decently?

Median £4 per week

(Oct '38) How much income a week do you think a family of four needs for health and comfort?

| | *Total* | *Higher* | *Middle* | *Lower* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Under £4 | 34% | 17% | 21% | 41% |
| £4 | 30 | 27 | 26 | 29 |
| £5 | 25 | 23 | 34 | 23 |
| £5/10s. | 3 | 5 | 5 | 1 |
| £6 | 5 | 11 | 7 | 4 |
| £6/10s. and over | 3 | 17 | 7 | 2 |

(Jan '45) What do you think is the smallest income per week a family of four (including husband and wife) can live on?

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Higher* | *Middle* | *Lower* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Under £3 per week | 5% | 2% | 5% |
| £3–4 per week | 17 | 17 | 22 |
| £4–5 per week | 32 | 40 | 45 |
| £5–6 per week | 21 | 26 | 20 |
| £6–7 per week | 6 | 6 | 3 |
| £7–8 per week | 5 | 5 | 2 |
| £8 and over | 8 | 3 | 1 |
| Don't know | 6 | 1 | 2 |
| Average | £5/10 | £5/6 | £4/18 |

National total average £5/0/2

(Nov '46) How much income per week do you think a family of four (including husband and wife) needs for health and comfort?

| | *National total* | *Higher* | *Middle* | *Lower* | *Very poor* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Under £4 | 4% | 1% | — | 5% | 2% |
| £4 | 12 | 3 | 2% | 17 | 7 |
| £5 | 8 | 12 | 11 | 5 | 23 |
| £5/10s. | 17 | 7 | 4 | 24 | 6 |
| £6 | 10 | 13 | 18 | 7 | 22 |
| £6/10s. | 12 | 4 | 5 | 15 | 4 |
| £7 | 14 | 12 | 16 | 13 | 15 |
| £8 | 6 | 13 | 19 | 2 | 12 |
| £9 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 1 |
| £10 | 9 | 18 | 15 | 6 | 4 |
| Over £10 | 4 | 13 | 6 | 2 | 4 |

**6.** (US May 24 '37) In your opinion, what is the smallest amount of income a family of four (husband, wife and two children) needs a week to live decently? (Feb 22 '39) What do you think is the smallest weekly income that a family composed of a husband, wife and two young children must have to live decently? The word "comfortably" was substituted in a question asked of a comparable cross-section. Results were combined. (June 30 '42) What is the smallest amount per week a family of four must have to live decently? (AIPO)

MAY '37 RESULTS

| | *By week* | *By year* |
|---|---|---|
| National average (Median) | $30 | $1,560 |

1937 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | $30 | $1,560 |
| Middle Atlantic | 35 | 1,820 |
| East central | 30 | 1,560 |
| West central | 25 | 1,300 |
| South (white population) | 25 | 1,300 |
| South (Negroes) | 12 | 624 |
| Rocky Mountain | 30 | 1,560 |
| Pacific coast | 35 | 1,820 |

1937 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Professional and white-collar | $35 | $1,820 |
| Merchants, businessmen | 35 | 1,820 |
| Skilled laborers | 35 | 1,820 |
| Farmers | 25 | 1,300 |
| "Lower third" | 23 | 1,196 |

1937 RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| City dwellers | $35 | $1,820 |
| Small-town dwellers | 25 | 1,300 |

FEB '39 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $10 | 2% |
| $10–$19 | 13 |
| $20–$29 | 38 |

| | |
|---|---|
| $30–$39 | 25% |
| $40–$59 | 17 |
| $60–$79 | 2 |
| $80 and over | * |
| No answer | 3 |

* Less than 0.5%.

JUNE '42 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| $10 and under | 4% |
| $11–$19 | 6 |
| $20–$24 | 10 |
| $25 | 16 |
| $26–$30 | 13 |
| $31–$35 | 12 |
| $36–$40 | 15 |
| $41–$50 | 16 |
| $51 and over | 3 |
| No answer | 5 |

**7.** (US Oct 4 '37) In your opinion, is the cost of living higher, lower, or about the same as it was a year ago? (AIPO)

| | *Higher* | *Lower* | *Same* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 86% | 1% | 13% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 92% | 1% | 7% |
| Middle Atlantic | 85 | 2 | 13 |
| East central | 88 | 1 | 11 |
| West central | 82 | 1 | 17 |
| South | 79 | 1 | 20 |
| Rocky Mountain | 89 | 1 | 10 |
| Pacific coast | 91 | 1 | 8 |

**8.** (US Oct 4 '37) What of your expenses have gone up most? Asked of a national cross-section of people who thought living was higher than it was a year earlier. 86% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Coal | 1% |
| Food | 59 |
| Clothing | 18 |
| Rent | 9 |
| Everything | 4 |
| Household expenses in general | 1 |
| Taxes | 1 |
| All others | 3 |
| Living costs | 3 |
| Higher wages increase labor costs | 1 |
| 100% of those who thought the cost of living higher than a year earlier | |
| No answer | 2% |

**9.** (US Oct 4 '37) What, in your opinion, is the chief cause of the increased cost of living? Asked of a national cross-section of those who thought their cost of living higher than it was a year earlier. 86% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Higher wages | 19% |
| Unsettled labor situation | 12 |
| Increased taxes | 10 |
| Crop control | 8 |
| New Deal policies | 7 |
| Drought, bad weather | 5 |
| Increase in business | 5 |
| Shortage of hogs and cattle; food | 4 |
| Government expenditures | 4 |
| Increased prices | 3 |
| Profiteering and monopoly | 3 |
| Increased purchasing power | 2 |
| Increased cost of production | 2% |
| WPA; welfare | 2 |
| Foreign wars | 1 |
| Increased price of farm products | 1 |
| Inflation of money and credit | 1 |
| More people employed | 1 |
| Under production | 1 |
| All others | 8 |
| The middle man | 1 |
| 100% of those who thought their cost of living was higher than a year earlier | |
| No answer | 35% |

**10.** (US Jan '38) How much money per week do you think the average family of four needs to live on around here, including necessities and a few inexpensive pleasures? (FOR)

| | *Under $25* | *Mentioned $25–$40* | *Over $40* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 21.6% | 49.0% | 22.3% | 7.1% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 14.9% | 45.5% | 30.2% | 9.4% |
| Poor | 25.6 | 53.9 | 13.2 | 7.3 |
| Negroes | 59.2 | 25.0 | 10.3 | 5.5 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| Mountain | 10.7% | 51.1% | 35.5% | 2.7% |
| Northeast | 11.1 | 53.4 | 28.2 | 7.3 |
| Southeast | 35.5 | 47.5 | 11.2 | 5.8 |
| Southwest | 45.7 | 34.5 | 13.8 | 6.0 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Cities over 1,000,000 | 5.2% | 46.2% | 44.8% | 3.8% |
| Cities 25,000 to 100,000 | 9.6 | 57.2 | 26.2 | 7.0 |
| Towns under 2,500 | 33.1 | 46.5 | 13.4 | 7.0 |
| Rural | 35.9 | 42.5 | 11.1 | 10.5 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Minor salaried workers | 9.1% | 56.0% | 31.6% | 3.3% |
| Executives | 15.5 | 54.4 | 26.6 | 3.5 |
| Factory labor | 18.0 | 59.4 | 22.2 | 1.4 |
| Farm labor | 53.4 | 25.1 | 4.7 | 16.8 |

**11.** (US Oct '40) Do you believe that it will be possible during the period of rearmament to maintain the United States standard of living at present levels by continuing to meet our normal peacetime needs, or do you think that building our defenses will have to be done at the expense of production for ordinary use? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Standards can be maintained | 58.1% |
| Standards must be lowered | 39.7 |
| Don't know or no answer | 2.2 |

**12.** (US July 9 '41) What is the smallest amount per month a married couple needs for a decent living? (AIPO)

| | *Median monthly sum for married couples* |
|---|---|
| National total | $73 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | $78 |
| East central | 74 |
| West central | 59 |
| South | 59 |
| West | 76 |

| | *Median monthly sum for married couples* |
|---|---|
| BY AGE | |
| 21–34 years | $77 |
| 35–44 years | 74 |
| 45–59 years | 73 |
| 60 years and over | 62 |

**13.** (US July 9 '41) What do you think is the smallest income per month that a single person over sixty needs for a decent living in your community? (AIPO)

| | *Median monthly sum for single person* |
|---|---|
| National total | $42 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | $50 |
| East central | 42 |
| West central | 37 |
| South | 32 |
| West | 48 |
| BY AGE | |
| 21–34 years | $48 |
| 35–44 years | 46 |
| 45–59 years | 41 |
| 60 years and over | 40 |

**14.** (US Feb 14 '42) When the war is over, do you think the United States should, or should not, take a full and active part along with other nations in helping to secure better working and living conditions for people all over the world? (NORC)

Should 87% Should not 9% Don't know 4%

**15.** (US Apr 15 '42) On the average, about how much does your family spend on food each week? (AIPO)

Median $11

(Feb 13 '46) On the average, about how much does your family spend on food, including milk, each week now? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| $5 or less | 4% |
| $6–$10 | 19 |
| $11–$15 | 25 |
| $16–$20 | 24 |
| $21–$25 | 14 |
| Over $25 | 14 |

| | *Median* |
|---|---|
| National median | $17 |
| BY OCCUPATION | |
| Professional and business | $20 |
| White-collar | 18 |
| Manual workers | 15 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | |
| Farms | $10 |
| Towns under 10,000 | 15 |
| Towns 10,000–100,000 | 15 |
| 100,000 and over | 20 |

**16.** (Sweden May '42) If you earn your living and live at home, how much do you pay for board and lodging? Asked of a national cross-section of young people. (SGI)

| | *Half* | *One third* | *One quarter* | *More than half* | *Less than a quarter* | *Nothing* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | | | | |
| All boys | 23% | 33% | 14% | 14% | 4% | 12% |
| All girls | 25 | 25 | 12 | 8 | 6 | 24 |
| SIZE OF COMMUNITY BY SEX | | | | | | |
| *Towns and provincial* | | | | | | |
| Boys | 27% | 29% | 14% | 19% | 3% | 8% |
| Girls | 26 | 28 | 12 | 9 | 4 | 21 |
| *Country* | | | | | | |
| Boys | 16 | 39 | 14 | 5 | 5 | 21 |
| Girls | 21 | 18 | 10 | 6 | 12 | 33 |

**17.** (US May 30 '42) As far as you know, has the government taken any steps to keep the cost of living from going higher? Those who said they thought the government had taken steps were asked: What steps? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Ceiling on prices | 76% |
| Rationing | 3 |
| Increased taxes | 1 |
| Ceiling on rents | 7 |
| Wage control | 1 |
| Other answers | 1 |
| Thought the government had taken steps but did not name them | 5 |
| Thought the government had taken no steps | 15 |
| Didn't know whether or not the government had taken steps | 2 |
| | 111%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**18.** (US July '42) Five years after the war is over, do you think we Americans will be leading about the same sort of life as we did before the war, or will it be a better life, or a worse life? (FOR)

| | *Better* | *Same* | *Worse* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41.5% | 26.2% | 23.4% | 8.9% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 43.4% | 22.5% | 25.3% | 8.8% |
| Upper middle | 42.4 | 24.6 | 26.2 | 6.8 |
| Lower middle | 41.4 | 28.0 | 23.4 | 7.2 |
| Poor | 38.2 | 25.6 | 24.8 | 11.4 |
| Negro | 46.5 | 26.3 | 12.8 | 14.4 |

**19.** (US July '42) Five years after the war do you think that your standard of living will be higher, lower, or about the same as before the war? (FOR)

| | *Higher* | *Same* | *Lower* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 25.2% | 41.4% | 25.9% | 7.5% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 16.0% | 35.9% | 45.0% | 3.1% |
| Upper middle | 22.4 | 42.1 | 31.7 | 3.8 |
| Lower middle | 27.3 | 43.0 | 23.5 | 6.2 |
| Poor | 25.8 | 41.4 | 22.0 | 10.8 |
| Negro | 27.5 | 36.8 | 18.6 | 17.1 |

**20.** (US Sept 15 '42) To keep the cost of living from going higher, do you favor keeping salaries and wages, and the prices of farm products from going higher? (AIPO)

Yes 71% No 11% No opinion 6% Qualified answers 12%

**21.** (Canada Nov 25 '42) Do you think the cost-of-living bonus now paid to ordinary workers in Canada should also be paid to old-age pensioners and to dependents of men serving in the armed forces? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 84% | 10% | 6% |
| BY PROVINCES | | | |
| Maritimes | 68% | 21% | 11% |
| Quebec | 75 | 16 | 9 |
| Ontario | 89 | 6 | 5 |
| Prairies | 90 | 5 | 5 |
| British Columbia | 96 | 2 | 2 |

**22.** (Great Britain Dec 27 '42) Do you feel that the government will try to improve the standard of life after the war? (BIPO)

Yes 68% No 12% Don't know 20%

**23.** (US May 22 '43, Jan 7 '44, June 23 '44) As you know, the government is trying to fix ceiling prices. Can you think of anything else the government is doing to try to keep the cost of living down? (NORC)

MAY '43 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Rationing | 12% |
| Rationing of fuel; cutting down of transportation | 2 |
| Rationing (critical response) | 1 |
| Controlling wages | 11 |
| Controlling wages (critical response) | * |
| Increasing production | 5 |
| Encouraging the purchase of war bonds | 4 |
| Increasing taxes | 3 |
| Subsidies to farmers | 3 |
| Other help to farmer | 1 |
| Encouraging thrift, saving, and discouraging unnecessary buying | 4 |
| Discouraging black markets and enforcing ceilings | 2 |
| Stabilizing rents | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Critical answers | 10 |
| Answers in terms of what the government should do | 1 |
| Don't know what but know something is being done; they are doing all they can | 5 |
| Not ascertainable | 47 |
| | 116%** |

JAN '44 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Controlling wages | 10% |
| Subsidies to farmers | 10 |
| Other help to the farmer | * |
| Rationing (general) | 7 |
| Rationing of fuel; cutting down on transportation | * |
| Buying war bonds | 6 |
| Discouraging black markets and enforcing ceiling prices | 5 |
| Encouraging thrift, saving, and discouraging unnecessary buying | 4 |
| Increasing taxes | 3 |
| Increasing production | 2 |
| Stabilizing rents | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Critical answers | 5 |
| Answers in terms of what the government should do | 1 |
| Praise of government | 3 |
| Not ascertainable | 50 |
| | 111%** |

JUNE '44 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Controlling wages | 7% |
| Buying war bonds | 7 |
| Rationing | 5 |
| Rationing of fuel; cutting down on transportation | 1 |
| Discouraging black markets and enforcing ceiling prices | 4% |
| Encouraging thrift, saving, and discouraging buying | 4 |
| Subsidies for farmers | 3 |
| Other help for farmers | 1 |
| Increasing taxes | 3 |
| Increasing production | 3 |
| Stabilizing rents | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Critical answers | 5 |
| Answers in terms of what government should do | 1 |
| Praise of government | 3 |
| Don't know | 60 |
| | 109%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**24.** (US May 22 '43, Sept 9 '43, Jan 7 '44, June 23 '44) What do you think you personally could do to help keep the cost of living in this country from going too high? In May '43 the phrase "in this country" was shifted to the end of the question. (NORC)

| | *May '43* | *Sept '43* | *Jan '44* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Saving; buying necessities only | 41% | 36% | 44% | 41% |
| Producing food | 20 | 12 | 10 | 13 |
| Canning and preserving | 5 | 6 | 3 | 5 |
| Don't pay high prices (no mention of ceiling) | 6 | 7 | 6 | 6 |
| Avoid black markets | 6 | 6 | 11 | 11 |
| Abide by government regulations | 3 | 2 | 5 | 4 |
| Don't pay over ceiling prices | 2 | 4 | 7 | 8 |
| Report black markets and high prices | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Don't ask hi h prices or wages | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Buy bonds | 5 | 7 | 6 | 6 |
| Don't go in debt | * | — | * | — |
| Take public action | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | 3 | 1 | — |
| Nothing to do | 16 | 16 | 13 | 14 |
| Not ascertainable | 8 | 12 | — | — |
| Don't know | — | — | 12 | 13 |
| | 117%** | 118%** | 124%** | 126%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**25.** (US May 22 '43, Sept 9 '43, Jan 7 '44, May 18 '44, June 23 '44) If we didn't have rationing, do you think the cost of living would be higher or lower than it is now? Those who thought the cost of living would be lower in Jan '44 and those who thought it would be either higher or lower in the May and June samples were asked: Why do you think so? or just why? In Jan '44, 9% of the sample thought the cost of living would be lower; in May '44, 66% thought it would be higher and 6% thought it would be lower; in June '44, 69% thought it would be higher and 8% thought it would be lower. (NORC)

| | *May '43* | *Sept '43* | *Jan '44* | *May '44* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Think cost of living would be higher | 74% | 71% | 68% | — | — |
| Think it would be the same | 13 | 13 | 13 | 15% | 15% |

| | *May '43* | *Sept '43* | *Jan '44* | *May '44* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Don't know whether it would be higher or lower | 5% | 5% | 10% | 13% | 8% |
| Would be lower (not asked why) | 8 | 11 | — | — | — |
| Prices would be lower because | | | | | |
| People buy to use coupons; rationing increases demand | — | — | 5 | 2 | 2 |
| Normal laws of supply and demand don't operate under rationing | — | — | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Merchants charge more for things people have to have | — | — | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Black market exists with rationing | — | — | * | 1 | 1 |
| Rationing raises prices on unrationed goods | — | — | * | * | * |
| Miscellaneous reasons | — | — | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know any reason | — | — | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Prices would be higher because | | | | | |
| Overbuying and hoarding would cause shortages | — | — | — | 14 | 26 |
| People would buy more and there wouldn't be enough to go around | — | — | — | 13 | 10 |
| People would pay higher prices and bid against each other | — | — | — | 12 | 12 |
| Dealers would raise prices; profiteering; black market | — | — | — | 12 | 13 |
| Rationing is a good thing; helps control prices (general) | — | — | — | 11 | 8 |
| People would be more wasteful | — | — | — | 1 | 1 |
| Miscellaneous reasons | — | — | — | * | — |
| Don't know any reason | — | — | — | 4 | 3 |
| | 100% | 100% | 101%** | 102%** | 104%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**26.** (US May 22 '43, Sept 9 '43, Jan 7 '44, June 23 '44) Do you think there is any danger of the cost of living going so high in the next year that you'll really have trouble getting along? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| May '43 | 30% | 60% | 10% |
| Sept '43 | 32 | 61 | 7 |
| Jan '44 | 23 | 61 | 16 |
| June '44 | 21 | 67 | 12 |

**27.** (Canada May 26 '43) If you (or your husband) found yourself out of a job tomorrow and had no money or property at all, what is the least amount of money that you (or your immediate family) would need to get along on? (CIPO)

IN COMPARISON WITH BEVERIDGE BENEFITS

| | *Single persons* | *Two persons* | *Three persons* | *Four or more persons* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Public estimate | $15.00 | $20.00 | $25.00 | $25.00 |
| Beveridge benefits | 4.85 | 8.08 | 9.70 | 11.32 |

**28.** (Canada June 19 '43) Have you found that your cost-of-living bonus is large enough to take care of the increased cost of living—that is, without taking higher taxes into consideration? (CIPO)

Yes 15% No 77% Not sure 8%

**29.** (Canada June 19 '43) Do you happen to know whether the money for the cost-of-living bonus comes from the government or from your employer? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| From government | 21% |
| From employer | 48 |
| Both | 8 |
| Don't know | 23 |

**30.** (US Sept 9 '43, Jan 7 '44, June 23 '44) Have you heard anything on the radio recently about what people can do to keep the cost of living in this country from going too high? In Sept '43, 35% of the sample; in Jan '44, 46% of the sample, and in June '44, 33% of the sample who said they had heard something were asked: What were they asking people to do? (NORC)

| | *Sept '43* | *Jan '44* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hadn't heard anything about it | 63% | 51% | 65% |
| Don't know whether or not have heard | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Economize and buy as little as possible | 11 | 18 | 15 |
| Avoid black markets and watch ceiling prices | 11 | 10 | 9 |
| Buy war bonds and stamps | 6 | 5 | 7 |
| Buy bonds instead of buying other things | 4 | 6 | 1 |
| Produce and preserve food | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| Report black markets and ceiling violations | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Other specific answers | 1 | — | — |
| Pay no more than top legal prices | — | 9 | 7 |
| Support rationing | — | 5 | 3 |
| Don't ask more for goods or wages and salaries | — | 1 | * |
| Pay off your old debts and avoid making new ones | — | * | * |
| Don't know what they were asking | — | 3 | 1 |
| Miscellaneous general answers | * | 2 | * |
| Had heard about what to do but didn't offer any answer | 1 | — | — |
| Pay willingly any taxes; higher taxes | — | — | * |
| | 103%** | 116%** | 114%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**31.** (US Sept 9 '43, Jan 7 '44, June 23 '44) How about magazines and newspapers? Have you read anything lately about what people can do to keep the cost of living in this country

from going too high? In Sept 1943, 33% of the sample, in Jan '44, 37% of the sample and in June '44, 30% of the sample who said they had read something were asked: What were they asking people to do? (NORC)

| | *Sept '43* | *Jan '44* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Economize and buy as little as possible | 14% | 20% | 16% |
| Avoid black markets and watch ceiling prices | 10 | 7 | 8 |
| Buy war bonds and stamps | 4 | 12 | 9 |
| Buy bonds instead of buying other things | 3 | 1 | * |
| Produce and preserve food | 3 | 2 | 4 |
| Report black markets and ceiling violations | 1 | 1 | * |
| Don't ask more for goods or wages or salaries | — | * | * |
| Pay willingly any taxes—higher taxes | — | * | * |
| Pay off your old debts and avoid making new ones | — | * | * |
| Support rationing | — | 3 | 2 |
| Pay no more than top legal prices | — | 6 | 6 |
| Don't know what they were asking | — | 3 | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| Other miscellaneous specific answers | 1 | — | — |
| Not ascertainable | 2 | — | — |
| Hadn't read anything | 64 | 59 | 68 |
| Didn't know whether or not had read anything | 3 | 4 | 2 |
| | 106%** | 121%** | 117%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**32.** (Sweden Oct '43) In your opinion, is living more expensive now than it was in the autumn of 1942? (SGI)

| | *More expensive* | *Less expensive* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 53% | 30% | 17% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Towns | 59% | 26% | 15% |
| Country | 50 | 32 | 18 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 44% | 34% | 22% |
| Middle class | 49 | 33 | 18 |
| Workers | 56 | 27 | 17 |

**33.** (US Dec '43, Aug '45, Jan '46) Compared with last year, are you finding it harder, easier, or about the same to make both ends meet? (FOR)

| | *Harder* | *Easier* | *Same* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '43 | 49.6% | 12.6% | 36.8% | 1.0% |
| Aug '45 | 41.0 | 9.5 | 47.2 | 2.3 |
| Jan '46 | 37.5 | 9.2 | 50.0 | 3.3 |

**34.** (US June 23 '44) Have you seen anything in the movies lately about what people can do to keep the cost of living in this country from going too high? 17% of the sample who said they had seen something were asked: What were they asking people to do? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Buy only what you need, conserve what you have | 6% |
| Buy and hold war bonds | 6 |
| Avoid black markets (general) | 5% |
| Pay no more than top legal prices | 2 |
| Support rationing | 2 |
| Produce or preserve food | 1 |
| Report violations | * |
| Buy war bonds instead of other things | * |
| Don't ask more for goods, wages, or salaries | * |
| Pay willingly any taxes, higher taxes, your country needs | * |
| Pay off your old debts and avoid making new ones | * |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know what they were asking | 1 |
| Haven't seen anything | 82 |
| Don't know whether or not have seen anything | 1 |
| | 106%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**35.** (Australia Apr '45) How much money a week do you think the average family of four needs, if they pay rent? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| £5 | 18% |
| £6 | 46 |
| £7 | 23 |
| £8 | 10 |
| £10 | 3 |
| | 100% |
| Don't know | 10% |
| National average | £6/7/11 |

| *State* | *Average* |
|---|---|
| South Australia | £6/1/3 |
| Tasmania | £6/2/1 |
| Queensland | £6/4/2 |
| Victoria | £6/7/5 |
| New South Wales | £6/9/6 |
| Western Australia | £6/10/8 |

**36.** (France July '45, Jan '46, July '46, Nov '46) In your opinion, how much money does a family of four persons need per month to live in your locality? (FIPO)

BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY

| | *July '45* | *Jan '46* | *July '46* | *Nov '46* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Under 2,000 population | 5,600 fr. | 7,900 fr. | 9,900 fr. | 12,100 fr. |
| 2,000–20,000 | 7,100 fr. | 10,500 fr. | 11,600 fr. | 15,000 fr. |
| 20,000–40,000 | 8,500 fr. | 12,850 fr. | 15,600 fr. | 19,200 fr. |
| 40,000–100,000 | 9,700 fr. | 14,500 fr. | 16,000 fr. | 19,400 fr. |
| Over 100,000 | 10,300 fr. | 15,850 fr. | 17,000 fr. | 21,800 fr. |

**37.** (US Aug '45) Of course no one can tell for sure, but just as a guess in about a year do you think you will be finding it harder, easier, or about the same as now to make both ends meet? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Harder | 31.1% |
| Easier | 10.6 |
| Same | 49.2 |
| Don't know | 9.1 |

**38.** (Hungary Jan '46) When do you expect living conditions to improve? (HIPOR)

OPINIONS IN BUDAPEST

| | Total questioned | EDUCATED MIDDLE CLASS Men | EDUCATED MIDDLE CLASS Women | WORKING Men | WORKING Women |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % |
| After signing of peace treaty | 25.7 | 29.3 | 34.6 | 26.0 | 26.0 | 22.6 | 24.1 |
| After harvest | 4.8 | 3.9 | 2.3 | 3.0 | 4.9 | 5.0 | 7.0 |
| When loan comes | 4.2 | 3.2 | 8.3 | 3.0 | 5.4 | 2.3 | 5.1 |
| After completion or canceling of reparations; after stabilization | 2.6 | 2.8 | 6.0 | 4.5 | 1.1 | 3.2 | 0.6 |
| Shortly | 9.0 | 2.8 | 3.8 | 11.8 | 5.0 | 10.1 | 12.8 |
| After 1–2 years | 20.0 | 20.1 | 17.2 | 18.5 | 23.4 | 20.7 | 19.1 |
| After 3–5 years | 19.6 | 19.0 | 15.0 | 19.2 | 25.0 | 18.0 | 19.1 |
| After 6–10 years or more | 8.2 | 9.8 | 7.6 | 9.6 | 4.8 | 9.9 | 7.7 |
| Qualified; undecided; no answer | 5.9 | 9.1 | 5.2 | 4.4 | 4.4 | 8.2 | 4.5 |

OPINIONS OUTSIDE BUDAPEST

| | TRANS DANUBIAN Towns | TRANS DANUBIAN Villages | AREA BETWEEN DANUBE-TISZA Towns | AREA BETWEEN DANUBE-TISZA Villages | NORTH Towns | NORTH Villages | BEYOND TISZA Towns | BEYOND TISZA Villages |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| After signing of peace treaty | 12.8 | 8.3 | 9.5 | 7.5 | 14.7 | 17.4 | 28.3 | 26.4 |
| After harvest | 4.5 | 3.6 | 4.5 | — | 2.4 | 9.5 | — | — |
| When loan comes | 0.8 | — | 2.2 | 0.9 | — | — | 1.0 | — |
| After completion or canceling of reparations; after stabilization | 0.5 | 2.4 | 0.6 | — | 3.3 | 1.5 | 7.7 | 5.7 |
| Shortly | 6.5 | 13.1 | 11.2 | 6.0 | 10.8 | 16.2 | — | — |
| After 1–2 years | 33.0 | 37.0 | 32.6 | 28.5 | 15.1 | 13.2 | — | 1.9 |
| After 3–5 years | 18.2 | 18.9 | 22.7 | 33.4 | 10.8 | 11.0 | — | 3.8 |
| After 6–10 years or more | 6.0 | 3.6 | 7.9 | 19.0 | 7.5 | 2.2 | 6.5 | 15.1 |
| Qualified; undecided; no answer | 17.7 | 13.1 | 8.8 | 4.7 | 35.4 | 29.0 | 56.5 | 47.1 |

**39.** (Hungary Jan '46) With democracy, do you think the standard of living will be higher, lower, or the same? (HIPOR)

OPINIONS IN BUDAPEST

| | Total questioned | EDUCATED MIDDLE CLASS Men | EDUCATED MIDDLE CLASS Women | WORKING Men | WORKING Women |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % |
| Higher | 55.3 | 62.2 | 57.6 | 49.3 | 51.8 | 54.8 | 59.0 |
| Lower | 20.5 | 16.7 | 22.0 | 18.8 | 24.4 | 18.1 | 22.1 |
| Unchanged | 16.8 | 13.9 | 16.7 | 22.5 | 16.6 | 17.4 | 13.2 |
| Depends on conditions | 5.9 | 4.8 | 3.7 | 8.7 | 6.1 | 8.8 | 2.5 |
| Other; no answer | 1.5 | 2.4 | — | 0.7 | 1.1 | 0.9 | 3.2 |

OPINIONS OUTSIDE BUDAPEST

| | TRANS DANUBIAN Towns | TRANS DANUBIAN Villages | AREA BETWEEN DANUBE-TISZA Towns | AREA BETWEEN DANUBE-TISZA Villages | NORTH Towns | NORTH Villages | BEYOND TISZA Towns | BEYOND TISZA Villages |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Higher | 76.0 | 73.9 | 80.6 | 87.0 | 87.8 | 77.9 | 56.4 | 56.7 |
| Lower | 3.8 | 3.5 | 8.7 | 5.1 | 4.2 | 2.9 | 38.1 | 43.3 |
| Unchanged | 17.2 | 21.4 | 7.3 | 7.4 | 7.5 | 19.2 | 4.4 | — |
| Depends on conditions | 0.5 | — | — | 0.5 | — | — | — | — |
| Other; no answer | 2.5 | 1.2 | 3.4 | — | 0.5 | — | 1.1 | — |

**40.** (Germany Jan 14 '46, Jan 31 '46, Feb '46, May 8 '46, July 1 '46, Oct 28 '46) Is the total income of your family enough to cover necessary expenses? Those who said the family income was not enough were asked: How can you purchase the things your family needs? The second question represents 32% of the Jan 14 sample, 29% of the Jan 31 sample, 31% of the Feb sample, 29% of the May sample, and 32% of the July sample. In Oct the second question was not asked. (OMGUS)

| | Jan 14 '46 | Jan 31 '46 | Feb '46 | May '46 | July '46 | Oct '46 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Family income is sufficient | 67% | 71% | 68% | 71% | 68% | 60% |
| Not able to purchase needed items | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 5 | — |
| Buying needed items from savings | 23 | 23 | 23 | 22 | 23 | — |
| Buying by other means | 6 | 3 | — | — | — | — |
| Didn't say how were buying | — | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | — |
| Getting help from relatives | — | — | 4 | 3 | 3 | — |
| Bartering for needed items | — | — | — | — | * | — |
| Getting help from welfare agency | — | — | — | — | * | — |
| Doing temporary work | — | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| Didn't answer the question | 1 | — | — | — | — | — |
| No | — | — | — | — | — | 39 |
| No answer | — | — | — | — | — | 1 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 101%** | 100% |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**41.** (Germany Feb '46) Do you think that the increased taxes will make it impossible for you to meet all your necessary expenses? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 24% |
| No | 53 |
| No opinion | 17 |
| No answer | 6 |

**42.** (Netherlands Mar '46) What income, that is, what wages or salary a week does a family of a man, woman, and two children need in order to be able to make both ends meet? (Oct '46) In your opinion, what wages or salary per week

does a family of a man, wife, and two children need to be able to make both ends meet? (NIPO)

| | *Mar '46* | *Oct '46* |
|---|---|---|
| Less than 30 fl.* | 3% | 1% |
| 30 fl. | 6 | 4 |
| 31–35 fl. | 12 | 8 |
| 36–40 fl. | 27 | 19 |
| 41–45 fl. | 22 | 17 |
| 46–50 fl. | 22 | 27 |
| 51–55 fl. | 2 | 6 |
| 56–60 fl. | 5 | 11 |
| More than 60 fl. | 1 | 7 |
| Median | 48 fl. per week | |

* 10 Dutch florins were approximately one English pound at this time.

**43.** (Hungary Mar '46) Do you think the standard of living is higher or lower as a consequence of democratic organization? (HIPOR)

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | *Higher* | *Lower* | *Same* | *Uncertain* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Budapest | 56% | 21% | 17% | 6% |
| West Hungary | 77 | 8 | 12 | 3 |
| East Hungary | 69 | 16 | 11 | 4 |

**44.** (Hungary Mar '46) When do you expect a rise in the standard of living will occur? (HIPOR)

This year 42% Later 52% Uncertain 6%

**45.** (Canada Apr 10 '46) What do you think is the smallest amount of money a family of four (husband, wife, and two children) needs each week to live in health and decency in this community? (CIPO)

BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY

| | |
|---|---|
| Towns under 10,000 population | $35 per week* |
| Towns over 10,000 population | 40 per week |

* Because of difficulty in differentiating between cash and other income on the farm, results were based on non-farm communities.

**46.** (Germany June 7 '46) Have you heard whether or not the four occupation powers have announced their plans as to how much industry Germany is to have in the future? 36% of the sample who said they had heard were asked: Under the new plan, will the German people have a standard of living as good as or worse than the average of the continental European countries—that is, will it be as good as or worse than the average of the European countries excluding England and Russia? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Announcement ha not been made | 11% |
| Don't know whether announcement has been made | 53 |
| Standard of living will be as good | 3 |
| Will be worse | 21 |
| Will be about the same | 9 |
| Don't know how it will be | 3 |

**47.** (Germany June 7 '46) 64% of the German sample who thought the announcement about the future industry in Germany had not been made or who didn't know whether or not it had been made were asked: What does the phrase "standard of living" mean to you? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| What you need to live (material); so you can get along without difficulty; ways and means of living; what people work for—money and food | 24% |
| Fundamental things of life (both material and otherwise) | 4 |
| Cross-section of what makes up living in every field | 5 |
| Other | * |
| No answer | 10% |
| Don't know; can't say; irrelevant | 21 |
| | 64% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**48.** (Germany June 7 '46) How well the German people will be able to live, how much they will be able to buy, and what kinds of things they can buy is being specifically outlined by the four Allied powers. Under this new plan, do you expect that the German people will have a standard of living as good as or worse than the average of the cont nental European countries—that is, will it be as good as or worse than the average of the European countries, excluding England and Russia? Asked of the same 64% as the previous question. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| As good as | 5% |
| Worse than | 24 |
| About the same | 14 |
| Can't judge | 17 |
| No answer | 4 |
| | 64% |

**49.** (Germany June 7 '46) And what about the limits on your standard of living—do you believe that they are justified or unjustified? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Justified | 30% |
| Unjustified | 48 |
| No opin on | 21 |
| No answer | 1 |

**50.** (Germany June 7 '46) Why [do you believe the limits on your standard of living are] justified? Asked of 30% of the sample who thought the limits on their standard of living were justified. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| The restrictions are consequence of war; we lost the war; this always happened after a war; we've got to be good losers | 16% |
| The restrictions are consequence of war; we deserve punishment; we should be punished | * |
| The restrictions are necessary (for Germany); available things will be fairly divided; everybody will get a share of what little there is; general equalization; everybody must live | 6 |
| The restrictions are necessary (for Europe); other countries are as badly off or worse off than we are; as long as other nations are hungry, we should be hungry too; we did the same to other countries | 4 |
| Generally justified; everybody must make the best of the situation | 2 |
| Restrictions don't affect me, or don't affect me much; I am better off than people who have lost everything | 1 |
| Other | * |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 30% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**51.** (Germany June 7 '46) Why [do you believe the limits on your standard of living are] unjustified? Asked of 48% of the sample who thought the limits on their standard of living were unjustified. (OMGUS).

| | |
|---|---|
| Not humane; people have a right to live; we are human beings; everybody wants and deserves a decent life; I am hungry | 26% |
| Not guilty so don't deserve punishment; many were innocent, not everybody wanted war; most did not want war, did not know what was happening; the | |

| | |
|---|---|
| innocent should not suffer for the mistakes of the guilty leaders; I did not want war | 13% |
| Restrictions are too strong, go too far | 5 |
| Standard of living is too low; results will be Communism; conditions foster radicalism | * |
| Standard of living is too low; Germany is a cultured nation and should be treated as such; we are used to and deserve better treatment; a reversing of culture is never justified; we will never get back to our proper level of culture | 3 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 50%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 48 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**52.** (Germany June 7 '46) How long do you think that these limitations [on your standard of living] will be maintained? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 years or under; a short time | 15% |
| 4–10 years; a few years | 17 |
| 11–15 years | 1 |
| Over 15 years; a long time; "forever department" | 8 |
| Until Allies realize that we are human beings; until the Allies realize that they have treated us badly; until Allies change their way of thinking about us; until Allies realize that we are their allies | 8 |
| Until economic situation is better; until there are jobs and food for all; until food situation is cleared up; until trade is re-established; until world situation is cleared | 16 |
| Until Germany has been sufficiently punished for war guilt; until boundaries are settled; until reparations are paid | 1 |
| Until Germany and/or youth is re-educated; until we can govern ourselves | 4 |
| Other (until refugees leave; until Allies have come to an agreement) | 2 |
| Don't know; can't say; only God knows; hope not for long | 29 |
| Anti-occupation remarks: e.g. until they have ruined Germany; until many Germans have been killed off; until Americans stop following Russian policy | 2 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**53.** (US June 12 '46) Do people in Russia have a higher or lower standard of living than people in this country? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Higher | 4% |
| Lower | 81 |
| Same | 5 |
| No opinion | 10 |

**54.** (Hungary Aug '46) Are you able to defray expenses of lodging, heating, lighting, and cooking from your income? Asked of Budapest residents and suburban people. (HIPOR)

BY TYPE OF INCOME AND SEX

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Partly* | *Other or no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Men with fixed income* | | | | |
| Higher | 28.6% | 41.1% | 29.6% | 0.7% |
| Lower | 24.0 | 32.6 | 40.0 | 3.4 |
| *Men with variable income* | | | | |
| Higher | 48.3 | 28.4 | 23.3 | — |
| Lower | 23.2 | 41.4 | 32.0 | 3.4 |
| Lowest | 12.6 | 55.4 | 29.1 | 2.9 |
| *Women with fixed income* | | | | |
| Higher | 19.9% | 42.7% | 36.6% | 0.8% |
| Lower | 24.8 | 33.8 | 39.0 | 2.4 |
| *Women with variable income* | | | | |
| Higher | 40.3 | 40.3 | 19.4 | — |
| Lower | 26.8 | 30.2 | 41.6 | 1.4 |
| Lowest | 21.3 | 36.0 | 36.0 | 6.7 |

**55.** (Hungary Aug '46) Is your income in forints sufficient for your food needs? Asked of Budapest and suburban people. (HIPOR)

BY TYPE OF INCOME AND SEX

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Partly* | *Other, no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Men with fixed income* | | | | |
| Higher | 70.8% | 16.7% | 12.5% | — |
| Lower | 75.0 | 13.7 | 9.9 | 1.4% |
| *Men with variable income* | | | | |
| Higher | 82.8 | 7.8 | 8.6 | 0.8 |
| Lower | 74.1 | 16.4 | 8.9 | 0.6 |
| Lowest | 64.2 | 25.2 | 7.7 | 2.9 |
| *Women with fixed income* | | | | |
| Higher | 77.0 | 12.8 | 9.7 | 0.5 |
| Lower | 78.1 | 14.5 | 6.8 | 0.6 |
| *Women with variable income* | | | | |
| Higher | 85.0 | 10.5 | 4.5 | — |
| Lower | 81.2 | 13.4 | 5.4 | — |
| Lowest | 64.0 | 26.7 | 8.0 | 1.3 |

**56.** (Hungary Dec '46) How soon do you expect a peace standard of living after the signing of the new peace treaty? (HIPOR)

| | *Educated* | *Bourgeoisie* | *Workers* |
|---|---|---|---|
| In less than one year | 9.9% | 5.9% | 12.0% |
| 1–2 years | 20.3 | 16.4 | 25.9 |
| 2–5 years | 44.1 | 43.6 | 34.8 |
| 5–10 years | 14.7 | 18.4 | 16.3 |
| More than 10 years | 3.8 | 8.2 | 1.6 |
| Never; other; no answer | 7.2 | 7.5 | 9.4 |

## COUGHLIN, CHARLES E., REV.

**1.** (US Apr 6 '38) Have you listened recently to Father Coughlin's radio talks? (AIPO)

Yes 24% No 76%

**2.** (US Apr 6 '38 and July 17 '39) Do you listen to him [Father Coughlin] regularly? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No or no answer* | *Only occasionally or used to listen regularly* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '38 | 9% | 91% | — |
| July '39 | 6 | 56 | 38% |

1938 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Democratic | 55% | 45% |
| Republican | 23 | 77 |
| Lemke voters and others | 22 | 78 |

**3.** (US Apr 6 '38) Did you listen to him [Farher Coughlin] regularly before the 1936 election? (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 70%

**4.** (US Apr 6 '38 and Dec 16 '38) In general, do you approve or disapprove of what Father Coughlin says? Asked of those who listened to the programs. (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* |
|---|---|---|
| All listeners Apr '38 | 83% | 17% |
| Regular listeners Dec '38 | 67 | 33 |
| Occasional listeners Dec '38 | 51 | 49 |

**5.** (US Dec 16 '38) Have you listened to any of Father Coughlin's radio talks in the last month? (AIPO)

Regularly 5% Occasionally 17% Not at all 78%

**6.** (US July 17 '39) In general, do you approve or disapprove of Father Coughlin's ideas? (AIPO)

Approve 15% Disapprove 38% Don't know or no answer 47%

**7.** (US July 17 '39) In general, do you agree or disagree with what Father Coughlin says? (AIPO)

Agree 15% Disagree 31% Don't know or no answer 54%

## COURAGE

**1.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statements: (OMGUS)

| | AMERICAN ZONE AND BERLIN | | | BERLIN ONLY | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
| A man who does not distinguish himself by physical heroism is an inferior sort of fellow | 7% | 91% | 2% | 12% | 88% | — |
| A man who, from lack of courage, cannot face a dangerous situation should be severely punished | 18 | 76 | 6 | 28 | 72 | — |
| In spite of the fact that a man may never have done a heroic deed, he can still be highly esteemed by his fellow-citizens | 95 | 4 | 1 | 97 | 3 | — |
| Fear is a natural thing and those who show fear when in danger should be treated with understanding | 94 | 4 | 2 | 99 | 1 | — |

## COURTS

**1.** (US Sept 8 '35) As a general principle, would you favor limiting the power of the Supreme Court to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional? (Nov 13 '36) As a general policy, are you in favor of limiting the power of the Supreme Court to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '35 excluding no opinion | 37% | 63% = 100% | 16% |
| Sept '35 including no opinion | 31 | 53 | 16 = 100% |
| Nov '36 | 41 | 59 = 100 | 19 |
| SEPT '35 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 55% | 45% = 100% | 5% |
| Republican | 14 | 86 = 100 | 10 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| *New England* | | | |
| Sept '35 | 25% | 63% | 12% |
| Nov '36 | 33 | 67 | |
| *Middle Atlantic* | | | |
| Sept '35 | 32 | 56 | 12 |
| Nov '36 | 41 | 59 | |
| *East central* | | | |
| Sept '35 | 27 | 50 | 23 |
| Nov '36 | 38 | 62 | |
| *West central* | | | |
| Sept '35 | 32 | 49 | 19 |
| Nov '36 | 35 | 65 | |
| *South* | | | |
| Sept '35 | 35 | 52 | 13 |
| Nov '36 | 46 | 54 | |
| *Mountain* | | | |
| Sept '35 | 35 | 41 | 24 |
| Nov '36 | 44 | 56 | |
| *Pacific coast* | | | |
| Sept '35 | 33 | 51 | 16 |
| Nov '36 | 50 | 50 | |

**2.** (US Jan 11 '36) Do you think that more than a five to four vote of the Supreme Court should be required to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 53% | 47% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic | 74% | 26% |
| Republican | 28 | 72 |

**3.** (US Jan 11 '36) Which of the following modifications do you favor—six to three, seven to two, eight to one, or unanimous vote? Asked of 53% of the sample who thought that more than a five to four vote of the Supreme Court should be required to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional. (AIPO)

| | *6–3* | *7–2* | *8–1* | *Unanimous vote* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 16% | 12% | 4% | 21% = 53% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democratic | 18% | 17% | 6% | 33% = 74% |
| Republican | 15 | 6 | 2 | 5 = 28 |

**4.** (US Jan 18 '36) Should the Constitution be amended to require a Supreme Court ruling on the constitutionality of laws passed by Congress before these laws go into effect? (AIPO)

Yes 66% No 34% = 100% No opinion 19%

**5.** (US Apr '36 and July '37) Do you think the Supreme Court has recently stood in the way of the people's will or do you think it has protected the people against rash legislation? (FOR)

| | *In the way of the people* | *Protected the people* | *Neither* | *Both* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '36 | 21.7% | 39.2% | 6.3% | — | 32.8% |
| July '37 | 23.1 | 43.1 | 4.6 | 4.3% | 24.9 |

1936 RESULTS BY ATTITUDES TOWARD ROOSEVELT

| | *Supreme Court in the way* | *It protected the people* | *Neither or don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Re-election essential | 30.4% | 24.4% | 45.2% |
| Best man despite mistakes | 27.8 | 31.2 | 41.0 |
| Usefulness now over | 10.9 | 54.9 | 34.2 |
| Re-election a calamity | 8.8 | 64.9 | 26.3 |
| Uncertain | 8.2 | 40.6 | 51.2 |

**6.** (US Nov 13 '36 and Mar 1 '37) Should the Supreme Court be more liberal in reviewing New Deal measures? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '36 | 59% | 41% = 100% | 9% |
| Mar '37 | 61 | 39 = 100 | 13 |

1936 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Democratic | 80% | 20% |
| Republican | 22 | 78 |
| Socialist | 67 | 33 |
| Lemke voters | 52 | 48 |

**7.** (US Feb 8 '37) Is the authority of the Supreme Court likely to be increased or decreased by enlarging the Court? (AIPO)

Increased 22% Decreased 35% Makes no difference 43%

**8.** (US Feb 15 '37, Mar 10 '37, Mar 15 '37) Are you in favor of President Roosevelt's proposal regarding the Supreme Court? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Feb '37 | 47% | 53% |
| Mar 10 '37 | 48 | 52 |
| Mar 15 '37 | 49 | 51 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| *New England* | | |
| Feb '37 | 40% | 60% |
| Mar 10 '37 | 44 | 56 |
| Mar 15 '37 | 45 | 55 |
| *Middle Atlantic* | | |
| Feb '37 | 49 | 51 |
| Mar 10 '37 | 47 | 53 |
| Mar 15 '37 | 49 | 51 |
| *East central* | | |
| Feb '37 | 44 | 56 |
| Mar 10 '37 | 43 | 57 |
| Mar 15 '37 | 44 | 56 |
| *West central* | | |
| Feb '37 | 45 | 55 |
| Mar 10 '37 | 46 | 54 |
| Mar 15 '37 | 47 | 53 |
| *South* | | |
| Feb '37 | 53 | 47 |
| Mar 10 '37 | 54 | 46 |
| Mar 15 '37 | 48 | 52 |
| *Mountain* | | |
| Feb '37 | 46 | 54 |
| Mar 10 '37 | 50 | 50 |
| Mar 15 '37 | 48 | 52 |
| *Pacific coast* | | |
| Feb '37 | 57 | 43 |
| Mar 10 '37 | 59 | 41 |
| Mar 15 '37 | 58 | 42 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| *Feb '37* | | |
| Democratic | 70% | 30% |
| Republican | 8 | 92 |
| *Mar 10 '37* | | |
| Democratic | 73% | 27% |
| Republican | 5 | 95 |
| Democratic listeners* | 74 | 26 |
| Republican listeners* | 6 | 94 |
| Democratic non-listeners* | 72 | 28 |
| Republican non-listeners* | 5 | 95 |
| *Mar 15 '37* | | |
| Democratic | 74 | 26 |
| Republican | 6 | 94 |
| BY SELECTED GROUPS | | |
| *Reliefers* | | |
| Feb '37 | 73% | 27% |
| Mar 15 '37 | 74 | 26 |
| *Lawyers* | | |
| Feb '37 | 23 | 77 |
| *Farmers* | | |
| Feb '37 | 42 | 58 |
| Mar 15 '37 | 45 | 55 |
| *Urban voters* | | |
| Feb '37 | 48 | 52 |
| Mar 15 '37 | 50 | 50 |
| MAR 15 '37 RESULTS BY SELECTED GROUPS | | |
| Young persons | 50% | 50% |
| Women | 49 | 51 |
| Small-town voters | 44 | 56 |
| FEB '37 RESULTS BY AGE | | |
| 21–24 years | 54% | 46% |
| 25–34 years | 50 | 50 |
| 35–44 years | 55 | 45 |
| 45–54 years | 48 | 52 |
| 55 years and over | 42 | 58 |
| MAR 15 '37 RESULTS BY LABOR UNION MEMBERS | | |
| Total union members | 66% | 34% |
| CIO | 71 | 29 |
| AFL | 68 | 32 |
| Company unions | 58 | 42 |
| Others | 63 | 37 |

* Listeners and non-listeners to Roosevelt's March 4 and March 9 radio talks.

**9.** (US Feb 15 '37) What action should Congress take on Roosevelt's plan to reorganize the Supreme Court—pass it, modify it, or defeat it? (AIPO)

| | *Pass plan* | *Modify plan* | *Defeat plan* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 38% | 23% | 39% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 32% | 21% | 47% |
| Middle Atlantic | 38 | 23 | 39 |
| East central | 34 | 23 | 43 |
| West central | 27 | 25 | 48 |
| South | 48 | 27 | 25 |
| Mountain | 37 | 20 | 43 |
| Pacific coast | 35 | 28 | 37 |

**10.** (US Feb 15 '37) Do you think a majority of the nation's voters approve of Roosevelt's plan [to reorganize the Supreme Court]? (AIPO)

Yes 52% No 48%

**11.** (US Feb 22 '37 and Mar 1 '37) Do you think some kind of change is necessary regarding the Supreme Court? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '37 | 60% | 40% = 100% | 15% |
| Mar '37 | 58 | 42 = 100 | 10 |

**12.** (US Mar 10 '37) Do you think that President Roosevelt should have made his [Supreme Court] plan an issue in the last election? (AIPO)

Yes 68% No 32% = 100% No opinion 16%

**13.** (US Mar 10 '37) Did you hear President Roosevelt's radio speech in defense of his Supreme Court proposal on either March 4 or March 9? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| March 4 | 8% |
| March 9 | 20 |
| Both | 22 |
| Neither | 50 |

**14.** (US Mar 10 '37) Do you think he [Roosevelt] gained or lost supporters for his plan by these speeches [in defense of his Supreme Court proposal]? (AIPO)

Gained 63% Lost 24% Neither 13% = 100% No opinion 43%

**15.** (US Apr 5 '37, Apr 26 '37, May 17 '37, May 24 '37) Should Congress pass the President's Supreme Court plan? In the May 24 question the term "proposal" was used instead of "plan." (June 7 '37) Should Congress pass the President's plan to enlarge the Supreme Court? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apr 5 '37 | 47% | 53% = 100% | 14% |
| Apr 26 '37 | 46 | 54 | |
| May 17 '37 | 42 | 58 | |
| May 24 '37 | 41 | 59 | |
| June 7 '37 | 40 | 60 | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| *New England* | | | |
| Apr 5 '37 | 41% | 59% | |
| Apr 26 '37 | 39 | 61 | |
| *Middle Atlantic* | | | |
| Apr 5 '37 | 49 | 51 | |
| Apr 26 '37 | 48 | 52 | |
| *East central* | | | |
| Apr 5 '37 | 41 | 59 | |
| Apr 26 '37 | 40 | 60 | |
| *West central* | | | |
| Apr 5 '37 | 46 | 54 | |
| Apr 26 '37 | 44 | 56 | |
| *South* | | | |
| Apr 5 '37 | 53 | 47 | |
| Apr 26 '37 | 51 | 49 | |
| *Mountain* | | | |
| Apr 5 '37 | 52 | 48 | |
| Apr 26 '37 | 51 | 49 | |
| *Pacific coast* | | | |
| Apr 5 '37 | 56 | 44 | |
| Apr 26 '37 | 55 | 45 | |
| APR 5 '37 RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Farmers | 41% | 59% | |
| Small towns | 43 | 57 | |
| Urban | 50 | 50 | |
| APR 26 '37 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 68% | 32% | |
| Republican | 7 | 93 | |
| Others | 42 | 58 | |

**16.** (US Apr 5 '37) Do you think the President will win his fight to enlarge the Supreme Court? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 61% | 39% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic | 75% | 25% |
| Republican | 38 | 62 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 56% | 44% |
| Middle Atlantic | 63 | 37 |
| East central | 60 | 40 |
| West central | 54 | 46 |
| South | 67 | 33 |
| Mountain | 56 | 44 |
| Pacific coast | 65 | 35 |

**17.** (US May 24 '37) Are you more in favor or less in favor of the [Supreme] Court proposal now than you were when it was first announced? (AIPO)

More 42% Less 58% = 100% No opinion 43%

**18.** (US July 5 '37) Would you favor or oppose a filibuster in the Senate to defeat any compromise bill for enlarging the Supreme Court? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Favor | 49% |
| Oppose | 51 |
| | 100% |
| No opinion | 11% |
| Don't understand | .4 |

**19.** (US July 12 '37) The Senate is now debating a plan which permits the President to enlarge the Supreme Court by adding one new judge each year. Do you favor this plan? (July 19 '37) Are you in favor of the plan now being discussed in the Senate to enlarge the membership of the Supreme Court? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| July 12 '37 | 38% | 62% = 100% | 15% |
| July 19 '37 | 38 | 62 = 100 | 20 |

**20.** (US July 12 '37) Why do you think President Roosevelt wants to enlarge the Supreme Court? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| To complete his program | 13% |
| Wants more power | 11 |
| To have more votes; his own way, pack it | 8 |
| Wants to be a dictator; strengthen power | 5 |
| Because he sees a need for it | 4 |
| Give younger men a chance | 3 |
| For his own personal use | 3 |
| To liberalize it | 3 |
| To put some of his friends in office | 2 |
| Old men set in their ways | 1 |
| So he can have party in | 1 |
| Because the laboring class hasn't anything and he wants to help them | 1 |
| Progressive policy to make a more liberal government | 1 |
| To get more opinions on varied subjects | 1 |
| Get more work done | 1 |
| To perfect justice | 1 |
| To have better conditions | 1 |
| All others | 7 |
| No answer | 33 |

**21.** (US Aug 16 '37 and Sept 16 '37) Would you like to have President Roosevelt renew his fight to enlarge the Supreme Court? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '37 | 32% | 68% | — |
| Sept '37 | 26 | 59 | 15% |

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| AUG '37 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 28% | 72% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 37 | 63 | |
| East central | 29 | 71 | |
| West central | 28 | 72 | |
| South | 35 | 65 | |
| Mountain | 29 | 71 | |
| Pacific coast | 30 | 70 | |
| AUG '37 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Better-than-average income | 17% | 83% | |
| Average income | 25 | 75 | |
| Less-than-average income | 37 | 63 | |
| Poor, not on relief | 42 | 58 | |
| On relief | 59 | 41 | |

**22.** (US July 27 '38) Did you favor the President's plan to enlarge the Supreme Court last year? A comparable cross-section was asked the question about "President Roosevelt's plan." Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 29% No 57% No opinion 14%

**23.** (US Feb 14 '41) Do you think the United States Supreme Court has been too conservative, about right, or not conservative enough in its decisions in the last year or so? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too conservative | 4% |
| About right | 39 |
| Not conservative enough | 19 |
| No opinion | 38 |

**24.** (US Feb 14 '41) Do you think the present United States Supreme Court has been too liberal, about right, or not liberal enough in its decisions in the last year or so? Asked of a separate cross-section comparable to that used for the previous question. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not liberal enough | 3% |
| About right | 46 |
| Too liberal | 18 |
| No opinion | 33 |

**25.** (US June 12 '46) Some people say that the Supreme Court decides many questions largely on the basis of politics. Do you agree or disagree with this? (AIPO)

Agree 43% Disagree 36% Don't know 21%

**26.** (US June 12 '46) Has your attitude toward the Supreme Court changed in recent years? 30% of the sample who said their attitude had changed were asked: Do you have a higher or a lower regard for the Supreme Court now? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Attitude hasn't changed | 45% |
| No opinion on the subject | 25 |
| Have higher regard now | 3 |
| Have lower regard now | 27 |

**27.** (Netherlands July '46) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the purge of the Supreme Court? (NIPO)

Satisfied 9% Dissatisfied 46% Don't know 45%

**28.** (Germany Sept 3 '46) If you should be charged with a civil offense—such as speeding with an automobile, etc.—would you rather be tried by a German court or by a military government court? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| German court | 37% |
| Military government court | 18 |
| No opinion | 32 |
| Both | 4 |
| No difference, both the same | 9 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**29.** (Germany Sept 3 '46) Why [would you rather be tried by a German court instead of a military government court]? Asked of 37% of the sample who said they would prefer trial by a German court for a civil offense. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| It is German justice; because I can have more confidence in the Germans; because as a German I want to be tried by a German court | 55% |
| Because of the language; I can't speak English; I'll get along better with a German court | 18 |
| Have more confidence in a German court; they understand me better; think in a more civil way | 16 |
| Military government court judges very harshly; fear of military government court; as a German you won't have any right before Americans | 8 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 100% |

of those who preferred trial by a German court

**30.** (Germany Sept 3 '46) Why [would you rather be tried by a military government court instead of a German court]? Asked of 18% of the sample who said they would prefer trial by a military government court for a civil offense. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Because I trust; one can speak one's mind; think kindly toward people | * |
| Both have to judge according to law | * |
| Prefer court that is sentencing the mildest | 3 |
| No answer | 97 |
| | 100% |

of those who preferred trial by military government court

* Less than 0.5%.

**31.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Do you happen to know whether the court system in Germany has changed? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, changed | 14% |
| Not changed | 5 |
| No opinion | 81 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

## CRIME AND CRIMINALS

**1.** (US Jan 5 '37) Should Congress enact a law which would make lynching a federal crime? (Aug 16 '37) Should Congress pass a law making lynching a federal crime? (Oct 28 '37) Should Congress pass a law which would make lynching a federal crime? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Jan '37 | 70% | 30% |
| Aug '37 | 71 | 29 |
| Oct '37 | 72 | 28 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| *New England* | | |
| Jan '37 | 75% | 25% |
| Oct '37 | 75 | 25 |
| *Middle Atlantic* | | |
| Jan '37 | 72 | 28 |
| Oct '37 | 79 | 21 |
| *East central* | | |
| Jan '37 | 77 | 23 |
| Oct '37 | 77 | 23 |

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| *West central* | | |
| Jan '37 | 70% | 30% |
| Oct '37 | 78 | 22 |
| *South* | | |
| Jan '37 | 65 | 35 |
| Oct '37 | 57 | 43 |
| *Mountain* | | |
| Jan '37 | 65 | 35 |
| Oct '37 | 75 | 25 |
| *Pacific coast* | | |
| Jan '37 | 59 | 41 |
| Oct '37 | 65 | 35 |
| JAN '37 RESULTS BY SPECIAL GROUPS | | |
| Women | 75% | 25% |
| Young persons | 77 | 23 |
| Reliefers | 72 | 28 |
| Farmers | 69 | 31 |
| Small towns | 75 | 25 |
| Urban | 70 | 30 |

**2.** (US Nov 19 '37) If a local peace officer is negligent in protecting a prisoner from a lynch mob, should the federal government have the right to punish this peace officer? (AIPO)

Yes 59% No 27% No opinion 14%

**3.** (US Dec 13 '37) Congress is now considering a lynching bill which gives the federal government power to fine and imprison local policemen who are negligent in protecting a prisoner from a lynch mob, and also to make a county in which a lynching occurs pay a fine up to ten thousand dollars to the victim or his family. Do you approve of this bill? (Jan 10 '40) Congress is now considering a bill against lynching which would punish lynching in these two ways: will you please read this card and tell me whether you approve or disapprove of this bill against lynching. The card read: Under the proposed federal law against lynching, the federal government would fine and imprison local policemen who fail to protect a prisoner from a lynch mob, and make a county in which a lynching occurs pay a fine up to ten thousand dollars to the victim or his family. (AIPO)

| | *Yes, approve* | *No, or disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '37 | 53% | 47% = 100% | 16% |
| Jan '40 | 55 | 45 = 100 | 9 |

**4.** (US June 10 '38) Do you think it should be against the law for a family to pay ransom to a kidnapper? (AIPO)

Yes 67% No 33% = 100% No opinion 7%

**5.** (US June 10 '38) Do you think there would be fewer kidnappings if it were against the law for a family to pay ransom to a kidnapper? (AIPO)

Yes 78% No 22% = 100% No opinion 6%

**6.** (US June 8 '38) Would you favor such a law [prohibiting payment of ransom to a kidnapper]? (AIPO)

Yes 70% No 21% No opinion 9%

**7.** (France Jan 16 '45) In your opinion, was the explosion of the Simone chateau in the Vaucluse an accident or an attempt at crime?* (FIPO)

Accident 9% Attempt at crime 60% No answer 31%

* The explosion took place on November 26, 1944, and there were thirty-four victims. On November 28 the Minister of the Interior made an announcement on the subject.

**8.** (Canada Nov 21 '45) Do you think there is more crime in Canada today than there was before the war? (CIPO)

Yes 53% No 29% Undecided 18%

**9.** (Finland Jan 18 '46) Have you personally been a victim of criminal activity this year? Presumably the question was asked late in 1945. (FGI)

Yes 11% No 85% Don't know 4%

**10.** (Finland Jan 18 '46) In what way [have you been a victim of criminal activity]? Asked of 11% of the sample who said they had been a victim during the preceding year. (FGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Theft, burglary, robbery | 84% |
| Injuries | 5 |
| Disturbance of public peace | 4 |
| Fraud | 2 |
| Others | 5 |
| | 100% of those who had been criminally victimized |

**11.** (Italy Apr '46) Do you think crimes have increased or decreased in your region during the last six months? (DOXA)

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | *Decreased* | *No change* | *Increased* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| North Italy | 33% | 19% | 42% | 6% |
| Central Italy | 29 | 18 | 44 | 9 |
| South Italy | 12 | 19 | 63 | 6 |
| Islands | 14 | 19 | 61 | 6 |

**12.** (Italy Apr '46) What crimes are causing most concern in your region? (DOXA)

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | *Robberies* | *Thefts* | *Political crimes* | *Other* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| North Italy | 57% | 29% | 5% | 4% | 5% |
| Central Italy | 45 | 38 | 2 | 8 | 7 |
| South Italy | 28 | 56 | 2 | 10 | 4 |
| Islands | 64 | 19 | 2 | 6 | 9 |

**13.** (Italy Apr '46) What is the principal motive that starts a person on the road to delinquency? (DOXA)

| | *Poverty* | *Insufficient religious and family education* | *Thirst for excitement* | *Evil influence of books, magazines, and movies* | *War-born habits of violence* | *Others* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 47.9% | 15.1% | 12.8% | 0.8% | 17.2% | 2.8% | 3.4% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | | | |
| North Italy | 38.0% | 16.8% | 18.1% | 1.1% | 20.3% | 2.8% | 2.9% |
| Central Italy | 49.0 | 17.0 | 10.4 | 1.0 | 15.0 | 3.5 | 4.1 |
| South Italy | 68.3 | 8.2 | 2.7 | 0.4 | 12.4 | 1.9 | 6.1 |
| Islands | 62.2 | 12.3 | 6.5 | 0.1 | 13.3 | 3.0 | 2.6 |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | |
| Men | 47.7% | | 26.4% | | 20.1% | 3.1% | 2.7% |
| Women | 48.1 | | 31.9 | | 13.7 | 2.5 | 3.8 |

**14.** (Italy Apr '46) What means are best adapted to stamp out delinquency in Italy? (DOXA)

BY SEX

| | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| Better economic conditions | 51.9% | 49.5% |
| Strong police measures | 32.1 | 24.2 |
| Religious crusade | 5.1 | 12.2 |
| Censorship of books and films | 0.8 | 2.0 |

| | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| More allied troops | 2.5% | 2.4% |
| Fewer allied troops | 1.2 | 0.9 |
| Other means | 3.4 | 3.1 |
| Don't know | 3.0 | 5.7 |

## CULTURE

**1.** (Germany Dec 6 '45) What do you think of the work the American occupation authorities have done in the cultural field (radio, theater, cinema, press, publishing)? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Very good work | 10% |
| Good work | 39 |
| Fairly good work | 17 |
| Bad work | 2 |
| Very bad work | 31 |
| No answer | 1 |

**2.** (Germany Dec 13 '45) In your opinion, have too many or not enough Nazis been removed from cultural activities? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too many | 16% |
| Too few | 9 |
| All right as it is | 27 |
| No opinion | 47 |
| Both | 1 |

**3.** (Hungary Dec '46) Do you expect considerable progress in science and art life after the signing of the peace treaty? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

| | *Rapid progress* | *Slow progress* | *No change* | *Other; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Educated | 40% | 56% | 3% | 1% |
| Bourgeoisie | 43 | 54 | 2 | 1 |
| Workers | 40 | 51 | 2 | 7 |

## CURRENT EVENTS

**1.** (Sweden Dec '42) Which single event in foreign politics do you think you will remember most distinctly from 1942? (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Town* | *Country* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Transportation of about 1,500 Jews from Norway to Poland (Nov) | 25% | 22% | 27% | 20% | 30% |
| Battle of Stalingrad (Aug) | 13 | 14 | 13 | 18 | 9 |
| The American invasion of North Africa (Nov) | 9 | 12 | 8 | 15 | 4 |
| The German occupation of the non-occupied part of France; the storming of Toulon and the devastation of the French fleet (Nov) | 8 | 12 | 6 | 10 | 7 |
| Emergency state in Trondheim with 34 executions (Oct) | 8 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 9 |
| The Norwegian Church strife (Feb) | 3 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 5 |
| Quisling becoming Prime Minister (Feb) | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| King Christian's illness | 1.5% | 2% | 1% | 0.5% | 2% |
| English offensive in Egypt (Oct) | 1.5 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 0.5 |
| Assassination of Heydrich, followed by state of emergency and about 1,400 executions in the protectorate (May) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Russian U-boats in the Baltic sea (July) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0.5 | 1.5 |
| Fall of Singapore (Feb) | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| British–Russian 20 years' military alliance (May) | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| German offensive in Africa (Jan–June) | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Japanese occupation of Dutch Indies (Mar) | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Gandhi arrested (Aug) | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| First 100-plane raid on Cologne (May) | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Danish crisis (Sept) | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Dieppe raid (Aug) | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Fall of Sebastopol (July) | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| | 119%* | 123%* | 118%* | 124%* | 116%* |
| Don't know | 21% | | | | |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (Sweden Dec '43) Which two events during the war year 1943 do you think you will remember longest? (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Town* | *Country* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ulven goes down (Apr) | 59% | 58% | 59% | 54% | 64% |
| Persecutions of Jews in Denmark (Oct) | 19 | 17 | 20 | 16 | 23 |
| Capitulation of Italy, the fall of Mussolini (July–Sept) | 16 | 18 | 15 | 23 | 10 |
| Capitulation of the Germans at Stalingrad (Feb) | 11 | 15 | 9 | 17 | 5 |
| The great bombardments of Berlin (Nov) | 9 | 9 | 9 | 11 | 7 |
| German warships sink Swedish fishing boats (Aug) | 8 | 7 | 9 | 8 | 9 |
| Arresting of students in Oslo (Nov–Dec) | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Shooting down of the Grippen (Oct) | 6 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 6 |
| Stopping of troop transit (Aug) | 5 | 7 | 4 | 5 | 4 |
| Destruction of Hamburg (July) | 4 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| Military emergency conditions in Denmark | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| Mussolini freed (Sept) | 3 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 2 |
| Other replies | 18 | 18 | 19 | 17 | 19 |
| Don't know | 16 | 15 | 17 | 12 | 21 |
| | 183%* | 188%* | 180%* | 187%* | 182%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (Sweden Dec '44) Which two war events during 1944 do you think you will remember most vividly? (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| The sinking of the Hansa (Nov) | 49% | 42% | 57% |
| Allied invasion of France (June) | 36 | 49 | 23 |
| The murder of Kaj Munk (Jan) | 23 | 18 | 29 |
| The distress of Northern Norway (Oct–Dec) | 12 | 10 | 13 |
| The attempt to assassinate Hitler (July) | 11 | 12 | 10 |
| Finnish–Russian armistice (Sept) | 10 | 14 | 7 |
| Refugees come from Finland (Oct–Nov) | 9 | 6 | 12 |
| Russians bomb Stockholm and Strängnäs (Feb) | 6 | 5 | 7 |
| German–Finnish fight in Torneå (Oct) | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| King Gustaf sympathizes with Hungarian Jews (July) | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Sweden stops mercantile marine connection with Germany (Sept) | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Russian bombs on Haparanda (Feb) | 2 | 4 | 2 |
| Robot planes against England (June) | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Exchange of war prisoners in Göteborg and Trelleborg (Sept) | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Swedish maps found in German transports (Apr–May) | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Russians cross Norwegian frontier (Oct) | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Germans in Paris capitulate (Aug) | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Coal mine export crisis (Apr) | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Allies cross German border (Sept) | 1 | 1 | — |
| Rumania capitulates and declares war against Germany (Aug) | 1 | 1 | — |
| Other events | 4 | 5 | 3 |
| Don't know | 18 | 16 | 24 |
| | 200%* | 204%* | 201%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**4.** (Sweden June '45) Which two war events, of those that have occurred since January 1st of this year, do you think you will remember most vividly? (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| The capitulation in Norway (May) | 46% |
| The death of Roosevelt (Apr) | 31 |
| The capitulation in Denmark (May) | 29 |
| The information on Buchenwald and other German concentration camps (May) | 19 |
| Death of Hitler (May) | 15 |
| The final battle of Berlin (Apr–May) | 10 |
| The peace negotiations of Folke Bernadotte (Apr) | 10 |
| Allied break-through of the German Western front (Mar–Apr) | 5 |
| Prisoners from concentration camps brought to Sweden (May) | 4 |
| Russian winter offensive conquers Warsaw, Budapest, Danzig (Jan–Mar) | 3 |
| The Yalta meeting (Feb) | 3 |
| General Dönitz elects himself Hitler's successor (May) | 2 |
| Quislings in Norway and other occupied countries taken prisoner or commit suicide (May–June) | 2 |
| Russians occupy Bornholm (May) | 2 |
| Disagreement over Poland (Feb) | 1 |
| Other replies | 6 |
| Don't know | 11 |
| | 199%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**5.** (Sweden Dec '45) Which two events that have occurred since the war, either here or abroad, do you think you will remember most vividly? (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* | *Upper class* | *Middle class* | *Workers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| The atom bomb | 66 | 89 | 43 | 39 | 51 | 81 |
| Quisling's sentence and execution | 25 | 23 | 28 | 16 | 23 | 29 |
| Coffee and tea given ration-free | 19 | 7 | 32 | 6 | 18 | 22 |
| The Nuremberg trials | 13 | 15 | 11 | 13 | 14 | 12 |
| The problem of the Baltic refugees | 11 | 10 | 12 | 14 | 12 | 10 |
| King Haakon's return to Norway | 10 | 5 | 6 | 11 | 10 | 10 |
| Demobilization of Swedish home guard | 8 | 10 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| End of the metal strike | 8 | 10 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 11 |
| Tobacco ration-free | 6 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 8 |
| S. S. Delos wrecked | 5 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| Petrol ration-free | 5 | 7 | 3 | 3 | 7 | 4 |
| English elections; fall of Churchill | 4 | 7 | 2 | 7 | 5 | 3 |
| The amateur question in the sports world | 4 | 7 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 4 |
| Capitulation of Japan | 4 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 3 |
| Opposition against King Leopold | 4 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| Trial and death sentence of Petain | 4 | 4 | 3 | 8 | 4 | 3 |
| Trial of Finland's former government | 3 | 4 | 3 | 8 | 6 | 11 |
| P. A. Hansson's 60th birthday | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| Laval's sentence and removal | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| The majority cabinet replaces the coalition | 2 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 2 |
| The San Francisco conference | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Divergences of opinion at the London conference | 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| Meeting at Potsdam | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Rumors of Stalin's death | 1 | — | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Åland's desire to join Sweden | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | 1 |
| Percentages | 210* | 231* | 181* | 173* | 197* | 240* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (Finland Mar 15 '46) Mention two of the most remarkable happenings which have taken place this last year at home or abroad which you think you will remember most vividly. (FGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Currency exchange | 22% |
| The trials to decide war responsibility and consequent arrest | 16 |
| Use of the atom bomb | 10 |
| Germans thrown out of Northern Finland | 9 |
| Military breakdown of Germany | 8 |
| The parliamentary elections in Finland | 6 |
| Violent deaths of Hitler and Mussolini | 5 |
| Two years' extension of payment on war reparations | 4 |
| Renewed diplomatic relations with victorious nations | 4 |
| The weapon smuggling affair | 4 |
| Capitulation of Japan and end of the world war | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| 80-year birthday of Sibelius, President Mannerheim's journey abroad | 2% |
| Death of President Roosevelt | 2 |
| Founding of UN | 1 |
| The Krim conference | 1 |
| Churchill's election defeat | 1 |
| The Nuremberg trials | 1 |
| No answer | 2 |
| | 100% |

of the total number of answers given

# CURTIN, JOHN

**1.** (Australia July '42, Dec '42, Aug '43) Which of these statements comes nearest to expressing your feelings about Mr. Curtin as Prime Minister? In July '42 "as Prime Minister" was omitted from the question, and in Aug '43 the question read: Which of these statements on the reverse of the card comes nearest, etc. The card read: (1) Mr. Curtin has done an excellent job as Prime Minister in these difficult times. (2) Mr. Curtin has made some mistakes, but on the whole he is doing a fairly good job. (3) Mr. Curtin has done some good things, but another Prime Minister might do a better job. (4) Mr. Curtin has not been a success as Prime Minister. (APOP)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *No answer** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| July '42 | 35% | 43% | 13% | 5% | 4% |
| Dec '42 | 37 | 43 | 14 | 3 | 3 |
| Aug '43 | 31 | 41 | 20 | 8 | — |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| *Labor voters* | | | | | |
| July '42 | 48% | 39% | 6% | 3% | 4% |
| Dec '42 | 49 | 39 | 7 | 2 | 3 |
| Aug '43 | 52 | 43 | 4 | 1 | — |
| *Non-Labor* | | | | | |
| July '42 | 21 | 47 | 21 | 7 | 4 |
| Dec '42 | 24 | 48 | 22 | 3 | 3 |
| Aug '43 | 9 | 38 | 37 | 16 | — |

* Those who didn't answer were excluded from the percentages in Aug '43.

# CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## Foreign Relations

**1.** (Czechoslovakia Oct '46) Have you changed your opinion about the Western powers since the end of the Paris Peace Conference? (CZIPO)

Yes 30% No 47% Don't know 23%

**2.** (Czechoslovakia Oct '46) Do you look upon them [the Western powers] more or less favorably [than before the Paris Peace Conference]? Asked of 30% of the sample who said they had changed their opinion of the Western powers since the conference. (CZIPO)

More favorably 21% Less favorably 79% = 100% of those who had changed their minds

## History

**1.** (Czechoslovakia Dec '46) Which period in Czechoslovakian history do you consider the most glorious? (CZIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| The period of St. Wenceslaus | 8% |
| The period of Charles IV | 17 |
| The Hussite wars | 19 |
| The period of George of Podebrad | 7 |
| The period of the national renaissance | 3 |
| The first republic | 8 |
| The present period | 16 |
| Don't know | 22 |

**2.** (Czechoslovakia Dec '46) In your opinion, which was the period of greatest decadence [in Czechoslovakian history]? (CZIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| The period of the Brandenburgs in Bohemia | 4% |
| The thirty years war | 26 |
| The second republic | 3 |
| The protectorate | 54 |
| Don't know | 13 |

**3.** (Czechoslovakia Dec '46) If you visit a new town, are you interested in local historical monuments? (CZIPO)

Yes 59% No 19% Don't know 22%

## Internal Relations

**1.** (Czechoslovakia Dec '46) Do you know any Slovak personally? (CZIPO)

Several 61% One 12% None 27%

**2.** (Czechoslovakia Dec '46) Do you get along with him [the Slovak whom you know personally] well, on the whole? Asked of 73% of the sample who said they knew one or more Slovaks personally. (CZIPO)

Yes 71% No 6% Sometimes 23% = 100% of those who knew one or more Slovaks personally

**3.** (Czechoslovakia Dec '46) Are you in favor of the present position of Slovakia in relation to the Czechoslovak Republic, are you in favor of Slovakia's prewar position, or are you in favor of still greater autonomy for Slovakia? (CZIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| In favor of present position | 36% |
| In favor of prewar position | 35 |
| In favor of more autonomy | 10 |
| Don't know | 19 |

## Politics and Government

**1.** (Czechoslovakia Mar '46) Do you consider the national committees better fitted organs of self-administration than the former local councils? (CZIPO)

BY POLITICS AS INDICATED BY NEWSPAPERS READ

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *Other answers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| People's party | 40.3% | 28.0% | 18.9% | 12.8% |
| National Socialist | 45.2 | 25.1 | 17.9 | 11.8 |
| Social Democratic | 64.6 | 13.0 | 14.0 | 8.4 |
| Communist | 72.3 | 10.4 | 10.0 | 7.3 |

**2.** (Czechoslovakia Mar '46) How effective have local national committees proved so far? (CZIPO)

BY POLITICS AS INDICATED BY NEWSPAPERS READ

| | *Very effective* | *Little effect* | *Don't know* | *Other answers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| People's party | 40.3% | 23.7% | 14.6% | 21.4% |
| National Socialist | 38.1 | 28.5 | 15.8 | 17.6 |
| Social Democratic | 50.2 | 17.2 | 15.4 | 17.2 |
| Communist | 67.0 | 13.8 | 8.8 | 10.4 |

**3.** (Czechoslovakia May '46) Have you read the whole Košice government program, or do you know it only from newspaper articles? (CZIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Know the whole program | 29.1% |
| Know only newspaper extracts | 55.1 |
| Don't know at all | 15.8 |

**4.** (Czechoslovakia May '46) Do you agree with the Košice government program? Asked of a national cross-section of people who were familiar with the program. (CZIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Agree entirely | 62.9% |
| Agree with reservations | 28.8 |
| Disagree but recognize its good points | 6.4 |
| Disagree entirely | 1.9 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**5.** (Czechoslovakia May '46) On the whole, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the present government? (CZIPO)

| | *Satisfied* | *Dissatisfied* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 81.6% | 18.4% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Women | 83.8% | 16.2% |
| Men | 79.3 | 20.7 |

## DAYLIGHT SAVING

**1.** (US May 3 '37 and Mar 13 '40) Are you in favor of daylight saving time? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1937 | 57% | 43% = 100% | 13% |
| 1940 | 60 | 40 = 100 | 19 |
| 1940 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 75% | 25% | |
| East central | 64 | 36 | |
| West central | 45 | 55 | |
| South | 44 | 56 | |
| Far West | 51 | 49 | |

**2.** (US Sept 13 '38) Would you rather have daylight saving time or regular (standard) time in the summer months? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Daylight saving time | 35% |
| Regular time | 45 |
| No difference | 20 |
| | 100% |
| No opinion | 4% |

**3.** (US Mar 13 '40) Would you approve or disapprove of having daylight saving time here all year round instead of only in the summer? Asked of a national cross-section of those who favored daylight saving. (June 7 '41) Would you favor or oppose keeping the country on daylight saving time throughout the coming year? (Sept 17 '41) Would you like to have daylight saving time in this community for the entire year? (Dec 18 '41) As long as the war lasts, would you favor or oppose daylight saving time in this community for the entire year beginning in January 1942? (AIPO)

| | *Favor daylight saving* | *Oppose daylight saving* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '40 | 40% | 60% | — |
| June '41 | 38 | 41 | 21% |
| Sept '41 | 35 | 53 | 12 |
| Dec '41 | 57 | 30 | 13 |
| JUNE AND DEC '41 RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Farmers, June | 45% | 34% | 21% |
| Farmers, Dec | 36 | 45 | 19 |
| All towns, June | 64 | 20 | 16 |
| Towns under 10,000, Dec | 49 | 34 | 17 |
| Towns between 10,000 and 100,000, Dec | 61 | 30 | 9 |
| Cities, June | 77 | 13 | 10 |
| Cities, Dec | 72 | 19 | 9 |
| JUNE AND DEC '41 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| *New England and mid-Atlantic* | | | |
| June | 54% | 46% | — |
| Dec | 69 | 24 | 7% |
| *East central* | | | |
| June | 47 | 53 | — |
| Dec | 52 | 35 | 13 |
| *West central* | | | |
| June | 36 | 64 | — |
| Dec | 48 | 35 | 17 |
| *South* | | | |
| June | 49 | 51 | — |
| Dec | 45 | 36 | 19 |
| *Far West* | | | |
| June | 42 | 58 | — |
| Dec | 54 | 28 | 18 |

**4.** (US June 7 '41) To save electricity and to increase daylight working hours, it has been suggested that the entire country be put on daylight saving time until the end of September. Do you favor or oppose this suggestion? (AIPO)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 67% | 19% | 14% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 78% | 13% | 9% |
| East central | 66 | 21 | 13 |
| West central | 56 | 25 | 19 |
| South | 64 | 16 | 20 |
| Far West | 58 | 27 | 15 |

**5.** (Australia Sept '41) Would you favor advancing the clock an hour in summer? (Feb '42 and Mar '43) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with daylight saving? (Aug '43) Do you think we should have daylight saving again next summer from October to March? (Feb '44) Do you like daylight saving? After the war would you like us to have daylight saving? (Aug '44) Would you like daylight saving again next summer? (Apr '45) Would you have liked daylight saving during the summer? (Nov '46) Would you like daylight saving next summer? Western Australia was excluded from the Feb '44 cross-section because it did not have daylight saving. (APOP)

| | *Favor daylight saving* | *Oppose daylight saving* | *Favor for four months* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '41 | 50% | 34% | — | 16% |
| Feb '42 | 69 | 23 | — | 8 |
| Mar '43 | 65 | 29 | — | 6 |
| Aug '43 | 54 | 44 | 2% | — |
| Feb '44 | 47 | 44 | — | 9 |

| | *Favor daylight saving* | *Oppose daylight saving* | *Favor for four months* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '44*..... | 44% | 47% | — | 9% |
| Aug '44..... | 45 | 47 | — | 8 |
| Apr '45..... | 39 | 52 | — | 9 |
| Nov '46..... | 41 | 51 | — | 8 |
| SEPT '41, AUG '43, AND APR '45 RESULTS BY STATES | | | | |
| *Victoria* | | | | |
| Sept '41..... | 54% | 30% | — | 16% |
| Aug '43..... | 61 | 39 | — | — |
| Apr '45..... | 47 | 44 | — | 9 |
| *New South Wales* | | | | |
| Sept '41..... | 52 | 30 | — | 18 |
| Aug '43..... | 54 | 46 | — | — |
| Apr '45..... | 41 | 50 | — | 9 |
| *Tasmania* | | | | |
| Sept '41..... | 53 | 39 | — | 8 |
| Aug '43..... | 66 | 34 | — | — |
| Apr '45..... | 50 | 47 | — | 3 |
| *Western Australia* | | | | |
| Sept '41..... | 48 | 37 | — | 15 |
| Aug '43..... | 65 | 35 | — | — |
| Apr '45..... | 28 | 62 | — | 10 |
| *South Australia* | | | | |
| Sept '41..... | 43 | 38 | — | 19 |
| Aug '43..... | 48 | 52 | — | — |
| Apr '45..... | 30 | 54 | — | 16 |
| *Queensland* | | | | |
| Sept '41..... | 41 | 46 | — | 13 |
| Aug '43..... | 41 | 59 | — | — |
| Apr '45..... | 24 | 70 | — | 6 |

* "After the war, etc."

**6.** (Sweden Apr '42) Do you think that daylight saving time should be introduced in Sweden? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 28% | 39% | 33% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Towns..... | 40% | 32% | 28% |
| Country..... | 21 | 43 | 36 |

**7.** (US May '42) Would you be in favor of putting the clock another hour ahead for this summer? In other words, adding another hour to daylight saving time? 54% of the sample who said they would be against adding another hour of daylight saving and 8% of the sample who said they didn't know were asked: If the government said that putting the clock an hour ahead would help the war effort, would you be in favor of it? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| In favor of an extra hour..... | 35% |
| In favor if it helps the war effort..... | 51 |
| Makes no difference..... | 3 |
| Against it even if it helps the war effort..... | 7 |
| Don't know..... | 4 |

**8.** (US Feb 23 '43, Mar 7 '45, Aug 8 '45, Aug 22 '45, Mar 27 '46) In 1943 the question was: A bill in Congress calls for the return to standard time throughout the nation. If the question were voted on in this state would you vote for returning to standard time or staying on war time? In Mar '45 two comparable cross-sections were used. The first was asked: Before the war some places were on standard time only, and others on standard time in the winter and on daylight saving in the summer. Do you think we should go back to these, or should we stay on war time the year round until the war is over? The second was asked: Do you think the entire country should go back to standard time or should we stay on war time the year round until the war is over? Results were combined. The Aug 8 '45 question was the same as that asked of the second Mar '45 cross-section. Two cross-sections were used for the Aug 22 '45 questioning. The first was asked: Which of the following would you prefer—stay on war time the year round as at present; have daylight saving time in the summer and standard time for the rest of the year; or stay on standard time the year round? The second was asked: During the coming fall, winter, and early spring months, should we stay on war time or go back to standard time? Results were not combined. The 1946 question was the same one used for the first Aug 22 '45 cross-section. (AIPO)

| | *War time* | *Standard time* | *In winter standard time, summer daylight* | *Others* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '43 results..... | 44% | 42% | — | — | 14% |
| Mar '45 results..... | 49 | 38 | — | — | 13 |
| Aug 8 '45 results..... | 41 | 48 | 2% | 1% | 8 |
| Aug 22 '45 first cross-section..... | 17 | 46 | 25 | — | 12 |
| Aug 22 '45 second cross-section.. | 22 | 65 | — | — | 13 |
| Mar '46 results..... | 19 | 45 | 31 | — | 5 |
| FEB '43 RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | |
| Farms..... | 23% | 66% | — | — | 11% |
| Cities and towns under 10,000... | 39 | 46 | — | — | 15 |
| Cities and towns over 10,000.... | 53 | 32 | — | — | 15 |
| MAR '45 RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | |
| Farms..... | 34% | 55% | — | — | 11% |
| Towns under 10,000..... | 47 | 40 | — | — | 13 |
| 10,000 to 100,000..... | 53 | 34 | — | — | 13 |
| 100,000 and over..... | 57 | 29 | — | — | 14 |
| MAR '45 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic.. | 59% | 30% | — | — | 11% |
| East central..... | 49 | 36 | — | — | 15 |
| West central..... | 29 | 56 | — | — | 15 |
| South..... | 48 | 39 | — | — | 13 |
| Pacific coast..... | 49 | 37 | — | — | 14 |
| AUG 22 '45, FIRST CROSS-SECTION AND MAR '46 RESULTS BY KIND OF TIME USED BEFORE THE WAR | | | | | |
| Areas with daylight saving before the war, 1945..... | 21% | 31% | 37% | — | 11% |
| Areas with daylight saving before the war, 1946..... | 23 | 32 | 40 | — | 5 |
| Areas on standard time before the war, 1945..... | 14 | 60 | 14 | — | 12 |
| Areas on standard time before the war, 1946..... | 14 | 60 | 21 | — | 5 |
| MAR '46 RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | |
| Farms..... | 12% | 68% | 16% | — | 4% |
| Cities over 100,000..... | 23 | 32 | 39 | — | 6 |

**9.** (US Feb 23 '43) In your own case, which do you think is more convenient—war time or standard time? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| War time..... | 30% |
| Standard time..... | 39 |
| No difference..... | 29 |
| No opinion..... | 2 |

**10.** (Great Britain June 10 '43) Would you like to see double summer time continued after the war? (July '45) Would you

approve or disapprove of the introduction of double summer time next year? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| June '43 | 44% | 48% | 8% |
| July '45 | 43 | 50 | 7 |
| JULY '45 RESULTS BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 41% | 51% | 8% |
| Women | 44 | 49 | 7 |
| JULY '45 RESULTS BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 47% | 44% | 9% |
| 30–49 years | 45 | 50 | 5 |
| 50 years and over | 39 | 52 | 9 |
| JULY '45 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 42% | 51% | 7% |
| Middle | 42 | 52 | 6 |
| Lower | 43 | 49 | 8 |

**11.** (Canada July 28 '43, Dec 16 '44, Sept 22 '45) Do you think we should have daylight saving time all the year round as at present, or just in the summer months, or not at all? 36% of the 1943 sample and 35% of the 1944 sample who said they would like daylight saving all year were asked: Would you like to see it continued after the war or just for the duration? The 1945 question was: Which of the following would you like to see done about daylight saving—stay on daylight saving time the year round, as at present, have daylight saving time in the summer only, or go back to standard time the year round? (CIPO)

| | *After the war* | *Duration only* | *Undecided* | *Total all year round* | *Just in summer* | *Not at all* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| July '43 | 28% | 7% | 1% = | 36% | 36% | 25% | 3% |
| Dec '44 | 28 | 5 | 2 = | 35 | 37 | 24 | 4 |
| Sept '45 | — | — | — | 25 | 37 | 33 | 5 |
| 1943 AND 1944 RESULTS BY RURAL AND URBAN COMMUNITY | | | | | | | |
| Farm, 1943 | | | | 21% | 32% | 45% | 2% |
| Non-farm, 1943 | | | | 41 | 38 | 17 | 4 |
| Farm, 1944 | | | | 20 | 35 | 42 | 3 |
| Non-farm, 1944 | | | | 42 | 39 | 12 | 7 |
| 1945 RESULTS BY TYPE OF TIME USED IN PREWAR DAYS | | | | | | | |
| Had daylight saving | | | | 31% | 40% | 24% | 5% |
| Didn't have daylight saving | | | | 17 | 27 | 50 | 6 |

**12.** (Denmark Apr 1 '44) Are you for or against keeping daylight saving time after the war? (DGI)

For 50.9% Against 25.0% Don't know 24.1%

**13.** (Denmark Sept 8 '45) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with discontinuing daylight saving time on August 15? (DGI)

Satisfied 55.1% Dissatisfied 44.9%

**14.** (Great Britain Sept 29 '45) It is proposed to return soon to Greenwich mean time, doing away with summer time. Do you approve or disapprove? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 50% | 38% | 12% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 53% | 38% | 9% |
| Women | 48 | 38 | 14 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 41% | 45% | 14% |
| 30–49 years | 49 | 40 | 11 |
| 50 years and over | 55 | 33 | 12 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 53% | 44% | 3% |
| Middle | 51 | 42 | 7 |
| Lower | 50 | 36 | 14 |

## DEFECTIVE AND DELINQUENT CLASSES

**1.** (US Nov 13 '36 and Jan 20 '39) Do you favor mercy deaths under government supervision for hopeless invalids? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1936 | 46% | 54% = 100% | 16% |
| 1939 | 46 | 54 = 100 | 10 |
| 1936 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 43% | 57% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 54 | 46 | |
| East central | 40 | 60 | |
| West central | 32 | 68 | |
| South | 38 | 62 | |
| Mountain | 63 | 37 | |
| Pacific coast | 64 | 36 | |
| 1936 RESULTS BY SPECIAL GROUPS | | | |
| Women | 48% | 52% | |
| Young people | 54 | 46 | |
| Doctors | 53 | 47 | |
| 1939 RESULTS BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 49% | 51% | |
| Women | 42 | 58 | |
| 1939 RESULTS BY AGE | | | |
| Under 30 years | 52% | 48% | |
| 30–49 years | 44 | 56 | |
| 50 years and over | 41 | 59 | |

**2.** (US Jan 11 '37) Do you favor sterilization of habitual criminals and the hopelessly insane? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 84% | 16% = 100% | 14% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 75% | 25% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 80 | 20 | |
| East central | 88 | 12 | |
| West central | 83 | 17 | |
| South | 84 | 16 | |
| Mountain | 92 | 8 | |
| Pacific coast | 92 | 8 | |

**3.** (Great Britain Jan 14 '37) Do you consider that doctors should be given power to end the life of a person incurably ill? (BIPO)

Yes 69% No 31% = 100% No opinion 2%

**4.** (US July '37) Some people advocate compulsory sterilization of habitual criminals and mental defectives so that they will not have children to inherit their weaknesses. Would you approve of this? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *For some* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| For habitual criminals | 63.2% | 17.8% | 8.3% | 10.7% |
| For mental defectives | 66.3 | 15.1 | 8.0 | 10.6 |

**5.** (US July '37) Some people believe that doctors should be permitted to perform mercy killings upon infants born permanently deformed or mentally handicapped. Under what circumstances would you approve this? The same thing is suggested for persons incurably and painfully ill. Under what circumstances would you approve this? (FOR)

| | *Defective infants* | | *Incurably ill* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| No circumstances | 40.5% | | 47.5% | |
| With patient's permission | — | | 11.6 | |
| With family's permission | 13.9 | | 4.2 | |
| With approval of medical board | 23.3 | | 10.9 | |
| With patient's and family's permission | — | 45.0% | 1.7 | 37.3% |
| With permission of medical board and family's and/or patient's | 7.8 | | 8.9 | |
| Don't know | 14.5 | | 15.2 | |

**6.** (US May 12 '38) In Chicago recently a family had to decide between letting its newborn baby die, or have an operation that would leave the baby blind for life. Which course would you have chosen? (AIPO)

| | *Operate* | *Let baby die* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 63% | 37% | = 100% | 15% |
| BY RELIGION | | | | |
| Roman Catholics | 73% | 27% | | |
| Protestants | 63 | 37 | | |
| Non-church members | 58 | 42 | | |

**7.** (US Jan 20 '39) Recently a man in New York chloroformed to death his seventeen-year-old son who was incurably feebleminded. Do you think the father was justified? (AIPO)

Yes 37% No 54% No opinion 9%

**8.** (Great Britain Apr '39) Should those suffering from an incurable disease be allowed the option, under proper medical safeguards, of a voluntary death? (BIPO)

Yes 62% No 22% No opinion 16%

## DEMOCRACY

**1.** (Sweden Aug '44) Can you give me an example of a typical democratic state? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 70% | 30% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 78% | 22% |
| Women | 59 | 41 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper class | 83% | 17% |
| Middle class | 73 | 27 |
| Workers | 65 | 35 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | |
| Country | 64% | 36% |
| Towns | 76 | 24 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Right party | 77.4% | 22.6% |
| Liberal party | 76.6 | 23.4 |
| National party | 67.7 | 32.3 |
| Agrarian party | 72.3% | 27.7% |
| Social Democratic | 63.5 | 36.5 |
| Communist | 94.4 | 5.6 |
| Others | 60.0 | 40.0 |

**2.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statements: (OMGUS)

| | AMERICAN ZONE AND BERLIN | | | BERLIN ONLY | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
| The strength of a nation is weakened by a democratic form of government | 8% | 83% | 9% | 8% | 86% | 6% |
| The history of the past fifty years shows that there have been few Germans with an understanding of, or confidence in democracy | 63 | 22 | 15 | 73 | 21 | 6 |
| Democracy is a good form of government, because it can develop a superior armed force | 38 | 44 | 18 | 52 | 41 | 7 |
| The greatest strength of American democracy does not lie in its military power | 55 | 28 | 17 | 65 | 26 | 9 |
| It is important that all democratic elements in Germany be given freedom in political affairs | 79 | 12 | 9 | 86 | 12 | 2 |

**3.** (Germany July 25 '46) What do you consider the chief principles of a democratic government? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Freedom of speech; individual freedom | 25% |
| Influence of people on government; demands of the people to be considered; honesty of government toward people | 12 |
| Equality; unity; sovereign rights of the peoples; peaceful negotiation between peoples | 12 |
| Free elections | 3 |
| Equal justice for all; equal rights and duties | 14 |
| Social welfare; living costs and wages in sound relation to one another | 7 |
| Peace and order within state | 2 |
| High living standard; economic development | 2 |
| Others | * |
| No opinion, don't know; don't understand anything about it because I don't bother about politics | 38 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 116%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**4.** (Sweden Aug 29 '46) What does the term "democracy" mean to you? (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Democratically governed state; the people have the right of determination | 20% |
| Same rights to all | 13 |
| Freedom of speech; liberty of the press | 8 |
| The people elect the government; popularly elected government | 8 |
| Free election; universal suffrage | 6 |
| No person, no party has absolute rule, power | 3 |
| Contrast to dictatorship | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Like Sweden | 4% |
| Social democratic government; labor government | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 |
| Know nothing about it; no answer | 31 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**5.** (Sweden Aug 29 '46) Which of the following states do you consider democracies: England, Finland, France, Sweden, United States, Russia, Spain, and Poland? (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sweden | 95%* |
| England | 86 |
| United States | 85 |
| Finland | 65 |
| France | 59 |
| Poland | 25 |
| Russia | 14 |
| Spain | 3 |
| None of these | 2 |

* Percentages add to considerably more than 100 because some respondents mentioned several countries.

**6.** (Hungary Oct '46) In your opinion does the progress of democracy increase or decrease with the parr charity plays in social care? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | *Increases* | *Decreases* | *Other and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Well-off | 40.2% | 52.7% | 7.1% |
| Middle class | 55.1 | 38 3 | 6.6 |
| Poor | 54.8 | 34.8 | 10.4 |

**7.** (Great Britain Nov '46) Would you say that we have democracy in Britain? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 50% | 32% | 18% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 54% | 36% | 10% |
| Women | 46 | 27 | 27 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 47% | 34% | 19% |
| 30–49 years | 52 | 33 | 15 |
| 50 years and over | 49 | 29 | 22 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 51% | 42% | 7% |
| Middle | 52 | 36 | 12 |
| Lower | 49 | 29 | 22 |
| Very poor | 46 | 27 | 27 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative | 50% | 34% | 16% |
| Labor voters | 55 | 29 | 16 |
| Liberal | 44 | 37 | 19 |
| Other voters | 29 | 63 | 8 |
| Non-voters | 45 | 28 | 27 |

**8.** (Great Britain Nov '46) What do you think democracy stands for? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Freedom | 40% |
| Government by the people | 15 |
| Equality | 7 |
| Social betterment | 4 |
| Don't know and all others | 34 |

**9.** (Netherlands Dec 10 '46) Do you think there is a democracy in the Republic of Java (Indonesia)? (NIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 10% | 42% | 48% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Catholic People's party | 7% | 39% | 54% |
| Labor party | 12 | 33 | 55 |
| Anti-Revolutionary party | 8 | 55 | 37 |
| Communist party | 27 | 28 | 45 |
| Christian-Historic party | 6 | 49 | 45 |
| Liberal party | 6 | 60 | 34 |

**10.** (Netherlands Dec '46) Can you tell me what you mean by democracy? (NIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Government chosen by the people | 29% |
| Freedom | 20 |
| Social betterment (e.g. a good living for everybody; economic democracy) | 7 |
| Equal rights | 6 |
| Unity; cooperation of all members of the community | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 |
| Could not answer | 36 |
| | 109%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**11.** (Netherlands Dec '46) Do you think there is a democracy in this country, in England, in the United States, in Belgium, in France, in Russia, and in Spain? (NIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Netherlands | 67% | 15% | 18% |
| England | 68 | 10 | 22 |
| United States | 59 | 15 | 26 |
| Belgium | 51 | 16 | 33 |
| France | 47 | 19 | 34 |
| Russia | 11 | 66 | 23 |
| Spain | 3 | 70 | 27 |

## DEMOCRATIC PARTY

**1.** (US July 18 '44) Did you happen to read the Democratic platform drawn up at their convention in Chicago recently? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, all of it | 12% |
| Yes, only part of it | 21 |
| No, not any | 67 |

**2.** (US Oct '44) What are one or two things you don't like so well about the Democratic party, or that you think it should improve? (FOR)

| | *National total* | *Prefer Roosevelt* | *Prefer Dewey* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Too much spending, waste, extravagance; too many on government payroll | 11.0% | 6.1% | 18.0% |
| Too much bureaucracy; bureaus need control | 4.4 | 2.6 | 6.9 |
| Too much red tape; OPA poorly handled, prices not regulated | 2.2 | 2.0 | 2.7 |
| They cater to labor; let unions go too far; accept backing of CIO | 6.3 | 4.6 | 8.8 |
| Too radical or communistic | 1.5 | .7 | 2.5 |

| | *National total* | *Prefer Roosevelt* | *Prefer Dewey* |
|---|---|---|---|
| One-man rule; dictatorship | 3.7% | 1.4% | 6.6% |
| Centralization of power; control of government and courts | 2.3 | 1.5 | 3.5 |
| Attitude on Negro question (wrong, or too much or too little aid) | 3.2 | 3.6 | 2.7 |
| Party machinery too powerful; too much "boss" politics; convention was controlled | 1.9 | 1.2 | 2.8 |
| Lack of unity | 1.8 | 2.2 | 1.4 |
| Other | 30.7 | 19.9 | 45.1 |
| Don't know | 51.4 | 64.5 | 32.7 |
| | 120.4%* | 110.3%* | 133.7%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (US Apr 10 '46) At the present time, what is your chief criticism of the policies of the Democratic party? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| None, no faults | 27% |
| Not well organized; lack cooperation | 16 |
| Too much for working man; not enough for corporations | 1 |
| Too much politics; trying to keep power | 7 |
| Failure to settle strikes | 3 |
| Communists; Socialists; dictatorship | 6 |
| Inflation and OPA failures | 1 |
| Spendthrifts; bureaucrats | 12 |
| In with isolationists | * |
| General policy is bad; don't believe in New Deal | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| No answer | 21 |
| | 102%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**4.** (US Oct 10 '46) Would you say you are more in favor or less in favor of the Democratic party today than you were six months ago? 51% of the sample who said they were less in favor of it were asked: What in particular has caused you to change your feelings about the Democratic party? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| More in favor of it | 10% |
| Don't feel differently about it | 32 |
| Don't know whether or not feelings have changed | 7 |
| Disorganized; lack of unity; no program; don't get things done | 14 |
| Bad leadership, Truman is not a good leader | 10 |
| Killing the OPA; bungling OPA | 7 |
| Present conditions of the country; country in a mess; etc. | 6 |
| Food problems | 2 |
| Bad foreign policy | 1 |
| Need a change | 1 |
| Meat situation | 2 |
| Other shortages | 1 |
| Housing | * |
| Miscellaneous answers | 6 |
| Don't know what caused change | 4 |
| | 103%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

# DENMARK

## Defenses

**1.** (Denmark May 9 '43) Should Denmark, in the future, have its own military defense? Asked of a national cross-section of people eighteen to twenty-five years old. (DGI)

Yes 67.3% No 13.7% Don't know 19.0%

**2.** (Denmark May 9 '43) Do you realize that a military defense system means higher taxation and a lower standard of living for all? Asked of a national cross-section of people eighteen to twenty-five years old. (DGI)

Yes 63.9% No 36.1%

**3.** (Denmark June 27 '43) Apart from a [Northern] union, are you for or against a joint Scandinavian defense system after the war? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| For | 37.4% |
| Against | 10.1 |
| Don't know | 50.0 |
| No answer | 2.5 |

**4.** (Denmark July 8 '45) Is your attitude toward the question of defense different today than it was before the war? (DGI)

Yes 26.3% No 58.2% Don't know 15.5%

**5.** (Denmark July 8 '45) Do you think Denmark should build up a strong defense? (DGI)

Yes 61.9% No 25.2% Don't know 12.9%

## Foreign Relations

**1.** (Denmark Sept 29 '45) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with our foreign politics during the last few months? (DGI)

Satisfied 32% Dissatisfied 26% Don't know 42%

## Parliament

**1.** (Denmark Feb 4 '45) Do you want more, fewer, or the same number of Members of Parliament? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 2.0% |
| Fewer | 18.3 |
| Same number | 38.9 |
| No answer | 3.8 |
| Don't know | 37.0 |

## Politics and Government

**1.** (Denmark Dec 8 '45) After the election results, were you satisfied or dissatisfied that the Left party formed a government? (DGI)

Satisfied 32% Dissatisfied 45% Don't know 23%

**2.** (Denmark Dec 8 '45) What party or parties do you think should have formed a government? Asked of 45% of the sample who were dissatisfied that the Left party formed a government. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| The Social Democratic party | 51% |
| Labor | 11 |
| Conservative | 11 |
| Coalition | 7 |
| Communist | 8 |
| Social Democratic and Radical | 2 |
| Social Democratic and Conservative | 2 |
| Other combinations | 8 |
| | 100% of those who were dissatisfied |

**3.** (Denmark Jan '46; May 31 '46; Nov '46) Do you think that the peasant government has managed well, fairly well, or badly during its term of office? (DGI)

| | *Well* | *Fairly well* | *Badly* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '46 | 36% | 31% | 33% |
| May '46 | 37 | 30 | 33 |
| Nov '46 | 2 | 33 | 39 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| *Social Democratic* | | | |
| Jan '46 | 15% | 33% | 52% |
| May '46 | 13 | 29 | 58 |
| Nov '46 | 8 | 27 | 65 |
| *Radical–Liberal* | | | |
| Jan '46 | 35 | 51 | 14 |
| May '46 | 46 | 43 | 11 |
| Nov '46 | 19 | 48 | 33 |
| *Conservative* | | | |
| Jan '46 | 34 | 40 | 26 |
| May '46 | 48 | 34 | 18 |
| Nov '46 | 26 | 47 | 27 |
| *Peasant* | | | |
| Jan '46 | 84 | 16 | — |
| May '46 | 83 | 17 | — |
| Nov '46 | 73 | 27 | — |
| *Independent* | | | |
| Jan '46 | 47 | 40 | 13 |
| May '46 | 36 | 50 | 14 |
| Nov '46 | 29 | 23 | 48 |
| *Communist* | | | |
| Jan '46 | 9 | 15 | 76 |
| May '46 | 5 | 23 | 72 |
| Nov '46 | 3 | 13 | 84 |
| *Danish unions* | | | |
| Jan '46 | 32 | 46 | 22 |
| May '46 | 64 | 24 | 12 |
| Nov '46 | 32 | 68 | — |

## Prime Ministers

**1.** (Denmark Feb 11 '45) Who do you think is going to be premier immediately after the war? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Edward Buhl | 5.9% |
| Christmas Møller | 4.4 |
| Other replies | 3.6 |
| No answer | 18.8 |
| Don't know | 67.3 |

# DEWEY, THOMAS E.

**1.** (US Sept 29 '43) We would like to find out what things people like and dislike about Thomas Dewey. What do you, yourself, like best about him? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| His ability; ambition; resourcefulness; aggressiveness | 11% |
| His record as a district attorney; did away with gangsters; he's a good prosecutor | 12 |
| His straightforwardness; honesty; frankness; sincerity; and dependableness | 14 |
| His fearlessness and daring; he pulls no punches | 6 |
| His personality and speaking ability | 3 |
| He can't be bribed or swayed | 1 |
| He tries to give everyone an even break; his impartiality | 1 |
| He's doing a good job as governor; he's a good leader and administrator | 2 |
| He's a Republican; like his politics | 1% |
| Just like him—no specific reason given | 2 |
| Like nothing about him | 6 |
| No opinion | 41 |
| Miscellaneous | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**2.** (US Sept 29 '43) Now what would you say you like least about him [Thomas Dewey]? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| He's too young and inexperienced; lacks executive training; trying to advance rapidly in politics | 7% |
| He's too aggressive and radical; has too much personal ambition | 5 |
| His personality; his looks | 3 |
| He's too conservativ | 2 |
| He's a Republican; his politics and supporters | 4 |
| He's insincere | 2 |
| He's narrowminded and prejudiced; would favor the rich | 2 |
| Other reasons | 2 |
| Just don't like him—no specific reason given | * |
| Dislike nothing about him | 19 |
| No opinion | 54 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**3.** (US Sept 29 '43) What kind of a job do you think he [Dewey] would do in running the country? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Excellent job | 7% |
| Good job | 23 |
| Fair job | 14 |
| Poor job | 10 |
| Very poor job | 2 |
| Better than Roosevelt | 1 |
| Same or not as good as Roosevelt | 1 |
| No answer; don't know | 42 |

**4.** (US Sept 29 '43) Do you think he [Dewey] could handle big problems like unemployment better than Roosevelt, as well as Roosevelt, or not as well? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 13% |
| As well | 24 |
| Not as well | 33 |
| No opinion | 22 |
| No answer | 8 |

**5.** (US Sept 29 '43) Do you think he [Dewey] would be good at handling problems which will come up after the war concerning our relations with other nations? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 29% |
| No | 25 |
| Don't know | 39 |
| No answer | 7 |

**6.** (US Sept 29 '43) Do you think he [Dewey] has a good understanding of world problems? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 32% |
| No | 20 |
| Don't know | 40 |
| No answer | 8 |

**7.** (US Sept 29 '43) Do you think he [Dewey] has a good understanding of national problems? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 49% |
| No | 12 |
| Don't know | 31 |
| No answer | 8 |

**8.** (US Sept 29 '43) Do you think he [Dewey] could get along with businessmen, Congress, labor union leaders, workers themselves? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | Don't know; no answer |
|---|---|---|---|
| Businessmen | 57% | 6% | 37% |
| Congress | 38 | 16 | 46 |
| Labor union leaders | 24 | 29 | 47 |
| Workers | 42 | 16 | 42 |

**9.** (US Aug 16 '44) Do you think Dewey's looks will help or hurt him in getting elected President this year? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Help | 16% |
| Hurt | 19 |
| No difference | 51 |
| No opinion | 14 |

**10.** (US Aug 16 '44) Do you think Dewey's voice will help or hurt him in getting elected President this year? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Help | 28% |
| Hurt | 5 |
| No difference | 38 |
| No opinion | 11 |
| Never heard Dewey | 18 |

**11.** (US Sept 15 '44) With which of these statements do you come closest to agreeing? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dewey has an excellent record and it would be the best thing for the country to elect him President for the next four years | 25.1% |
| While Dewey may not be ideal for the job, it certainly would be better to have him than Roosevelt for the next four years | 19.3 |
| Although Dewey may have some very good qualities, he still could not do the job as well as Roosevelt during the next four years | 34.3 |
| It would be a very bad thing for this country to elect Dewey as President for the next four years | 15.0 |
| Don't know | 6.3 |

## DICTATORS

**1.** (US Sept 23 '38) Would you like to see President Roosevelt openly criticize Hitlet and Mussolini for their warlike attitudes? (AIPO)

Yes 33% No 67% = 100% No opinion 8%

**2.** (US Oct 1 '38) If you absolutely had to decide which dictator you liked best, Mussolini, Stalin, or Hitler, which would you choose? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Mussolini | 53% |
| Stalin | 34 |
| Hitler | 13 |
| | 100% |
| None and no opinion | 21% |

**3.** (France Oct 16 '44) Do you think Franco should resign after the war? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

Yes 67% No 15% Don't know 18%

**4.** (France Dec 1 '44) Should France help the Spanish Republicans throw out Franco? (FIPO)

| | Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 37% | 51% | 12% |
| By men | 44 | 46 | 10 |

**5.** (France Dec 14 '44) Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt have been invited to Paris. Do you think Stalin should have been asked too? (FIPO)

Yes 73% No 17% No opinion 10%

**6.** (US July 25 '45) Will you tell me who General Franco is? (AIPO)

Correct answers 53% Incorrect and don't know 47%

**7.** (US July 25 '45) What is your opinion of him [General Franco]? Asked of a national cross-section of those who knew who Franco was. 53% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| A fascist; helped Nazis; dictator like Hitler | 26% |
| A scoundrel; two-faced; stooge; etc | 23 |
| Don't like him, not much | 12 |
| Remove him from office | 6 |
| Should be punished; war criminal | 1 |
| Spain should have gotten rid of him long ago | 1 |
| O.K. because he has to be | 1 |
| O.K.; did well or would be out of Spain | 4 |
| Dangerous to the world | * |
| Should be killed | 1 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 1 |
| No opinion | 24 |
| | 100% |

of those who knew who Franco was

* Less than 0.5%.

**8.** (US July 25 '45) Should Spain become a member of the United Nations under its present government? Asked of a national cross-section of those who knew who Franco was. 53% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Yes 12% No 76% No opinion 12% = 100%
of those who knew who Franco was

**9.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether or not they agreed with the following statement: Only a government headed by a dictator is able to create a strong nation. (OMGUS)

| | American zone and Berlin | Berlin |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 18% | 33% |
| No | 75 | 65 |
| No opinion | 7 | 2 |

**10.** (Sweden May '46) Who is Franco? (SGI)

| | Correct answer | Wrong answer | No answer |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 71% | 5% | 24% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Right party | 84% | 5% | 11% |
| National party | 72 | 3 | 25 |
| Agrarian party | 64 | 6 | 30 |
| Social Democrat | 71 | 6 | 23 |
| Communist | 85 | 3 | 12 |

## DIES COMMITTEE

**1.** (US Nov 13 '38, Jan 10 '39, Feb 16 '39, Nov 30 '39, Dec 22 '39, Nov 19 '40) Three questions were used: (1) Have you heard or read about the Dies Committee for investigating un-American activities? (2) Have you heard or read about the Dies Committee? (3) Have you heard of the Dies Committee?

The 1938 sample was asked the first question. Two comparable cross-sections were used for the Jan '39 sample. The first and second questions were used. Results were combined. The Feb '39 sample comprised two cross-sections that were asked the first and third questions. Results were combined. The Nov and Dec '39 samples were asked the second question, the Nov '40 sample was asked the third question. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Nov '38 | 59% | 41% |
| Jan '39 | 59 | 41 |
| Feb '39 | 66 | 34 |
| Nov '39 | 72 | 28 |
| Dec '39 | 81 | 19 |
| Nov '40 | 87 | 13 |

**2.** (US Nov 14 '38) Do you think its [Dies Committee's] findings have been important enough to justify continuing the investigation? (Jan 10 '39) Do you think its [Dies Committee's] findings have been important enough so that the investigation should be continued? A comparable cross-section was asked the question: Do you think the Committee has done a good job in its investigation? Results were combined. (Jan 10 '39) Should Congress appropriate one hundred fifty thousand dollars for the [Dies] Committee to continue its work? All questions were asked only of those who were informed about the Dies Committee. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '38 results | 74% | 26% = 100% | 24% |
| Jan '39 first results | 74 | 26 = 100 | 22 |
| Jan '39 second results | 67 | 33 = 100 | 20 |
| NOV '38 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 68% | 32% | |
| Republican | 83 | 17 | |
| Third parties | 71 | 29 | |
| NOV '38 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper incom | 77% | 23% | |
| Middle income | 73 | 27 | |
| Lower income | 74 | 26 | |
| NOV '38 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 72% | 28% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 69 | 31 | |
| East central | 80 | 20 | |
| West central | 78 | 22 | |
| South | 80 | 20 | |
| West | 70 | 30 | |

**3.** (US Feb 16 '39) The Dies Committee has promised to study three major subjects this year. Which one of the three following do you consider the most important: studying Communist activities in this country, studying Nazi activities in this country, or studying war propaganda in this country? A comparable cross-section was asked about the "Dies Committee for investigating un-American activities." Results were combined. Asked only of those who were informed about the Dies Committee. (AIPO)

| | *War propaganda* | *Nazi activities* | *Communist activities* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 32% | 26% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 40% | 25% | 35% |
| Republican | 44 | 35 | 21 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 38% | 31% | 31% |
| Middle Atlantic | 43 | 29 | 28 |
| East central | 45% | 27% | 28% |
| West central | 44 | 34 | 22 |
| South | 37 | 40 | 23 |
| West | 38 | 38 | 24 |

**4.** (US Feb 16 '39) How good a job do you think the Dies Committee has done so far? Asked only of those who were informed about the Dies Committee. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Excellent | 10% |
| Good | 24 |
| Fair | 30 |
| Poor | 8 |
| Very poor | 5 |
| No opinion | 23 |

**5.** (US Feb 16 '39) At the same time as the previous question was asked, a comparable cross-section was asked the following question: Do you think the Dies Committee has done a good job or a poor job so far? Asked of those who were informed about the Dies Committee. (AIPO)

Good 48% Poor 21% No opinion 31%

**6.** (US Oct 18 '39 and Nov 13 '39) Do you think Congress should provide money to continue the Dies Committee another year? In Oct '39 the question was put to a comparable cross-section using "set aside" instead of "provide." Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '39 | 53% | 14% | 33% = 100% |
| Nov '39 | 75 | 25 = 100% | 28 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic Oct | 52% | 16% | 32% |
| Democratic Nov | 72 | 28 | — |
| Republican Oct | 63 | 11 | 26 |
| Republican Nov | 79 | 21 | — |

**7.** (US Nov 11 '39) What is your opinion regarding the Dies Committee—Congress should appoint some other committee to do the work; Congress should provide money so the Dies Committee can continue for another year; the investigations should be discontinued? Asked only of those who were informed about the Dies Committee. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should appoint other committee | 12% |
| Provide money to continue | 75 |
| Discontinue investigations | 13 |

**8.** (US Dec 22 '39) Which of the following do you consider more important for the Dies Committee to investigate—Communist activities in this country or Nazi activities in this country? Asked of a national cross-section of people who had heard or read about the Dies Committee. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Communist activities | 70% |
| Nazi activities | 30 |
| | 100% |
| Don't know | 24% |

**9.** (US Nov 19 '40) Do you think the Dies Committee should be continued? (AIPO)

Yes 65% No 7% No opinion 28%

**10.** (US Nov 19 '40) The Dies Committee is asking for one million dollars to continue its work. Would you approve or disapprove of Congress setting aside this sum for the Dies Committee? (AIPO)

Approve 57% Disapprove 11% No opinion 32%

# DIET

**1.** (US Nov 13 '41) Have you changed the food or diet of yourself or your family in recent months? Asked of a national cross-section of housewives. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, have changed because of higher prices for food | 17% |
| No, have not changed | 83 |

**2.** (US Nov 13 '41) What changes [in the food or diet of your family] have you made, and why have you made them? Asked of 17% of a sample of housewives who had changed their diet because of food prices. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Change for the better | 1% |
| Less meat | 7 |
| Lower grade of food | 3 |
| Less eggs and butter | 2 |
| Less fruit | 1 |
| Fewer desserts | 1 |
| Miscellaneous changes | 2 |
| Fewer vegetables | 1 |
| Less milk | 3 |
| No answer | 2 |
| | 23%* |

* Percentages add to more than 17 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (Canada Jan 9 '42 and Jan 6 '43) We want to find out what the average Canadian eats in the course of a day. Would you tell me what you had for breakfast today? Lunch? Dinner? Did you have anything to eat between meals? From the responses to these questions in Canada, an analysis was made of actual diet conditions as contrasted with the official food rules. Canada's official food rules required the following items —fruits: one serving of tomatoes, or citrus fruit, or juices and one serving of other fruit daily; cereals and bread: one serving whole grain cereal and 4–6 slices of Canadian approved bread; milk and cheese: one-half-pint of milk daily and some cheese; vegetables: two servings daily, leafy green or yellow; meat, fish, eggs, poultry: one serving per day. (CIPO) (US Jan 7 '43 and Dec 28 '44) The United States question was the same as that asked in Canada in '42 and '43 except that "person" was substituted for "Canadian." (AIPO)

| | *Fruits* | *Cereals and bread* | *Milk and cheese* | *Vegetables* | *Meat, fish, eggs, poultry* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1942 Results in Canada** | | | | | |
| Adults having proper diet | 17% | 60% | 59% | 90% | 97% |
| Adults not having proper diet | 83 | 40 | 41 | 10 | 3 |
| Children having proper diet | 23 | 85 | 93 | 91 | 95 |
| Children not having proper diet | 77 | 15 | 7 | 9 | 5 |
| **1943 Results in Canada** | | | | | |
| Adults having proper diet | 17% | 60% | 75% | 90% | 97% |
| Adults not having proper diet | 83 | 40 | 25 | 10 | 3 |
| **1943 Results in Canada by Economic Status** | | | | | |
| Upper income having proper diet | 24% | 57% | 61% | 86% | 96% |
| Upper income not having proper diet | 76 | 43 | 39 | 14 | 4 |
| Middle income having proper diet | 20% | 66% | 58% | 85% | 98% |
| Middle income not having proper diet | 80 | 34 | 42 | 15 | 2 |
| Lower income having proper diet | 14 | 58 | 60 | 82 | 97 |
| Lower income not having proper diet | 86 | 42 | 40 | 18 | 3 |

| | *Citrus fruits and raw greens* | *Eggs* | *Milk and/or cheese* | *Vegetables (leafy and yellow)* | *Meats, fish, poultry* | *Other vegetables* | *Cereals or bread* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1943 Results in United States** | | | | | | | |
| National total* | 45% | 48% | 34% | 25% | 12% | 8% | 3% |
| **by economic status** | | | | | | | |
| Upper income | 24% | 45% | 27% | 19% | 7% | 6% | 3% |
| Middle income | 35 | 43 | 26 | 21 | 8 | 6 | 2 |
| Lower income | 56 | 52 | 40 | 29 | 15 | 10 | 3 |
| **by geographical section** | | | | | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 46% | 53% | 43% | 28% | 9% | 8% | 3% |
| East central | 41 | 51 | 31 | 26 | 12 | 8 | 4 |
| West central | 43 | 49 | 31 | 25 | 12 | 5 | 2 |
| South | 53 | 41 | 31 | 21 | 14 | 12 | 3 |
| Far West | 41 | 46 | 28 | 24 | 14 | 7 | 3 |

* The figures represent the number of persons who ate none of the foods listed as necessary daily in each category.

| | *Milk or milk products* | *Citrus fruits, tomatoes, or raw greens* | *Green or yellow vegetables* | *Other vegetables or fruits* | *Meat, fish, or poultry* | *Eggs* | *Cereal or bread* | *Butter or other fats* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1944 Results in United States** | | | | | | | | |
| National total* | 32% | 46% | 23% | 9% | 9% | 40% | 4% | 22% |
| **by economic status** | | | | | | | | |
| Upper | 26% | 24% | 15% | 9% | 6% | 34% | 3% | 13% |
| Middle | 26 | 36 | 17 | 8 | 7 | 38 | 4 | 17 |
| Lower | 36 | 57 | 28 | 11 | 11 | 44 | 4 | 27 |

* Percentages equal the per cent of the adult population who had none of the particular type of food for the twenty four hours preceding the questioning.

**4.** (Great Britain Apr '42 and Nov '42) If it would save shipping for the war effort do you think you could do with a smaller amount of food and still be able to do your work properly? The Nov sample was asked the same question with the phrase "do you think" omitted. (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '42 | 48% | 45% | 7% |
| Nov '42 | 45 | 46 | 9 |

**5.** (Great Britain July '42) Do you generally get a full meal at midday? (BIPO)

Yes 74% No 26%

**6.** (US Jan 20 '43) Do you think food rationing in England has made the people as a whole healthier or not as healthy as they were before? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Healthier | 24% |
| About same | 13 |
| Not as healthy | 20 |
| Don't know | 43 |

**7.** (US Jan 20 '43) How has it [food rationing] made them healthier? Asked of 24% of the sample of women who thought food rationing in England had made the people healthier. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Because they have cut down on rich foods | 3% |
| Because they are getting more fresh foods | 3 |
| General statement that diet has improved | 11 |
| Distribution of food is more equitable | 5 |
| Overeating is eliminated | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 26%* |

* Percentages add to more than 24 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**8.** (US Jan 20 '43) At the present time, do you think the English diet is more healthful or not as healthful as ours is now? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 8% |
| Same | 8 |
| Less | 49 |
| Don't know | 35 |

**9.** (US Jan 20 '43) How about after our new food rationing goes into effect next month? Do you think our diet will be more healthful or not as healthful as the English diet is now? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 52% |
| Same | 15 |
| Less | 3 |
| Don't know | 30 |

**10.** (Sweden Feb '43) What did you eat as main course for dinner yesterday? (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Towns* | *Country* | *Upper class* | *Middle class* | *Workers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rationed meat | 36% | 37% | 36% | 48% | 36% | 35% |
| Non-rationed meat | 6 | 7 | 5 | 9 | 6 | 6 |
| Fish | 21 | 26 | 15 | 17 | 22 | 21 |
| Meat or vegetable soup | 14 | 14 | 15 | 10 | 16 | 15 |
| Pudding, flour, or cereal | 9 | 6 | 11 | 6 | 7 | 9 |
| Potatoes | 6 | 4 | 9 | 4 | 7 | 6 |
| Vegetables | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Other things; don't remember; didn't have dinner | 5 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 5 |

**11.** (US May 7 '43) Are the kind of meals you're having now much different from those you were having last year at this time? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

Yes 38% No 62% Don't know*

* Less than 0.5%.

**12.** (US May 7 '43) Taking everything into consideration, would you say your meals now are better than they were last year or not as good? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 9% |
| About the same | 59 |
| Poorer | 31 |
| Don't know | 1 |

**13.** (US May 7 '43) During the last year, have you had to cut down on the actual size of your meals—that is, altogether, are you eating any less food? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, eating less | 21% |
| No, about the same | 77 |
| Eating more | 2 |
| Don't know | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**14.** (US May 7 '43) Would you mind telling me what your husband had for breakfast today? Asked of 80% of a national cross-section of women whose husbands were working. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Excellent* | 2% |
| Good* | 23 |
| Fair* | 34 |
| Poor* | 6 |
| Not ascertainable | 15 |
| | 80% |

* A breakfast was rated excellent if it included: (1) Fruit or fruit juice; (2) cereal, eggs, meat, or whole wheat; (3) milk. It was called good if it included only two of the above. It was called fair if it included only one of the above, and poor if it included none of those three.

**15.** (US May 7 '43) Does he [your husband] carry a lunch to work? Asked of 80% of a national cross-section of women whose husbands were working. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 25% |
| No | 44 |
| Sometimes | 1 |
| No answer | 10 |
| | 80% |

**16.** (Great Britain July 12 '43) Do you get one hot meal a day? 10% of the sample who said they didn't get a hot meal were asked: Would you like to be able to get one? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Get a hot meal | 90% |
| Would like to get a hot meal | 9 |
| Don't want a hot meal | 1 |

**17.** (US Aug 4 '43, Oct 22 '43, Jan 15 '44) Speaking of food, have you ever heard of the phrase "the basic seven"? In Oct '43, only women were questioned. In 1944 the introduction "Speaking of food" was omitted from the question. 36% of the Aug '43 sample, 47% of the Oct '43 sample of women, and 48% of the 1944 sample who said they had heard the phrase were asked: What does it mean to you? (NORC)

| | *Aug '43* | *Oct '43* | *Jan '44* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Never heard the expression | 64% | 53% | 52% |
| Speak in terms of well-balanced diet, nutrition, good health | 16 | 23 | 23 |
| Speak in terms of vitamins | 4 | 7 | 7 |
| Speak in terms of specific foods—cereals, milk, meat, vegetables, fruits, etc | 6 | 7 | 5 |

| | *Aug '43* | *Oct '43* | *Jan '44* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Speak in terms of basic nutrients—fats, carbohydrates, etc. | 1% | 4% | 1% |
| Speak in terms of conserving or economizing; getting along on less | 1 | * | 1 |
| Specifies necessity to keep fit for war work | * | * | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | * | * |
| Couldn't define the phrase or didn't answer | 7 | 9 | 11 |
| | 100% | 103%** | 100% |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**18.** (US Aug 27 '43) About how many pounds of food a day do you think an average man eats? Just your best guess. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| One pound | 3% |
| Two pounds | 23 |
| Three pounds | 33 |
| Four pounds | 16 |
| Five pounds | 12 |
| Six pounds | 3 |
| Seven pounds or more | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 8 |

**19.** (US Aug 27 '43) About how many pounds of food a day do you think it takes to keep a soldier in fighting trim? Just your best guess. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| One pound | *% |
| Two pounds | 4 |
| Three pounds | 15 |
| Four pounds | 18 |
| Five pounds | 23 |
| Six pounds | 14 |
| Seven pounds | 5 |
| Eight pounds | 5 |
| Nine pounds | 1 |
| Ten pounds or more | 5 |
| Not ascertainable | 10 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**20.** (US Dec '43) Most of us have had to change our eating habits somewhat. Do you feel that you are getting more actual nourishment out of the food you do eat or less (or about the same*) this year as compared with last year? (FOR)

| | *More* | *Less* | *Same* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Results when "same" was asked | 10.0% | 19.0% | 70.0% | 1.0% |
| Results when "same" had to be volunteered | 12.8 | 27.1 | 59.3 | 0.8 |

* Half of the people were asked the question without "or about the same."

**21.** (Great Britain Jan 18 '44) Compared with your family's food before the war, do you think that today they are having better or worse food? (BIPO)

Better 9% Same 24% Worse 67%

**22.** (Denmark Mar 18 '44) What is your favorite dish? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Roast pork | 15.0% |
| Soup | 12.1 |
| Beefsteak | 6.3 |
| Pea soup | 5.7 |
| Green cabbage soup | 4.3 |
| Liver | 3.2 |
| Duck | 3.5% |
| Cutlets | 3.0 |
| Hare | 2.1 |
| Chicken | 2.0 |
| Fried bacon | 2.1 |
| Goose | 2.0 |
| Vegetables | 1.9 |
| "Brown cabbage" | 1.7 |
| Pancakes | 1.3 |
| Fried eel | 1.3 |
| Plaice | 1.2 |
| Rice pudding | 1.0 |
| Roast beef | 1.0 |
| Don't know | 38.4 |
| | 109.1%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**23.** (US Jan 17 '45) At your last three meals, or between them, did you happen to have any of the following: milk to drink, cheese, or ice cream? (AIPO)

Milk 85% Cheese 28% Ice cream 17% = 130%*

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents had eaten more than one of the items named.

**24.** (Great Britain Sept 29 '45, Germany Mar 15 '46, Apr 15 '46, May 8 '46, Nov 25 '46) Do you feel that you are getting enough food to enable you to work efficiently? (BIPO, OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '45 results in England | 47% | 50% | 3% |
| Mar '46 results in Germany | 38 | 61 | 1 |
| Apr '46 results in Germany | 27 | 72 | 1 |
| May '46 results in Germany | 28 | 71 | 1 |
| Nov '46 results in Germany | 46 | 53 | 1 |
| RESULTS IN GREAT BRITAIN BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 47% | 50% | 3% |
| Women | 46 | 51 | 3 |
| RESULTS IN GREAT BRITAIN BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 52% | 44% | 4% |
| 30–49 years | 43 | 54 | 3 |
| 50 years and over | 49 | 48 | 3 |
| RESULTS IN GREAT BRITAIN BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 73% | 23% | 4% |
| Middle | 58 | 40 | 2 |
| Lower | 41 | 55 | 4 |
| RESULTS IN GREAT BRITAIN BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional; salaried executives | 71% | 25% | 4% |
| Salaried clerical | 59 | 38 | 3 |
| Proprietor, shop or business; farmers | 62 | 36 | 2 |
| Weekly wages; factory, heavy industry, transport, miner | 35 | 61 | 4 |
| Agricultural workers (excluding farmers) | 34 | 64 | 2 |
| Weekly wages, all others | 45 | 52 | 3 |
| Housewives | 43 | 53 | 4 |
| Retired, unoccupied | 52 | 44 | 4 |

**25.** (Great Britain Apr 27 '46) What would be your chief complaint about food at the moment: that it is monotonous and without variety, or that you do not get enough of it? (BIPO)

| | *Monotonous* | *Not enough* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 38% | 7% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 56% | 36% | 8% |
| Women | 54 | 40 | 6 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 59% | 36% | 5% |
| 30–49 years | 53 | 40 | 7 |
| 50 years and over | 56 | 37 | 7 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 67% | 22% | 11%. |
| Middle | 60 | 32 | 8 |
| Lower | 52 | 42 | 6 |
| Very poor | 45 | 52 | 3 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional; salaried executives | 71% | 18% | 11% |
| Salaried clerical | 64 | 30 | 6 |
| Proprietor, shop or business; farmers | 54 | 35 | 11 |
| Weekly wages; factory, heavy industry, transport, miners | 50 | 42 | 8 |
| Agricultural workers (excluding farmers) | 40 | 57 | 3 |
| Weekly wages, all others | 55 | 39 | 6 |
| Housewives | 51 | 44 | 5 |
| Retired, unoccupied | 54 | 40 | 6 |

**26.** (Germany May 8 '46) Would you, please, enumerate the food items—rationed and unrationed—you ate during the last twenty-four hours? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Bread | 87%** |
| Food-stuffs (unspecified) | 48 |
| Potatoes | 91 |
| Fat | 70 |
| Sugar | 5 |
| Meat | 32 |
| Pulse | 23 |
| Cheese (hard) | 18 |
| Cottage cheese | 7 |
| Milk, skimmed | 52 |
| Milk, unskimmed | 23 |
| Fish | 3 |
| Eggs | 15 |
| Coffee | 84 |
| Fruit, dry | 3 |
| Fruit, fresh | 2 |
| Vegetables, canned | 5 |
| Vegetables, fresh | 50 |
| Poultry | 1 |
| Game | * |
| Beer | 1 |
| Salt and spices | 4 |
| Farinaceous food | 4 |
| Others | 4 |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Since respondents were asked to name all the foods they had eaten, percentages add to considerably more than 100.

**27.** (Great Britain June '46) How does your food today compare with a year ago, as to quality? (BIPO)

| | *Better* | *The same* | *Worse* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9% | 40% | 51% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 11% | 38% | 51% |
| Women | 7 | 42 | 51 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 14% | 38% | 48% |
| 30–49 years | 9 | 40 | 51 |
| 50 years and over | 7 | 41 | 52 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 9% | 36% | 55% |
| Middle | 12 | 40 | 48 |
| Lower | 8 | 40 | 52 |
| Very poor | 6 | 43 | 51 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative | 5% | 38% | 57% |
| Labor | 10 | 42 | 48 |
| Liberal | 10 | 45 | 45 |
| Other | 14 | 24 | 62 |
| Non-voters | 12 | 39 | 49 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| London and south | 11% | 46% | 43% |
| Midlands | 9 | 40 | 51 |
| Wales | 8 | 51 | 41 |
| Northern | 8 | 38 | 54 |
| Scotland | 4 | 24 | 72 |

**28.** (Great Britain June '46) How does your food today compare with a year ago, as to variety? (BIPO)

| | *Better* | *The same* | *Worse* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 20% | 26% | 54% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 20% | 26% | 54% |
| Women | 20 | 25 | 55 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 23% | 22% | 55% |
| 30–49 years | 20 | 25 | 55 |
| 50 years and over | 18 | 28 | 54 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 22% | 23% | 55% |
| Middle | 23 | 24 | 53 |
| Lower | 19 | 26 | 55 |
| Very poor | 17 | 29 | 54 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| London and south | 20% | 31% | 49% |
| Midlands | 21 | 23 | 56 |
| Wales | 30 | 20 | 50 |
| Northern | 17 | 24 | 59 |
| Scotland | 25 | 17 | 58 |

**29.** (Hungary June '46) What do you miss most in your diet? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

BY SEX AND AGE

| | MEN | | WOMEN | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Under 40* | *Over 40* | *Under 40* | *Over 40* |
| Sugar | 30.7% | 33.2% | 35.0% | 34.5% |
| Fat | 25.7 | 20.8 | 19.2 | 17.0 |
| Meat | 19.9 | 18.5 | 19.4 | 17.9 |
| Vitamins | 0.8 | 1.6 | 0.6 | — |
| Cereals | 4.4 | 2.9 | 2.5 | 4.2 |
| Fruits | 2.8 | 4.3 | 4.5 | 3.8 |
| Vegetables | 0.9 | 1.4 | 1.5 | 2.1 |
| Milk, dairy products | 9.0 | 12.4 | 13.9 | 17.0 |
| Other | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.3 | 0.9 |
| Nothing | 0.9 | 0.6 | 0.2 | 0.5 |
| Everything | 2.4 | 2.7 | 0.8 | 2.1 |
| No answer | 0.9 | — | 1.1 | — |

**30.** (Germany Nov 25 '46) What suits you least of the food provision of today—the monotony or the scarcity? A comparable cross-section was asked the same question with order of the words "monotony" and "scarcity" reversed. (OMGUS)

| | *Scarcity* | *Monotony* | *Qualified answers* | *No opinion and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| American Zone and Berlin | 83% | 10% | 2% | 5% |
| Berlin only | 81 | 10 | 1 | 8 |

# DISARMAMENT

**1.** (US Sept 5 '36) Would you favor a new international conference to limit and reduce armaments? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 57% | 43% | = 100% | 22% |

**2.** (US Sept 5 '36) Should the United States call such a [disarmament] conference? Asked of a national cross-section of those who favored a new international conference. 57% of the sample represented. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 72% | 28% | = 100% | 19% |

**3.** (US Apr 5 '37, June 1 '37, June 9 '38, Oct 1 '38) Should President Roosevelt call a world disarmament conference? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '37 results | 31% | 69% | = 100% | 19% |
| June '37 results | 41 | 59 | = 100 | 20 |
| June '38 results | 37 | 63 | = 100 | 23 |
| Oct '38 results | 31 | 69 | = 100 | 15 |

JUNE '37 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 43% | 57% |
| Middle Atlantic | 45 | 55 |
| East central | 38 | 62 |
| West central | 41 | 59 |
| South | 43 | 57 |
| Rocky mountain | 36 | 64 |
| Pacific coast | 36 | 64 |

JUNE '37 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Democratic | 47% | 53% |
| Republican | 32 | 68 |

**4.** (US June 1 '37 and June 9 '38) Would you favor a world disarmament conference? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1937 | 66% | 34% | = 100% | 16% |
| 1938 | 63 | 37 | = 100 | 13 |

1937 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 67% | 33% |
| Middle Atlantic | 67 | 33 |
| East central | 63 | 37 |
| West central | 63 | 37 |
| South | 65 | 35 |
| Rocky mountain | 66 | 34 |
| Pacific coast | 70 | 30 |

1937 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Democratic | 70% | 30% |
| Republican | 56 | 44 |

**5.** (US June 1 '37 and June 9 '38) Do you think the time is ripe to bring together the leading nations of the world for this purpose [world disarmament conference]? A comparable cross-section in June '38 was asked the following question: Do you think now is the time to bring together the leading nations of the world for a disarmament conference? Results were combined. (Oct 1 '38) Do you think the time is ripe to bring leading nations of the world together for a disarmament conference? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| June '37 results | 56% | 44% | = 100% | 20% |
| June '38 results | 48 | 52 | = 100 | 21 |
| Oct '38 results | 59 | 41 | = 100 | 11 |

1937 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Democratic | 61% | 39% |
| Republican | 47 | 53 |

1937 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 55% | 45% |
| Middle Atlantic | 59 | 41 |
| East central | 51 | 49 |
| West central | 61 | 39 |
| South | 57 | 43 |
| Rocky mountain | 54 | 46 |
| Pacific coast | 46 | 54 |

**6.** (US Oct 1 '38) Should the United States take part in such a [world disarmament] conference? (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 40% = 100% No opinion 10%

**7.** (Great Britain June 12 '37 and June 29 '37) Do you think the time is ripe for another disarmament conference? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| June 12 '37 | 52% | 48% |
| June 29 '37 | 51 | 49 |

**8.** (Great Britain June 12 '37 and June 29 '37) Should our government call it [world disarmament conference]? Asked of 52% of the June 12 sample and 51% of the June 29 sample who thought it was time for a disarmament conference. (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| June 12 '37 | 85% | 15% | = 100%* |
| June 29 '37 | 49 | 51 | = 100* |

* 100% of those who thought a conference should be called.

**9.** (Great Britain Dec '37) Are you in favor of the all-round reduction of armaments by international agreement? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 49% |
| No | 24 |
| Doubtful | 16 |
| No opinion | 11 |

**10.** (Great Britain Dec '37) Are you in favor of the all-round abolition of national military and naval aircraft by international agreement? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 46% |
| No | 27 |
| Doubtful | 15 |
| No opinion | 12 |

**11.** (US Feb 14 '38) If other nations would sign a disarmament treaty with the United States, would you favor giving up our plans to build a larger navy? (AIPO)

Yes 52% No 48%

**12.** (US Feb 16 '39) I would like to ask you a question about our government's foreign policy: Would you favor a conference of the leading nations to reduce the size of all armies and

navies at this time? A comparable cross-section was asked the question in the following form: Would you favor a world disarmament conference at this time? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 57% = 100% | 10% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 43% | 57% | |
| Republican | 41 | 59 | |

**13.** (US Feb 16 '39) Should President Roosevelt call this disarmament conference? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with the phrase "to meet in Washington" added. Results were combined. Asked of a national cross-section of those who favored a world disarmament conference. 43% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Yes 28% No 72%

**14.** (US Jan 11 '43) If we win, do you think we should completely disarm our enemies? (NORC)

Yes 77% No 16% Don't know 7%

**15.** (Canada Jan 20 '43) Do you think that after this war, all nations should disarm completely, or do you think the Allies should maintain a strong armed force? (CIPO)

Favor armed force 81% Favor disarmament 19%

**16.** (Great Britain Aug '44) Do you think Germany should be totally deprived of all forms of arms and armed forces for a period after the war? (BIPO)

Yes 93% No 4% Don't know 3%

**17.** (Australia Nov '44) Would you disarm Germany completely or permit a small armed force? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Complete disarmament | 81% |
| Small armed force | 14 |
| No opinion | 5 |

**18.** (US Jan 17 '45) Do you think that now is the time for the United States, England, Russia, and China to make an agreement to use force after the war to keep Germany and Japan disarmed for all time? A comparable cross-section was asked the same question with the wording "permanently disarmed" substituted for "disarmed for all time." Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 68% No 16% No opinion 16%

**19.** (US Jan 22 '45 and Jan 31 '45) After the war, should Germany and Japan be kept permanently disarmed? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion and don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan 22 '45 results | 92% | 6% | 2% |
| Jan 31 '45 results | 86 | 7 | 7 |
| JAN 31 '45 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Roosevelt voters | 89% | 6% | 5% |
| Dewey voters | 89 | 6 | 5 |
| Others | 80 | 9 | 11 |

**20.** (US Jan 22 '45 and Jan 31 '45) Should the United States, England, Russia, and China make a written agreement now to keep Germany and Japan disarmed, or should we wait until the war is over to make such an agreement? (AIPO)

| | *Make agreement now* | *Wait until war is over* | *Should not make agreement at all* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan 22 '45 results | 57% | 39% | — | 4% |
| Jan 31 '45 results | 51 | 29 | 8% | 12 |
| JAN 31 '45 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Roosevelt voters | 56% | 27% | 7% | 10% |
| Dewey voters | 53 | 31 | 8 | 8 |
| Others | 42 | 28 | 8 | 22 |

**21.** (US Apr 4 '45) Would you approve of allowing Germany to have a small army and navy after this war, or should Germany be completely disarmed? The 90% of the sample who thought that Germany should be completely disarmed were asked: For how long? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 10 years | 1% |
| 10–19 years | 4 |
| 20–24 years; a generation | 4 |
| 25 years | 6 |
| 26–49 years | 3 |
| 50 years | 11 |
| 51–99 years | 1 |
| 100 years; a century | 4 |
| Over 100 years | 1 |
| Forever; eternity; indefinitely; always | 48 |
| As long as necessary; until world peace is established | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Didn't mention a time | 3 |
| Thought Germany should have a small army and navy after the war | 5 |
| Had no opinion on the subject | 5 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**22.** (US May 10 '45) Do you think the United Nations should or should not completely demobilize the German army and navy and keep them from having any again? (NYHT)

Should 85% Should not 9% Don't know 6%

**23.** (US Oct 4 '45) Do you think the United Nations should or should not completely demobilize the Japanese army and navy and keep them from having any again? (NYHT)

Should 82.7% Should not 7.7% Don't know 9.6%

**24.** (US Oct 31 '45) It has been suggested that the best way to preserve peace in the world is for all nations to get together and agree to do away with standing armies and military training. Do you think the United States should or should not enter into such an agreement? 24% of the sample who thought the United States should enter such an agreement were asked: Do you think the United States should take the lead in trying to bring about such an agreement? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| United States should not enter such an agreement | 68% |
| Don't know whether or not United States should enter such an agreement | 8 |
| United States should take the lead | 20 |
| Should not take the lead | 2 |
| Don't know whether or not should take the lead | 2 |

**25.** (US Mar 13 '46) It has been suggested that Russia, Britain, and the United States get together and do away with armaments and military training. Do you think we should agree to this? (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 62% No opinion 8%

## DISEASES

**1.** (US Mar 30 '39) Which of these diseases would you hate most to have—tuberculosis, heart trouble, cancer, pneumonia? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Tuberculosis | 13% |
| Heart trouble | 9 |
| Cancer | 76 |
| Pneumonia | 2 |

**2.** (US Mar 6 '40) In your opinion, which of the following diseases is the most serious public health problem—tuberculosis, cancer, infantile paralysis, syphilis? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Tuberculosis | 16% |
| Cancer | 29 |
| Infantile paralysis | 9 |
| Syphilis | 46 |

**3.** (Sweden Oct '43) Do you suffer from rheumatism (arthritis), sciatica, lumbago, or any similar pains? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Have suffered, but cured* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 32% | 65% | 3% |
| AGE BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Townspeople, 20–29 years | 13% | 85% | 2% |
| Country people, 20–29 years | 17 | 80 | 3 |
| Townspeople, 30–49 years | 24 | 73 | 3 |
| Country people, 30–49 years | 32 | 65 | 3 |
| Townspeople, 50 years and over | 45 | 52 | 3 |
| Country people, 50 years and over | 53 | 43 | 4 |

**4.** (US Dec 28 '44) Have you ever heard of undulant fever (Malta fever or Bang's disease)? (AIPO)

Yes 63% No 37%

**5.** (US Dec 28 '44) Do you know anyone in this community who now has, or has had, undulant fever? Asked of 63% of the sample who had heard of undulant fever. (AIPO)

Yes 16% No 47% = 63%

**6.** (Great Britain July '45) What do you think causes rheumatism? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Cold and damp climate; getting wet | 42% |
| Excess acid | 10 |
| Damp houses; bad living conditions | 9 |
| Wrong diet; lack of vitamins | 5 |
| General bad health; lack of exercise | 4 |
| Hereditary | 4 |
| Liver and kidney trouble; indigestion and constipation | 3 |
| Too much hard work and worry | 2 |
| Bad or wrong clothing | 1 |
| Bad teeth | 1 |
| Drinking water | 1 |
| A germ | 1 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 3 |
| No answer; don't know | 14 |

**7.** (Great Britain July '45) Do you think it [rheumatism] is contagious? (BIPO)

Yes 3% No 90% Don't know 7%

**8.** (Great Britain July '45) Do you know of any way in which it [rheumatism] may be cured? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No cure, alleviation but no cure | 24% |
| Diet; reduction of acidity | 6 |
| Patent cures | 6 |
| Electrical treatment | 5 |
| Massage; rub with liniment | 4 |
| Take salts daily | 4 |
| Rest and warmth | 4 |
| Brine baths | 3 |
| Move to dry climate | 3 |
| Good housing | 2 |
| Injections | 1 |
| Careful living; no alcohol | 1 |
| Good, warm clothing | 1 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 5 |
| No answer; don't know | 31 |

## DIVORCE

**1.** (US Apr 11 '36) Should divorces be easier to obtain in your state? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 23% | 77% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | |
| Farmers | 16% | 84% |
| Small towns | 16 | 84 |
| Cities | 23 | 77 |
| STATE BY STATE | | |
| Alabama | 15% | 85% |
| Arizona | 33 | 67 |
| Arkansas | 10 | 90 |
| California | 23 | 77 |
| Colorado | 7 | 93 |
| Connecticut | 29 | 71 |
| Delaware | 14 | 86 |
| Florida | 14 | 86 |
| Georgia | 24 | 76 |
| Idaho | 12 | 88 |
| Illinois | 16 | 84 |
| Indiana | 14 | 86 |
| Iowa | 10 | 90 |
| Kansas | 12 | 88 |
| Kentucky | 22 | 78 |
| Louisiana | 26 | 74 |
| Maine | 4 | 96 |
| Maryland | 27 | 73 |
| Massachusetts | 15 | 85 |
| Michigan | 15 | 85 |
| Minnesota | 16 | 84 |
| Mississippi | 17 | 83 |
| Missouri | 10 | 90 |
| Montana | 24 | 76 |
| Nebraska | 12 | 88 |
| Nevada | 11 | 89 |
| New Hampshire | 9 | 91 |
| New Jersey | 39 | 61 |
| New Mexico | 29 | 71 |
| New York | 51 | 49 |
| North Carolina | 24 | 76 |
| North Dakota | 16 | 84 |
| Ohio | 14 | 86 |
| Oklahoma | 15 | 85 |
| Oregon | 11 | 89 |
| Pennsylvania | 20 | 80 |

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| Rhode Island | 15% | 85% |
| South Carolina | 45 | 55 |
| South Dakota | 21 | 79 |
| Tennessee | 19 | 81 |
| Texas | 14 | 86 |
| Utah | 15 | 85 |
| Vermont | 13 | 87 |
| Virginia | 23 | 77 |
| Washington | 15 | 85 |
| West Virginia | 24 | 76 |
| Wisconsin | 9 | 91 |
| Wyoming | 21 | 79 |

**2.** (Great Britain Jan 14 '37) Do you consider that the grounds of divorce should be made easier? (BIPO)

Yes 58% No 42% = 100% No opinion 1%

**3.** (US Apr '37) Do you think that there should be easy divorce laws so that it would not be so expensive and troublesome to dissolve an unhappy marriage? (FOR)

| | Yes | No | No divorce should be allowed | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 28.3% | 54.3% | 10.8% | 6.6% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 31.2% | 51.9% | 10.4% | 6.5% |
| Women | 25.3 | 56.7 | 11.2 | 6.8 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| Under 40 | 31.1% | 54.2% | 8.3% | 6.4% |
| Over 40 | 25.5 | 54.4 | 13.4 | 6.7 |

**4.** (Canada July 14 '43) In your opinion, is it easy to get a divorce in this country or not easy enough? (CIPO)

| | Too easy | Too hard | About right | Undecided |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 24% | 32% | 17% |
| BY RELIGION | | | | |
| Catholic | 42% | 17% | 25% | 16% |
| Non-Catholic | 20 | 27 | 36 | 17 |
| BY LANGUAGE SPOKEN | | | | |
| French-Canadian | 42% | 18% | 25% | 15% |
| English-Canadian | 23 | 26 | 34 | 17 |

**5.** (US Feb 20 '45) Do you think the divorce laws in this state now are too strict or not strict enough? (AIPO)

| | Too strict | Not strict enough | About right | Undecided |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9% | 35% | 31% | 25% |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–49 years | 11% | 31% | 31% | 27% |
| 50 years and over | 5 | 41 | 31 | 23 |

**6.** (US Feb 20 '45) Do you think that divorce laws should be the same in every state? (AIPO)

Yes 83% No 5% Undecided 12%

**7.** (Australia Feb–Mar '45) Should divorce be made easier, or more difficult? (APOP)

| | Easier | More difficult | No change | Undecided |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 39% | 19% | 15% |
| BY RELIGION | | | | |
| Roman Catholic | 15% | 60% | 11% | 14% |
| Anglican | 35 | 33 | 21 | 11 |
| Presbyterian | 29 | 37 | 18 | 16 |
| Methodist | 24 | 38 | 24 | 14 |
| Baptist | 19 | 64 | 14 | 3 |
| Protestant, unspecified | 24 | 32 | 21 | 23 |
| Other Christians | 34 | 35 | 15 | 16 |
| No religion | 47 | 26 | 15 | 12 |

**8.** (Australia Feb–Mar '45) At present divorce is controlled by different laws in each state. Would you favor or oppose one federal divorce law for all Australia? (APOP)

Favor 83% Oppose 5% No opinion 12%

**9.** (Australia Feb–Mar '45) For how many years should a deserted man or woman have to wait before seeking a divorce? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 year | 28% |
| 2 years | 14 |
| 3 years | 27 |
| 5 years | 6 |
| No opinion | 25 |

**10.** (US July 12 '45) Do you think the courts of this state should recognize divorces granted by Reno courts? A comparable cross-section was asked if they thought courts of their states "should recognize Reno divorces." Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 34% | 51% | 15% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 43% | 44% | 13% |
| 30–49 years | 36 | 50 | 14 |
| 50 years and over | 26 | 56 | 18 |

**11.** (Great Britain Apr 27 '46) Do you think that steps should be taken to make the hearings of divorce speedier, or is it a good thing that it takes a long time before the case is heard in the courts? (BIPO)

| | Speed up | Take time | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 36% | 15% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 53% | 33% | 14% |
| Women | 45 | 39 | 16 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 50% | 35% | 15% |
| 30–49 years | 52 | 34 | 14 |
| 50 years and over | 44 | 39 | 17 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 62% | 30% | 8% |
| Middle | 52 | 38 | 10 |
| Lower | 46 | 36 | 18 |

**12.** (Brazil Sept '46) In Brazil, a Catholic country, divorce is prohibited. When asked whether there should be a divorce law in their country, a cross-section of the population of Rio de Janeiro answered as follows: (IBOPE)

| | Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 70% | 22% | 8% |
| Women | 48 | 37 | 15 |

# EASTERN QUESTION

**1.** (Hungary Dec 20 '45 and Mar 20 '46) What do you think of the trend of affairs in Iran? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | *Might lead to open conflict* | *Hope of agreement* | *Mentioned definite penetration from one side or the other* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1945 results | 9% | 11% | 12% | 68% |
| 1946 results | 26 | 25 | 18 | 31 |

# ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

**1.** (US Oct '35, Apr '38, July '38, May '39) Regardless of general economic conditions, do you personally feel more or less secure than you did a year ago? The Oct '35 and Apr '38 samples were asked the same question with the phrase "regardless of general economic conditions" omitted and the word "personally" was omitted from the '35 sample. (FOR)

| | *More* | *Less* | *Same* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '35 results | 36.6% | 30.2% | 30.3% | 2.9% |
| Apr '38 results | 28.2 | 34.2 | 34.7 | 2.9 |
| July '38 results | 22.4 | 43.4 | 32.0 | 2.2 |
| May '39 results | 32.0 | 28.7 | 37.0 | 2.3 |
| OCT '35 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 42.1% | 22.9% | 32.1% | 2.9% |
| Upper middle | 40.8 | 23.4 | 32.9 | 2.9 |
| Lower middle | 40.9 | 26.4 | 29.9 | 2.8 |
| Poor | 25.0 | 42.0 | 29.9 | 3.1 |
| Negroes | 22.0 | 52.6 | 22.8 | 2.6 |
| MAY '39 RESULTS BY AGE | | | | |
| Under 40 | 38.8% | 24.5% | 34.5% | 2.2% |
| Over 40 | 25.4 | 32.9 | 39.4 | 2.3 |

**2.** (US July '36) Are you personally better off now than during the past two or three years? (FOR)

Yes 40.4% No 30.8% Same 28.8%

**3.** (US Oct 4 '37, Apr 6 '38, Oct 17 '38, Mar 8 '39, Nov 8 '39, Nov 15 '39, Nov 30 '39) Considering your income and cost of living, do you feel you are better off today than you were a year ago? The Oct '37 and Mar '38 samples were asked the same question with words "you were" omitted. The Nov 15 '39 and Nov 30 '39 samples were asked the question with the phrases "worse off, or about the same as" added. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Same* | | *No opinion* | *Don't know and no answer* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oct 4 '37 | 38% | 62% | — | | — | — | = 100% |
| Apr 6 '38 | 36 | 64 | — | = 100% | 8% | — | |
| Oct 17 '38 | 35 | 65 | — | | — | — | = 100 |
| Mar 8 '39 | 34 | 55 | 4% | | 7 | — | = 100 |
| Nov 8 '39 | 37 | 55 | — | | 4 | 4% | = 100 |
| Nov 15 '39 | 25 | 22 | 53 | | — | — | = 100 |
| Nov 30 '39 | 24 | 22 | 53 | | — | 1 | = 100 |

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Same* | *No opinion* | *Don't know and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| OCT '37 AND APR '38 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| *New England* | | | | | |
| 1937 | 25% | 75% | | | |
| 1938 | 26 | 74 | | | |
| *Middle Atlantic* | | | | | |
| 1937 | 33 | 67 | | | |
| 1938 | 32 | 63 | | | |
| *East central* | | | | | |
| 1937 | 40 | 60 | | | |
| 1938 | 33 | 67 | | | |
| *West central* | | | | | |
| 1937 | 48 | 52 | | | |
| 1938 | 38 | 62 | | | |
| *South* | | | | | |
| 1937 | 40 | 60 | | | |
| 1938 | 46 | 54 | | | |
| *Rocky Mountain* | | | | | |
| 1937 | 40 | 60 | | | |
| 1938 | 45 | 55 | | | |
| *Pacific coast* | | | | | |
| 1937 | 37 | 63 | | | |
| 1938 | 36 | 64 | | | |
| OCT '37 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Republican | 28% | 72% | | | |
| Democratic | 39 | 61 | | | |
| OCT '37 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Unemployed not on relief | 14% | 86% | | | |
| Businessmen | 32 | 68 | | | |
| Reliefers | 18 | 82 | | | |
| Unskilled labor | 32 | 68 | | | |
| White-collar | 40 | 60 | | | |
| Skilled labor | 41 | 59 | | | |
| Professional | 42 | 58 | | | |
| Farmers | 47 | 53 | | | |
| APR '38 RESULTS BY OPINIONS ON ROOSEVELT | | | | | |
| Persons who have turned against him since 1936 | 23% | 77% | | | |
| Persons who are still for him | 47 | 53 | | | |

**4.** (US Nov 30 '37 and Mar 13 '40) In general, which do you think is better off today—the man who lives on the farm or the man who lives in the city? The '37 sample was asked the question with the phrase "in general" omitted and in 1940 a comparable cross-section was asked the question with the phrases "the man who lives on a farm" and "the man who lives in the city" reversed. These results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Man on farm* | *Man in city* | | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1937 | 66% | 34% | = 100% | 7% |
| 1940 | 66 | 34 | = 100 | 12 |

**5.** (Great Britain Jan '38) Considering your income and the cost of living, do you feel you are better off today than you were a year ago? (June '44) Taking into account prices and the amount of money coming into your home, do you think that you are better off or worse off than you were a year ago? (BIPO)

| | *Better* | *Worse* | *Same* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1938 | 16% | 57% | 27% |
| 1944 | 19 | 36 | 45 |

**6.** (US Apr '38) Do you believe that general economic conditions in this country are better or worse than they were a year ago? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 25.3% |
| Same | 17.2 |
| Worse | 51.0 |
| Don't know | 6.5 |

**7.** (US Apr '38) What do you think is the reason [for the economic conditions being worse]? Asked of 51% of the sample who thought conditions were worse than lasr year. (FOR)

| | *Government* % | *Unemployment* % | *Labor trouble* % | *Business and Capitalism* % | *Others** % | *Don't know* % | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 26.8 | 21.4 | 20.3 | 10.5 | 12.5 | 8.5 | = 100.0** |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 43.3 | 12.7 | 18.5 | 4.6 | 16.0 | 4.9 | |
| Poor | 16.0 | 31.7 | 21.0 | 8.1 | 13.8 | 9.4 | |

* These other reasons included percentages saying "imports from foreign countries," "lack of confidence," "lack of cooperation between business and government," "taxes too high," etc.

** 100.0% of those who thought conditions were worse in this country.

**8.** (US Apr '38) Do you feel personally more or less secure than you did five years ago? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| More secure | 47.8% |
| Same | 18.2 |
| Less secure | 30.6 |
| Don't know | 3.4 |

**9.** (US Apr 6 '38) Are you better off or worse off today than you were in the last depression? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 43% |
| Worse | 30 |
| About same | 27 |
| | 100% |
| No opinion | 5% |

**10.** (US June 21 '38, July 27 '38, Sept 23 '38, Jan 25 '39, Mar 21 '39, July 8 '39, Mar 7 '40, June 11 '40, July 19 '40, Aug 22 '40, Dec 2 '40, Jan 9 '41) Do you think you will spend more money or less money next month than you have during the past month? The Mar '39 and July '39 questions used the words "four weeks" instead of "month." (AIPO)

| | *More* | *Less* | *Same* | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| June '38 | 29% | 27% | 39% | 5% | = 100% |
| July '38 | 26 | 29 | 45 | 5 | = 100% |
| Sept '38 | 30 | 24 | 46 | 6 | = 100 |
| Jan '39 | 21 | 27 | 48 | 4 | = 100 |
| Mar '39 | 37 | 22 | 38 | 3 | = 100 |
| July '39 | 23 | 27 | 42 | 8 | = 100 |
| Mar '40 | 34 | 24 | 42 | 12 | = 100 |
| June '40 | 28 | 21 | 40 | 11 | = 100 |
| July '40 | 26 | 19 | 42 | 13 | = 100 |
| Aug '40 | 34 | 19 | 38 | 9 | = 100 |
| Dec '40 | 50 | 12 | 31 | 7 | = 100 |
| Jan '41 | 24 | 31 | 35 | 10 | = 100 |

**11.** (US July 13 '38) Are you better off or worse off than you were a year ago? (AIPO) (Great Britain Jan '39) Are you better off today than you were a year ago? (BIPO) (US June 7 '41) Financially, are you better off or worse off than last year? (AIPO) (Feb '42) Do you feel better off or worse off han last year? (Jan '43) Taking everything into consideration, do you feel you are now better off, worse off, or about the same as last year at this time? Asked of a national cross-section of the working force including factory labor, miners, transportation, and public utility workers, and personal service workers (janitors, beauticians, laundrymen, domestics, etc.). (FOR)

| | *Better off* | *Worse off* | *About same* | | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| RESULTS IN THE UNITED STATES | | | | | |
| July '38 | 26.0% | 31.0% | 43.0% | = 100% | 1.0% |
| June '41 | 30.0 | 20.0 | 50.0 | | — |
| Feb '42 | 30.9 | 21.3 | 46.9 | | .9 |
| Jan '43 | | | | | |
| Factory workers | 51.8 | 12.3 | 35.1 | | .8 |
| Personal-service workers | 35.0 | 17.0 | 47.2 | | .8 |
| Mine workers | 29.0 | 21.7 | 47.9 | | 1.4 |
| RESULTS IN GREAT BRITAIN | | | | | |
| Jan '39 | 31% | 21% | 48% | | — |
| 1941 RESULTS IN THE UNITED STATES BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| New England | 35% | 20% | 45% | | — |
| Middle Atlantic | 30 | 22 | 48 | | — |
| East central | 33 | 18 | 49 | | — |
| West central | 30 | 16 | 54 | | — |
| South | 27 | 21 | 52 | | — |
| Mountain | 29 | 22 | 49 | | — |
| Pacific coast | 27 | 22 | 51 | | — |
| 1941 RESULTS IN THE UNITED STATES BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Professional | 34% | 16% | 50% | | — |
| Businessmen | 32 | 19 | 49 | | — |
| Farmers | 26 | 16 | 58 | | — |
| White-collar | 38 | 17 | 45 | | — |
| Skilled labor | 34 | 21 | 45 | | — |
| Unskilled labor | 24 | 24 | 52 | | — |
| On relief | 11 | 33 | 56 | | — |
| Semi-skilled labor | 32 | 23 | 45 | | — |
| 1941 RESULTS IN THE UNITED STATES BY AGE | | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 47% | 15% | 38% | | — |
| 30–49 years | 31 | 18 | 51 | | — |
| 50 years and over | 17 | 26 | 57 | | — |
| OPINIONS OF AMERICAN FACTORY WORKERS IN 1943 BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 49.9% | 12.8% | 36.6% | | .7% |
| Women | 57.4 | 11.1 | 30.5 | | 1.0 |
| 1943 RESULTS IN THE UNITED STATES BY LABOR-MIGRATION STATUS | | | | | |
| Working for same company as last year | 35.8% | 18.5% | 45.0% | | .7% |
| Working for different company | 51.7 | 15.5 | 31.7 | | 1.1 |
| Was unemployed, on WPA, or student | 72.3 | 5.5 | 21.7 | | .5 |

**12.** (US Mar 21 '39, July 8 '39, Mar 6 '40, June 11 '40, Nov 30 '40, Jan 9 '41) Do you think you will spend more money or less money during the next eight weeks than you did during the last eight weeks? The July '39 sample was asked "do you plan to" instead of "do you think you will" and the 1940 and 1941 questions used "two months" instead of "eight weeks." (AIPO)

| | More | Less | Same | | Don't know | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '39 | 35% | 22% | 38% | | 5% | = 100% |
| July '39 | 25 | 31 | 35 | | 9 | = 100 |
| Mar '40 | 35 | 29 | 36 | = 100% | 12 | |
| June '40 | 30 | 22 | 38 | | 10 | = 100 |
| Nov '40 | 46 | 14 | 34 | | 6 | = 100 |
| Jan '41 | 30 | 29 | 31 | | 10 | = 100 |

**13.** (US May 18 '49) Ten years from now, do you think American farmers will be better off or worse off than now? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 54% |
| Worse | 15 |
| Same | 11 |
| Don't know | 20 |

**14.** (Great Britain Nov '40 and Aug '46) Are you better or worse off than before the war? The '46 sample was asked the question with the phrase "on the whole" preceding the question. (BIPO)

| | Better | Worse | Same | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1940 results | 18% | 50% | 32% | — |
| 1946 results | 27 | 47 | 23 | 3% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| *Higher* | | | | |
| 1940 | 17% | 52% | 31% | — |
| 1946 | 19 | 58 | 19 | 4% |
| *Middle* | | | | |
| 1940 | 19 | 54 | 27 | — |
| 1946 | 23 | 55 | 21 | 1 |
| *Lower* | | | | |
| 1940 | 18 | 49 | 33 | — |
| 1946 | 29 | 44 | 24 | 3 |
| *Very poor* | | | | |
| 1946 | 24 | 46 | 27 | 3 |
| 1946 RESULTS BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 30% | 48% | 20% | 2% |
| Women | 24 | 47 | 26 | 3 |
| 1946 RESULTS BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 34% | 39% | 20% | 7% |
| 30–49 years | 28 | 46 | 24 | 2 |
| 50 years and over | 22 | 53 | 23 | 2 |
| 1946 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Conservative | 17% | 61% | 21% | 1% |
| Labor | 38 | 38 | 21 | 3 |
| Liberal | 25 | 42 | 32 | 1 |
| Other voters | 30 | 40 | 27 | 3 |
| Non-voters | 21 | 47 | 26 | 6 |

**15.** (US Feb '41) Do you feel that your prospects are better or worse than last year? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 37.5% |
| Worse | 14.9 |
| Same | 45.0 |
| Don't know | 2.6 |

**16.** (US Nov '41) First of all, consider the executive state of mind: Which of the following comes closest to being your prediction of the kind of economic structure with which this country will emerge after the war? Which of these would you prefer—(1) a system of free enterprise restored very much along the prewar lines, with modifications to take care of conditions then current; (2) an economic system in which government will take over many public services formerly under private management but still leave many opportunities for private enterprise; (3) a semi-socialized society in which there will be very little room for the profit system to operate; (4) a complete economic dictatorship along fascist or communist lines? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | Predict | Prefer |
|---|---|---|
| Statement 1 | 7.2% | 91.5% |
| Statement 2 | 52.4 | 8.3 |
| Statement 3 | 36.7 | 0.2 |
| Statement 4 | 3.7 | — |

**17.** (US Nov 19 '41 and Sept 11 '46) Are you better off or worse off today than you were six months ago? (OPOR and AIPO)

| | Better off | Worse off | Same | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| OPOR 1941 results | 25% | 26% | 48% | 1% |
| AIPO 1946 results | 27 | 31 | 41 | 1 |

**18.** (US May 30 '42) What do you think your own personal situation will be for the first two or three years after the war—will you be better off or worse off? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 16% |
| Worse | 36 |
| Same | 29 |
| Don't know | 19 |

**19.** (Australia June '42, Aug–Sept '43, Dec '44, Jan '45) Considering your income and the cost of living, do you feel you are better off or worse off today than you were before the war? (APOP)

| | Better | Worse | Same | Undecided | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1942 results | 15% | 59% | 5% | 19% | 2% |
| 1943 results | 20 | 54 | 26 | — | — |
| 1944–1945 results | 17 | 56 | 27 | — | — |
| 1942 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Business owners and professional | 10% | 71% | 19% | | |
| Managers | 15 | 69 | 16 | | |
| Farm owners | 11 | 62 | 27 | | |
| Clerks, shophands | 16 | 54 | 30 | | |
| Skilled and semi-skilled workers | 21 | 54 | 25 | | |
| Unskilled workers | 16 | 56 | 28 | | |

**20.** (US June 9 '42) Do you think you are spending more money or less money in the stores than you did before rationing started? Asked of a national cross-section of car and truck owners in gas rationed states and areas only. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 22% |
| Less | 19 |
| About same | 56 |
| Don't know | 3 |

**21.** (US July '42) After the war, do you think farmers as a group will be better off, worse, or about the same as they were before the war? Factory workers? Business leaders? Office workers? (FOR)

| | Better off | Same | Worse off | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Farmers | 43.0% | 32.7% | 13.5% | 10.8% |
| Factory workers | 36.6 | 30.1 | 21.9 | 11.4 |
| Business leaders | 22.2 | 34.2 | 25.8 | 17.8 |
| Office workers | 20.8 | 45.6 | 20.1 | 13.5 |

**22.** (US Nov 27 '42 and June 18 '43) If we win the war, do you think business conditions in the five years right afterward will be better or worse than they were in the five years before the war started? (NORC)

| | *Better* | *Worse* | *About the same* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1942 results | 51% | 29% | 10% | 10% |
| 1943 results | 53 | 25 | 12 | 10 |

**23.** (US Jan 21 '43) Do you feel you would be better off or worse off financially if you took a job in a war plant? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 29% |
| Worse | 44 |
| Same | 11 |
| No opinion | 16 |

**24.** (US Jan 21 '43) Do you think farmers as a group will be better off or worse off after this war? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 30% |
| Worse | 36 |
| Same | 16 |
| No opinion | 18 |

**25.** (US May 22 '43) Do you think people are better off in this war than they were during the last war, or are they worse off? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better off | 52% |
| Worse off | 21 |
| About the same | 14 |
| Don't know | 13 |

**26.** (US May 22 '43) In what way [are people better off in this war]? Asked of 52% of the sample who thought people were better off in this war than the last. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Making more money in this war | 13% |
| Shortages less acute; standard of living higher | 13 |
| Rationing; more equal distribution | 11 |
| Prices are lower now (control specifically mentioned) | 7 |
| Prices are lower now (no mention of control) | 6 |
| Better control (prices not specifically mentioned) | 6 |
| More work; less unemployment | 5 |
| Progress since last war | 3 |
| Better prepared | 1 |
| Health | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 2 |
| | 69%* |

* Percentages add to more than 52 because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

**27.** (US May 22 '43) In what way [are people worse off in this war]? Asked of 21% of the sample who thought people were worse off in this war than the last. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Shortages | 6% |
| Shortages due to overseas shipments | * |
| Rationing | 5 |
| Prices are higher now | 4 |
| Made more money in the last war | 3 |
| This is a longer, more serious war | 2 |
| More men in service; labor shortages | 1 |
| Didn't have this administration in last war | 1 |
| National debt is higher | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 26%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 21 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**28.** (US Sept 9 '43) Do you and your family have more money coming in now than you did before the war, or not as much? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 39% |
| About the same | 33 |
| Not as much | 27 |
| Don't know | 1 |

**29.** (US Sept 9 '43) What are you doing with the extra money? Asked of 39% of the sample who had more money coming in than before the war. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Buying bonds and stamps | 22% |
| Paying increased cost of living | 13 |
| Banking money | 4 |
| Paying debts | 3 |
| Paying higher taxes | 3 |
| Buying house or property | 2 |
| Clothes; furniture; durable goods | 2 |
| Buying business or equipment | 2 |
| Improving property or home | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 55%* |

* Percentages add to more than 39 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**30.** (US Sept 9 '43) Do you have more money left over after paying your living expenses or not as much? Asked of 39% of the sample who had more money coming in than before the war. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 11% |
| About the same | 14 |
| Not as much | 13 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 39% |

**31.** (US Oct 6 '43) Are you now able to buy or do things that you couldn't afford a year ago? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 29% | 71% |
| BY AGE | | |
| 21–29 years | 43% | 57% |
| 30–49 years | 30 | 70 |
| 50 years and over | 19 | 81 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | |
| Professional and businessmen | 23% | 77% |
| White-collar | 31 | 69 |
| Skilled labor | 30 | 70 |
| Other labor | 31 | 69 |
| Farmers | 30 | 70 |

**32.** (US Oct 6 '43) What things [can you now afford to buy or do]? Asked of 29% of the sample who said they were now able to buy or do things that they couldn't afford a year ago. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Clothing and other personal items | 9% |
| Home furnishings—stove, radio, furniture, etc. | 5 |
| Saving and bonds | 5 |
| Home improvements and repairs—painted house and barn, etc. | 2 |
| More and better food | 3 |
| Automobile and accessories—tires; etc. | 1 |
| Entertainment | 1 |
| Machinery | 1 |
| Buying a home | 1 |
| Able to pay bills | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Luxuries—jewelry, gifts, etc. | 1% |
| Everything | 1 |
| Necessities | 1 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 2 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 37%* |

* Percentages add to more than 29 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**33.** (Sweden Sept '44) Did you feel better off or worse off, economically, during the past few years than before the war? (SGI)

| | *Worse* | *Better* | *The same* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 29% | 23% | 44% | 4% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 33% | 24% | 41% | 2% |
| Women | 25 | 22 | 48 | 5 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 25% | 25% | 47% | 3% |
| Middle class | 23 | 27 | 46 | 4 |
| Workers | 34 | 20 | 43 | 3 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Country | 25% | 23% | 48% | 4% |
| Towns | 35 | 23 | 39 | 3 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 23% | 30% | 41% | 6% |
| 30–49 years | 32 | 23 | 42 | 3 |
| 50–64 years | 29 | 20 | 48 | 3 |
| 65 years and over | 26 | 14 | 58 | 2 |

**34.** (Sweden Sept '44) What is the reason [for your feeling worse off economically during the past few years than before the war]? Asked of 29% of the sample who said they felt worse off than before the war. (SGI)

| | *General economic situation* | *Personal reasons* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 20% | 12% | = 32%* |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 22% | 16% | = 38% |
| Women | 17 | 10 | = 27 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 16% | 12% | = 28% |
| Middle class | 16 | 10 | = 26 |
| Workers | 22 | 14 | = 36 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Country | 15% | 11% | = 26% |
| Towns | 25 | 15 | = 40 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 14% | 12% | = 26% |
| 30–49 years | 24 | 13 | = 37 |
| 50–64 years | 21 | 11 | = 32 |
| 65 years and over | 16 | 12 | = 28 |

* Percentages add to more than original totals because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**35.** (Germany Dec 6 '45 and Oct 28 '46) Do you think economic conditions in the American zone will become better or worse within the next six months? (OMGUS)

| | *Better* | *Worse* | *Same* | *Qualified* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1945 results | 78% | 7% | 10% | — | 5% | — |
| 1946 results | 45 | 24 | 22 | 1% | 8 | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**36.** (Finland Dec 21 '45) Have you received an increase in salary (wages) this year, and if so, is your financial position consequently better, about the same, or worse? (FGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 22% |
| About the same | 49 |
| Worse | 23 |
| Don't know | 6 |
| | 100%* |

* Percentages are based upon the number of respondents who said that they had received an increase in salary this year.

**37.** (US Jan '46) Of course it is hard to say definitely, but taking everything into account, do you expect you will probably spend more money altogether this coming year than you did last year, less, or about the same amount? (We mean by that your living expenses as well as new things you want to buy.) (FOR)

| | *More* | *Same* | *Less* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46.3% | 37.3% | 9.9% | 6.5% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS* | | | | |
| Prosperous | 56.5% | 32.3% | 8.6% | 2.6% |
| Upper middle | 53.6 | 35.6 | 6.7 | 4.1 |
| Lower middle | 46.6 | 39.1 | 8.6 | 5.7 |
| Poor | 38.2 | 37.1 | 14.5 | 10.2 |

* Breakdown from *New York Herald Tribune* Jan 3 '46.

**38.** (Germany Jan 14 '46) Do you believe that economic conditions are better in the other zones than here? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 10% |
| No, worse | 50 |
| No, the same | 25 |
| Don't know | 15 |

**39.** (Germany Jan 14 '46) How do you know about conditions in other zones? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| From hearsay; conversation; rumor | 24% |
| From people in other zones; relatives; friends | 18 |
| From people returning from other zones; travelers; returning soldiers; refugees; people who have been there | 31 |
| Newspapers; radio; films | 7 |
| Personal experience; have been there or just returned from there | 7 |
| Don't know or have no interest | 9 |
| Don't hear anything or can't believe what is heard | 1 |
| No answer | 10 |
| | 107%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**40.** (France May 1 '46) In general, did the year just past disappoint or satisfy you? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Disappoint | 76% |
| Satisfy | 5 |
| Neither | 17 |
| No opinion | 2 |

**41.** (France May 1 '46) Do you think the coming year will be better or worse [than the past year]? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 48% |
| Worse | 8 |
| No difference | 29 |
| No opinion | 15 |

**42.** (Hungary June '46) Does the public security improve? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Other, no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX AND TYPE OF INCOME | | | |
| *Fixed income* | | | |
| Men | 84.5% | 15.1% | 0.4% |
| Women | 80.3 | 19.0 | 0.7 |
| *Variable income* | | | |
| Men | 78.2 | 21.0 | 0.8 |
| Women | 74.7 | 22.6 | 2.7 |
| BY SEX AND AGE | | | |
| *Under 40* | | | |
| Men | 82.7% | 16.7% | 0.6% |
| Women | 78.8 | 20.7 | 0.5 |
| *Over 40* | | | |
| Men | 81.9 | 17.8 | 0.3 |
| Women | 78.1 | 18.8 | 3.1 |

**43.** (US June 26 '46) Do you think you will spend more money or less money in the next six months than you have in the last six months? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 68% |
| Same | 13 |
| Less | 14 |
| Don't know | 5 |

## EDUCATION

**1.** (US June 7 '37) Should schoolwork be planned to eliminate homework for grammar-school children? (AIPO)

Yes 50% No 50% = 100% No opinion 11%

**2.** (Great Britain June 29 '37) Should children have homework to do at the end of the school day? (BIPO)

Yes 21% No 79% = 100% No opinion 18%

**3.** (US Aug 16 '38) If you were running the school in this community, what changes would you make? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No change | 24% |
| More vocational guidance | 3 |
| More progressive teachers and teaching | 3 |
| Eliminate married teachers | 2 |
| Better teachers | 2 |
| Fire certain teachers and officials | 2 |
| Build larger schools | 1 |
| More practical subjects | 2 |
| More work | 3 |
| More discipline | 1 |
| More physical education | 1 |
| All others | 25 |
| Eliminate all politics | 2 |
| No answer | 29 |

**4.** (US Nov 5 '38 and Mar 2 '39) Do you feel you have had enough education? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Nov '38 results | 24% | 76% |
| 1938 RESULTS BY EDUCATION | | |
| No school | * | 1% |
| Grammar school | 8% | 23 |
| High school | 9 | 31 |
| College | 5 | 15 |
| Graduate work | 1% | 4% |
| Other | * | 2 |
| * = 1 | | |
| | 24% | 76% |
| Mar '39 results | 19% | 81% |
| 1939 RESULTS BY EDUCATION | | |
| No school | * | 2% |
| Grammar school | 6% | 31 |
| High school | 8 | 32 |
| College | 5 | 16 |
| | 19% | 81% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**5.** (Great Britain Mar '39) If you had a son and five hundred pounds to spend on giving him a start in life, which would you do: send him to a university; send him to a commercial or technical school; use the money as capital to start him in business or trade; leave the boy himself to choose? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| University | 18% |
| Commercial or technical | 17 |
| Start him in business or trade | 18 |
| Let boy choose | 47 |

**6.** (US Mar 2 '39) Do you want your children to have more education than you did? (AIPO)

Yes 87% No 7% No answer 6%

**7.** (France June '39) Do you think that children ought to be kept in school until they are sixteen years old? (FIPO)

Yes 55% No 43% No opinion 2%

**8.** (US Sept 17 '40) Do you think that our present high-school programs are planned mainly for the students who are going on to college or for those who are not going on to college? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Those going to college | 35% |
| Those not going to college | 10 |
| Both | 28 |
| Don't know | 27 |

**9.** (Sweden May '42) Do you think that school work gives you enough, too much, or too little to do? Asked of a national cross-section of young people who were still at school. (SGI)

| | *Enough* | *Too much* | *Too little* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Boys | 69% | 24% | 3% | 4% |
| Girls | 64 | 27 | 4 | 5 |

**10.** (Sweden May '42) Have your children had a better or poorer education than you had? Asked of a national cross-section of parents. (SGI)

| | *Poorer* | *The same* | *Better* |
|---|---|---|---|
| FATHERS' ANSWERS ABOUT THEIR SONS | | | |
| National total | — | 62% | 38% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Towns | — | 51% | 49% |
| Provinces | — | 59 | 41 |
| Country | — | 70 | 30 |
| MOTHERS' ANSWERS ABOUT THEIR DAUGHTERS | | | |
| National total | — | 58% | 42% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Towns | 1% | 42% | 57% |
| Provinces | — | 62 | 38 |
| Country | — | 77 | 23 |

**11.** (Australia Sept '42) Speaking generally, until what age should boys and girls be given free education? (Feb–Mar '45) Until what age should the government provide free education? (APOP)

| | *To 13* | *To 14* | *To 15* | *To 16* | *Above 16* | *No opinion and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1942 results | — | 20% | 20% | 45% | 10% | 5% |
| 1945 results | 2% | 13 | 16 | 39 | 28 | 2 |

**12.** (US Dec '42) In general, are you satisfied or do you feel that high schools could do a better job of informing you about the way our government runs; giving you an understanding of present-day happenings; helping girls learn how to make a living; helping boys learn how to make a living? Asked of a national cross-section of high school students. (FOR)

| | *Satisfied* | *Could do better* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Information on government | 62.4% | 32.6% | 5.0% |
| Understanding present-day happenings | 58.0 | 39.0 | 3.0 |
| Teaching girls to make a living | 56.3 | 31.8 | 11.9 |
| Teaching boys to make a living | 53.5 | 41.1 | 5.4 |

**13.** (US Dec '42) Of all the subjects you have taken so far in high school, which one have you liked best? Liked least? Asked of a national cross-section of high school students. (FOR)

| | *Students liking the following least—* | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Like the following subjects best by these percentages—* | *English* | *History* | *Mathematics* | *Sciences* |
| Mathematics, biology, chemistry, other sciences | 51.9% | 41.8% | 14.6% | 24.6% |
| English, languages, history | 15.6 | 22.2 | 57.3 | 47.5 |
| Other | 30.3 | 33.7 | 26.5 | 27.4 |
| Don't know | 2.2 | 2.3 | 1.6 | .5 |

**14.** (US Jan 11 '43) Some people say that in order to change people's way of thinking in the enemy countries, we will have to take charge of their education. Do you think we ought to do this? (NORC)

Yes 49% No 36% Don't know 15%

**15.** (US Jan 11 '43) Why [will we have to take charge of education in enemy countries]? Asked of 49% of the sample who thought we would have to take charge of the education in enemy countries. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Need specific anti-militaristic education for peace | 14% |
| Need anti-Fascist or democratic education | 10 |
| Non-specific—their education has been wrong | 7 |
| General mention—changing them to our way of thinking | 5 |
| Need ethical instruction | 3 |
| Need tolerance and broadmindedness | 1 |
| Definite statement that counter-propaganda is necessary | 1 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 7 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 49% |

**16.** (US Jan 11 '43) Why [won't we have to take charge of education in enemy countries]? Asked of 36% of the sample who didn't believe we would have to take charge of education in enemy countries. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Would violate their liberty; be undemocratic | 10% |
| They have their own customs and should be allowed them | 4 |
| We should not interfere | 4 |
| The task is too great | 3 |
| Other reasons for task being too great | 3 |
| Education cannot be forced | 3 |
| We do not understand their problems | 2 |
| Removing or punishing leaders sufficient | 2 |
| Other reasons for considering it unnecessary | 1 |
| Answers in selfish terms | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 2 |
| | 37%* |

* Percentages add to more than 36 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**17.** (US July 7 '43) Men like Henry Ford have had practically no schooling and yet have become a big success. For most people, do you feel education is absolutely necessary to be a success in life? (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 40% No answer 3%

**18.** (Australia Oct '43) Speaking generally, until what age should boys and girls remain at school? (APOP)

| | *14 years* | *15 years* | *16 years* | *17 years* | *18 years* | *Average in years* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 14% | 25% | 54% | 4% | 3% | — |
| BY STATES | | | | | | |
| | *14 and 15 years* | *16 years* | *17 and 18 years* | *Average in years* | | |
| New South Wales | 30% | 62% | 8% | 15¾ | | |
| Tasmania | 37 | 58 | 5 | 15½ | | |
| Western Australia | 38 | 56 | 6 | 15½ | | |
| Victoria | 43 | 50 | 7 | 15½ | | |
| South Australia | 48 | 44 | 8 | 15½ | | |
| Queensland | 52 | 43 | 5 | 15⅓ | | |

**19.** (US Nov '43) Are there any children in your family going to grade school or high school at the present time? 40% of the sample with children in grade or high schools were asked: Are you satisfied with what they are getting from their education in school? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, satisfied | 32% |
| No, not satisfied | 6 |
| Undecided or didn't answer | 2 |
| No children in grade or high school | 60 |

**20.** (Australia Dec '43) Do you think education at government schools is as good as it might be? (APOP)

OPINION STATE BY STATE

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| South Australia | 51% | 27% | 22% |
| Tasmania | 47 | 38 | 15 |
| Queensland | 40 | 46 | 14 |
| New South Wales | 37 | 47 | 16 |
| Western Australia | 35 | 53 | 12 |
| Victoria | 31 | 56 | 13 |

**21.** (Denmark Jan 30 '44) Do you think that schools should lay more emphasis on character training with a stronger appeal to the children's sense of duty and discipline than in the past? (DGI)

Yes 62% No 20% Don't know 18%

**22.** (Denmark May 28 '44) Which five school subjects have been most useful to you in later years? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Arithmetic | 76.0%* |
| Danish | 72.0 |
| Writing | 65.1 |
| Geography | 33.6 |
| Needlework | 18.7 |
| History | 13.6 |
| Languages | 9.3 |
| Gymnastics | 7.6 |
| Religion | 8.4 |
| Natural history | 5.9 |
| German | 5.4 |
| English | 4.9 |
| Drawing | 4.7 |
| Housework | 4.6 |
| Physics | 3.6 |
| Mathematics | 3.4 |
| Singing | 3.0 |
| Handicraft | 2.7 |
| French | 0.7 |
| Sociology | 0.7 |
| Don't know | 19.6 |

* Since respondents were asked to name five subjects, percentages add to considerably more than 100.

**23.** (Denmark May 28 '44) In what subjects have you particularly missed further training? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Languages | 18.0% |
| Arithmetic | 8.9 |
| Danish | 3.2 |
| Writing | 3.2 |
| Needlework | 2.0 |
| Geography | 1.8 |
| Religion | 14.0 |
| Housework | 1.3 |
| Physics | 1.3 |
| Mathematics | 1.3 |
| Drawing | 1.1 |
| English | 0.8 |
| French | 0.6 |
| Gymnastics | 0.6 |
| History | 1.0 |
| Natural history | 0.5 |
| German | 0.7 |
| Singing | 0.5 |
| Handicraft | 0.5 |
| Sociology | 0.5 |
| Bookkeeping | 0.3 |
| Sexual knowledge | 0.3 |
| None | 40.7 |
| Don't know | 10.1 |
| | 113.2%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**24.** (US July '44) A national cross-section of college students was confronted with a selection of statements about international policies. Among others was: It will be foolish to give much education to members of the black and yellow races in colonial possessions in Asia and Africa in the hope that they will someday produce leaders, scientists, and skilled workers. Results follow: (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve | 3% |
| Uncertain | 5 |
| Disapprove | 92 |

**25.** (Great Britain Aug '44) What do you think is the best age for children to leave school? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 14 years | 1% |
| 14 years | 25 |
| 15 years | 20 |
| 16 years | 44 |
| 17 years | 4 |
| 18 years | 6 |

**26.** (Canada Sept 2 '44) A national cross-section of people who had continued their education beyond public school and had had some experience of high school were asked: In general, would you say that high schools are doing a good or bad job in: (CIPO)

| | *Good* | *Poor* | *Not their job* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Helping people to a better understanding of world affairs? | 58% | 25% | 4% | 13% |
| Preparing people for marriage and family life? | 18 | 52 | 18 | 12 |
| Guiding people in choosing suitable occupations? | 51 | 34 | 3 | 12 |
| Teaching people how to make a living? | 46 | 36 | 7 | 11 |
| Teaching people how to spend their leisure time constructively? | 48 | 33 | 6 | 13 |

**27.** (France Jan 16 '45) Do you think children should have to go to school until they're seventeen? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *Yes, qualified* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Paris | 63% | 2% | 29% | 6% |
| Provinces | 40 | 2 | 51 | 7 |

**28.** (Sweden Feb '45) What do you think of the suggestion that the present form of matriculation,* including the students' cap, should be abolished and replaced by a certificate? (SGI)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 28% | 35% | 37% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 35% | 58% | 7% |
| Middle class | 29 | 38 | 33 |
| Workers | 26 | 30 | 44 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–24 years | 26% | 43% | 31% |
| 25–29 years | 30 | 39 | 31 |
| 30–49 years | 31 | 32 | 37 |
| 50–64 years | 25 | 34 | 41 |
| 65 years and over | 18 | 36 | 46 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Country | 24% | 31% | 45% |
| Large towns | 31 | 42 | 27 |
| Other towns | 34 | 39 | 27 |
| Farmers | 21 | 26 | 53 |
| Others | 30 | 38 | 32 |

* Matriculation in this case is the examination taken on completion of secondary school education and does not necessarily mean that a student will go on to a university. The cap can be worn by anyone passing the examination.

**29.** (Sweden Feb '45) Have you the impression that matriculation gives a certain social distinction? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 65% | 14% | 21% |

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 79% | 14% | 7% |
| Middle class | 68 | 13 | 19 |
| Workers | 61 | 15 | 24 |

**30.** (Sweden Feb '45) Do you think that education obtained through training for matriculation is of value to a person, even if he does not get a larger income than he would have earned without the examination? (SGI)

| | *Of value* | *No value* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 72% | 8% | 20% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 88% | 9% | 3% |
| Middle class | 74 | 9 | 17 |
| Workers | 69 | 8 | 23 |

**31.** (Australia Feb–Mar '45) Until what age should education be compulsory? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Until 14 | 13% |
| Until 15 | 24 |
| Until 16 | 53 |
| Above 16 | 8 |
| No opinion | 2 |

**32.** (Germany Nov 26 '45) Do you think the schools that have been opened so far are doing good work or not? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Very good work | 15% |
| Good work | 42 |
| Bad work | 6 |
| No opinion | 34 |
| No answer | 3 |

**33.** (Germany Nov 26 '45) What do you find wrong with the new schools? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| No adverse criticism (general) | 20% |
| Favorable comment; schools better now | 1 |
| Hours of schooling too short | 4 |
| Shortage of teachers | 4 |
| Shortage of books | 2 |
| Shortage of fuel | 4 |
| Shortage of buildings (overcrowding) | 1 |
| Teachers inexperienced | 7 |
| No opinion, no information | 26 |
| No answer | 33 |
| Other shortage of equipment and material | 1 |
| Democratic (US ideas) indoctrination | 4 |
| | 107%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**34.** (Germany Nov 26 '45) Why do you suppose the secondary schools have not yet been reopened? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Lack of teachers | 41% |
| Shortage of materials; books; buildings; fuel; other necessary equipment | 23 |
| Because it was more important to open elementary schools | 1 |
| Inadequacy and/or ill intentions of military government | 2 |
| No opinion, don't know | 39 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 109%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**35.** (Hungary Jan '46) Do you have any wishes in connection with schooling? Asked of a national cross-section of children and of a cross-section of adults outside Budapest. (HIPOR)

ADULTS OUTSIDE BUDAPEST BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | AREA BETWEEN TRANSDANUBE AND TISZA | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | TRANSDANUBE | | | | NORTH | | BEYOND TISZA | |
| | *Town* | *Village* | *Town* | *Village* | *Town* | *Village* | *Town* | *Village* |
| None | 12% | 40% | 29% | 48% | 13% | 19% | 15% | 23% |
| Free instruction; material support; cheap schoolbooks | 19 | 14 | 16 | 8 | 9 | 14 | 40 | 23 |
| Solution of heating; summer school | — | 1 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 1 | — | — |
| Obligatory singing; music instruction | 1 | — | 1 | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| Practical economics; household knowledge | 5 | 4 | 3 | 9 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 12 |
| Regular school in villages; trained teachers | 1 | 4 | 1 | 11 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 17 |
| Selection after leaving general school | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 8 | — |
| Greater discipline; social, moral training | 4 | 4 | 6 | — | 1 | 2 | — | — |
| Other; no answer | 56 | 31 | 40 | 21 | 64 | 54 | 32 | 25 |

OPINIONS OF BUDAPEST CHILDREN BY AGE AND SEX

| | BOYS | | GIRLS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Under 14* | *Over 14* | *Under 14* | *Over 14* |
| Free instruction | 1% | 5% | 3% | 6% |
| Coeducation | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Test of ability instead of final examination | 3 | 5 | 3 | 9 |
| Politics; working organization | 1 | 4 | — | — |
| Better professors | 2 | 6 | 5 | 7 |
| Better instruction | 8 | 11 | 3 | 6 |
| More holidays | 9 | 4 | 3 | 2 |
| Revision of curriculum | 5 | 8 | 4 | 11 |
| Other | 13 | 15 | 13 | 14 |
| Nothing | 56 | 41 | 65 | 44 |

CHILDREN OUTSIDE BUDAPEST BY AGE AND SEX

| | BOYS | | GIRLS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Under 14* | *Over 14* | *Under 14* | *Over 14* |
| Free instruction | 14% | 11% | 24% | 26% |
| Test of ability instead of final examination | 1 | 8 | 1 | 8 |
| Politics; working organization | 2 | 1 | — | — |
| Better professors | 4 | 16 | 2 | 5 |
| Better instruction | 8 | 6 | 2 | 9 |
| More holidays | 10 | 6 | 5 | 10 |
| Revision of curriculum | 5 | 11 | 5 | 6 |
| Other | 7 | 8 | 24 | 10 |
| Nothing | 49 | 33 | 37 | 26 |

**36.** (Hungary Jan '46) Do you approve of uniform schooling up to the age of fourteen? (HIPOR)

OPINIONS OF BUDAPEST ADULTS BY SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Qualified* | *Undecided; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Educated class* | | | | |
| Men | 56% | 36% | 7% | 1% |
| Women | 67 | 24 | 8 | 1 |
| *Small bourgeoisie* | | | | |
| Men | 58 | 34 | 8 | * |
| Women | 59 | 31 | 9 | 1 |
| *Workers* | | | | |
| Men | 66 | 22 | 11 | 1 |
| Women | 70 | 24 | 5 | 1 |
| Total Budapest adults | 64 | 27 | 8 | 1 |

OPINIONS OF ADULTS OUTSIDE OF BUDAPEST BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Qualified* | *Undecided; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Trans-Danube* | | | | |
| Town | 62% | 36% | 1% | 1% |
| Village | 68 | 32 | * | * |
| *Area between Danube and Tisza* | | | | |
| Town | 75 | 24 | 1 | * |
| Village | 84 | 16 | * | * |
| *North* | | | | |
| Town | 93 | 5 | 1 | 1 |
| Village | 80 | 12 | 5 | 3 |
| *Beyond Tisza* | | | | |
| Town | 93 | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| Village | 97 | * | * | 3 |

* Less than 0.5%.

OPINIONS OF BUDAPEST CHILDREN BY SEX AND AGE

| | BOYS | | GIRLS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Under 14* | *Over 14* | *Under 14* | *Over 14* |
| Yes | 60% | 61% | 67% | 60% |
| No | 39 | 38 | 32 | 39 |
| Undecided | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

OPINIONS OF CHILDREN OUTSIDE BUDAPEST BY SEX AND AGE

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yes | 68% | 55% | 65% | 54% |
| No | 30 | 44 | 32 | 41 |
| Undecided | 2 | 1 | 3 | 5 |

**37.** (Hungary Jan '46) Would it be a good thing if all children attended school until the age of fourteen? Asked of a national cross-section of children. (HIPOR)

BY AGE AND SEX

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Others, undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Budapest boys under 14 | 81.6% | 17.6% | 0.8% |
| Boys outside Budapest under 14 | 87.6 | 10.5 | 1.9 |
| Budapest boys over 14 | 86.9 | 11.3 | 1.8 |
| Boys outside Budapest over 14 | 88.0 | 10.5 | 1.5 |
| Budapest girls under 14 | 84.8 | 13.2 | 2.0 |
| Girls outside Budapest under 14 | 86.0 | 11.7 | 2.3 |
| Budapest girls over 14 | 93.2 | 6.5 | 0.3 |
| Girls outside Budapest over 14 | 92.0 | 5.0 | 3.0 |

**38.** (Hungary Jan '46) Are the new schoolbooks better, worse, or the same as the old ones? Asked of a national cross-section of children. (HIPOR)

BY AGE AND SEX

| | *Better* | *Worse* | *Same* | *Some better, some worse* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Budapest boys under 14 | 45.3% | 2.3% | 25.0% | 5.6% | 3.8% |
| Boys outside Budapest under 14 | 42.3 | 12.5 | 29.8 | 2.9 | 12.5 |
| Budapest boys over 14 | 36.3 | 34.4 | 16.6 | 5.7 | 7.0 |
| Boys outside Budapest over 14 | 29.7 | 28.9 | 18.5 | 11.1 | 11.8 |
| Budapest girls under 14 | 42.2 | 14.2 | 25.8 | 6.6 | 11.2 |
| Girls outside Budapest under 14 | 38.8 | 9.4 | 29.4 | 2.4 | 20.0 |
| Budapest girls over 14 | 30.0 | 33.0 | 18.7 | 8.1 | 10.2 |
| Girls outside Budapest over 14 | 30.3 | 28.3 | 10.1 | 6.1 | 25.2 |

**39.** (Hungary Jan '46 Would it be a good thing afrer general schooling to have a choice of agricultural, commercial, industrial, or preparatory schools for the professions? Asked of a national cross-section of children (HIPOR)

BY AGE AND SEX

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Others, undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Budapest boys under 14 | 84.0% | 14.8% | 1.2% |
| Boys outside Budapest under 14 | 84.7 | 9.5 | 5.8 |
| Budapest boys over 14 | 79.2 | 19.8 | 1.0 |
| Boys outside Budapest over 14 | 76.9 | 17.1 | 6.0 |
| Budapest girls under 14 | 87.2 | 12.4 | 0.4 |
| Girls outside Budapest under 14 | 88.3 | 5.9 | 5.8 |
| Budapest girls over 14 | 75.6 | 18.9 | 5.5 |
| Girls outside Budapest over 14 | 72.0 | 18.0 | 10.0 |

**40.** (Hungary Jan '46) Which new [school] subject would interest you? Asked of a national cross-section of children (HIPOR)

BY AGE AND SEX

| | BOYS | | | | GIRLS | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | BUDAPEST BOYS | | OUTSIDE BUDAPEST | | BUDAPEST GIRLS | | OUTSIDE BUDAPEST | |
| | *Under 14* | *Over 14* | *Under 14* | *Over 14* | *Under 14* | *Over 14* | *Under 14* | *Over 14* |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Languages—chiefly English, Russian, French | 29.1 | 23.0 | 6.4 | 17.5 | 23.4 | 18.3 | 9.7 | 7.9 |
| Sociology; politics; economics | 13.3 | 20.2 | 9.4 | 11.9 | 15.2 | 15.3 | 4.3 | 12.7 |
| Natural science | 4.7 | 5.1 | 0.9 | 2.8 | 4.6 | 4.7 | 3.3 | 1.0 |
| Psychology; pedagogy | 0.7 | 2.8 | — | 0.7 | 1.6 | 3.3 | 1.1 | 1.0 |
| Art | 1.5 | 5.6 | 2.8 | 4.2 | 1.6 | 12.4 | 12.9 | 14.8 |
| Handicraft; housekeeping | 1.8 | 2.3 | 0.9 | 2.1 | 4.5 | 2.4 | 15.0 | 5.9 |
| Sport | 9.0 | 2.8 | 15.3 | 9.1 | 7.6 | 2.6 | 6.4 | 3.9 |
| Mechanical training | 1.9 | 2.4 | 5.7 | 5.6 | 0.5 | 1.0 | 2.2 | 1.0 |
| Commerce | 0.3 | 0.5 | 1.9 | 2.8 | 0.6 | 2.2 | 3.2 | 2.9 |
| Other subjects | 6.8 | 5.7 | 6.6 | 1.4 | 6.6 | 6.3 | 6.4 | — |
| Nothing; undecided | 30.9 | 29.6 | 50.1 | 41.9 | 33.8 | 31.5 | 35.5 | 48.9 |

**41.** (Sweden Feb '46) Do you think that schools should concentrate more than at present on giving their pupils practical knowledge which they may use in daily life? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *All right as it is* | *Too much practical work now* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 76% | 13% | — | 11% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Women | 72% | 15% | — | 13% |
| Men | 80 | 11 | 1% | 8 |

| | *Yes* | *All right as it is* | *Too much practical work now* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 75% | 14% | — | 11% |
| Middle class | 76 | 14 | — | 10 |
| Workers | 76 | 13 | — | 11 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 77% | 13% | — | 10% |
| 30–49 years | 78 | 14 | — | 8 |
| 50–64 years | 74 | 12 | 1% | 13 |
| 65 years and over | 71 | 13 | 1 | 15 |

**42.** (Sweden Feb '46) Is there anything in particular that you would like your eldest son or daughter to learn at school? (SG1)

| | *Son* | *Daughter* |
|---|---|---|
| Arithmetic | 6% | 4% |
| Languages | 4 | 1 |
| Typewriting, shorthand, commercial training | 3 | 3 |
| Swedish orthography | 2 | 1 |
| Singing, music | 2 | 4 |
| Domestic work | 2 | 8 |
| Christianity | 1 | 1 |
| Etiquette | 1 | 1 |
| Woodwork | 7 | — |
| Mechanics | 1 | — |
| Drawing, writing | 1 | — |
| Handwork | — | 12 |
| Training for a profession | 5 | 1 |
| Anything for which he (she) has an aptitude | 1 | 2 |
| Other replies | 3 | 3 |
| Don't know | 62 | 67 |
| | 101%* | 108%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**43.** (France Mar 16 '46) At what age did you leave school? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 14 years | 49% |
| 15–17 years | 17 |
| 17–20 years | 21 |
| Over 20 years | 12 |
| No answer | 1 |

Median—16 years

**44.** (France Mar 16 '46) Until what age would you like to see your children continue their studies? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Until 14 years | 13% |
| 15–17 years | 14 |
| 17–20 years | 35 |
| Over 20 years | 14 |
| Other answers | 10 |
| No answer | 14 |

Median—17 years

**45.** (Canada Mar 23 '46) If you were asked to criticize the educational system in this country, what would your main criticism be? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Lack of practical training; doesn't fit demands of life today; technical and trades training needed; vocational guidance needed; etc. | 11% |
| Curriculum should be standardized across the country; both languages should be compulsory; only one language should be taught; too many extras; too backward in sciences; etc. | 16 |
| Low salaries for teachers is scandalous, etc. | 4% |
| Teachers incompetent; not enough teachers | 3 |
| Rural schools do not offer same opportunities as city schools; poor people don't have a chance | 6 |
| Too expensive to send children to school; books are too expensive; government should finance higher education | 5 |
| Lack of spiritual and moral training | 2 |
| Too many separate schools (this reply centered in Ontario) | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 17 |
| Present system satisfactory; no criticism | 39 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**46.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether or not they agreed with the following statements: (OMGUS)

| | AMERICAN ZONE AND BERLIN | | | BERLIN ONLY | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
| An education encouraging people to form their own opinions endangers the security of the state | 13% | 81% | 6% | 21% | 76% | 3% |
| Children should not be brought up on military principles | 60 | 38 | 2 | 67 | 33 | — |
| Most people learn independent thinking through a proper education | 94 | 4 | 2 | 98 | 2 | — |

**47.** (Norway June 21 '46) Do you think the public schools ought to give the pupils more practical knowledge than now? (NG1)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 70% | 16% | 14% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 72% | 17% | 11% |
| Women | 67 | 16 | 17 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–25 years | 72% | 17% | 11% |
| 25–35 years | 68 | 17 | 15 |
| 30–35 years | 71 | 15 | 14 |
| 50 years and over | 69 | 16 | 15 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| High | 69% | 16% | 15% |
| Middle | 68 | 20 | 12 |
| Low | 69 | 16 | 15 |

**48.** (Finland July 12 '46) Do you think it desirable in your locality to create more centers for amusement, recreation, or education? 45% of the sample who wanted more centers were asked: What kind of center would you want? (FG1)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't want any more centers | 42% |
| Have no opinion on the subject | 13 |
| More educational or cultural centers | 33 |
| More religious centers | 5 |
| Places of recreation or amusement with a fixed program | 8 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Places of recreation or amusement with dancing or amusement | 5% |
| Places of recreation or amusement—other suggestions | 6 |
| | 112%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents named more than one type of center.

**49.** (Great Britain Aug '46) If you were asked to criticize the educational system in this country, what would your main criticism be? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Undemocratic; too much snobbery; poor children should have the same chance as others; too few scholarships; admission to universities should be made easier | 13% |
| Practical side neglected; too theoretical; not enough useful subjects taught; not enough stress on 3 R's; not enough vocational training | 12 |
| Classes are too large; too few teachers; schools too few; schools should be nearer the homes; out of date buildings | 10 |
| Teachers have too many clerical duties; teachers should be better qualified; standards of teaching are low | 6 |
| School-leaving age should be raised | 3 |
| School-leaving age should not be raised at all | 2 |
| Too much stress on examinations | 2 |
| Children have too much homework | 1 |
| Children are pampered too much; things are made too easy for them; too little discipline; children should be taught better manners | 6 |
| Too little religion | 1 |
| Too many holidays | 3 |
| Cost to the country is not justified by results | 2 |
| All schools should be state-controlled | 1 |
| Am not interested; do not bother | 3 |
| No criticism; consider the system satisfactory | 1 |
| Miscellaneous criticisms | 9 |
| No reply; don't know | 25 |

**50.** (Denmark Aug 3 '46) Is there any practical subject which you feel is missing in schools today? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Domestic | 40% |
| Woodwork | 22 |
| Needlework | 13 |
| Office work | 10 |
| Care of children | 3 |
| Gardening | 3 |
| Other subjects | 9 |
| Do not miss any practical subjects | 6 |
| Nothing | 35 |
| Don't know | 40 |
| | 181%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**51.** (Germany Aug 9 '46) We would like to know if you have any criticisms about the following item, for often criticism is worth more than praise. Are you satisfied, not quite satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the progress in the reopening of schools and universities? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Satisfied | 70% |
| Not quite satisfied | 8 |
| Not at all satisfied | 4 |
| No opinion | 18 |

**52.** (US Aug 14 '46) What kind of school does your child (children) attend—a private, public, or parochial school? Asked of a national cross-section of parents with children in grade or high school. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Private | 2% |
| Public | 86 |
| Parochial | 11 |
| No answer | 1 |

**53.** (US Aug 14 '46) Are you satisfied with the school your child (children) goes to? Asked of a national cross-section of parents with children in grade or high school. (AIPO)

Yes 87% No 13%

**54.** (US Aug 14 '46) If you were asked to criticize the school where your child (children) goes, what would your main criticism be? Asked of a national cross-section of parents with children in grade or high school. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No criticism, none | 39% |
| Teachers are too old | 2 |
| Poor teachers; teachers are unprepared | 6 |
| Need more teachers | 4 |
| Teachers are underpaid | 3 |
| Buildings are crowded; lack of facilities | 13 |
| Wrong subjects stressed; some subjects neglected (too much religion) | 6 |
| Faulty discipline | 3 |
| Faulty teaching methods (not enough practice) | 2 |
| Teachers are carrying too heavy a schedule | * |
| Miscellaneous | 15 |
| No answer | 10 |
| | 103%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages are based on the number of respondents who had children in grade or high school and add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**55.** (US Aug 14 '46) In general, from what you have seen or heard, do you think teachers in the school where your child (children) goes do their job well or poorly? Asked of a national cross-section of parents with children in grade or high school. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Well | 60% |
| Fair | 29 |
| Poorly | 8 |
| No opinion | 3 |

**56.** (Brazil Nov '46) Would you like your children to go to school in the United States? (IBOPE)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 38% |
| No | 37 |
| No opinion | 5 |
| Have no children | 20 |

**57.** (Brazil Nov '46) In your opinion, what else should be taught in our schools instead of Latin? (IBOPE)

| | |
|---|---|
| More Portuguese | 30% |
| More English | 24 |
| Spanish | 7 |
| More French | 5 |
| Tupy-Guarany | 3 |
| More mathematics | 2 |
| Esperanto | 2 |
| Nothing | 2 |
| Sociology | 1 |
| German | 1 |
| Economics | 1 |
| Agriculture | 1 |
| More living languages | 1 |
| More Brazilian history | 1 |
| Professions | 1 |
| No opinion | 18 |

**58.** (Great Britain Dec '46) Should boys and girls over eleven years of age be taught separately or should they be taught together? (BIPO)

| | *Separately* | *Together* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 45% | 12% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 44% | 45% | 11% |
| Women | 42 | 45 | 13 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 37% | 53% | 10% |
| 30–49 years | 40 | 49 | 11 |
| 50 years and over | 49 | 37 | 14 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 55% | 38% | 7% |
| Middle | 44 | 50 | 6 |
| Lower | 41 | 44 | 15 |
| Very poor | 41 | 39 | 20 |
| BY PARENTAL STATUS | | | |
| With children under 17 | 43% | 46% | 11% |
| No children under 17 | 42 | 45 | 13 |

**59.** (Czechoslovakia Dec '46) When you attended school, did you like history lessons? (CZIPO)

Yes 68% No 18% Other answers 14%

**60.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Is teaching in the schools today different from what it was during the last twelve years? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 47% |
| No | 7 |
| No opinion | 46 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

## EDUCATION, HIGHER

**1.** (US Nov 30 '36) Do you think a college education is worth what it costs in time and money to persons who are not going into professions? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 58% | 38% | 4% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| Didn't go to college | 49% | 46% | 5% |
| Went to college | 76 | 21 | 3 |

**2.** (US Feb '39) Which do you think has a better chance of earning a living today—a high-school graduate who has had four years of experience, or a man just out of college? (FOR)

| | *High-school student* | *College graduate* | *Depends on man and/or experience* | *Experienced man better at first, college man better later* | *College man gets breaks regardless of merit* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 34.4% | 33.4% | 14.8% | 9.7% | 2.8% | 4.9% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 31.4% | 34.6% | 16.9% | 12.3% | 2.4% | 2.4% |
| Upper middle | 36.3 | 31.0 | 15.4 | 11.5 | 2.5 | 3.3 |
| Lower middle | 36.7 | 32.4 | 14.0 | 10.3 | 2.6 | 4.0 |
| Poor | 35.1 | 35.5 | 13.8 | 6.0 | 3.0 | 6.6 |
| Negroes | 21.9 | 39.4 | 15.7 | 6.6 | 4.5 | 11.9 |

**3.** (US Jan 30 '40) Some successful people think too much importance is placed on high school and college education. Do you agree with this? (AIPO)

Agree 35% Disagree 65% = 100% Don't know 7%

**4.** (US Feb '40) Have you sent, or do you intend to send, your children to college? Asked of a national cross-section of parents. (FOR)

| | *Have* | *Haven't* | *Intend to* | *Don't intend to* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total for boys** | 19.4% | 21.5% | 36.8% | 15.6% | 11.4% | = 104.7%* |
| BY AGE | | | | | | |
| 17–25 years | — | — | 69.4% | 14.6% | 16.0% | = 100.0% |
| 26–40 years | 2.9% | 3.2% | 59.6 | 18.2 | 18.2 | = 102.1* |
| Over 40 years | 31.3 | 34.8 | 19.7 | 14.2 | 6.8 | = 106.8* |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 50.8% | 11.9% | 39.0% | 1.7% | 3.4% | = 106.8%* |
| Poor | 5.5 | 25.8 | 27.6 | 27.8 | 18.2 | = 104.9* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

** Answers on sending girls to college were almost the same as those for boys, tabulated above, with no differences greater than 8%.

**5.** (US Mar 7 '41) Should college students be permitted to finish their present college course before being drafted into the army? (AIPO)

Yes 69% No 31% = 100% No opinion 17%

**6.** (US Mar 7 '41) Should students studying to be doctors and engineers be permitted to finish their present training course before being drafted into the army? Asked of a national cross-section of those who thought college students should not be permitted to finish their courses before being drafted. 31% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Yes 87% No 13% = 100% No opinion 10%

**7.** (US Aug '42 and Dec '42) What do you expect to do when you finish high school? Asked of a national cross-section of high school students. (FOR)

AUG '42 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Enter armed forces | 21.7% |
| Go to work | 23.9 |
| Go on to school | 51.1 |
| Don't know | 3.3 |

DEC '42 RESULTS

| | *Go on to school* | *Go to work* | *Go in the armed services* | *Get married* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 57.8% | 26.1% | 11.3% | 1.8% | 4.7% | = 101.7%* |
| BY SEX | | | | | | |
| Boys | 51.1% | 23.9% | 21.7% | .2% | 4.7% | = 101.6%* |
| Girls | 64.6 | 28.3 | .7 | 3.6 | 4.7 | = 101.9* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

57.8% of the Dec sample who expected to continue their education planned it as follows:

| | *College or university —public* | *College or university —private* | *Technical or business school or college* | *Nurse's or hospital training* | *Junior college, military college, other* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total ... | 27.9% | 21.6% | 23.1% | 8.1% | 16.1% | 3.2% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | |
| Boys..... | 36.0% | 24.2% | 21.0% | — | 15.2% | 3.6% |
| Girls..... | 20.5 | 19.2 | 25.0 | 15.5% | 17.0 | 2.8 |

**8.** (US Apr '45) In general do you think our colleges and universities are now doing as much as they should on (the following), or do you think they should be doing more, or less? (FOR)

| | *As much as they should* | *Should do more* | *Should do less* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Training students to be more useful citizens.... | 26.9% | 49.7% | 1.5% | 21.9% |
| Educating the general public through lectures, radio programs, etc.... | 26.5 | 46.8 | 3.7 | 23.0 |
| Training students for positions of leadership..... | 25.2 | 47.5 | 1.8 | 25.5 |
| Providing scholars and scientists with opportunities for research.... | 19.1 | 43.6 | 1.5 | 35.8 |
| Training students in specialized fields like labor relations, government service, etc..... | 18.0 | 47.6 | 3.1 | 31.3 |
| Setting up projects to help work out important problems facing local communities or the country as a whole.... | 15.7 | 45.1 | 3.5 | 35.7 |

**9.** (US Apr '45) Do you think there are many or only a few young people who are capable of going through college but don't go because they cannot afford to? (FOR)

| | *Many* | *Only a few* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 66.5% | 26.9% | 6.6% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| Attended grade school..... | 71.7% | 18.6% | 9.7% |
| Attended high school..... | 69.1 | 25.7 | 5.2 |
| Attended college..... | 56.3 | 40.6 | 3.1 |
| College graduates*..... | 50.9 | 44.0 | 5.1 |

* Results from special mail ballot.

**10.** (US Apr '45) People have different ideas about what they want their children to get out of college. Which of these things would you rate as very important for a son of yours to get out of college if he were to go, and which would you rate as not as important? A card was shown to the respondents. Now which one or two of these things you feel are very important would you consider most important for a son of yours to get out of college? (FOR)

| | *Very important and also most important* | | *Very important but not most important* | | *Total very important* | *Not so important* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Training to fit him for a specific occupation or profession..... | 53.6% | + | 33.0% | = | 86.6% | 10.0% | 3.4% |
| Ability to get along with and understand people..... | 33.5 | + | 54.2 | = | 87.7 | 9.1 | 3.2 |
| Desires and ability to be a more useful citizen..... | 17.7 | + | 67.9 | = | 85.6 | 11.3 | 3.1 |
| Ability to think more logically.... | 13.8 | + | 68.0 | = | 81.8 | 12.1 | 6.1 |
| Moral growth..... | 10.0 | + | 64.8 | = | 74.8 | 17.6 | 7.6 |
| The advantage of being recognized as a college man..... | 2.8 | + | 31.4 | = | 34.2 | 60.9 | 4.9 |
| A larger amount of factual information..... | 2.2 | + | 41.1 | = | 43.3 | 45.4 | 11.3 |
| A better appreciation of such things as literature, art, and music..... | 1.9 | + | 44.1 | = | 46.0 | 47.7 | 6.3 |

**11.** (US Apr '45) After the war, if you had a son (daughtet) graduating from high school, would you prefer that he (she) go on to college, or would you rather have him (her) do something else, or wouldn't you care one way or the other? (FOR)

| | *Go on to college* | *Do something else* | *Wouldn't care* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Son..... | 81.3% | 5.2% | 10.2% | 3.3% |
| Daughter..... | 73.0 | 8.0 | 15.1 | 3.9 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS* | | | | |
| Prosperous..... | 90.6% | 2.1% | 4.3% | 3.0% |
| Upper middle..... | 90.9 | 2.4 | 4.9 | 1.8 |
| Lower middle..... | 83.3 | 4.1 | 9.9 | 2.7 |
| Poor..... | 67.9 | 9.3 | 18.2 | 4.6 |
| BY EDUCATION* | | | | |
| College training..... | 91.7% | 2.3% | 4.6% | 1.4% |
| High school..... | 83.0 | 4.0 | 10.6 | 2.4 |
| Grade school..... | 72.5 | 8.4 | 13.7 | 5.4 |
| None..... | 60.3 | 10.3 | 17.6 | 11.8 |

* Breakdowns from *New York Herald Tribune* Apr 5 '45.

**12.** (US Apr '45) College graduates alone were asked to rate the things they had liked best in their own college experiences. Their ratings of "very important" came out in this order: (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Class discussions..... | 72.8% |
| Books..... | 72.4 |
| Informal discussions with fellow students..... | 69.6 |
| Personal contacts with professors and counselors..... | 67.2 |
| Independent work such as essays and projects..... | 66.0 |
| Class lectures by professors..... | 56.6 |
| Gainful work during vacations..... | 56.4 |
| Experience in extracurricular activities..... | 52.2 |
| Events such as lectures, concerts, exhibits, etc..... | 49.9 |
| Gainful work while in residence..... | 34.8 |
| Associations in clubs or fraternities..... | 33.0 |

## EDUCATION, UNIVERSAL

**1.** (US Dec '44) Do you think one of the things the world organization should do is to decide what things can be taught in the schools of all the countries in the world, or do you think each country should decide for itself what it can teach? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| World organization decide | 27% |
| Each country decide | 65 |
| Other answers | * |
| Don't know | 8 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**2.** (US Mar '45) It has been suggested that the nations of the world set up a world agency that would help schools in all countries teach children how to understand the people of other countries. Would you like to see an agency like this set up, or not? (NORC)

Would like 84% Would not like 10% Don't know 6%

**3.** (US Mar '45) If such an agency [that would help schools in all countries teach children how to understand the people of other countries] were set up, would you be willing to have it examine the schoolbooks used in this city (county) to see if they were fair to all nations? (NORC)

Yes, willing 87% Not willing 7% Don't know 6%

**4.** (US Mar '45) Suppose the men in this agency decide that the schoolbooks in this city (county) give an unfair picture of the history of Germany. Would you be willing to have the books changed or not? Asked of 87% of the sample who said they would be willing to have a world agency examine books of their city or county to see if they were fair to all nations. (NORC)

Yes 72% No 9% Don't know 6% = 87%

## EDUCATION AND STATE

**1.** (US Mar 26 '38) Do you think the federal government should give money to states to help local schools? A comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think the federal government should give money to help local schools in the poor communities? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| All local schools | 68% | 27% | 5% |
| Local schools in poor communities | 81 | 16 | 3 |

**2.** (US Mar 26 '38) Should federal aid be given to public and parochial schools (such as Catholic, Lutheran, and Quaker) or should this aid be given to public schools only? (AIPO)

Public and parochial 35% Public only 53% No opinion 12%

**3.** (US June '39) Do you think our government should or should not take over and operate all private, public, and parochial schools for children? Take over and operate all private colleges and institutions of higher learning? (FOR)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know or depends* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nationalize schools | 19.8% | 71.5% | 8.7% |
| Nationalize colleges | 14.1 | 75.3 | 10.6 |

**4.** (Great Britain Jan 24 '43) Some people say that all elementary schools should be taken over by local authorities. Others say the churches should continue to manage some of them as they do now. Which do you think? (BIPO)

Local authorities 61% Church schools 21% Don't know 18%

**5.** (Canada May 8 '43) At the present time, this province is considering a bill which would make it compulsory to send all children between six and fourteen to school at the government's expense. Would you approve or disapprove if this bill were made law? (CIPO)

Approve 89% Disapprove 6% No opinion 5%

**6.** (US Nov '43) Do you think that public school systems should be mostly controlled by the federal government or mostly controlled by each state government? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Federal | 21% |
| State | 68 |
| Depends | 1 |
| Neither | 1 |
| Don't know | 9 |

**7.** (US Nov '43) As far as you know, do all public schools in the United States have as much money as they need to do a good job? (NORC)

Yes 29% No 54% Don't know 17%

**8.** (US Nov '43) Would you be in favor of or be against having the federal government turn over a certain amount of money to the states every year for their schools? (NORC)

Favor 69% Against 18% Qualified 3% Don't know 10%

**9.** (Canada Sept 2 '44) Do you think the government should make it possible for all young people who have the ability but not the money to go to a university? (CIPO)

Yes 92% No 4% No opinion 4%

**10.** (Canada Sept 2 '44) Would you favor this [government-subsidized higher education] even if it meant higher taxes? (CIPO)

BY EDUCATION

| | *Approve, even if taxes higher* | *Disapprove and don't know* |
|---|---|---|
| College | 84% | 16% |
| High school | 76 | 24 |
| Public school | 56 | 44 |

**11.** (France Jan '45 and Mar '46) Are you in favor of private education, or should the state be in charge of all schools? (July '46) Do you believe there should be freedom of teaching or should the state alone maintain the schools? (FIPO)

| | *Free schools* | *State schools* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '45 results | 58% | 30% | 12% |
| Mar '46 results | 58 | 36 | 6 |
| July '46 results | 62 | 31 | 7 |
| JULY '46 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Communist | 22% | 75% | 3% |
| Socialist | 42 | 52 | 6 |
| Other left parties | 72 | 21 | 7 |
| MRP | 94 | 2 | 4 |
| PRL | 88 | 7 | 5 |

**12.** (France Jan '45, Mar '46, July '46) Should the government subsidize private schools? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '45 results | 38% | 51% | 11% |
| Mar '46 results | 30 | 63 | 7 |
| July '46 results | 26 | 62 | 12 |
| JULY '46 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Communist | 2% | 95% | 3% |
| Socialist | 7 | 87 | 6 |
| Other left parties | 18 | 68 | 14 |
| MRP | 63 | 25 | 12 |
| PRL | 54 | 37 | 9 |

**13.** (Canada Mar 21 '45) At the present time, most public schools and high schools in Canada are run by the various provincial governments. Do you think this should be continued, or should all these schools be run by the federal government in Ottawa? (CIPO) (Australia June–July '45) At present state schools and high schools are run by the state governments. Do you think those schools should be run by the state governments or by the federal government? (APOP)

| | *Provincial or state government* | *Federal government* | *No opinion, undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '45 | 53% | 34% | 13% |
| June–July '45 | 50 | 38 | 12 |
| MAR '45 BY SELECTED PROVINCES | | | |
| Ontario | 49% | 35% | 16% |
| Quebec | 69 | 18 | 13 |

**14.** (US Apr '45) Do you think that (the following) should or should not contribute money to colleges so that they can admit young people who cannot afford to pay the full cost themselves? (FOR)

| | *Should contribute* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT | | | |
| National total | 64.8% | 24.7% | 10.5% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| Attended grade school | 68.1% | 16.5% | 15.4% |
| Attended high school | 66.5 | 25.2 | 8.3 |
| Attended college | 58.6 | 35.3 | 6.1 |
| College graduate* | 40.2 | 43.1 | 16.7 |
| THE STATE GOVERNMENTS | | | |
| National total | 69.2% | 18.9% | 11.9% |
| PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS WITH MONEY | | | |
| National total | 80.8% | 8.9% | 10.3% |

* Results from a special mail ballot.

**15.** (France May 1 '45) Do you favor suppression of the independent schools? (FIPO)

Yes 30% No 58% No opinion 12%

**16.** (France May 1 '45) Do you think the government should subsidize the independent schools? (FIPO)

Yes 38% No 51% No opinion 11%

## EDUCATION OF ADULTS

**1.** (US Nov 5 '38) Do you happen to be taking any courses now in night school, correspondence school, WPA classes, or other adult education programs? (AIPO)

Yes 6% No 94%

**2.** (US Nov 5 '38) What subjects are you studying [in adult education programs]? Asked of a national cross-section of people who were taking courses in some adult education program. 6% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Business subjects | 22% |
| Professional | 10 |
| English and public speaking | 7 |
| Social science | 10 |
| Science | 10 |
| Arts | 8 |
| Domestic science | 2 |
| Trades | 16 |
| Others | 9 |
| No answer | 15 |
| | 109%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents taking courses and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**3.** (US Nov 5 '38) If it didn't cost anything, would you like to take a course in your spare time? Asked of 94% of the sample who were not taking courses in some adult education program. (AIPO)

Yes 37% No 47% No opinion 10% = 94%

**4.** (US Nov 5 '38) What subjects would you like to study most [in some adult education program]? Asked of a national cross-section of people not taking any courses in some adult education program but who would like to take some courses if it didn't cost them anything—37% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Business subjects | 21% |
| Professional | 7 |
| English and public speaking | 9 |
| Social science | 13 |
| Science | 10 |
| Arts | 8 |
| Domestic science | 3 |
| Trades | 25 |
| Others | 2 |
| No answer | 14 |
| | 112%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents not taking courses and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**5.** (Sweden May '42) Do you do anything in your spare time to improve your education or achieve more knowledge? Asked of a national cross-section of young people who had left school. (SGI)

| | BY SEX | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Boys* | *Girls* |
| Study at home | 10% | 10% |
| Courses, lectures | 4 | 4 |
| Correspondence school | 13 | 7 |
| Study circles | 5 | 5 |
| Wireless | 3 | 2 |
| Handicraft school | 3 | 3 |
| Other | 3 | 2 |
| Several things | 3 | 3 |
| Nothing | 56 | 64 |

**6.** (Sweden Dec '43) Do you think that your children, after finishing the elementary school, should take continuation courses in such school subjects as would make it easier for them to get on in their profession if such courses were arranged free of charge over the radio or by correspondence? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 66% | 16% | 18% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Middle class | 57% | 20% | 23% |
| Workers, etc. | 74 | 13 | 13 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Towns | 69% | 18% | 13% |
| Country | 65 | 15 | 20 |

**7.** (US Nov 15 '44) After the war would you like to attend classes and take a special course for adults in some school or college? 34% of the sample who said they would like to attend courses were asked: What courses would you like to take? (AIPO) (Great Britain Feb '45) Do you feel that you would like to get more education after the war? 47% of the sample who said they would like to get more education were asked: What would you like to do? (BIPO)

| | *Results in Great Britain* | *Results in the United States* |
|---|---|---|
| Don't want to continue education | 53% | 60% |
| Vocational courses | 9 | 13 |
| Professional and scientific | 9 | 12 |
| Languages | 5 | 5 |
| Arts | 2 | 2 |
| Domestic problems | 5 | — |
| Evening classes, unspecified | 7 | — |
| Self-education | 10 | — |
| Other answers | — | 3 |
| Undecided | — | 3 |
| Don't know whether or not they want to continue | — | 6 |
| | 100% | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**8.** (US Nov 15 '44) During the last five years have you attended any classes for adults in school or college? (AIPO)

Yes 17% No 83%

**9.** (US Nov 15 '44) What courses did you take? Asked of 17% of the sample who had attended classes for adults during the last five years. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Vocational | 14% |
| Education | 8 |
| Commercial | 16 |
| Social science | 10 |
| Languages | 9 |
| Fine arts | 4 |
| Home making | 4 |
| Professional | 5 |
| War | 9 |
| Semi-professional | 2 |
| Business | 3 |
| Others | 16 |

100% of those who had attended classes for adults

# EDUCATION OF WOMEN

**1.** (Denmark Aug 20 '44) Do you think before marrying young women should have training to enable them to look after their homes better? (DGI)

Yes 89% No 5% Don't know 6%

**2.** (Denmark Aug 20 '44) Do you think before marrying young women should have training to enable them to be economically independent? (DGI)

Yes 75% No 12% Don't know 13%

# EGYPT

## British Occupation

**1.** (Great Britain May '46) Do you approve or disapprove of the decision to remove British troops from Egypt? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 31% | 44% | 25% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 36% | 49% | 15% |
| Women | 26 | 38 | 36 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 31% | 40% | 29% |
| 30–49 years | 34 | 41 | 25 |
| 50 years and over | 28 | 48 | 24 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 29% | 64% | 7% |
| Middle | 33 | 52 | 15 |
| Lower | 31 | 38 | 31 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative | 17% | 65% | 18% |
| Labor | 45 | 31 | 24 |
| Liberal | 27 | 48 | 25 |
| Other voters | 68 | 16 | 16 |
| Non-voters | 24 | 36 | 40 |

# ELECTION LAW

**1.** (US June 27 '36) Do you think the president should be elected by popular vote or by electoral vote as at present? (AIPO)

| *Popular vote* | *Electoral vote* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|
| 63% | 37% = 100% | 13% |

**2.** (US Jan '44) As you know, there's a presidential election every four years. Do you happen to know whether federal or state governments make the laws about who can vote in a presidential election? 33% of the sample who said the state governments made the election laws were asked: As far as you know, are the laws about voting the same in every state or different in some states than others? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Thought election laws were made by the federal government | 37% |
| Didn't know who was responsible for election laws | 30 |
| Thought state laws were the same | 4 |
| State laws different | 26 |
| Don't know whether or not state laws are the same | 3 |

**3.** (US Jan '44) In what ways are they [election laws] different? Asked of 26% of the sample who said that the election laws were different in some states than others. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct | 14% |
| Wrong o doubtful | 5 |
| Don't know | 6 |
| No :n wer | 1 |
| | 26% |

**4.** (US Jan '44) Do you think laws about who can vote in a presidential election should be the same in all states or do you think they should be different? (NORC)

Same 82% Different 12% Don't know 6%

**5.** (US June 20 '44) Will you tell me what the electoral college vote system is? 54% of the sample admitted they didn't know. The remaining 46%, whether or not they proved correct, were asked: It has been suggested that the electoral vote system be discontinued and presidents of the United States be elected by total popular votes alone. Do you favor or oppose this proposal? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't know what electoral college vote system was | 54% |
| Favor n w proposal | 29 |
| Oppose new proposal | 11 |
| No opinion on the proposal | 6 |

**6.** (France Nov 1 '46) Do you approve or disapprove of the electoral law which has just been voted by the Assembly? (FIPO)

Approve 24% Disapprove 32% No opinion 44%

# ELECTIONS

## Australia

**1.** (Australia Nov '41) If the labor government happens to be defeated, would you favor an all-party government or an election? (APOP)

| | *All party government* | *Election* | *Undecided* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48% | 42% | 8% | 2% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Labor voters | 33% | 55% | 10% | 2% |
| Other voters | 64 | 28 | 6 | 2 |

**2.** (Australia May '42 and Feb '43) If a federal election were held today would you vote the way you did last election? The 1943 question also asked "or would you vote for someone else"? (APOP)

BY POLITICS

| | *Vote same* | *Change* | *No answer, undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *1940 Labor voters* | | | |
| May '42 | 84% | 6% | 10% |
| Feb '43 | 84 | 8 | 8 |
| *1940 Liberal-Country party voters* | | | |
| May '42 | 76 | 9 | 15 |
| Feb '43 | 81 | 8 | 11 |

**3.** (Australia Feb '43) Should the Commonwealth election, due this year, be held or postponed for a year? (APOP)

Should be held 38% Postponed 51% Undecided 11%

**4.** (Australia May–June '43) Which of the statements on the reverse side of the card comes closest to your usual attitude at election time? Statements were: (1) I always vote Labor if the man is right. (2) I may change from Labor if another man is exceptional. (3) Independent candidates are my choice. (4) I may change from UAP (or CP) if another man is exceptional. (5) I always vote UAP (or CP) if the man is right. (6) I am not interested in politics. (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Labor supporters* | |
| Always | 33% |
| Usually | 14 |
| | 47% |
| *Liberal-Country supporters* | |
| Always | 26 |
| Usually | 15 |
| | 41% |
| P ople preferring Independents | 6% |
| Those not interested in politics | 6 |

**5.** (Australia May–June '43 and July '43) If a federal election were held today, which party would you like to win? (APOP)

MAJOR PARTY VOTE

| | *May–June '43* | *July '43* |
|---|---|---|
| Labor | 52% | 51% |
| Liberal-Country | 48 | 49 |

BY POLITICS

| | *Labor* | *One parliament* | *Communist* | *Liberal-Country* | *Servicemen's* | *Independents* | *Middle class party* | *Douglass credit* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *May–June '43* | | | | | | | | |
| 1940 Labor voters | 69% | 13% | 6% | 4% | 4% | 3% | — | 1% |
| 1940 Liberal-Country voters | 5 | 18 | — | 69 | 4 | 4 | — | — |
| *July '43* | | | | | | | | |
| 1940 Labor voters | 70 | 14 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 1% | — |
| 1940 Liberal-Country voters | 5 | 19 | — | 62 | 6 | 5 | 3 | — |

**6.** (Australia July '43) Of the three major parties, which would you prefer? (APOP)

Labor 51% Liberal-Country 49%

**7.** (Australia Feb–Mar '46, Apr–May '46, May–June '46) Judging by how you feel now, which party is likely to receive your vote at the federal election in August (September**)? (June 15 '46) Judging by how you feel now, which party are you likely to vote for [at the federal election in September]? (July 27 '46) Judging by how you feel now, how do you think you will vote [at the federal election in September]? (Sept 21 '46) Judging by how you feel now, which party and candidate are you likely to vote for [at the federal election]? The Sept 21st question was asked immediately before the election. (APOP)

| | *Labor* | *Liberal-Country* | *Independents* | *Others* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb–Mar '46 | 43% | 39% | 2% | — | 16% |
| Apr–May '46 | 44 | 39 | 2 | — | 15 |
| May–June '46 | 45 | 37 | 3 | — | 15 |
| June 15 '46 | 48 | 38 | 3 | — | 11 |
| July '46 | 46 | 36 | — | 4% | 14 |
| Sept '46 | 54 | 44 | — | 2 | — |

| | Labor | Liberal-Country | Independents | Others | Undecided |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SEPT '46 RESULTS BY STATE | | | | | |
| New South Wales | 56.3%* | 42.9% | — | .8% | |
| Victoria | 50.5* | 48.1 | — | 1.4 | |
| Queensland | 45.6* | 49.1 | — | 5.3 | |
| South Australia | 59.4* | 40.3 | — | .3 | |
| West Australia | 48.7* | 51.3 | — | — | |
| Tasmania | 51.0* | 46.0 | — | 3.0 | |

* Percentages of Labor include Communist vote.
** Used in the two later questions.

## Canada, Dominion

**1.** (Canada Jan '42 to Dec '46, dates listed below) If a Dominion election were held today, would you vote for the candidate of the Liberal, Progressive-Conservative, CCF, Bloc Populaire, or other party? (CIPO)

| | Liberal | Prog-Cons | CCF | Bloc Populaire | Others |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '42 | 55% | 30% | 10% | — | 5% |
| Sept '42 | 39 | 23 | 21 | — | 17 |
| Dec '42 | 36 | 24 | 23 | — | 17 |
| Feb '43 | 32 | 27 | 23 | 7% | 11 |
| Apr '43 | 36 | 28 | 21 | 10 | 5 |
| May '43 | 36 | 28 | 21 | 10 | 5 |
| June '43 | 35 | 31 | 21 | 8 | 5 |
| Sept '43 | 28 | 28 | 29 | 9 | 6 |
| Dec '43 | 31 | 29 | 26 | 8 | 6 |
| Jan '44 | 30 | 29 | 24 | 9 | 8 |
| Mar '44 | 34 | 30 | 22 | 8 | 6 |
| June '44 | 35 | 30 | 21 | 7 | 7 |
| Sept '44 | 36 | 27 | 24 | 5 | 8 |
| Nov '44 | 36 | 28 | 23 | 5 | 8 |
| Jan '45 | 36 | 28 | 22 | 6 | 8 |
| Apr '45 | 36 | 29 | 20 | 6 | 9 |
| June '45 | 39 | 29 | 17 | 5 | 10 |
| Nov '45 | 44 | 26 | 17 | 4 | 9 |
| Jan '46 | 45 | 24 | 16 | 5 | 10 |
| May '46 | 44 | 26 | 16 | 5 | 9 |
| Sept '46 | 41 | 27 | 17 | 5 | 10 |
| Dec '46 | 41 | 26 | 18 | 5 | 10 |

**2.** (Canada Feb 7 '42) For which party would you vote if another general Dominion election were held today? (CIPO)

| | Liberal | Conservative | CCF | Others | Undecided |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 44% | 24% | 8% | 4% | 20% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| Maritimes** | 47% | 34% | 6% | * | 13% |
| Quebec | 59 | 12 | 2 | 3% | 24 |
| Ontario | 42 | 30 | 5 | 2 | 21 |
| Prairie Provinces | 35 | 21 | 17 | 8 | 19 |
| British Columbia** | 28 | 23 | 21 | 9 | 19 |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Subject to larger margin of error because of smaller number of cases allocated to these provinces on population basis.

**3.** (Canada Feb 10 '43, Feb 2 '44, Oct 4 '44) Do you think the Mackenzie King government should call a general election this year? The Oct '44 sample was asked this question with the condition "if the war is still on" added to it. (Dec 27 '44) Which of these things do you think the government in Ottawa should do about a Dominion election—call one right away, wait until its term is up in April, not call an election until after the war is over? (Apr 11 '45) Do you think the Mackenzie King government at Ottawa should call a Dominion election right away, or do you think an election should not be held until after the war in Europe is won? (CIPO)

| | Yes, election now | No, after the war | In April | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '43 results | 20% | 64% | — | 16% |
| Feb '44 results | 34 | 57 | — | 9 |
| Oct '44 results | 35 | 52 | — | 13 |
| Dec '44 results | 13 | 49 | 27% | 11 |
| Apr '45 results | 28 | 62 | — | 10 |
| FEB '43 AND FEB '44 RESULTS BY SELECTED PROVINCES | | | | |
| *Quebec* | | | | |
| 1943 | 24% | 51% | — | 25% |
| 1944 | 44 | 44 | — | 12 |
| *Ontario* | | | | |
| 1943 | 19 | 67 | — | 14 |
| 1944 | 28 | 61 | — | 11 |

**4.** (Canada Aug 12 '44) In an election, which influences your vote the most, the policies of a political party as a whole or the kind of candidate the party has in your own riding? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Party policies | 53% |
| Kind of candidate | 36 |
| Not sure | |
| Other influences | 3 |

**5.** (Canada Apr 4 '45) Regardless of how you plan to vote, what is your best guess as to which political party will get the most votes over the country as a whole, in the next Dominion election? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Liberal | 36% |
| Progressive-Conservative | 34 |
| CCF | 12 |
| Undecided | 18 |

**6.** (Canada July 18 '45) After asking for which party the respondent voted on June 11th, respondents were asked: Would you mind telling me your main reason for voting this way? (CIPO)

| | Liberal | Prog.-Cons. | CCF |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Record good | 29% | * | * |
| Policies or platform | 24 | 33% | 50% |
| Caliber of candidates | 25 | 23 | 13 |
| Tradition; always vote that way | 12 | 11 | 1 |
| Time for a change | * | 14 | 23 |
| Anti-votes | 3 | 11 | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| No reason given | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| | 100%** | 100%** | 100%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** 100% of those who voted for each party.

## Canada, Provincial

**1.** (Canada June 1 '42) It has been suggested that all provincial by-elections should be postponed until the war is over, even if this meant leaving some districts without a member in the legislature. Would you approve or disapprove if this were done? (CIPO)

| | Approve | Disapprove | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48% | 41% | 11% |
| BY SELECTED PROVINCES | | | |
| Ontario | 58% | 34% | 8% |
| Quebec | 26 | 58 | 16 |

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative | 56% | 37% | 7% |
| Liberal | 43 | 46 | 11 |

**2.** (Canada Apr 14 '43 to June 2 '45, dates listed below) If a provincial election were held in this province today, would you vote for the candidate of Liberal, Progressive-Conservative, CCF, Social Credit (New Democracy), or other party? In 1944 Union Nationale and Bloc Populaire Canadien were added to the list. (CIPO)

| | *Liberal* | *Bloc Populaire* | *Union Nationale* | *Progressive-Conservative* | *CCF* | *Others* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apr 14 '43 | 32% | — | — | 38% | 27% | 3% |
| July 10 '43 | 34 | — | — | 37 | 26 | 3 |
| May 20 '44 | 38 | 25% | 15% | 8 | 7 | 7 |
| July 8 '44 | 37 | 27 | 14 | 9 | 6 | 7 |
| July 29 '44 | 40 | 25 | 29 | * | 6 | — |
| Aug 8 '44 | 35 | 27 | 32 | — | 6 | — |
| Sept 30 '44 | 36 | 5 | — | 27 | 24 | 8 |
| Nov '44 | 36 | 5 | — | 28 | 23 | 8 |
| Jan '45 | 36 | 6 | — | 28 | 22 | 8 |
| Apr '45 | 36 | 6 | — | 29 | 20 | 9 |
| May 15 '45 | 38 | 6 | — | 29 | 19 | 8 |
| May 26 '45 | 39 | 6 | — | 28 | 19 | 8 |
| June 2 '45 | 40 | 5 | — | 27 | 19 | 9 |

* Prog-Cons not included in this ballot as result of this party's decision not to enter candidates.

**3.** (Canada Sept 15 '43) In the recent Ontario election, about a third of the voters in that province voted for the CCF party. What is your own personal opinion as to why these people voted for this party rather than for the Liberals or Progressive-Conservatives? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Tired of promises of the other (old) party | 20% |
| Voters wanted a change | 17 |
| Protest vote | 5 |
| To give a new party a chance | 4 |
| Because it's something new | 2 |
| A vote against Liberals | 2 |
| Protest against wartime restrictions | 1 |
| Other negative answers | 2 |
| Will get more from the CCF—better government | 5 |
| More work and more money for working man | 5 |
| It is labor's party | 4 |
| Because of CCF policies | 3 |
| It was the best party | 2 |
| It was the party of the average man | 1 |
| Other positive answers | 2 |
| World conditions and general unrest | 3 |
| Other miscellaneous | 4 |
| No opinion | 18 |

## Czechoslovakia

**1.** (Czechoslovakia Mar '46) In your opinion, which party will come out strongest in the May elections? (CZIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| People's Party | 16.3% |
| National Socialist | 21.2 |
| Social Democrat | 7.6 |
| Communist | 48.0 |
| Don't know | 6.9 |

## Denmark

**1.** (Denmark Jan 28 '45) Do you think that elections should be held in this country immediately after the war, or do you think that some time should elapse? (DGI)

Immediately 28.6% Later 50.8% Don't know 20.6%

**2.** (Denmark Jan 28 '45) If you had to vote now, would you vote for the same political party as at the last election, or would you vote for something else? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| The same | 61.1% |
| Something else | 11.4 |
| New party | 1.9 |
| Don't have a vote | 4.5 |
| No answer | 6.1 |
| Don't know | 15.0 |

## Finance

**1.** (US Dec 2 '38 and Mar 25 '40) The present practice of political parties is to collect campaign funds from individuals and corporations, many of whom look for favors in return. Would you favor having Congress appropriate six million dollars each to the Republican and Democratic parties once every four years for campaign purposes, with proportionate amounts to minor parties? A comparable cross-section was asked: Instead of the Republicans and Democrats getting their campaign money from private contributions, would you favor having Congress appropriate six million dollars each to the Republican and Democratic parties once every four years for campaign purposes, with proportionate amounts to minor parties? Results were combined. In 1940 the questions were: At present, political parties collect campaign funds from individuals and corporations, many of whom look for favors in return. Would you favor having Congress set aside six million dollars each for the Republican and Democratic parties once every four years for campaign purposes, with proportionate amounts to minor parties? A comparable cross-section was asked: Would you favor having Congress set aside six million dollars each for the Republican and Democratic parties once every four years so that the parties would not have to collect campaign funds from individuals and corporations, in return for which they would sometimes be expected to give favors? Results from these two questions were also combined. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1938 results | 30% | 70% = 100% | 17% |
| 1940 results | 35 | 65 = 100 | 16 |

**2.** (US Jan 7 '39) Would you favor a law prohibiting any person on relief from contributing money to a political campaign? (AIPO)

Yes 78% No 22% = 100% No opinion 8%

**3.** (US Jan 7 '39) Would you favor a law prohibiting any relief official from contributing money to a political campaign? (AIPO)

Yes 70% No 30% = 100% No opinion 10%

**4.** (US Jan 7 '39) Should employees of the federal government be prohibited from contributing money to political campaigns? (AIPO)

Yes 62% No 38% = 100% No opinion 14%

**5.** (US Jan 7 '39) Should candidates for Congress be required to report the money they raise and spend in their primary campaigns as they do in general elections? (AIPO)

Yes 71% No 11% No opinion 18%

**6.** (US Jan 30 '40) Do you think it is all right for people to solicit money for political campaigns from government employees, or do you think this should be prevented by law? (AIPO)

| | *All right* | *Should be prevented* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 23% | 77% | = 100% | 12% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Republican | 18% | 82% | | |
| Democratic | 27 | 73 | | |

**7.** (US Feb 6 '40) Should labor unions give money to political parties? (AIPO)

Yes 18% No 82% = 100% No opinion 17%

**8.** (US Feb 6 '40) Do you think it is all right for labor unions to give money to political parties for campaign purposes? (AIPO)

Yes 21% No 79% = 100% No opinion 14%

**9.** (US Apr 23 '40) Do you think it is all right to ask state and other local government employees for money for state political campaigns, or do you think this should be prevented by law? (AIPO)

| | *All right to solicit* | *Should be prevented by law* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 21% | 79% | = 100% | 15% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democratic | 25% | 75% | | |
| Republican | 17 | 83 | | |

**10.** (US July 28 '43) Do you think business corporation should or should not be allowed to give money to campaign funds of political parties? A comparable cross-section was asked whether labor unions should or should not be allowed to give money. (AIPO) (June '44) Do you think that business corporations or labor unions should or should not be allowed to contribute money to an election campaign? (FOR) (Nov '44) Do you think big business organizations (labor unions) should have the right to contribute to a presidential campaign? (NORC)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Limited amounts* | *Not compelled or compulsory* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Business corporations* | | | | | |
| July '43 | 23% | 59% | — | — | 18% |
| June '44 | 31.4 | 51.9 | — | — | 16.7 |
| Nov '44 | 39 | 50 | 3% | * | 8 |
| *Labor unions* | | | | | |
| July '43 | 17 | 65 | — | — | 18 |
| June '44 | 27 | 57 | — | — | 16 |
| Nov '44 | 37 | 52 | 2% | 1% | 8 |
| JULY '43 RESULTS ON BUSINESS BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Republican | 23% | 60% | — | — | 17% |
| Democratic | 24 | 57 | — | — | 19 |
| JULY '43 RESULTS ON LABOR UNIONS BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Republican | 14% | 70% | — | — | 16% |
| Democratic | 20 | 61 | — | — | 19 |
| JULY '43 RESULTS ON LABOR UNIONS BY UNION MEMBERS | | | | | |
| Total | 24% | 58% | — | — | 18% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**11.** (US Aug 24 '43) If you were asked today to give five dollars to the national headquarters of your political party for the next presidential campaign, would you send it today? (AIPO)

Yes 29% No 71%

**12.** (France Apr 1 '46) Should the expenses of election propaganda be paid by the state or by the political parties? (FIPO)

Parties 61% State 21% No opinion 18%

## France

**1.** (France Aug '39) If there were new parliamentary elections at this time, would you vote as you did in 1936? 29% of the sample who said they would not vote as they did in 1936 were asked: Would you vote more to the left or more to the right? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Wouldn't vote | 4 5% |
| Would vote the same | 64.5 |
| More to the right | 17.0 |
| More to the left | 12.0 |
| No answer | 2.0 |

**2.** (France Dec 16 '44) Do you intend to vote in the next elections? (FIPO)

| BY SEX | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 89% | 7% | 4% |
| Women | 80 | 13 | 7 |

**3.** (France Jan 16 '45) Have you already registered as a voter? (FIPO)

| BY SEX AND GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| *Paris* | | |
| Men | 86% | 14% |
| Women | 80 | 20 |
| *Provinces* | | |
| Men | 83 | 17 |
| Women | 72 | 28 |

**4.** (France Jan 16 '45) Which party do you think will receive the greatest number of votes throughout France in the next municipal elections? (FIPO)

| | *Paris* | *Provinces* |
|---|---|---|
| Socialist party | 39% | 34% |
| Communist party | 26 | 26 |
| Radical-Socialist | 5 | 8 |
| Christian-Democratic party | 2 | 2 |
| Resistance party | 1 | 1 |
| URD | — | 1 |
| Combinations of two or more parties | 2 | 2 |
| Vague answers | 9 | 10 |
| No answer | 16 | 16 |

**5.** (France Feb 16 '45) Would you like the next elections to be held in February or put off till later? (FIPO)

In February 30% Later 53% No opinion 17%

**6.** (France Apr 16 '45) Should those representatives who voted full powers to Petain in 1940 be barred from seeking office in the coming elections? (FIPO)

Yes 65% No 21% No opinion 14%

**7.** (France June 1 '45) Have you decided how you're going to vote in the next municipal elections? 15% of the sample who said they had not decided how they would vote were asked: Why haven't you decided? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Against voting | 6% |
| Lack of information | 5 |
| Didn't say why they had not decided | 4 |
| Have decided how they will vote | 70 |
| No answer | 15 |

**8.** (France June 1 '45) Can you tell me how [you have decided to vote in the municipal elections]? Asked of 70% of the sample who said they had decided how they were going to vote. (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Leftist party | 17% |
| Socialist party | 8 |
| Resistance party | 8 |
| Communist party | 6 |
| Rightist party | 5 |
| National Union | 4 |
| Popular Democrats | 3 |
| Radical-Socialists | 1 |
| For the government | |
| Other answers | 8 |
| Did not wish to answer | 2 |
| No answer | 36 |
| | 100% of those who said they had decided how to vote in the next municipal elections |

**9.** (France Dec 16 '45) If you had to vote today, would you vote for the same party as you did last October? (FIPO)

Yes 81% No 5% No answer 14%

**10.** (France March 1 '46, Apr 16 '46, May 1 '46, May 16 '46, June 1 '46) If the election were held today, for which party would you vote? (FIPO)

| | *Communist and MURF* | *Socialist and UDSR* | *MRP* | *PRL* | *Radical-Socialist* | *Others* | | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Early Feb interviews | 29% | 23% | 21% | — | 7% | 20% | = 100% | 27% |
| Late Mar interviews | 27 | 24 | 17 | 8% | 7 | 17 | | 23 |
| Early Apr interviews | 29 | 24 | 18 | 12 | 7 | 10 | | 27 |
| Apr 16–23 interviews | 27 | 23 | 18 | 18 | 8 | 6 | | 23 |
| May 10–17 interviews | 26 | 23 | 20 | 18 | 9 | 4 | | 20 |
| May 20–26 interviews | 26 | 23 | 21 | 15 | 11 | 4 | | 16 |

**11.** (France Apr 16 '46) After the next election it will be necessary to choose a president of the Council. Who would you like to see fill this office? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Félix Gouin | 15% |
| Maurice Thorez | 13 |
| Léon Blum | 5 |
| Edouard Herriot | 4 |
| De Gaulle | 3 |
| Georges Bidault | 2 |
| Others | 9 |
| No answer | 49 |

**12.** (France May 1 '46) Which party, in your opinion, will come out on top in the coming elections? Asked late in April. (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Communist | 38% |
| Socialist | 25 |
| MRP | 10 |
| Radical-Socialists | 1% |
| PRL | 1 |
| No opinion | 25 |

**13.** (France July 1 '46) Do you believe that in the June 2nd election the Socialist and Communist parties will together receive more or less than a majority? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 32% } 49%* |
| Just a majority | 17 } |
| Less than a majority | 34 |
| No opinion | 17 |

* The actual election total of the Communists and Socialists combined was 47%—2% less than the poll figure.

**14.** (France Nov 18 '46) Following are the election predictions for the Nov 10 election published Nov 8: (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Communist | 26% |
| MRP | 24 |
| Socialist | 22 |
| PRL | 12 |
| Coalition of parties of the Left | 12 |
| Others | 4 |
| | 100% |
| Not voting | 18% |

## Germany

**1.** (Germany Dec 11 '45) As you know, the American military government has announced that in the first month of next year local elections will be held. Do you propose to vote in the coming local elections? 82% of the sample who said they would vote were asked: To what extent have you decided to participate in the elections? (Dec 27 '45) The military government has announced that local elections will be held. Do you intend to vote in the coming elections? 76% of the sample who said they intended to vote were asked: Are you firmly resolved to vote? (OMGUS)

| | *Dec 11 results* | *Dec 27 results* |
|---|---|---|
| Don't intend to vote | 16% | 19% |
| Very sure going to vote | 55 | 66 |
| Fairly sure going to vote | 19 | 7 |
| Not at all sure going to vote | 7 | 3 |
| Haven't decided whether or not to vote | — | 1 |
| Didn't say how sure | 1 | — |
| No answer | 2 | 4 |

**2.** (Germany Sept 3 '46) Do you know what the purpose of the next election in (Hesse, Bavaria, Württemberg-Baden) will be? (OMGUS)

Yes 26% No 74% No answer *

* Less than 0.5%.

**3.** (Germany Sept 3 '46) What [will be the purpose of the next election]? Asked of 26% of the sample who said they knew the purpose of the election. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Election of legislative assembly; establishment of government for the states | 37% |
| Constitutional convention | 35 |
| To form a democratic government | 16 |
| Election of presidents | 2 |
| General union for a new Reichstag; unification of Germany | 1 |
| Interrogation of the people | 3 |
| Others | 6 |

No answer..... *
No opinion; don't know..... *

100%
of those who knew the purpose of the election

* Less than 0.5%.

**4.** (Germany Sept 3 '46) Do you plan to vote in the next election? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 78% |
| No | 17 |
| No opinion | 4 |
| No answer | 1 |

## Great Britain

**1.** (Great Britain Feb '39, Dec '39, Feb '40, June 10 '43, July 12 '43, Dec '43, Feb '44, Feb '45, Apr '45, June 12 '45, May '46) If there were a general election tomorrow, how would you vote? (BIPO)

| | *Government* | *Opposition* | | *No opinion* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '39..... | 53% | 47% | = 100% | 6% | — | |
| Dec '39..... | 54 | 30 | | | 16% | = 100% |
| Feb '40..... | 51 | 27 | | | 22 | = 100 |

RESULTS IN 1943 AND LATER

| | *June '43* | *July '43* | *Dec '43* | *Feb '44* | *Feb '45* | *Apr '45* | *June '45* | *May '46* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Labor..... | 38% | 39% | 40% | 37% | 42% | 40% | 45% | 40% |
| Conservative or National Liberal, etc..... | 31 | 27 | 27 | 23* | 24* | 24* | 33 | 37 |
| Liberal..... | 9 | 9 | 10 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 15 | 12 |
| Commonwealth.. | 2 | 1 | 2 | 4 | — | 2 | 1 | — |
| Communist..... | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | — |
| Independent..... | 1 | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | -- |
| Depends on candidate..... | — | 2 | — | 2 | — | 2 | — | — |
| National..... | — | — | — | — | — | — | 4 | -- |
| Coalition..... | — | — | — | — | — | 2 | — | -- |
| Miscellaneous, other answers.. | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 8 | 3 | — | 3 |
| Would not vote, uncertain, don't know, undecided..... | 3 | 16 | 14 | 16 | 12 | 3 | — | 8 |
| No answer..... | 11 | — | — | — | — | 10 | — | — |

* Figures are for Conservative only.

**2.** (Great Britain Mar '39) Do you approve of Sir Stafford Cripps' efforts to get the opposition parties to act together to defeat the government at the next election? (BIPO)

Yes 56% No 21% No opinion 23%

**3.** (Great Britain Dec '39 and Mar '40) Should parliamentary elections be held in war-time? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1939..... | 28% | 58% | 14% |
| 1940..... | 36 | 50 | 14 |

**4.** (Great Britain Apr '42) Do you approve or disapprove of by-elections being contested by independent candidates? (BIPO)

Approve 48% Disapprove 25% Don't know 27%

**5.** (Great Britain Apr '42) Do you think that by-elections should be contested at all during war-time? Asked of 25% of the sample who did not approve of by-elections being contested by independent candidates. (BIPO)

Approve 29% Disapprove 57% Don't know 14% = 100%
of those who did not approve of by-elections being contested

**6.** (Great Britain Jan 18 '44) When do you think there should be a general election: within the next few months, as soon as Germany is defeated, six months after Germany is defeated, or twelve months after Germany is defeated? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Within next few months | 12% |
| As soon as Germany is defeated | 22 |
| Six months after Germany is defeated | 24 |
| Twelve months after Germany is defeated | 36 |
| Don't know | 6 |

**7.** (Great Britain Aug '44) Should there be a general election as soon as Germany is defeated, or should the election wait until Japan also is defeated? (BIPO)

Germany defeated 28% Japan defeated 57% Don't know 15%

**8.** (Great Britain Oct '44) Have you definitely made up your mind as to which way you will vote in the next election? 58% of the sample who said they had made up their minds were asked: How will you vote? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Labor | 25% |
| Conservative | 15 |
| Liberal | 6 |
| Left | 2 |
| Communist | 2 |
| National | 1 |
| Government | 1 |
| Independent | 1 |
| Commonwealth | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Haven't decided | 42 |
| No answer | 3 |

**9.** (Great Britain Oct '44) What do you think will mainly decide you in voting? Asked of 42% of the sample who said they had not decided how they would vote. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Programs of the various parties | 8% |
| Conditions at time of election | 5 |
| Depends on candidate; will vote for best man | 6 |
| Will not bother to vote; not very interested | 3 |
| Depend on parties' records | 2 |
| Depends upon whether the national government continues | 1 |
| Pensions and unemployment programs | 1 |
| If higher wages, better working conditions given | 1 |
| My husband, father | 1 |
| Have not yet voted | 1 |
| Don't know | 11 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| | 42% |

**10.** (Great Britain Feb '45) What do you think is likely to be the result of the next general election? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Conservative government | 22% |
| Labor government | 33 |
| Liberal government | 4 |
| Some form of coalition | 16 |
| Other | 1 |
| Don't know | 24 |

**11.** (Great Britain Mar '45) Have you ever voted in a parliamentary election? (BIPO)

Yes 72% No 28%

**12.** (Great Britain Mar '45) Do you think it is likely that you will vote at the next general election? (BIPO)

Yes 90% No 10%

**13.** (Great Britain Mar '45) If Liberals, Labor, Commonwealth, ILP, and the Communist party united as a popular front against the Conservatives at the next general election, which would you be most like'y to vote for, the popular front candidate or the Conservative? (BIPO)

Popular front 55% Conservative 24% Don't know 21%

**14.** (Great Britain May '45) If the Communists actively support another party's candidate at the general election would you be more inclined or less inclined to vote for that candidate? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 18% |
| Same | 23 |
| Less | 30 |
| Don't know | 29 |

**15.** (Great Britain May '45) What question do you think will be most discussed in the general election? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Housing | 41% |
| International security | 5 |
| Full employment | 15 |
| Social security | 7 |
| Nationalization of industry | 6 |
| Demobilization | 3 |
| Food and rationing | 3 |
| Treatment and occupation of Germany | 3 |
| Education | 2 |
| Whether parties carry out promises | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 13 |

**16.** (US May 29 '45) Have you heard or read about the coming election in England? (AIPO)

Yes 68% No 32%

**17.** (US May 29 '45) Would you like to see Winston Churchill re-elected to continue as prime minister? (AIPO)

Yes 71% No 15% No opinion 14%

**18.** (US May 29 '45) Would you like to see Winston Churchill's party re-elected or would you rather see the Labor party or some other party elected? This was asked of a separate cross-section comparable to the one used for the previous question. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Churchill's party | 51% |
| Labor party | 10 |
| Other | 4 |
| No opinion | 24 |
| No answer | 11 |

**19.** (Great Britain June 12 '45) Have you definitely made up your mind how you intend to vote at the general election? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 84% | 16% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 88% | 12% |
| Women | 80 | 20 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 21–29 years | 84% | 16% |
| 30–49 years | 83 | 17 |
| 50 years and over | 85 | 15 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Higher | 95% | 5% |
| Middle | 87 | 13 |
| Lower | 82 | 18 |

**20.** (Great Britain June 26 '45) For which candidate do you intend to vote in the general election? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Labor | 47.0% |
| Conservative (or National or Liberal National) | 41.0 |
| Liberal | 10.5 |
| Communist | 0.5 |
| Commonwealth | 0.5 |
| Others | 0.5 |

**21.** (Great Britain July 14 '45) In general, did you approve or disapprove of the way the election campaign was conducted by the various parties? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41% | 42% | 17% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 41% | 49% | 10% |
| Women | 40 | 36 | 24 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 39% | 43% | 18% |
| 30–49 years | 40 | 44 | 16 |
| 50 years and over | 43 | 38 | 19 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 44% | 54% | 2% |
| Middle | 38 | 53 | 9 |
| Lower | 41 | 39 | 20 |

**22.** (Great Britain July 14 '45) What are your reasons for disapproving? Asked of 42% of the sample who said they did not approve of the way the election campaign was conducted by various parties. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too much heckling and interference at meetings; too many vote-catching stunts; too much mud-slinging; too little stress laid on policy by all parties | 39% |
| Conservatives made it appear that Churchill was candidate for each constituency; Churchill versus Labor; unfair boost of Churchill's war record; too much Churchill, too little policy | 11 |
| Too much mud-slinging, personalities, by Tories; too little policy; Tory scares, tricks, red herrings obscured the real issues | 11 |
| Register incomplete; inefficient organization | 10 |
| This is no time for an election | 6 |
| Lies and deceit by Labor party; rowdyism; breaking up of meetings by Labor party | 4 |
| General criticisms of Churchill's speeches | 3 |
| Too many soldiers still away, unable to vote | 2 |
| Attack on Laski | 2 |
| Criticism of broadcast speeches generally | 2 |
| Too much bias and mud-slinging by press | 1 |
| Unfair distribution of broadcasts | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| No answer; don't know | 4 |
| | 100% |

of those who disapproved of the way the election campaign was conducted

**23.** (Great Britain July 14 '45) Now that it is all over, do you think that holding a general election at this time was a good thing or a bad thing for the country? (BIPO)

| | *Good* | *Bad* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 28% | 58% | 14% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 30% | 60% | 10% |
| Women | 25 | 57 | 18 |

| | *Good* | *Bad* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 29% | 52% | 19% |
| 30–49 years | 28 | 59 | 13 |
| 50 years and over | 26 | 58 | 16 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 27% | 62% | 11% |
| Middle | 22 | 71 | 7 |
| Lower | 28 | 56 | 16 |

**24.** (Great Britain July 14 '45) Why [do you think a general election at this time was a good or a bad thing for the country]? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should have waited till Japs beaten; keep Churchill till end of war | 24% |
| Register incomplete; too many people without votes; people on holiday | 9 |
| Should have been left till autumn; rushed too much; were not prepared for it; too much muddle | 7 |
| Will upset everything; country too unsettled at the moment; no time for an election | 7 |
| Muddle about service votes; should wait till services come home; didn't give soldiers time | 6 |
| Unfair to Labor party; gives Tories a chance to make capital out of Churchill | 2 |
| Shakes other countries' confidence in us | 1 |
| Unfair to Churchill | 1 |
| Time we had a change; election long overdue | 9 |
| People were getting uneasy about parliamentary disputes; will strengthen confidence in the party returned | 4 |
| Give people a chance to express their opinion | 3 |
| Give Labor a chance; to get Labor in | 3 |
| Get rid of war government; get organized for peace; necessary now war in Europe is over | 2 |
| Will give Churchill good backing | 1 |
| Get rid of Churchill; has shown up Tories' tactics | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| No reply; don't know | 16 |

**25.** (Great Britain July 14 '45) For which candidate did you vote in the general election? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Conservative or National | 39.0% |
| Labor | 48.0 |
| Liberal | 11.5 |
| Commonwealth | 0.5 |
| Communist | 0.5 |
| Other | 0.5 |
| | 100.0% |
| Didn't vote | 17.0% |

**26.** (Great Britain July 14 '45) Why didn't you vote? Asked of 17% of the sample who said they did not vote in the general election. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Moved | 2% |
| Not on register | 5 |
| On holiday | 3 |
| Other | 7 |
| | 17% |

**27.** (Great Britain July 14 '45) If there had been a Liberal candidate, would you probably have voted for him? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total* | 24% | 62% | 14% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 24% | 67% | 9% |
| Women | 25 | 57 | 18 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 21% | 63% | 16% |
| 30–49 years | 20 | 68 | 12 |
| 50 years and over | 23 | 65 | 12 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 38% | 49% | 13% |
| Middle | 35 | 55 | 10 |
| Lower | 21 | 65 | 14 |

* These are crude results on the basis of those constituencies without Liberal candidates. When weighted, to bring the proportion of such constituencies into line with the proper proportion, the results were:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 12% | 72% | 16% |

**28.** (Great Britain July 14 '45) Suppose the election does not give a majority to the Conservatives or to Labor, what should the Liberals do? Should they join the Conservatives or Labor to form a coalition (BIPO)

| | *Conservative-Liberal* | *Labor-Liberal* | *Neither* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 40% | 15% | 18% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 27% | 45% | 18% | 10% |
| Women | 29 | 33 | 12 | 26 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 14% | 47% | 13% | 26% |
| 30–49 years | 25 | 43 | 16 | 16 |
| 50 years and over | 30 | 34 | 16 | 20 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 66% | 14% | 14% | 6% |
| Middle | 47 | 29 | 15 | 9 |
| Lower | 20 | 43 | 16 | 21 |
| Voted or would vote liberal | 31% | 40% | 22% | 7% |

**29.** (Great Britain Aug 26 '45) Would you mind telling me your main reason for voting the way you did? Asked of those who had voted in the last election. (BIPO)

By Politics

LABOR VOTERS

| | |
|---|---|
| Best for the working class; belief in Socialism; the best party; it stood for what I wanted; I am a party member; they promised us so much | 51% |
| Has the best housing, postwar foreign policy | 9 |
| Have always voted Labor; my husband voted Labor | 9 |
| Hate the Tories; the Tories have made a mess of things; Churchill not the man for the peace; against capitalists' vested interests | 11 |
| Would have voted Liberal if there had been a candidate | 1 |
| It was time they had a chance; I wanted to see a change | 19 |
| | 100% |

CONSERVATIVE OR NATIONAL LIBERAL VOTERS

| | |
|---|---|
| It is the best party; admiration for Churchill | 41% |
| Business reasons; will keep taxes down | 5 |
| Fear or dislike of Socialism; Labor not fit to govern | 17 |
| Against state control, nationalization; belief in private enterprise; freedom | 9 |
| Conservatives won war; let them win peace | 10 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Has the best housing, postwar employment, foreign policy | 8% |
| Have always voted Conservative; my husband voted Conservative | 10 |
| | 100% |

LIBERAL VOTERS

| | |
|---|---|
| The middle way; against extremes | 40% |
| Beveridge; social security | 8 |
| Have always voted Liberal | 16 |
| Because my husband (or other relative) voted Liberal | 3 |
| It is the best party | 33 |
| | 100% |
| Miscellaneous | 6% |

**30.** (Great Britain Jan 12 '46) If you had to vote today, for which party would you vote? (BIPO)

| | *Conservative–National and National Liberal* | *Labor* | *Liberal* | *Other* | *Undecided and refuse to answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 31% | 49% | 10% | 3% | 7% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 31% | 50% | 9% | 4% | 6% |
| Women | 31 | 49 | 10 | 3 | 7 |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 25% | 54% | 10% | 4% | 7% |
| 30–49 years | 31 | 50 | 10 | 2 | 7 |
| 50 years and over | 33 | 47 | 10 | 4 | 6 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Higher | 58% | 19% | 13% | 3% | 7% |
| Middle | 40 | 36 | 12 | 5 | 7 |
| Lower | 25 | 57 | 9 | 2 | 7 |

## Greece

**1.** (Canada Feb 3 '45) Should the Allies let Greece hold an election right away to decide what form of government they want, or should this be left until later? (CIPO)

| | *Hold election now* | *Wait until later* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 37% | 40% | 23% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Progressive-Conservative | 30% | 53% | 17% |
| Liberal | 38 | 39 | 23 |
| CCF | 47 | 41 | 12 |

**2.** (Canada Feb 3 '45) If Greece has an election and if a Communist government is elected, do you think the Allies should interfere to stop it or not? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Allies should interfere | 29% |
| No interference | 52 |
| No opinion | 19 |

## Hungary

**1.** (Hungary Sept '45) Do you approve of delaying the elections? (HIPOR)

Yes 18% No 80% Uncertain 2%

**2.** (Hungary Sept '45) The Hungarian public was asked whether or not it would accept the single-list system in elections that was proposed shortly before the election was due. Results follow: (HIPOR)

Yes 35% No 60% Uncertain 5%

**3.** (Hungary Sept '45) At the end of September 1945, a few days before the municipal election, about six thousand people were asked which list they were likely to vote for at the municipal election. Results follow. Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

| | *Labor list or one of the Labor parties*** | *Smallholder party and votes for the several independent small parties* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 43.0% | 49.0% = 92.0%* |
| BY SOCIAL STATUS | | |
| Educated | 28.8% | 57.0% = 85.8%* |
| Bourgeoisie | 39.4 | 52.2 = 91.6* |
| Workers | 48.9 | 44.6 = 93.5* |

* Remainder of the sample presumably refused to answer or were undecided.

** Labor list means: Communist and Social Democrat parties together. Several respondents voted not for the labor list but for one of the labor parties.

**4.** (Hungary Oct '45) Which party are you likely to vote for at the general election? This question was asked all over the country in October 1945, before the general election. (HIPOR)

| | *Social Democrat* | *Communist* | *Smallholder* | *Peasant* | *Intellectual Democrat* | *Radical* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 17.6% | 19.9% | 53.2% | 7.2% | 2.0% | 0.1% |
| BY SOCIAL STATUS | | | | | | |
| Educated | 14.0% | 8.4% | 66.9% | 4.1% | 6.1% | 0.5% |
| Bourgeoisie | 11.8 | 45.8 | 35.6 | 2.3 | 4.5 | — |
| Worker | 30.1 | 42.2 | 26.5 | 0.9 | 0.3 | — |
| BY SELECTED GROUPS | | | | | | |
| Smallholder | 7.1% | 1.2% | 88.1% | 3.6% | — | — |
| Farm-worker | 24.4 | 2.5 | 48.7 | 24.4 | — | — |
| BUDAPEST ONLY | | | | | | |
| Oct 15–21 | 30.0% | 20.0% | 50.0% | — | — | — |
| Oct 26–28 | 29.5 | 20.0 | 50.5 | — | — | — |

## Netherlands

**1.** (Netherlands Aug 30 '45) In your opinion, when should the election for the Second Chamber be held, as soon as possible or next year? Asked in Dordrecht only. (NIPO)

| | *As soon as possible* | *Only next year* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 55% | 17% | 28% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 63% | 20% | 17% |
| Women | 47 | 15 | 38 |

**2.** (Netherlands Aug 30 '45) What party would you vote for at the present time? Asked in Dordrecht. (NIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Labor party | 22% |
| Anti-Revolutionary party | 15 |
| Communist party | 14 |
| Coalition of Anti-Revolutionary and Christian-Historic parties | 13 |
| NVB (government party) | 10 |
| Catholic People's party | 9 |
| Christian-Historic party | 6 |
| Liberal party | 6 |
| Democratic party | 4 |
| Other parties | 1 |

**3.** (Netherlands Nov '45) Would you like to vote at the next elections for one of the parties existing before the war, a combination of these parties, or a new party? (NFS)

| | *Old party* | *Combination* | *New party* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 53% | 17% | 16% | 14% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 53% | 20% | 16% | 11% |
| Women | 53 | 13 | 16 | 18 |
| BY RELIGION | | | | |
| Roman Catholic | 62% | 9% | 17% | 12% |
| Calvinist | 56 | 35 | 4 | 5 |
| Dutch Reform | 44 | 19 | 20 | 17 |
| Secular | 54 | 14 | 15 | 17 |

**4.** (Netherlands June '46) Are you satisfied with the results of the election or not? (NIPO)

| | *Satisfied* | *Dissatisfied* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 39% | 42% | 19% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Communist party | 68% | 21% | 11% |
| Catholic People's party | 59 | 23 | 18 |
| Christian-Historic party | 51 | 27 | 22 |
| Labor party | 11 | 72 | 17 |
| Liberal party | 28 | 62 | 10 |
| Anti-Revolutionary party | 33 | 48 | 19 |

## State Governments (1936)

**1.** (US Jan 11 '36) Which party candidate for governor in your state would you favor today? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Democratic | 49% |
| Republican | 44 |
| Socialist | 2 |
| Third party | 5 |
| | 100% |
| No politics | 9% |

## State Governments (1940)

**1.** (US Oct '40) Will you probably vote for the same party in your local election (county and state) as you will nationally? (FOR)

| | *Same* | *Different* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 57.9% | 24.0% | 18.1% |
| BY OPINIONS OF ROOSEVELT | | | |
| Favorable to Roosevelt | 63.7% | 19.1% | 17.2% |
| Unfavorable to Roosevelt | 56.1 | 29.1 | 14.8 |

## State Governments (1942)

**1.** (US Aug 25 '42 and Sept 3 '42) In your state elections this fall, do you think you will vote Republican or Democratic? In the question asked the Sept sample the words "Republican" and "Democratic" were reversed. (AIPO)

| | *Republican* | *Democratic* | *Other* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '42 results | 37% | 39% | 3% | 21% |
| Sept '42 results | 34 | 41 | 3 | 22 |

**2.** (Australia Sept '42) Should state elections be held as usual during the war—or postponed until after the war? (APOP)

Postpone them 58% Hold them 31% Undecided 11%

**3.** (US Sept 15 '42 and Sept 29 '42) For governor, do you favor the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate? (AIPO)

| | *Republican* | *Democratic* | *Other* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sept 15 '42 | 46% | 33% | 2% | 19% |
| Sept 29 '42 | 43 | 34 | 3 | 20 |

**4.** (US Sept 29 '42) Will you vote in the state elections this fall? (AIPO)

Yes 81% No 14% Don't know 5%

**5.** (US Sept 29 '42) Do you think it makes a great deal of difference whether or not people vote in the coming state elections? (AIPO)

Yes 80% No 13% Don't know 7%

## State Governments (1946)

**1.** (US Aug 28 '46, Sept 11 '46, Sept 25 '46, Oct 10 '46) Are you interested in the coming state elections? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug 28 '46 | 66% | 33% | 1% |
| Sept 11 '46 | 63 | 36 | 1 |
| Sept 25 '46 | 70 | 29 | 1 |
| Oct 10 '46 | 82 | 16 | 2 |

## Sweden

**1.** (Sweden Oct '44) Did you vote for the same party in 1944 as in 1942? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know, don't remember, won't answer* | *Did not vote in 1942* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Right party | 86% | 7% | 1% | 6% |
| Liberal | 74 | 12 | 4 | 10 |
| Agrarian | 84 | 8 | — | 8 |
| Social Democratic | 92 | 1 | 2 | 5 |
| Communist | 49 | 31 | 5 | 15 |

**2.** (Sweden Oct '44) When did you make up your mind about the party you voted for in September of this year? Asked of a national cross-section of people who voted in the September election. (SGI)

| | *Just before the election* | *A long time before the election* | *Have always voted for that party* | *Don't remember, no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 8% | 26% | 63% | 3% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 7% | 29% | 61% | 3% |
| Women | 8 | 24 | 64 | 4 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 24–29 years | 12% | 29% | 55% | 4% |
| 30–49 years | 8 | 27 | 61 | 4 |
| 50–64 years | 4 | 25 | 67 | 4 |
| 65 years and over | 4 | 22 | 73 | 1 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Right party | 7% | 32% | 57% | 4% |
| Liberal | 19 | 31 | 47 | 3 |
| Agrarian | 7 | 30 | 61 | 2 |
| Social Democratic | 4 | 19 | 74 | 3 |
| Communist | 17 | 52 | 27 | 4 |

# EMPLOYEES' REPRESENTATION IN MANAGEMENT

**1.** (US Nov 12 '37) Do you think corporations would have less labor trouble if workers had the right to elect a representative on the board of directors? (AIPO)

Yes 67% No 33% = 100% No opinion 19%

**2.** (US Aug 26 '41) Do you think workers should have the right to elect a representative on the board of directors of the company they work for? A comparable cross-section was asked this question with the phrase "or should all the directors be elected by the owners of the company" added. (AIPO)

| | *Workers should elect a representative* | *Workers should not elect a representative* | *Owners should elect all directors* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| First cross-section results | 61% | 23% | — | 16% |
| Second cross-section results | 53 | — | 31% | 16 |

**3.** (US May 30 '42) Are you (or your husband or wife) working in a defense industry? 30% of the sample who answered in the affirmative were asked: What does the industry do or make? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not employed in war industry | 67% |
| Didn't say whether or not employed in war industry | 3 |
| Industry makes or does: | |
| War machinery | 10 |
| Machine parts | 8 |
| Metals; paint; rubber | 2 |
| Materials for army consumption | 2 |
| Construction of government buildings | 2 |
| Defense transportation | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Didn't say what industry was doing or making | 2 |

**4.** (US May 30 '42) Is there a labor-management committee where you work? Asked of 30% of the sample who said they were employed in a defense industry. (NORC)

Yes 12% No 7% Don't know 11% = 30%

**5.** (US May 30 '42) About how long ago was it [the labor-management committee] set up? Asked of 12% of the sample who were working in a defense industry where a labor-management committee had been established. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| One year or less | 3% |
| Between one and two years | 1 |
| More than two years | 3 |
| Not ascertainable | 5 |
| | 12% |

**6.** (US May 30 '42) Do you think this [labor-management] committee has helped make the workers want to work any harder? Asked of 12% of the sample who were working in a defense industry where a labor-management committee had been established. (NORC)

Yes 5% No 3% Don't know 4% = 12%

**7.** (US May 30 '42) If there was a labor-management committee to talk over production problems where you work, do you think it might help make the workers want to work harder? Asked of 7% of the sample who were working in a defense industry where there was no labor-management committee. (NORC)

Yes 2% No 3% Don't know 2% = 7%

**8.** (US May 30 '42) Why [would a labor-management committee] not [make the workers want to work harder]? Asked of 3% of the sample working in a defense industry who said that a labor-management committee would not increase production. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Committee just doesn't work | 1% |
| Workers ask for less hours and more pay | * |
| Shortage of material | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 3% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**9.** (US Nov 23 '42) As you probably know, the War Production Board is a government agency in charge of all war production in this country. Do you think there should be representatives of union labor on this board? 52% of the sample who thought labor should be represented on the board were asked: Do you think they should have as much to say on this board as representatives of business or not as much? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Thought labor should not be represented | 30% |
| Didn't know whether or not labor should be represented | 18 |
| Labor should have more to say than business | 4 |
| Should have as much to say as business | 34 |
| Should not have as much to say as business | 12 |
| Don't know whether or not they should have as much to say | 2 |

**10.** (US Feb '43) Do you think it would be a good idea or a bad idea for workers in a company to have someone they elect represent them on the board of directors or some management council? Asked of a national cross-section of factory workers. (FOR)

| | *Good idea* | *Bad idea* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 74.8% | 8.7% | 16.5% |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | |
| Well informed | 83.0% | 8.1% | 8.9% |
| Poorly informed | 76.2 | 10.9 | 12.9 |
| Uninformed | 66.5 | 7.6 | 25.9 |

**11.** (US Feb '43) Do you think this workers' representative should or should not have something to say about working conditions? Wages? Salaries of the management? Promotion of workers? Production plans? Payment of dividends to stockholders? Asked of a national cross-section of factory workers. (FOR)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Working conditions | 97.1% | 1.8% | 1.1% |
| Wages of workers | 94.9 | 3.6 | 1.5 |
| Promotion of workers | 81.5 | 15.1 | 3.4 |
| Production plans | 61.6 | 28.9 | 9.5 |
| Salaries of management | 50.1 | 41.0 | 8.9 |
| Payment of dividends | 38.0 | 47.6 | 14.4 |

**12.** (France Nov 16 '44) Should workers take part in the management of industry? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

Yes 65% No 22% No opinion 13%

**13.** (France Apr 16 '45) Have you heard about the worker-management committees?* (FIPO)

Yes 61% No 30% No answer 9%

* By a decree of February 23, worker-management committees were set up in all establishments employing over 100 workers. Their purpose was to handle all social service matters and advise the management on economic questions.

**14.** (France Apr 16 '45) Do you approve of the setting up of worker-management committees? (FIPO)

Yes 40% No 11% No answer 49%

**15.** (France Apr 16 '45) Do you think the workers' committees have adequate, inadequate, or too great powers? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Inadequate | 23% |
| Adequate | 9 |
| Too great | 5 |
| No answer | 63 |

**16.** (US Aug '45) There have been all sorts of ideas suggested for things we should do in this country after the war, and we'd like to know how you feel about some of them. Do you think it is a good idea or not such a good idea to give labor unions more say about the way companies are run? (FOR)

| | *Good idea* | *Not so good* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 17.6% | 64.9% | 17.5% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS* | | | |
| Prosperous | 6.8% | 86.5% | 6.7% |
| Upper middle | 7.8 | 82.3 | 9.9 |
| Lower middle | 16.5 | 70.1 | 13.4 |
| Poor | 26.7 | 48.3 | 25.0 |

* Breakdowns from *New York Herald Tribune* Aug 23 '45.

**17.** (Sweden Dec '45) Do you think it would be an asset or not if the workers in your organization (the employees or officials in your organization or office) should form a council and take part in and discuss the management and progress of the organization in question? Asked of a national cross-section of working people and executives. (SGI)

| | *Essential advantage* | *Complete disadvantage* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 62% | 12% | 26% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Employees | 69% | 10% | 21% |
| Managers | 44 | 22 | 34 |
| Farmers | 49 | 14 | 37 |
| Industry and craftsmen | 68 | 12 | 20 |
| Business and trade | 63 | 12 | 25 |
| Freelance workers | 63 | 14 | 23 |
| Others | 33 | 3 | 64 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Right party | 57% | 25% | 18% |
| Liberal | 54 | 20 | 26 |
| Agrarian | 27 | 23 | 50 |
| Social Democrat | 71 | 8 | 21 |
| Communist | 81 | 7 | 12 |

**18.** (Sweden Dec '45) What advantages do you think this [council between labor and management] would have? Asked of 62% of the sample of working people and executives who thought such a council should be formed in their own organizations. (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better wages; better conditions for the employed | 7% |
| Employees better able to watch their own interests | 2 |
| Employees would take more interest in the organization | 10 |
| Better cooperation within the organization | 9 |
| Better relations with the management | 8 |
| Better utilization of the abilities of the staff | 5 |
| Increased production through better organization | 5 |
| Greater feeling of responsibility among employees | 1% |
| Other replies | 10 |
| No definite reply | 5 |
| | 62% |

**19.** (Sweden Dec '45) What disadvantages do you think this [council between labor and management] would have? Asked of 12% of the sample of working people and executives who thought such a council would have a disadvantage. (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Difficult to agree on any resolutions | 3% |
| Disagreement would arise in the organization | 1 |
| Other replies | 4 |
| No definite reply | 4 |
| | 12% |

**20.** (Germany Apr 15 '46) Should the workers in a factory or other business have a voice in the conduct of the factory or business? (OMGUS)

Yes 71% No 18% No opinion; don't know; can't say 11%

**21.** (Germany Apr 15 '46) Which of these suggestions would suit you best? A card with a list of suggestions was given to the respondent. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Employers should be allowed to run their own office after their own manner (judgment) without asking their employees or their representative for their opinion | 7% |
| 2. Employees should be allowed to advise the management of an office. They should be allowed to choose representatives for a work council which would have to observe the management and submit regularly employees' opinions to the bosses | 66 |
| 3. Employees or their representative should have the same rights in running the office as the employers | 9 |
| 4. Business establishments should be socialized. The managers of a business should be appointed by a committee of the elected representatives of the employees | 9 |
| 5. No opinion; can't say | 9 |

**22.** (US Nov '46) Do you think all corporations should or should not be required to put a union representative on their board of directors? (FOR)

Should 41.9% Should not 36.2% Don't know 21.9%

## EUROPEAN WAR, 1914–1918

**1.** (US Jan 18 '37, Great Britain May 6 '37, US Feb 2 '39, Oct 18 '39, Nov 19 '40, Jan 22 '41, Mar 12 '41, Apr 8 '41, Oct 22 '41, Dec 10 '41) Do you think it was a mistake for the United States to enter the last war [World War I]? Slight variations were made in the wording in the United States. In Britain the question was: Do you think it was a mistake to enter the World War in 1914? (AIPO, OPOR, BIPO—all questions asked in the United States were asked by AIPO except Mar 12 '41)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| RESULTS IN THE UNITED STATES | | | | |
| AIPO Jan '37 | 70% | 30% | 8% | = 100% |
| AIPO Feb '39 | 48 | 37 | 15 | = 100% |
| AIPO Oct '39 | 59 | 28 | 13 | = 100 |
| AIPO Nov '40 | 39 | 42 | 19 | = 100 |
| AIPO Jan '41 | 40 | 44 | 16 | = 100 |

| | Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| OPOR Mar '41 | 39% | 43% | 18% = 100% |
| AIPO Apr '41 | 39 | 48 | 13 = 100 |
| AIPO Oct '41 | 35 | 47 | 18 = 100 |
| AIPO Dec '41 | 21 | 61 | 18 = 100 |
| RESULT IN GREAT BRITAIN | | | |
| May '37 | 34% | 66% = 100% | 1% |
| 1937 AND 1940 RESULTS IN THE UNITED STATES BY POLITICS | | | |
| *Republican* | | | |
| 1937 | 70% | 30% | — |
| 1940 | 46 | 38 | 16% |
| *Democratic* | | | |
| 1937 | 70 | 30 | — |
| 1940 | 33 | 46 | 21 |
| 1937 AND 1940 RESULTS IN THE UNITED STATES BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| *New England* | | | |
| 1937 | 67% | 33% | — |
| *Middle Atlantic* | | | |
| 1937 | 71 | 29 | — |
| *New England and Mid-Atlantic* | | | |
| 1940 | 37 | 44 | 19% |
| *East central* | | | |
| 1937 | 74 | 26 | — |
| 1940 | 43 | 35 | 22 |
| *West central* | | | |
| 1937 | 68 | 32 | — |
| 1940 | 45 | 42 | 13 |
| *South* | | | |
| 1937 | 61 | 39 | — |
| 1940 | 24 | 55 | 21 |
| *Rocky Mountain states* | | | |
| 1937 | 72 | 28 | — |
| *Pacific coast states* | | | |
| 1937 | 76 | 24 | — |
| *Far West* | | | |
| 1940 | 42 | 38 | 20 |
| 1937 RESULTS IN THE UNITED STATES BY SPECIAL GROUPS | | | |
| Men | 68% | 32% | — |
| Women | 72 | 28 | — |
| Farmers | 66 | 34 | — |
| City dwellers | 71 | 29 | — |
| Young people | 69 | 31 | — |
| 1940 RESULTS IN THE UNITED STATES BY AGE | | | |
| 21–34 years | 36% | 39% | 25% |
| 35–49 years | 37 | 44 | 19 |
| 50 years and over | 44 | 42 | 14 |

**2.** (US June 21 '37) Do you consider any nation or nations chiefly guilty of causing the World War? (AIPO)

Yes 45% No 30% No opinion 25%

**3.** (US June 21 '37) 45% of a national sample who said they considered that one or more nations were guilty of causing the first World War were asked: Which? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany | 77% |
| France | 5 |
| Great Britain | 5 |
| Russia | 3 |
| Austria | 4 |
| All others | 6 |
| | 100% of those who blamed a nation |

**4.** (US Oct 18 '39) Why do you think we entered the last war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| America was the victim of propaganda and selfish interests | 34% |
| America had a just and unselfish cause | 26 |
| America entered the war for its own safety | 18 |
| Other reasons | 8 |
| No opinion | 14 |

## Casualties

**1.** (US June 24 '41) Do you happen to have any idea how many Americans were killed as a result of the first World War? 21% of the sample who had an idea were asked: About how many? (AIPO)

Yes 21% No 79%

Only 6% of those who had an idea how many Americans were killed in the first World War named a figure between 40,000 and 60,000.

## Finance

**1.** (US Nov 30 '36 and June 21 '38) What is your opinion regarding the war debts owed this country—should they be canceled and forgotten, or should they be reduced to a point where at least something might be collected, or should we continue to try to collect them in full? (AIPO)

| | Canceled | Reduced | Continue to collect | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1936 | 9% | 37% | 54% | — |
| 1938 | 8 | 35 | 49 | 8% |

**2.** (US Jan 18 '37) Would you approve further loans to our World War Allies in case they resume payment on the debts they now owe? (AIPO)

Yes 15% No 85% = 100% No opinion 7%

**3.** (US Feb 26 '38 and June 21 '38) What is your opinion regarding the war debts owed this country—should we continue to try to collect them in full, or should they be reduced to a point where ar least something might be collected, or should they be canceled and forgotten? (Aug 16 '38) What would you like to see done about the war debts European countries owe the United States—try to collect them in full, reduce them, or cancel them entirely? (AIPO)

| | Collect | Cancel | Reduce | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '38 | 47% | 11% | 42% | — |
| June '38* | 46 | 12 | 38 | 4% |
| Aug '38 | 59 | 9 | 23 | 9 |

* A separate cross-section comparable to that reported in question 1 was used.

**4.** (Great Britain Nov '38) How should our war debts to the United States be settled? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| By payment in full | 18% |
| Reduced by agreement | 32 |
| Canceled altogether | 50 |
| | 100% |
| No opinion | 14% |

**5.** (US June 24 '41) Do you happen to have any idea how much money the United States spent in the First World War? 15% of the sample who said they had an idea about the cost were asked: About how much? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know | 85% |
| One billion or less | 2 |
| One to ten billion | 2 |
| Ten to twenty billion | 3 |
| Twenty to fifty billion | 6 |
| Seventy-five billion or more | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |
| Median | forty-one billion |

**6.** (US Aug 4 '43) As far as you know, did England ever pay us back for the war materials we sent her during the first World War? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 5% |
| No | 67 |
| Partly | 15 |
| Don't know | 13 |

## Peace

**1.** (US June 21 '37) Do you think the peace treaty after the war was too easy or too severe on Germany? (AIPO)

| | *Too easy* | *Too severe* | *About right* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41% | 30% | 29% | = 100% | 22% |
| Young people (18–24) | 29 | 39 | 32 | | — |

**2.** (US Aug 21 '42 and Nov 27 '42) Do you think the treatment of the German people in the peace treaty after the last war was too harsh or not harsh enough? (NORC)

| | *Too harsh* | *Just about right* | *Not harsh enough* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '42 results | 21% | 7% | 56% | 16% |
| Nov '42 results | 20 | 7 | 57 | 16 |

## Territorial Questions

**1.** (US Oct 28 '37 and Jan 20 '39) Should the colonies taken from Germany after the World War be given back to her? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1937 | 24% | 76% | = 100% | 19% |
| 1939 | 17 | 83 | = 100 | 13 |

1937 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 26% | 74% |
| Middle Atlantic | 26 | 74 |
| East central | 23 | 77 |
| West central | 26 | 74 |
| South | 22 | 78 |
| Rocky Mountain | 22 | 78 |
| Pacific coast | 24 | 76 |

**2.** (US Oct 1 '38) Do you think the colonies taken from Germany after the World War by England, France, and Japan should be given back? (AIPO)

Yes 22% No 78%

**3.** (US Feb '44) As far as you know, after the first World War did the Allies take any land away from Germany that belonged to her before that war started? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, no country mentioned | 20% |
| Yes, European territory mentioned | 10 |
| Yes, islands in Pacific mentioned | 4 |
| Yes, African colonies mentioned | 6 |
| Yes, other countries mentioned | * |
| No | 25% |
| Don't know | 40 |
| | 105%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

# EXCESS-PROFITS TAX

## U.S.

**1.** (US Mar 8 '38) Have you followed the arguments for and against the Federal undistributed profits tax? (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 70%

**2.** (US Mar 8 '38) Should the federal undistributed profits tax be repealed, reduced or left unchanged? Asked of a national cross-section of people who had followed the arguments for and against the federal undistributed profits tax. 30% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Repealed 40% Reduced 29% Left unchanged 31%

**3.** (US Oct '40) Do you believe satisfactory exemptions could be worked out to keep an excess-profits tax from bearing unfairly on new enterprises and enterprises which are on the verge of entering upon a period of greatly increased profits quite independent of rearmament? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Yes 63.9% No 25.0% Don't know or no answer 11.1%

**4.** (US Oct '40) A national cross-section of business executives were asked: If we have an excess-profits tax, do you think it should be primarily based on:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The increase in earnings over the average for the past few years? | 17.9% | |
| The rate of earnings on capital invested, as in 1917? | 5.6 | |
| A mixture of the preceding alternatives? | 7.5 | |
| A taxpayer's choice between these alternatives? | 21.2 | |
| | | 52.2% |
| Or: would you recommend instead of any of the above that the principle of the present capital-stock and excess-profits tax be applied with higher rates on declared values and excess profits? (FOR) | | |
| Yes | 14.3 | |
| No | 0.5 | |
| Don't know or no answer | 33.0 | |
| | | 47.8% |
| | | 100% |

**5.** (US Oct '40) A national cross-section of business executives were asked: As regards government order, which do you believe is likely to be the result of an excess-profits tax? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| It will make those who profit by these orders pay back to the government a considerable part of those profits | 55.2% |
| The extra cost will have to be added to what the government pays, leaving virtually unchanged the profit after taxes that the government will have to allow to get its orders filled | 34.0 |
| Don't know or no answer | 10.8 |

**6.** (US Oct '40) A national cross-section of business executives were asked: Assuming that revenues to be derived from an excess-profits tax would be about equal to those from such a general increase as those provided by the Revenue Act of 1940 which do you think would be preferable? (FOR)

An excess-profits tax because it would be levied directly upon profits made from any rearmament boom 58.2%
A general increase without excess-profits levies, because the latter would be a deterrent to defense activity... 31.9
Don't know or no answer..... 9.9

## EXERCISE

**1.** (Great Britain Nov '37) Do you exercise to keep fit?

Yes 44% No 56% = 100% No opinion 3%

The 44% who exercised to keep fit were asked what form of exercise they took. Results follow: (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hiking | 24% |
| Games | 52 |
| Physical jerks | 24 |
| | 100% of those who exercised |

**2.** (Great Britain Dec '39) When did you last join in the BBC early morning physical jerks? (BIPO)

At some time 5% Never 95%

**3.** (US Nov 19 '40) As part of a national program to improve the health of people of the United States, would you like to join a class to receive instruction in physical exercises? (AIPO)

Yes 35% No 65% = 100% No opinion 9%

**4.** (US Nov 19 '40) Do you happen to take regular daily exercises now? 24% of the sample who said they took regular daily exercises were asked: What kind of exercise do you take daily—setting up exercises, calisthenics, etc. or recreational sports, hiking, bicycling, bowling, handball, any other game or sport? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't take any | 76% |
| Setting-up exercises, etc | 7 |
| Recreational sports | 13 |
| Didn't say what kind of exercise | 4 |

**5.** (US Nov 30 '40) It has been suggested that the federal government organize a national program to interest more people in taking regular exercise to improve the health of the country. Would you approve of such a program? (AIPO)

Yes 71% No 29%

**6.** (US Nov 30 '40) Would you be willing to take part in such a [health] program yourself? (AIPO)

Yes 65% No 35%

**7.** (US Nov 25 '41) Apart from your job, do you do anything for physical exercise? (AIPO)

Yes 42% No 58%

**8.** (US Nov 25 '41) Did you happen to take any physical exercise last week end? Those who had taken some physical exercise were asked: What? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No exercise and no answer | 70% |
| Walking; hiking | 12 |
| Dancing | 2 |
| Calisthenics; setting up exercises | 2 |
| Riding (horseback) | 1% |
| Hunting and fishing | 4 |
| Gardening | 2 |
| Football; basketball; soccer | 1 |
| Bowling | 3 |
| Golf | 1 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 2 |
| Had some exercise but didn't say what kind | 3 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (US Nov 25 '41) How far did you walk yesterday (not counting home or business)? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Did no walking apart from work | 43% |
| Walked one mile or less | 25 |
| Walked 2 miles | 15 |
| Walked 3 miles | 6 |
| Walked 4 miles | 3 |
| Walked 5 miles or more | 8 |

**10.** (US Nov 25 '41) Would you be interested in joining a class to take physical exercise regularly? (AIPO)

Yes 26% No 71% No answer 3%

**11.** (Australia Dec '41) Should physical training be compulsory for all boys and girls under eighteen? (APOP)

Favor 84% Against 10% Undecided 6%

**12.** (US Oct '46) Not counting week ends, do you take any regular exercise? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Yes 41.3% No 58.7%

**13.** (US Oct '46) How often [do you exercise during the week]? Asked of 41.3% of the sample of executives who said they took regular exercise not counting week ends. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Daily | 32.7% |
| Several times a week | 40.9 |
| Once a week | 22.2 |
| Less often | 4.2 |
| | 100.0% of those who said they took regular exercise during the week |

## EXHIBITIONS

**1.** (US June 21 '38) Did you go to the last World's Fair in Chicago in 1933–1934? (AIPO)

Yes 23% No 77%

**2.** (US June 21 '38, Dec 16 '38, Mar 8 '39) Do you plan to go to the World's Fair in New York next year? For the Dec '38 sample the word "attend" was used instead of "go" and for the '39 sample the words "next year" were naturally omitted. (AIPO)

| | *No* | *Definitely* | *Perhaps* | *Don't know* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| June '38 | 58% | 25% | — | 17% | — |
| Dec '38 | 58 | 17 | 19% | 5 | 1% |
| Mar '39 | 61 | 16 | 17 | 6 | — |

**3.** (US Aug 10 '38 and Dec 16 '38) Do you plan to go to the World's Fair in San Francisco next year? In the Dec '38 question the word "attend" was used instead of "go." (AIPO)

AUG '38 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 11% |
| No | 78 |
| Don't know | 11 |

DEC '38 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Definitely | 5% |
| Perhaps | 11 |
| Don't know, no, and no answer | 84 |

**4.** (US Aug 10 '38) Which fair would you rather see—the one in San Francisco or the one in New York? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with San Francisco and New York in the reverse order. Results were combined. (AIPO)

San Francisco 34% New York 49% No opinion 17%

**5.** (US Dec 16 '38) Do any other members of your family plan to go [to the New York World's Fair next year]? (AIPO)

Yes 23% No 50% Don't know 27%

**6.** (US Dec 16 '38) Do any other members of your family plan to go [to the San Francisco World's Fair]? (AIPO)

Yes 8% No 66% Don't know 26%

**7.** (US Nov '38) Do you or members of your family plan to attend the New York World's Fair, the San Francisco Golden Gate Exposition, or any of the smaller fairs that will be held throughout the country next year? (FOR)

| | *New York Fair* % | *San Francisco Fair* % | *Both* % | *State fairs* % | *All others* % | *None* % | *Don't know* % | *Haven't decided yet* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24.3 | 5.6 | 1.3 | 2.8 | 1.4 | 46.3 | 3.7 | 14.6 |

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | | | *State fairs, All others, None, and Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % |
| Northeast | 52.3 | 0.6 | 1.5 | 31.9 | 13.7 |
| Southeast | 19.5 | 0.9 | 0.1 | 65.9 | 13.6 |
| Middle west | 13.9 | 3.6 | 0.7 | 66.1 | 15.7 |
| Northwest plains | 8.8 | 3.3 | 0.7 | 69.8 | 17.4 |
| Southwest | 10.2 | 4.6 | 0.8 | 71.0 | 13.4 |
| Mountain states | 7.4 | 12.1 | 4.7 | 57.0 | 18.8 |
| Pacific coast | 1.1 | 50.9 | 5.5 | 29.8 | 12.7 |

BY EXTREMES OF OPINIONS

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % |
| Prosperous | 36.5 | 7.0 | 4.7 | 32.8 | 19.0 |
| Poor | 12.8 | 4.5 | 0.5 | 71.9 | 10.3 |
| Executives | 39.8 | 10.5 | 4.7 | 29.8 | 15.2 |
| Farm labor | 7.7 | 1.5 | — | 81.6 | 9.2 |

**8.** (US July 26 '39) Do you plan to visit the New York World's Fair this year? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 18% |
| No | 71 |
| Have already gone | 10 |
| No answer | 1 |

**9.** (US July 26 '39) Have you already gone to the Fair? Asked of a national cross-section of people who planned to visit the New York World's Fair. 18% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Yes 13% No 75% No answer 12%

**10.** (US July 26 '39) Why [are you] not [going to visit the World's Fair this year]? Asked of a national cross-section of people who had not been and were not planning to visit the New York World's Fair. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Can't afford to go | 63% |
| Can't get away | 16 |
| Not interested | 9 |
| Saw Chicago fair—all fairs alike | 3 |
| Other reasons | 9 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**11.** (US July 26 '39) Do you know anybody who has been to the New York Fair? Asked of a national cross-section of people who had not been and were not planning to visit the New York World's Fair. (AIPO)

Yes 54% No 43% No answer 3% = 100% of those questioned

**12.** (US July 26 '39) Did they [acquaintances who have been to the New York Fair] advise you to go or to stay away? Asked of a national cross-section of people who had not been and were not planning to visit the New York World's Fair this year but who knew someone who had been to the Fair. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Advised strongly to go | 36% |
| Advised mildly to go | 17 |
| Advised strongly to stay away | 3 |
| Advised mildly to stay away | 5 |
| Neither | 26 |
| Some advised one way, some the other | 10 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**13.** (US July 26 '39) Do you think the [New York World's] Fair will be open in 1940? Asked of a national cross-section of people who had not been and were not planning to visit the New York World's Fair. (AIPO)

Yes 44% No 13% Uncertain 43% = 100% of those questioned

**14.** (US July 26 '39) If the [New York World's] Fair is open again in 1940, do you plan to go in that year? Asked of a national cross-section of people who had not been and were not planning to visit the New York World's Fair. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Definitely yes | 6% |
| Perhaps yes | 26 |
| No | 52 |
| Don't know | 13 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**15.** (US July 26 '39) Do you want to go again [to the World's Fair in New York]? Asked of a national cross-section of people who had already been to the Fair. (AIPO)

Yes 84% No 16% = 100% of those questioned

**16.** (US July 26 '39) In general, did you like or dislike the Fair? Asked of a national cross-section of people who had already been to the World's Fair in New York. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Liked it very much | 83% |
| Liked it moderately | 14 |
| Disliked it | 3 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**17.** (US Sept '39) Do you or any members of your family expect to attend the New York World's Fair this year? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 21.9% |
| Have already attended | 5.8 |
| No | 67.4 |
| Don't know | 4.9 |

## FAMILY

**1.** (US Nov 13 '36, Mar 19 '41, Aug 8 '45, Great Britain Jan '38, Jan '39, Jan 18 '44, Canada Nov 28 '45) What do you consider is the ideal size of family—a husband, wife, and how many children? (AIPO, BIPO, CIPO)

| | *None* | *1 child* | *2 children* | *3 children* | *4 children* | *5 children* | *6 or more children* | *No reply* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| US 1936 | — | 2% | 32% | 32% | 22% | 7% | 5% | — |
| Great Britain 1938 | 1% | 1 | 45 | 28 | 16 | 4 | 5 | — |
| Great Britain 1939 | 3 | 1 | 37 | 28 | 20 | 4 | 4 | 3% |
| US 1941 | — | 1 | 31 | 27 | 27 | 6 | 8 | — |
| Great Britain 1944** | 1 | 4 | 34 | 25 | 24 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| US 1945 | — | 1 | 22 | 28 | 31 | 9 | 9 | — |
| Canada 1945 | — | * | 17 | 23 | 31 | 12 | 17 | — |
| US 1941 RESULTS BY AGE | | | | | | | | |
| 21–34 years | — | 1% | 40% | 32% | 21% | 3% | 3% | |
| 35–49 years | — | 1 | 31 | 27 | 29 | 6 | 6 | |
| 50 years and over | — | * | 23 | 23 | 33 | 9 | 12 | |
| OPINIONS OF WOMEN | | | | | | | | |
| *All women* | | | | | | | | |
| US 1941 | — | 2% | 29% | 25% | 32% | 5% | 7% | |
| US 1945 | — | 1 | 21 | 27 | 36 | 8 | 7 | |
| *Women 21–34 years* | | | | | | | | |
| US 1941 | — | 1 | 40 | 32 | 21 | 3 | 3 | |
| US 1945 | — | 1 | 25 | 33 | 31 | 7 | 3 | |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Question was: What do you think is the ideal number of children in the family?

**2.** (US Aug 16 '37) A well-known newspaper columnist has suggested that the Institute of Public Opinion ask the following question: Who is the head and brains of your family? What is your answer? Asked of a national cross-section of married people. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Husband | 33% |
| Wife | 12 |
| Both equal | 55 |
| | 100% |
| No answer | 4% |

**3.** (Great Britain Nov '38, Dec '39, Dec 14 '45, Dec '46) Are you taking part in a family gathering this Christmas? In the 1939 question the word "reunion" was used instead of "gathering." (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '38 | 68% | 32% | — |
| Dec '39 | 59 | 41 | — |
| Dec '45 | 72 | 28 | — |
| Dec '46 | 72 | 24 | 4% |

**4.** (US Aug 27 '43) How many people are there in your family who live at home? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| One | 7% |
| Two | 24 |
| Three | 25 |
| Four | 20 |
| Five | 11 |
| Six | 6 |
| Seven | 3 |
| Eight | 1 |
| Nine | 1 |
| Ten or more | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |

**5.** (Denmark Aug 20 '44) Is it a rule in your house that the husband occasionally helps the wife with domestic work other than washing up? (DGI)

Yes 48.4% No 51.6%

**6.** (Great Britain Dec 14 '45) How many children and adults, including yourself, are there living together in your home? (BIPO)

| | *National total* | *16 years and under* | *Over 16 years* |
|---|---|---|---|
| None | 2% | 52% | 2% |
| One | 5 | 22 | 6 |
| Two | 18 | 15 | 40 |
| Three | 24 | 7 | 27 |
| Four | 22 | 3 | 15 |
| Five | 14 | 1 | 7 |
| Six | 8 | — | 2 |
| Seven | 3 | — | 1 |
| Eight | 2 | — | — |
| Nine | 1 | — | — |
| Ten | 1 | — | — |

Average size of family: 3.80 persons

**7.** (Sweden Apr '46) Do you know the name of your father's father and where he was born? (SGI)

| | *Know both* | *Know his name* | *Know where he was born* | *Know neither* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 69% | 7% | 9% | 15% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 71% | 6% | 10% | 13% |
| Women | 66 | 9 | 8 | 17 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 83% | 5% | 3% | 9% |
| Middle class | 75 | 6 | 8 | 11 |
| Workers | 63 | 8 | 10 | 19 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 70% | 8% | 7% | 15% |
| 30–49 years | 69 | 8 | 8 | 15 |
| 50–64 years | 70 | 6 | 9 | 15 |
| 65 years and over | 62 | 7 | 15 | 16 |

**8.** (Sweden Apr '46) Do you know your mother's maiden name and where she was born? (SGI)

| | *Know both* | *Know her name* | *Know where she was born* | *Know neither* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 4% | 23% | 18% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 52% | 4% | 26% | 18% |
| Women | 58 | 5 | 21 | 16 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 68% | 3% | 16% | 13% |
| Middle class | 60 | 5 | 22 | 13 |
| Workers | 50 | 5 | 24 | 21 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 52% | 6% | 21% | 21% |
| 30–49 years | 58 | 4 | 22 | 16 |
| 50–64 years | 52 | 3 | 28 | 17 |
| 65 years and over | 53 | 5 | 25 | 17 |

**9.** (US Apr 10 '46) How many people are dependent on the head of your family (not counting head of family)? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| One | 25% |
| Two | 22 |
| Three | 17 |
| Four | 9 |
| Five | 4 |
| Six | 2 |
| Seven or more | 1 |
| No answer | 3 |
| None | 17 |

**10.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statements: (OMGUS)

| | AMERICAN ZONE AND BERLIN | | | BERLIN ONLY | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
| The father's word should be unquestioned law in the family | 73% | 25% | 2% | 80% | 20% | — |
| It is a sign of weakness if a father shows his affection for his children | 37 | 61 | 2 | 42 | 56 | 2% |

**11.** (US Aug '46) Is running the home a full-time job for your wife, or could she take on some activity, either voluntary or paid, outside the home if she found one that interested her? Asked of a national cross-section of married men. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Full-time job | 58.4% |
| Could take on outside activity | 31.5 |
| No answer | 10.1 |

**12.** (US Aug '46) Is running the home a full-time job for you, or could you take on some activity, either voluntary or paid, outside the home, if you found one that interested you? Asked of a national cross-section of housewives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Full-time job | 61.6% |
| Could take on outside activity | 28.6 |
| No answer | 9.8 |

**13.** (US Oct '46) What is your wife's attitude toward your working late in your office? Working at home? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *In the office* | *At home* |
|---|---|---|
| Objects | 29.3% | 17.9% |
| Sympathetic | 60.8 | 71.4 |
| Situation does not arise | 9.9 | 10.7 |

**14.** (Czechoslovakia Dec '46) Are you writing a family history? (CZIPO)

Yes 10% No 90%

## FARMERS

**1.** (US Feb '43) Would you like to see farmers as a group more powerful in this country or less powerful after the war than they are now? Asked of a national cross-section of factory workers. (FOR)

| | *More* | *Same* | *Less* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 53.3% | 27.1% | 7.0% | 12.6% |
| Well-informed | 40.3 | 37.1 | 12.2 | 10.4 |
| Uninformed | 62.1 | 20.1 | 3.4 | 14.4 |

**2.** (US Mar '43) What are one or two things you like most about being a farmer? Are there one or two things you don't like so well? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers and their wives. (FOR)

| LIKE | *Farmers* | *Wives* |
|---|---|---|
| Being own boss | 55.7% | 28.6% |
| Ample good food | 13.8 | 35.3 |
| Outdoor living | 13.8 | 16.5 |
| Kind of work | 18.7 | 17.6 |
| Quiet; privacy | 6.4 | 18.3 |
| Best for children | — | 6.1 |
| Other | 13.1 | 19.7 |
| Don't know | 9.4 | 8.5 |
| | 130.9%* | 150.6%* |

| DON'T LIKE | *Farmers* | *Wives* |
|---|---|---|
| Long hours; hard work | 29.8% | 33.2% |
| Not enough money | 15.0 | 9.4 |
| Insects; bad weather | 5.2 | 2.8 |
| Lack of conveniences | 1.4 | 12.2 |
| Lack of transportation | — | 10.0 |
| Other | 15.0 | 14.8 |
| Nothing | 7.0 | 5.8 |
| Don't know | 38.3 | 28.3 |
| | 111.7%* | 116.5%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (US Apr '43) Suppose in five or six years it became clear that Congress was going to be dominated either by labor or by big business interests, and farmers couldn't do anything about it except throw their support one way or the other, which would you want farmers to support? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

| | *Labor* | *Big business* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 45.2% | 24.5% | 30.3% |
| BY OWNER-TENANT STATUS | | | |
| Owners | 41.5% | 29.9% | 28.6% |
| Tenants | 52.6 | 16.6 | 30.8 |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION* | | | |
| Good | 38.5% | 41.5% | 20.0% |
| Fair | 47.5 | 23.2 | 29.3 |
| Poor | 48.2 | 11.6 | 40.2 |

* Degree of information was established by asking thirteen questions of current interest. Nine or more correct answers was rated "good," from four to eight "fair," and less than four "poor."

**4.** (Sweden Dec '45) What do you think of the suggestion that every farmer should keep accounts of his income and expenses? (SGI)

| | *Very good suggestion* | *Good suggestion* | *Good suggestion, but hard to carry out* | *Not good; unnecessary; impossible to carry out* | *Not good; should absolutely not be carried out* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40% | 33% | 4% | 7% | 2% | 14% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | | |
| Large towns | 42% | 39% | 4% | 7% | 3% | 5% |
| Other towns | 47 | 34 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 10 |
| Country districts: | | | | | | |
| *A | 36 | 28 | 6 | 11 | 3 | 16 |
| B | 36 | 31 | 4 | 10 | 2 | 17 |
| C | 36 | 32 | 8 | 7 | 2 | 15 |
| D | 35 | 43 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 13 |
| Farmers | 34 | 29 | 7 | 12 | 2 | 16 |

* A-Districts where 75% of the population are farmers, farm workers, etc.
B-Districts where 50%–75% of the population are farmers, farm workers, etc.
C-Districts where less than 50% of the population are farmers, farm workers, etc., and where there are thinly populated areas comprising as much as two-thirds of the total population.
D-Areas comprising at least two-thirds of the population.

**5.** (Hungary Jan '46) What manufactured articles are farmers in need of? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (HIPOR)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Clothing | 28.3% | Spade | 2.1% |
| Agricultural equipment; machines generally | 44.3 | Glass | 1.5 |
| | | Horseshoe iron | 1.3 |
| Textiles generally | 19.9 | Scythe | 1.3 |
| Shoes; boots | 17.2 | Match | 1.2 |
| Tools | 10.2 | Harness | 1.2 |
| Hardware | 9.2 | Nails | 1.1 |
| Salt | 8.7 | Vessel | 0.9 |
| Plow | 8.5 | Mill for grinding | 0.8 |
| Tractor | 7.6 | Sack | 0.8 |
| Cart | 7.3 | Rake | 0.7 |
| Sugar | 6.3 | Rope | 0.6 |
| Building materials | 5.3 | Lye | 0.6 |
| Petroleum | 4.1 | Yeast | 0.5 |
| Harrow | 3.9 | Spice | 0.5 |
| Drill plow | 3.1 | Vinegar | 0.4 |
| Livestock | 2.8 | Harvesting machine | 0.4 |
| Blue vitriol | 2.8 | Axle tree | 0.4 |
| Machine oil | 2.5 | Tobacco | 0.3 |
| Hoe | 2.4 | Medicine | 0.3 |
| Artificial manure | 2.4 | Thread | 0.2 |
| Threshing machine | 2.4 | Cement | 0.2 |
| | | | 216.5%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because most respondents gave more than one answer.

## FASCISM

**1.** (US July 16 '42) When the war is over, how do you think we should treat the Fascist leaders in Italy? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Imprison | 9% |
| Kill | 19 |
| Torture | 1 |
| Harsh treatment | 8 |
| Take power away | 12 |
| Treat like Germans | 10 |
| Exile | 8 |
| Fairly | 7 |
| Treat fairly but control them | 1 |
| Other | 5 |
| Don't know | 16 |
| No answer | 4 |

**2.** (US July 16 '42) How should we treat the Italian people themselves [when the war is over]? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Keep them under control and supervision; disarm and prevent rearming | 4% |
| Isolate them; keep them by themselves | 1 |
| Treat them kindly, humanely, fairly, as we would like to be treated | 55 |
| Re-educate them in democracy, in our way of life; give them good leaders | 5 |
| Treat them well, but keep them under supervision and control | 4 |
| Drastic steps; kill them, shoot them; divide up in small parts | * |
| Help them; liberate them | 3 |
| Retribution; punish them; treat them severely | 3 |
| If they behave, give up Fascism, cooperate, etc., treat them well | 2 |
| Treat them same as Germans | 3 |
| Other | 4 |
| No opinion | 12 |
| No answer | 4 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**3.** (US Nov '43) In a recent speech, Vice-President Wallace said there was a group of dangerous native Fascists in this country. Do you feel this is true or not? (FOR)

Yes 45.9% No 24.4% Don't know 29.7%

**4.** (US June 12 '45) What does the term Fascist mean to you? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dictatorship; totalitarianism; one-man rule | 29% |
| Nazism; Hitler; Mussolini | 13 |
| A wild scheme; law of the jungle; a hoodlum regime; etc. | 8 |
| Socialism and Communism | 6 |
| Discrimination; the master race; slavery; privileges for a few | 3 |
| Centralized capitalism; wealth | 1 |
| Suppression of workers | * |
| Aggression and war | 1 |
| A form of government; a party | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| Don't know | 36 |
| | 104%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**5.** (US June 12 '45) Are there any individuals, organizations, parties, or groups, in this country which seem to you to be carrying out Fascist ideas? A comparable cross-section was asked: Are there any individuals, organizations, parties, or other groups in this country which seem to you to be at least partly Fascist in their aims or interests? Results were combined. 27% of the combination of both samples who said they thought

such individuals or groups existed were asked: What individuals, organizations, parties, or groups? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't believe such groups exist | 29% |
| No opinion as to whether or not they exist | 44 |
| Named none or can't recall | 5 |
| German Bund; Silver Shirts | 4 |
| Labor; labor leaders; unions | 7 |
| Communists | 3 |
| Named individuals: Lewis, Browder, Petrillo, Hillman, Gerald Smith, Father Coughlin, Dilling, Hearst | 5 |
| America First | 2 |
| The present administration | 1 |
| Underground movements | * |
| Ku Klux Klan | 1 |
| Big business | 1 |
| Newspapers | 1 |
| Catholic Church | 1 |
| Women of the Pacific, etc | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| | 109%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (Great Britain Jan 12 '46) What do you think the government should do about renewed Fascist activity in this country? (BIPO)

| | *National total* | *Conservative* | *Labor party* | *National Liberal* | *Liberal* | *Didn't vote* | *Others* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Quell it; stamp it out; deal drastically with them | 37% | 36% | 39% | 44% | 40% | 33% | 31% |
| Hang them; shoot them | 5 | 6 | 5 | 18 | 4 | 3 | — |
| Have all leaders arrested; deported | 3 | 3 | 3 | — | 4 | 3 | — |
| Arrest them; "nip it in the bud" | 8 | 8 | 8 | — | 7 | 7 | 9 |
| Send them to a Fascist country; deport them | 2 | 3 | 2 | 4 | — | 2 | — |
| Make their activities illegal | 8 | 7 | 8 | 4 | 4 | 8 | 24 |
| Ban all activities of a doubtful nature | 3 | 3 | 3 | — | 6 | 2 | — |
| Nothing; ignore them | 10 | 12 | 8 | 9 | 14 | 13 | 15 |
| We are a democratic country; let them advance their point of view but keep an eye on them | 6 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 7 | 7 | 6 |
| Cannot do anything if not infringing law | 1 | 2 | 1 | — | 1 | — | — |
| Miscellaneous | 4 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 3 | — |
| No answer, don't know | 13 | 10 | 13 | 13 | 6 | 19 | 15 |

**7.** (US June 12 '46) Would you say there are many or only a few Fascists in the United States today? 42% of the sample who thought there were many Fasicsts and 32% who thought there were a few were asked: Can you name any in the United States today? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No opinion as to whether or not there are Fascists in the country | 26% |
| Couldn't or wouldn't name any | 61 |
| Earl Browder | 1 |
| Harry Bridges | 1% |
| Gerald Smith | 3 |
| Rankin | 2 |
| Bilbo | 3 |
| Hamilton Fish | 1 |
| Father Coughlin | 1 |
| McCormick | 1 |
| John L. Lewis | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 8 |
| | 109%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents mentioned more than one person.

# FINANCE

**1.** (US May 2 '45) Will you tell me briefly what is meant by these terms? Among others was listed: Bretton Woods Plan. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct | 12% |
| Incorrect | 1 |
| Vague | 14 |
| No answer | 73 |

**2.** (US May 29 '45) Will you tell me in general what you think the Bretton Woods proposal deals with? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| World monetary system; world bank; international banking | 12% |
| Peace proposals | 4 |
| Economic plan for world government; economic stabilization | 3 |
| World affairs | 1 |
| Others (International organization to promote world trade; relief for small countries; etc.) | 3 |
| Never heard of it | 47 |
| Didn't say | 30 |

**3.** (US May 29 '45) Do you think Congress should pass a law to put the Bretton Woods proposal into effect? Asked of 23% of the sample who said they knew what the Bretton Woods proposal dealt with. (AIPO)

Yes 52% No 16% Undecided 32% = 100% of those questioned

## Austria

**1.** (US Sept 25 '46) General Mark Clark believes that if we make a loan of one hundred and fifty million dollars to Austria it may help to keep that country from coming under the control of Russia. Do you think we should make this loan to Austria? (AIPO)

Yes 27% No 47% No opinion 26%

## Brazil

**1.** (Brazil Sept '46) Should the government encourage foreign capital to make investments in Brazil? (IBOPE)

Yes 57% No 42% No opinion 1%

## Canada

**1.** (Canada Dec 29 '45) In the next two or three years do you think our government in Ottawa will need more money than in the years before the war started, less money than before the war, or about the same amount as before the war? (CIPO)

| | *More money* | *Less money* | *Same* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 72% | 6% | 16% | 6% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 81% | 4% | 13% | 2% |
| Middle class | 75 | 6 | 16 | 3 |
| Lower class | 66 | 7 | 18 | 9 |

**2.** (Canada May 25 '46) Canada has just agreed to lend Britain one and one-quarter billion dollars. Do you think this loan is going to benefit Canada or not? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know or undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 51% | 28% | 21% |
| BY SELECTED PROVINCES | | | |
| Ontario | 64% | 18% | 18% |
| Quebec | 26 | 48 | 26 |

## Central and South America

**1.** (US Dec 10 '40) Do you think the United States should lend money to Central and South American countries to help them build up their industries, railroads, and defenses? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 58% |
| No | 22 |
| No opinion and no answer | 8 |
| Qualified answers | 12 |

## France

**1.** (France Dec 16 '44) Do you plan to subscribe to the liberation loan? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 47% |
| No | 40 |
| No opinion | 11 |
| Yes, qualified | 2 |

**2.** (France Jan 1 '45) Do you think that the present national loan will be a success? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Paris | 74% | 11% | 15% |
| Provinces | 77 | 6 | 17 |

**3.** (France June 1 '45) How do you feel about the financial policy expounded by the Finance Minister, M. Pleven, in his March 29 speech? (FIPO)

Satisfied 23% Dissatisfied 37% No answer 40%

**4.** (France Feb 1 '46) Do you think it necessary for the government to have a plan in order to put the economy in order? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 80% | 7% | 13% |
| Informed opinion | 81 | 9 | 10 |

**5.** (France Mar 16 '46) In your opinion, what will have to be done to straighten out the financial situation in France? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Reduce the great fortunes, chiefly those of profiteers | 22% |
| Work; produce; export | 22 |
| Curb the budget; reduce the number of officers and the appropriation for the army | 17 |
| Stabilize prices and readjust wages | 4 |
| Clean up the finances | 4 |
| Return to liberal economy | 3 |
| Establish planned economy | 2 |
| Trade with foreign countries | 1 |
| Other answers | 6 |
| No opinion | 19 |

**6.** (France Apr 1 '46) Do you think the United States will give Léon Blum the credit which he plans to ask of them? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 17% |
| Partially | 40 |
| No | 21 |
| No opinion | 22 |

**7.** (US May 15 '46) Have you followed the discussion about the United States lending money to France? 35% of the sample who said they had followed the discussion were asked: Do you think Congress should or should not approve the loan? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Uninformed on the subject | 65% |
| Think Congress should approve | 17 |
| Should not approve | 14 |
| No opinion as to whether or not Congress should approve | 4 |

**8.** (US May 15 '46) If the loan is important in keeping France strong in a military or financial way during the next twenty-five years, do you think Congress should or should not approve the loan? Asked of 18% of the sample who either thought Congress should not approve the loan or had no opinion on the subject. (AIPO)

Should 5% Should not 10% No opinion 3% = 18%

**9.** (France July 1 '46) Do you consider that Léon Blum's mission to the United States was successful? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, very | 20% |
| Yes, fairly | 49 |
| No | 7 |
| No opinion | 24 |

## Germany

**1.** (Germany July 25 '46) At present economic policy is being directed separately by the government of the three states of the United States zone. Would it be better or worse if economic policy were directed by a central German government for the whole American zone? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 79% |
| Worse | 3 |
| No difference | 3 |
| No opinion | 15 |

## Great Britain

**1.** (US Sept 6 '45) England plans to ask this country for a new loan of three to five billion dollars to help England get back on its feet. Would you approve or disapprove of the United States making such a loan? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 60% | 13% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Business and professional | 37% | 55% | 8% |
| White-collar | 35 | 54 | 11 |
| Farmers | 26 | 62 | 12 |
| Manual workers | 20 | 65 | 15 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 45% | 50% | 5% |
| High school | 32 | 58 | 10 |
| Grade school or less | 22 | 63 | 15 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republican | 28% | 62% | 10% |
| Democratic | 28 | 59 | 13 |

**2.** (US Sept 6 '45) If we lend England this money, do you think we will be repaid in part, in full, or not at all? (AIPO)

In part or in full 39% Not at all 41% No opinion 20%

**3.** (US Sept 6 '45) England plans to ask this country for a new loan of two to four billion dollars to help England get back on its feet. Would you approve or disapprove of the United States making such a loan? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve | 23% |
| Disapprove | 56 |
| Approve if: | |
| Not a gift | 4 |
| Get securities | 3 |
| If given bases or material | 1 |
| They really need it | 1 |
| They pay interest | 1 |
| Without interest | * |
| If we can spare it | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| No opinion | 10 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**4.** (US Sept 6 '45) If we lend England this money, do you think we will be repaid in part, in full, or not at all? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| In full | 15% |
| In part | 29 |
| Not at all | 41 |
| No opinion | 15 |

**5.** (US Nov 21 '45) Would you approve or disapprove of having this country loan England three to five billion dollars to help England get back on its feet? (AIPO)

Approve 30% Disapprove 59% No opinion 11%

**6.** (US Nov 21 '45) If we make this loan, do you think that the United States as well as England will benefit from this in addition to the interest paid us on the loan? (AIPO)

Yes 31% No 49% No opinion 20%

**7.** (US Nov 21 '45) The cross-section that was asked the preceding question was also asked: Do you think England has to have this loan to get back on its feet quickly? (AIPO)

Yes 40% No 39% No opinion 21%

**8.** (US Nov 21 '45) A comparable cross-section that was not asked question number 6 was asked a slightly different form of the question: Do you think England has to have this loan to get back on its feet? (AIPO)

Yes 26% No 52% No opinion 22%

**9.** (US Dec 5 '45, Dec 19 '45, Feb 13 '46, Feb 27 '46, Mar 13 '46, Mar 27 '46, Apr 24 '46, May 15 '46, May 29 '46) The Dec 5 and 19 '45 samples, the Feb 13 and one of two Mar 27 samples, the May 15 and May 29 '46 samples were asked: Have you followed the discussion about the United States lending money to England? All other samples including a second comparable Mar 27 '46 sample were asked: Have you heard or read about the proposed loan to Britain? All those who had followed the discussion or heard about the loan (depending on how the question was worded) were asked follow-up quest ons. The Dec 5 and 19 '45 samples were asked: What is your opinion about making this loan? The Feb 13 sample and the Mar 27 sample that had been asked the "Have you followed" question, the May 15 and the May 29 '46 samples were asked: Do you think Congress should or should not approve the loan? The Feb 27 and Mar 13 samples, the second Mar 27 sample, and the Apr '46 sample were asked: Do you favor or oppose having our government make this loan? (AIPO)

| | *Unfamiliar with loan or haven't followed discussion* | *Favor loan, Congress should approve* | *Oppose loan, Congress should not approve* | *Qualified and miscellaneous answers* | *No opinion as to whether or not loan should go through* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec 5 '45 | 29% | 13% | 22% | 33% | 3% |
| Dec 19 '45 | 31 | 16 | 24 | 25 | 4 |
| Feb 13 '46 | 43 | 22 | 29 | — | 6 |
| Feb 27 '46 | 14 | 30 | 41 | 5 | 10 |
| Mar 13 '46 | 15 | 26 | 43 | 6 | 10 |
| *Mar 27 '46 | 35 | 27 | 33 | — | 5 |
| **Mar 27 '46 | 15 | 29 | 43 | 4 | 9 |
| Apr 24 '46 | 13 | 30 | 42 | 6 | 9 |
| May 15 '46 | 33 | 29 | 32 | — | 6 |
| May 29 '46 | 30 | 25 | 41 | — | 4 |

* "Have you heard or read" series.
** "Have you followed the discussion" series.

**10.** (US Dec 19 '45) If England agrees to spend most of the money in this country for foodstuffs and raw materials, would you favor or oppose making the loan? Asked of 69% of the sample who had followed the discussion about the English loan. (AIPO)

Favor 43% Oppose 21% No opinion 5% = 69%

**11.** (US Feb 13 '46 and Mar 27 '46) What do you think is the best argument in favor of granting the loan? What do you think is the best argument against granting the loan? Both questions were asked of those who had followed the discussion about the loan—57% of the Feb sample and 65% of the Mar sample. (AIPO)

FEB '46 RESULTS

*In favor*

| | |
|---|---|
| It will promote world trade and stimulate business within the United States | 16% |
| England is badly in need of the loan | 7 |
| We should make the loan in the interests of a good neighbor policy | 4 |
| England is our ally, and important to us as a first line of defense in Europe | 4 |
| Miscellaneous replies | 5 |
| No answer | 28 |
| | 64%** |

*Against*

| | |
|---|---|
| Britain won't pay the loan back | 28% |
| US needs the money itself | 6 |
| We've already given Britain too much | 4 |
| England doesn't need or want the loan | 2 |
| England will use the loan to further her own interests and against the US | 2 |
| The loan will increase our already heavy tax burden | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| No answer | 17 |
| | 64%** |

MAR '46 RESULTS

*In favor*

| | |
|---|---|
| Promote business, world trade | 21% |
| England needs it to rebuild | 11 |
| England was our ally; to show England our appreciation | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Good will; keeping them friendly | 6% |
| Stabilizes money | * |
| International stabilization | 1 |
| Mortgage in Canada | * |
| No answer | 10 |
| None | 16 |
| | 67%*** |

*Against*

| | |
|---|---|
| Won't pay it back; haven't paid old debt | 29% |
| Our country needs it | 8 |
| We already gave them too much | 6 |
| England doesn't need or want it; has enough resources | 3 |
| England will use loan to further her interests only | 2 |
| Loan will increase taxes | 2 |
| If give to England will have to give to other countries | 2 |
| Apt to be in war with her | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| None | 5 |
| No answer | 7 |
| | 66%*** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 57% because some respondents gave more than one answer.

*** Percentages add to more than 65 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**12.** (US Feb 27 '46 and Mar 13 '46) Would you favor the loan if it helps to revive world trade? Asked of 51% of the Feb and 53% of the Mar sample who knew about the loan and either opposed it or had no opinion. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '46 | 34% | 12% | 5% = 51% |
| Mar '46 | 34 | 13 | 6 = 53 |

**13.** (US May 15 '46) If the loan is important in keeping England strong in a military or financial way during the next twenty-five years, do you think Congress should or should not approve the loan? Asked of 38% of the sample familiar with the loan to England who either opposed it or had no opinion on the subject. (AIPO)

Should 9% Should not 23% No opinion 6% = 38%

**14.** (Great Britain Jan 12 '46) Have you been following the discussion on America lending money to Britain? 72% of the sample who said they had followed the discussion were asked: Do you approve or disapprove of our accepting the loan? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* | *Those who had followed discussion* | *Hadn't followed discussion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 50% | 17% | 5% = 72% | 28% = 100% | |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 58% | 18% | 5% = 81% | 19% | |
| Women | 42 | 15 | 5 = 62 | 38 | |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 47% | 15% | 6% = 68% | 32% | |
| 30–49 years | 51 | 17 | 6 = 74 | 26 | |
| 50 years and over | 51 | 16 | 4 = 71 | 29 | |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Higher | 60% | 29% | 4% = 93% | 7% | |
| Middle | 59 | 21 | 5 = 85 | 15 | |
| Lower | 46 | 14 | 5 = 65 | 35 | |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Conservative | 48% | 26% | 6% = 80% | 20% | |
| Labor | 53 | 12 | 7 = 72 | 28 | |
| Liberal | 56 | 22 | 5 = 83 | 17 | |
| National Liberal | 52 | 27 | 13 = 92 | 8 | |
| Others | 46 | 18 | 6 = 70 | 30 | |
| Didn't vote | 35 | 11 | 9 = 55 | 45 | |

**15.** (Great Britain Jan 12 '46) What is your main objection [to our accepting a loan from America]? Asked of 17% of the total sample who disapproved of England accepting the loan. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Interest too high; terms too harsh | 5% |
| We'll owe money for generations; burden the young; never be able to pay | 3 |
| Unnecessary; should be independent | 3 |
| Will make us dependent on USA; cause disagreement in later generations | 2 |
| Could have made arrangements with dominions on better terms | 1 |
| Curtailment sterling bloc activities; adverse effect on Empire trade | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| No comment | 1 |
| | 17% |

**16.** (Great Britain Jan 12 '46) Do you believe that by keeping up austerity Britain could reconstruct her industry and trade without borrowing from America? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 32% | 47% | 21% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 35% | 51% | 14% |
| Women | 28 | 43 | 29 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 29% | 50% | 21% |
| 30–49 years | 35 | 46 | 19 |
| 50 years and over | 29 | 46 | 25 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 41% | 52% | 7% |
| Middle | 32 | 52 | 16 |
| Lower | 31 | 44 | 25 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional, salaried-executive | 35% | 54% | 11% |
| Salaried-clerical | 31 | 59 | 10 |
| Proprietor, shop or business; farmers | 37 | 55 | 8 |
| Weekly wages: factory; heavy industry; transport; miner | 33 | 47 | 20 |
| Agricultural (except farmers) | 41 | 38 | 21 |
| Weekly wages, all others | 34 | 40 | 26 |
| Housewives | 27 | 43 | 30 |
| Retired; unoccupied | 24 | 54 | 22 |

**17.** (US Feb 27 '46) Do you think the loan [to England] is necessary to revive world trade? (AIPO)

Yes 38% No 38% No opinion 20% No answer 4%

**18.** (US Apr 24 '46) Senator Vandenberg says that we must grant the loan to England for America's sake. Do you agree or disagree with this? (AIPO)

Agree 28% Disagree 52% No opinion 20%

**19.** (US May 29 '46) Have you followed the discussion about the United States lending money to England? 77% of the sample who had followed the discussion were asked: Which do you favor—lending England about three and a half billion dollars or making an outright gift to England of one and a quarter billion dollars? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Haven't followed discussion | 23% |
| Favor lending | 30 |
| Favor gift | 17 |
| Neither | 27 |
| No opinion as to what should be done | 3 |

## Hungary

**1.** (Hungary Dec 6–8 '45, Dec 22–24 '45, Feb 15–18 '46) Do you admit the necessity of devaluation? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Uncertain* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec 6–8 '45 | 24% | 72% | 4% |
| Dec 22–24 '45 | 46 | 50 | 4 |
| Feb 15–18 '46 | 59 | 35 | 6 |

**2.** (Hungary Apr '46) Will the financial position be improved by the subordination of the national bank to the Ministry of Finance? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Other; undecided; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY SOCIAL STATUS | | | |
| *Fixed income* | | | |
| Educated class | 53.5% | 37.8% | 8.7% |
| Small bourgeois | 59.3 | 27.1 | 13.6 |
| Workers | 55.6 | 26.9 | 17.5 |
| *Variable income* | | | |
| Educated class | 38.3 | 52.2 | 9.5 |
| Small bourgeois | 51.5 | 44.6 | 3.9 |
| Workers | 43.7 | 46.3 | 10.0 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY AND SEX | | | |
| *Town* | | | |
| Men | 49.3% | 41.4% | 9.3% |
| Women | 50.9 | 32.4 | 16.7 |
| *Village* | | | |
| Men | 76.3 | 17.2 | 6.5 |
| Women | 58.9 | 7.3 | 33.8 |

**3.** (Hungary May '46) Will stabilization be effective? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

Yes 53% No 42% Uncertain 5%

**4.** (Hungary Sept '46) How are your expectations toward stabilization realized? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Very well | 72% |
| Even more than expected | 16 |
| Less than expected and don't know | 12 |

**5.** (Hungary Oct '46) Would you approve or disapprove of the opening of the stock exchange next fall? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Other, no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Well-off | 65.5% | 17.5% | 17.0% |
| Medium | 58.5 | 23.1 | 18.4 |
| Badly-off | 53.1 | 22.0 | 24.9 |

**6.** (Hungary Oct '46) Why [do you disapprove of the opening of the stock exchange]? Asked of a Budapest cross-section who approved of opening. (HIPOR)

| | *Well-off* | *Medium* | *Badly-off* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gives ground for speculation and for black market | 29.9% | 25.3% | 23.1% |
| Spoils the value of the forint; gives ground for inflation | 9.4 | 20.2 | 27.9 |
| Does not serve the working people's interest; not sound | 7.5 | 21.5 | 15.0 |
| Too early yet | 16.1 | 8.9 | 7.1 |
| Not necessary | 23.7 | 16.4 | 15.4 |
| Don't know; other answers | 13.4 | 7.7 | 11.5 |

**7.** (Hungary Dec '46) How do you find the government financial policy during the inflation period? (HIPOR)

Well done 51% Badly 43% Uncertain 6%

**8.** (Hungary Dec '46) What change do you expect in Hungary's economic relations with her neighbors after the signing of the peace treaty? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | *Rapid progress* | *Slow progress* | *No change* | *Other, no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY SOCIAL STATUS | | | | |
| Educated | 40.0% | 56.5% | 2.9% | 0.6% |
| Bourgeoisie | 42.8 | 53.9 | 1.7 | 1.6 |
| Worker | 39.8 | 50.9 | 2.2 | 7.1 |

## Netherlands

**1.** (Netherlands Nov 20 '45) Do you think that by handing in the old bank notes and further measures of Minister Lieftinck all "black" properties will be found out? (NIPO)

Yes 29% No 63% No opinion 8%

## Russia

**1.** (US Sept '45) Russia has requested six billion dollars in credits; how do you think this request should be handled? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Credit should be extended through US government channels | 30.8% |
| Credit should be extended through private banking channels | 49.8 |
| Both of above | 3.4 |
| No credit at all should be extended | 9.4 |
| Don't know | 6.6 |

**2.** (US Oct 3 '45) Russia has asked this country for a loan of six billion dollars to help Russia get back on its feet. Would you approve or disapprove of the United States making such a loan? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 60% | 13% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 45% | 48% | 7% |
| High school | 29 | 59 | 12 |
| Grade school or less | 22 | 62 | 16 |

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional and business | 36% | 55% | 9% |
| White-collar | 32 | 56 | 12 |
| Farmers | 22 | 65 | 13 |
| Manual workers | 23 | 61 | 16 |

**3.** (US Oct 3 '45) If we lend Russia this money, do you think we will be repaid in part, in full, or not at all? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| In part | 26% |
| In full | 23 |
| Not at all | 35 |
| No opinion | 16 |

**4.** (US Oct 3 '45) Russia has asked this country for a loan of six billion dollars to repair her war damages, build up industry, and raise the standard of living of the Russian people. Would you approve or disapprove of the United States making such a loan? The cross-section for this and the following question was a separate one comparable to that used for the two preceding questions. (AIPO)

Approve 27% · Disapprove 59% No opinion 14%

**5.** (US Oct 3 '45) If we lend Russia this money, do you think we will be repaid in part, in full, or not at all? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| In part | 27% |
| In full | 21 |
| Not at all | 32 |
| No opinion | 20 |

## U.S.

**1.** (US May '44) What is your guess on the probable size of the national income two years and five years after the war? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Two years after the war* | *Five years after the war* |
|---|---|---|
| Under $80 billion | 6.5% | 15.4% |
| Between $80 billion and $110 billion | 42.3 | 36.5 |
| Between $110 billion and $140 billion | 41.5 | 32.3 |
| Between $140 billion and $170 billion | 7.5 | 11.9 |
| Over $170 billion | 2.2 | 3.9 |

# FINLAND

## Climate

**1.** (Finland June 7 '46) What do you think the weather will be like next summer, and on what do you base your assumption? (FGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Warm; lovely; sunny | 23% |
| Good; yielding | 9 |
| Cold; nasty; rainy | 16 |
| Bad; poor harvest | 1 |
| Medium; normal | 3 |
| Changeable | 4 |
| Don't know | 49 |
| | 105%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

# FIREARMS

**1.** (US Mar 30 '38) Do you think all owners of pistols and revolvers should be required to register with the government? (Jan 19 '40) Would you favor or oppose a law requiring all private citizens owning pistols or guns to register with the government? (AIPO)

| | *Yes, or favor* | *No, or oppose* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '38 | 84% | 16% | = 100% | 6% |
| Jan '40 | 80 | 20 | = 100 | 7 |
| MAR '38 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England | 90% | 10% | | |
| Middle Atlantic | 82 | 18 | | |
| East central | 86 | 14 | | |
| West central | 83 | 17 | | |
| South | 83 | 17 | | |
| Mountain | 82 | 18 | | |
| Pacific coast | 85 | 15 | | |
| MAR '38 RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Large cities | 86% | 14% | | |
| Small towns | 80 | 20 | | |
| Farms | 82 | 18 | | |

**2.** (Canada Jan 19 '46) In some cities, police have been issued with machine guns. Do you think this is a good idea or a bad idea? (CIPO)

| | *Good idea* | *Bad idea* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40% | 47% | 13% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Farm | 40% | 46% | 14% |
| Under 10,000 population | 40 | 46 | 14 |
| 10,000 to 100,000 | 43 | 45 | 12 |
| Over 100,000 | 39 | 50 | 11 |

# FISH AS FOOD

**1.** (Great Britain June 12 '45) Have you found that there has been more fresh fish during the past two or three weeks? (BIPO)

Yes 37% No 36% Don't know 27%

**2.** (Great Britain Mar '46) Did you (your wife) buy any fish during the last seven days? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 73% | 23% | 4% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 82% | 16% | 2% |
| Middle | 72 | 23 | 5 |
| Lower | 72 | 24 | 4 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| London and South | 73% | 23% | 4% |
| North and Midlands | 72 | 23 | 5 |
| Wales | 76 | 24 | — |
| Scotland | 72 | 23 | 5 |

**3.** (Great Britain Mar '46) When did you last buy fish? Asked of 23% of the sample who had not bought any fish during the last seven days. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 week | 1% |
| 2 weeks | 7 |
| 3 weeks | 4 |
| 4 weeks | 2 |
| 5–6 weeks | 1 |
| 3 months | 1 |
| More than 3 months | 1 |
| Not specified | 6 |
| | 23% |

## FLAGS

**1.** (Canada July 21 '43, Nov 3 '45, Mar 20 '46) Should Canada have a national flag of its own, or do you think we should continue to use the Union Jack? The 1946 question read: Do you approve of Canada having a national flag of its own, etc. (CIPO)

| | *National flag* | *Union Jack* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| July '43 | 51% | 42% | 7% |
| Nov '45 | 68 | 26 | 6 |
| Mar '46 | 68 | 28 | 4 |
| JULY RESULTS BY ANCESTRY | | | |
| British origin | 37% | 58% | 5% |
| French origin | 82 | 9 | 9 |
| Other | 42 | 48 | 10 |
| NOVEMBER RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Liberal | 74% | 21% | 5% |
| Progressive-Conservative | 49 | 45 | 6 |
| CCF | 71 | 22 | 7 |

**2.** (Canada Mar 20 '46) If it is decided to have a national flag, do you think the Union Jack should be part of it? Asked of 72% of the sample who voted for a national flag or were undecided. (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Union Jack part | 37% |
| Union Jack not part | 29 |
| Undecided | 6 |
| | 72% |

## FOLKLORE

**1.** (Sweden Mar '46) Do you think it valuable in this neighborhood to keep a record of stories and folklore from old times? Asked of a national cross-section of villagers. (SGI)

| | *Valuable to keep record* | *Not important* | *Nothing of this kind here* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 73% | 10% | 8% | 9% |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 15–19 years | 66% | 11% | 12% | 11% |
| 20–29 years | 65 | 17 | 10 | 8 |
| 30–49 years | 76 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| 50–64 years | 76 | 8 | 7 | 9 |
| 65 years and over | 71 | 11 | 7 | 11 |

## FOOD

**1.** (US Nov 30 '40 and Nov 13 '41) Would the health of your family be better if you had more money each week to spend on food? (AIPO)

| | *Yes, better* | *No, same* |
|---|---|---|
| Nov '40 | 40% | 60% |
| Nov '41 | 39 | 61 |

**2.** (US Nov 30 '40 and Nov 13 '41) If you had more money, what foods would you spend it on? In 1940 all respondents were asked the question, in 1941 only the 39% who thought the health of their families would be better were asked. (AIPO)

| | *Nov '40* | *Nov '41* |
|---|---|---|
| Meat; fowl; fish; etc. | 37% | 45% |
| Fruit; fruit juices | 27 | 30 |
| Vegetables | 31 | 33 |
| Milk; cream; eggs | 28 | 33 |
| Foods with a large sugar content; sweets | 5 | 2 |
| Bread; cereals | 7 | 5 |
| Good, solid foods | 16 | — |
| Food with more vitamins | 2 | — |
| All other answers | 14 | 22 |
| Don't know | — | 8 |
| | 167%* | 178%** |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

** Percentages are based on the number of respondents who thought their family's health would be better if they had more money for food and add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (US Dec 2 '40) Do you think the health of most families in your neighborhood would be better if they had more money each week to spend on food? (AIPO)

Yes, better 47% No, same 50% No, worse 3%

**4.** (US Nov 30 '40) If they [families in your neighborhood] had more money, what foods do you think they would spend it on? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Meat | 22% |
| Luxury foods | 18 |
| Vegetables | 16 |
| Fruit | 11 |
| Dairy products | 10 |
| Good, solid food | 7 |
| Bread; cereal; etc. | 5 |
| Eggs | 3 |
| Vitamin foods | 1 |
| Miscellaneous foods | 6 |
| Greater amount of food | 1 |
| Would buy something else | 13 |
| Don't know | 27 |
| | 140%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## FOOD ADULTERATION AND INSPECTION

**1.** (Great Britain Sept 14 '46) Do you think that regulations concerning cleanliness of the food sold to the public are strict enough or should they be tightened? (BIPO)

| | *Strict enough* | *Tightened* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24% | 66% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 24% | 65% | 11% |
| Women | 24 | 66 | 10 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 23% | 66% | 11% |
| 30–49 years | 22 | 68 | 10 |
| 50 years and over | 27 | 62 | 11 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 19% | 76% | 5% |
| Middle | 20 | 73 | 7 |
| Lower | 25 | 62 | 13 |
| Very poor | 30 | 55 | 15 |

**2.** (Great Britain Sept 14 '46) What particular instances have you in mind? Asked of 66% of the sample who thought that regulations concerning cleanliness of the food sold to the public should be tightened. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dirty conditions in food shops; inadequate protection of food exposed for sale; unhygienic methods of wrapping | 19% |
| Preparation of food in hotels and restaurants; dirty restaurant kitchens; use of unsterilized and cracked earthenware | 3 |
| Contamination of food by rats and other vermin | 2 |
| Smoking in food shops and cafes | 1 |
| More frequent inspection of shops and restaurants necessary | 2 |
| Ice cream | 17 |
| Meat | 11 |
| Milk | 7 |
| Bread and cakes | 7 |
| Fish | 6 |
| Fruit and vegetables | 1 |
| Tinned foods | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| | 82%* |

* Percentages add to more than 66 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

# FOOD PRICES AND PRICE REGULATION

**1.** (US Sept 3 '42) Who or what do you think is most to blame for the increase in food prices? (AIPO) (May 22 '43) In general, do you think food prices are about where they should be, too high, or too low? 67% of the sample who thought food prices were too high were asked: What do you think is mostly responsible for the fact that they're too high? (NORC)

SEPT '42 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Profiteers; wholesalers; retailers; big business | 27% |
| The high cost of labor; wage increases and labor shortage; the failure of the government to put a ceiling on wages | 16 |
| The war; world conditions; a natural trend of the times | 14 |
| The farm bloc; the farmers | 8 |
| The administration; the President | 8 |
| Congress; politics | 7 |
| Scarcities; shortage of food and increased demand; army needs; sending food abroad | 10% |
| Henderson; OPA | 2 |
| Failure to put a ceiling on farm prices | 3 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 8 |
| Inflation | 2 |
| No opinion | 22 |
| | 127%** |

MAY '43 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Prices about where they should be | 29% |
| Prices too low | * |
| Don't know whether or not prices are too high | 4 |
| Shortages (general) are responsible | 7 |
| Shortages due to needs of armed forces | 4 |
| Shortages due to other shipments (no mention of army) | 5 |
| Shortages of farm labor | 4 |
| Transportation difficulties | 2 |
| High wages and demand | 8 |
| Hoarding | 4 |
| Both decreased supply and increased demand | 1 |
| No mention of specific group to blame | 7 |
| Middlemen; wholesalers; jobbers; capitalists | 5 |
| Merchants; dealers; storekeepers | 4 |
| Specific mention of black market | 3 |
| Specific group to blame; farmers themselves | 1 |
| Farm bloc and politics | 1 |
| Government (general) | 3 |
| Ceilings have not been put on uniformly or soon enough | 2 |
| Other criticisms of OPA ceilings | 3 |
| Rationing | 1 |
| Labor costs | 2 |
| Other high costs | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| No reason given for prices being too high | 7 |
| | 112%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (US Sept 9 '43) How do you feel about prices now—on food, for instance? Do you think food prices are about where they should be, too high, or too low? (Nov '43) Do you think the prices you pay now for most foods are about right, or do you think they are too high or too low? (Jan 7 '44) In general, do you think food prices are about where they should be, too high, or too low? (June 23 '44) Now I'd like to ask you some questions about prices. In general do you think food prices are about where they should be, too high, or too low? (NORC)

| | *About where they should be* | *Too high* | *Too low* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '43 | 22% | 74% | 1% | 3% |
| Nov '43 | 39 | 56 | 1 | 4 |
| Jan '44 | 28 | 65 | 1 | 6 |
| June '44 | 33 | 61 | 1 | 5 |

**3.** (US Sept 9 '43) Well, since the beginning of the summer, have prices on any of these things changed? As far as you know, have food prices changed since the beginning of the summer? (Jan 7 '44) Since last summer, have prices on any of these things changed? As far as you know, have food prices changed since last summer? (June 23 '44) As far as you know, have food prices changed since last winter? 67% of the 1943 sample, 72% of the Jan '44 sample and 57% of the June '44

sample who said they had changed were asked: Have they gone up or down? (NORC)

| | *Sept '43* | *Jan 7 '44* | *June 23 '44* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Have not changed | 26% | 20% | 32% |
| Don't know whether or not they have changed | 7 | 8 | 11 |
| Have gone up | 46 | 63 | 51 |
| Have gone down | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Some up, some down | 18 | 8 | 3 |
| Didn't know whether up or down | 1 | * | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**4.** (US Sept 9 '43) Which foods have gone up? Asked of 18% of the sample who said some food prices had gone up and some had gone down since the beginning of the summer. (Jan 7 '44) Which foods in particular have you noticed going up? Asked of 63% of the sample who said prices had gone up and 8% who said some had gone up, some down. (NORC)

| | *Sept '43* | *Jan '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Meat | — | 29% |
| Meat and chicken | 7% | — |
| Vegetables | 7 | 27 |
| Eggs | 6 | 13 |
| Fruits (canned, fresh, frozen and dried) | 5 | 23 |
| Butter and fats | 4 | 11 |
| Flour, meal, and cereals (bread) | 2 | 8 |
| Milk fresh or unspecified | 1 | 3 |
| Cheese | 1 | — |
| Miscellaneous | 3 | 15 |
| Other farm products | — | 3 |
| Sweets | — | 2 |
| All groceries | — | 7 |
| Don't know | — | 5 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 | — |
| | 37%* | 146%** |

* Percentages add to more than 18 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

** Percentages add to more than 71 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**5.** (US Nov '43) If food prices go any higher than they are now, do you think this would be a good thing or a bad thing for the country as a whole? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good thing | 4% |
| Bad thing | 90 |
| Neither | 3 |
| Don't know | 3 |

**6.** (US Nov '43) If some food prices do go higher than they are now, do you think this would affect prices on other things or not? 79% of the sample who thought higher food prices would affect prices on other things were asked: Would prices on other things go up or down? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Prices would go up | 77% |
| Prices would go down | 1 |
| Don't know what effect would be | 1 |
| Don't think other prices would be affected | 16 |
| Don't know whether or not other prices would be affected | 5 |

**7.** (US Nov '43) If some food prices do go higher than they are now, do you think this would affect wages and salaries in any way? 73% of the sample who thought wages would be affected were asked: Would wages and salaries go up or down? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Wages would go up | 70% |
| Wages would go down | 1 |
| Don't know what effect it would have | 2 |
| Don't think wages would be affected | 21 |
| Don't know whether or not wages would be affected | 6 |

**8.** (US Jan 7 '44 and June 23 '44) During the next year, do you think the government will really be able to keep food prices under control? 42% of the Jan sample and 58%* of the June sample who thought they would be able to and 29% of the Jan sample and 16% of the June sample who thought they would not were asked: Why do you think so? (NORC)

| | *Jan '44* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Don't know whether or not the government will be able to control prices | 29% | 26% |
| Will be successful because: | | |
| Already successful; will continue to be successful | 9 | 26 |
| The government has the power and the organization | 6 | 9 |
| Ceiling prices | 5 | 5 |
| The public is learning to cooperate | 3 | 3 |
| They are successful in controlling other things | 2 | 1 |
| Subsidies | 1 | ** |
| Wage control | 1 | ** |
| Supply of food is sufficient | 1 | 3 |
| The government can do anything | 7 | — |
| The system is improving | 3 | — |
| Depends on election | — | 3 |
| The war will be over | — | 1 |
| Miscellaneous reasons | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know why they will be successful | 5 | 6 |
| Will be unsuccessful because: | | |
| Already failed (general) | 7 | 6 |
| Laxity in enforcement and official raising of ceiling prices | 4 | 2 |
| Black-market control impossible | 4 | 2 |
| Lack of wage control | 3 | 1 |
| Shortages of food | 2 | 2 |
| Too much confusion in the government | 2 | ** |
| The job is too big | 2 | 1 |
| Lobbies and pressure groups (not unions) | 1 | 1 |
| Too much fighting in Congress | 1 | ** |
| Failure to pass subsidies | 1 | ** |
| Miscellaneous reasons | 2 | 1 |
| Don't know why they will be unsuccessful | 2 | 1 |
| | 104%† | 101%† |

* Includes 6% who thought the government would be successful but qualified their answers.

** Less than 0.5%.

† Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (US May 18 '44) Do you think food prices will go up or down during the next year? 34% of the sample who thought they would go up and 9% who thought they would go down were asked: Why? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know whether they will go up or down | 22% |
| Will stay the same | 35 |
| Will go up because: | |
| Prices have risen steadily | 10 |
| Shortage of food supplies | 8 |
| Manpower shortage | 4 |
| Military and lend-lease needs | 3 |
| Production costs are higher | 3 |
| Prices always go up during a war | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Profiteering | 2% |
| People have more money | 2 |
| Price control is inadequate | 2 |
| Miscellaneous reasons | 2 |
| Don't know why they will go up | 2 |
| Will go down because: | |
| Supplies of food are sufficient | 5 |
| Prices are going down now | 1 |
| End of war | 1 |
| Government will keep control of them | 1 |
| Miscellaneous reasons | 1 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**10.** (US June 23 '44) Now that most meats and canned vegetables have been taken off rationing, do you think it is still necessary to have ceiling prices on them? (NORC)

Yes 80% No 13% Don't know 7%

**11.** (US Sept 11 '46) Do you think the present price ceilings should be kept on or taken off other foods [than meat]? (Oct 10 '46) Should the Congress to be elected this November keep or do away with price controls on other foods [than meats]? (AIPO)

| | *Kept on* | *Do away or taken off* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '46 | 42% | 51% | 7% |
| Oct '46 | 27 | 67 | 6 |

## FOOD RELIEF

**1.** (US Aug 22 '45, Sept 19 '45, Feb 13 '46) Would you be willing to put up with present shortages of butter, sugar, meat, and other rationed food products in order to give food to people who need it in Europe? In Sept '45 and Feb '46 the question read "continued to put up with present shortages," etc. In Feb '46 the term "rationed" was omitted from the question. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug 22 '45 | 73% | 22% | 5% | — |
| Sept '45 | 73 | 23 | 4 | — |
| Feb '46 | 73 | 23 | 1 | 3% |

**2.** (US Aug 22 '45) Would you be willing to put up with present shortages of butter, sugar, meat, and other rationed food products in order to give food to people who need it in Japan? (AIPO)

Yes 33% No 62% No opinion 5%

**3.** (Sweden Sept '45) Do you think it right that the food relief which the victors will have to give suffering nations in Europe during the coming winter should be given to Germans to the same extent as to others? (SGI)

| | *Same extent to Germans* | *First to other nations* | *First to Germans* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 64% | 28% | 1% | 7% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 76% | 21% | — | 3% |
| Middle class | 67 | 26 | 1% | 6 |
| Workers | 61 | 31 | 1 | 7 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Right party | 74% | 23% | — | 3% |
| Liberal | 70 | 27 | — | 3 |
| Agrarian | 69 | 26 | — | 5 |
| Social Democratic | 62 | 31 | 1% | 6 |
| Communist | 58 | 39 | 1 | 2 |

**4.** (Sweden Dec '45) Should Sweden make even greater efforts than at present to help the suffering peoples of Europe, even if this should mean postponing the abolition of rationing of the most important foods? (SGI)

| | *Should make greater efforts* | *We do sufficient as it is* | *Already done too much* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48% | 46% | 3% | 3% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 45% | 49% | 4% | 2% |
| Women | 53 | 43 | 1 | 3 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 65% | 31% | — | 4% |
| Middle class | 52 | 43 | 3% | 2 |
| Workers | 44 | 50 | 3 | 3 |

**5.** (Sweden Dec '45) Should this Swedish help [to suffering peoples of Europe] be given to Germany to the same extent as to other nations, or do you think that Germany should not have the same help? Asked of 48% of the sample who thought Sweden should make an even greater effort to help even if rationing had to be continued. (SGI)

| | *Same help to Germany* | *More help to Germany than to others* | *Less help to Germany* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 38% | 1% | 8% | 1% | = 48% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 35% | 1% | 8% | 1% | = 45% |
| Women | 41 | 1 | 9 | 2 | = 53 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Upper class | 55% | 4% | 6% | — | = 65% |
| Middle class | 42 | — | 8 | 2% | = 52 |
| Workers | 33 | 1 | 8 | 2 | = 44 |

**6.** (Australia Dec '45 and Apr–May '46) To provide more butter for Britain, do you think we should or should not reduce our weekly butter ration from six ounces to four ounces for the next year? To provide more meat for Britain, would you favor or oppose reducing our meat ration by a quarter? (APOP)

| | *Favor reduction* | *Against it* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Butter* | | | |
| Dec '45 | 45% | 52% | 3% |
| Apr–May '46 | 43 | 53 | 4 |
| *Meat* | | | |
| Dec '45 | 57 | 40 | 3 |
| Apr–May '46 | 57 | 39 | 4 |

**7.** (US Dec 5 '45) Do you think the German people in the part of the country which the United States occupies and controls will all get enough to eat to live on this winter? (AIPO)

| | *Yes, will get enough* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 34% | 17% |
| Veterans only | 49 | 36 | 15 |

**8.** (US Dec 5 '45) Should we ship more food into this area [in Germany] which we occupy? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48% | 35% | 17% |
| Veterans only | 38 | 46 | 16 |

**9.** (US Feb 13 '46) Would you eat less meat and use less flour in order to send more food to the people of Europe? (AIPO)

Yes 67% No 22% No opinion 11%

**10.** (US Mar '46) Would you be willing to have meat and butter rationed again so that we could send more food to needy countries that fought on our side in the war, or would you rather not have such rationing? (NORC)

Willing 68% Not willing 29% Don't know 3%

**11.** (US Mar '46) If the people of Germany (Japan) are starving at the present time, do you think the United States should sell them only what food they can pay for, or send them food as a gift if they can't pay, or not send them any food at all? (NORC)

| | *Sell (exchange)* | *Gift* | *None* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Germany | 49% | 35% | 13% | 3% |
| Japan | 46 | 30 | 20 | 4 |

**12.** (US Mar 13 '46) Have you heard or read about the program to send food to other nations during the next four months? (Apr 10 '46) Have you heard or read about the plan to send food to other nations? (Apr 24 '46) Have you heard or read about the program to send food to other nations during the next three months? (May 15 '46, May 29 '46, June 12 '46) Have you heard or read about the program to send food to other nations during the next two months? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '46 | 92% | 8% | — |
| Apr 10 '46 | 94 | 6 | — |
| Apr 24 '46 | 96 | 3 | 1% |
| May 15 '46 | 95 | 5 | — |
| May 29 '46 | 94 | 6 | — |
| June '46 | 91 | 9 | — |

**13.** (US Mar 27 '46, Apr 24 '46, May 15 '46, June 12 '46) Would you be willing to go back to food rationing in order to send food to people in other nations? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion or undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '46 | 59% | 36% | 5% |
| Apr '46 | 70 | 26 | 4 |
| May '46 | 65 | 31 | 4 |
| June '46 | 62 | 35 | 3 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| *Men* | | | |
| Mar '46 | 53% | 41% | 6% |
| May '46 | 58 | 37 | 5 |
| *Women* | | | |
| Mar '46 | 64 | 31 | 5 |
| May '46 | 72 | 25 | 3 |

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion or undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| MAR '46 RESULTS BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 56% | 38% | 6% |
| 30–49 years | 60 | 35 | 5 |
| 50 years and over | 57 | 37 | 6 |
| MAR '46 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 65% | 31% | 4% |
| Republican | 55 | 39 | 6 |

**14.** (US Mar 27 '46) It has been suggested that in order to get enough food to feed people in other nations, this country should go back to food rationing. Would you approve or disapprove of having rationing again to feed people in other nations? A separate cross-section comparable to the one used for the preceding question was used. (AIPO)

Approve 46% Disapprove 50% No opinion 4%

**15.** (Denmark Apr 1 '46) Do you think we should help starving Europe? 96% of the sample who said they thought Denmark should help starving Europe were asked: By voluntary rationing or by a cutting down of the rations on the part of the government? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Shouldn't help | 4.0% |
| By voluntary rationing | 70.1 |
| By cutting down rations | 18.2 |
| Both | 7.7 |

**16.** (Denmark Apr 1 '46) Which commodities do you think should be cut? Asked of 18.2% of the sample who thought starving Europe should be helped by a governmental cut in rations. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Bread | 5.5% |
| Cereals | 4.7 |
| Butter | 4.2 |
| Sugar | 3.8 |
| | 18.2% |

**17.** (Denmark Apr 1 '46) Would your point of view be the same if it were only Germany that we should help? Asked of 96% of the sample who thought Denmark should help starving Europe. (DGI)

Yes 63% No 37% = 100% of those questioned

**18.** (US Apr 24 '46) Did you hear or read about President Truman's speech about the food shortage in other nations of the world? (AIPO)

Yes 72% No 28%

**19.** (US Apr 24 '46) Do you think the government has gone too far or not far enough in taking steps to get food here to send abroad? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too far | 21% |
| About right | 44 |
| Not far enough | 26 |
| No opinion | 9 |

**20.** (Great Britain May '46) Would you approve or disapprove of further food restrictions in order to help ex-enemy countries? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 18% | 77% | 5% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 18% | 77% | 5% |
| Women | 17 | 77 | 6 |

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 21% | 74% | 5% |
| 30–49 years | 17 | 78 | 5 |
| 50 years and over | 17 | 77 | 6 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 33% | 60% | 7% |
| Middle | 24 | 69 | 7 |
| Lower | 14 | 81 | 5 |
| Very poor | 11 | 82 | 7 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative | 14% | 82% | 4% |
| Labor | 19 | 76 | 5 |
| Liberal | 24 | 71 | 5 |
| Others | 43 | 46 | 11 |
| Non-voters | 14 | 80 | 6 |

**21.** (Great Britain May '46) Would you approve or disapprove of further food restrictions in order to help Allied countries? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 51% | 6% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 44% | 51% | 5% |
| Women | 42 | 51 | 7 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 52% | 44% | 4% |
| 30–49 years | 42 | 52 | 6 |
| 50 years and over | 41 | 52 | 7 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 52% | 43% | 5% |
| Middle | 47 | 47 | 6 |
| Lower | 37 | 57 | 6 |
| Very poor | 36 | 55 | 9 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative | 42% | 54% | 4% |
| Labor | 44 | 50 | 6 |
| Liberal | 50 | 45 | 5 |
| Others | 64 | 33 | 3 |
| Non-voters | 39 | 53 | 8 |

**22.** (Great Britain May '46) Would you approve or disapprove of further food restrictions in order to help India? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 47% | 43% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 50% | 42% | 8% |
| Women | 44 | 44 | 12 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 47% | 43% | 10% |
| 30–49 years | 47 | 44 | 9 |
| 50 years and over | 46 | 43 | 11 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 63% | 34% | 3% |
| Middle | 54 | 38 | 8 |
| Lower | 41 | 51 | 8 |
| Very poor | 40 | 47 | 13 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative | 47% | 45% | 8% |
| Labor | 47 | 43 | 10 |
| Liberal | 51 | 39 | 10 |
| Others | 62 | 33 | 5 |
| Non-voters | 41 | 45 | 14 |

**23.** (Sweden May '46) Have you or your family ever given up some of your rations in order to help the neighboring countries? (SGI)

| | *Yes, several times* | *Yes, a few times* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 19% | 32% | 44% | 5% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 43% | 27% | 27% | 3% |
| Middle class | 22 | 35 | 38 | 5 |
| Workers | 13 | 30 | 51 | 6 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Large towns | 31% | 28% | 34% | 7% |
| Other towns | 19 | 35 | 41 | 5 |
| Country | 15 | 32 | 48 | 5 |

**24.** (Sweden May '46) Is it easier now than during the war for you and your family to give up rations to help other nations? (SGI)

| | *Easier now* | *No difference* | *More difficult now* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 17% | 48% | 27% | 8% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 28% | 47% | 20% | 5% |
| Middle class | 17 | 50 | 26 | 7 |
| Workers | 15 | 47 | 29 | 9 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Large towns | 25% | 44% | 23% | 8% |
| Other towns | 15 | 44 | 33 | 8 |
| Country | 15 | 51 | 26 | 8 |

**25.** (Sweden May '46) Which ration is it easiest for you to spare? (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Upper class* | *Middle class* | *Workers* | *Large towns* | *Other towns* | *Country* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bread and flour | 47% | 62% | 50% | 42% | 59% | 47% | 43% |
| Oatmeal | 18 | 22 | 20 | 9 | 28 | 16 | 15 |
| Butter | 4 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 4 |
| Meat | 14 | 14 | 17 | 11 | 10 | 11 | 16 |
| Sugar | 4 | 11 | 5 | 3 | 11 | 5 | 2 |
| Cheese | 13 | 10 | 15 | 12 | 14 | 10 | 14 |
| Nothing | 19 | 10 | 15 | 25 | 12 | 25 | 20 |
| Don't know | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 8 | 11 |
| | 129%* | 142%* | 137%* | 117%* | 150%* | 126%* | 125%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**26.** (Germany May 8 '46) Do you have friends or relatives outside of Germany from whom you expect to or hope to receive food packages in the future? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Expect to receive | 7% |
| Hope to receive | 1 |
| Have already received | * |
| No, no chance of it | 92 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**27.** (US May 15 '46) It has been suggested that the government take over most of the wheat and fats in this country to feed people in other nations during the next sixty days. This would leave very little for people in this country during that time. Would you favor or oppose such a plan? (AIPO)

Favor 42% Oppose 55% No opinion 3%

**28.** (Canada May 29 '46) What do you think is the main reason why we are having continued rationing of butter, meat, and sugar? 68% of the sample answered "To ship overseas." This 68% was asked: Do you approve of rationing for this purpose? (CIPO)

Approve 77% Disapprove 13% Don't know 10% = 100% of those questioned

**29.** (Canada May 29 '46) Would you approve if any of these products [butter, meat, and sugar] were still further rationed to increase Canadian shipments overseas? Asked of 77% of a sample of informed persons who approved of rationing for the purpose of shipping food overseas. (CIPO)

Approve 39% Disapprove 34% Don't know 4% = 77%

**30.** (Australia July 27 '46) Do you think Australia should continue the present rationing of butter, meat, and sugar for at least another year, so that as much food as possible can be sent overseas? (APOP)

Yes 72% No 26% No opinion 2%

**31.** (Great Britain Oct '46) Would you approve or disapprove of a world policy of sharing out the available food supplies, even if it meant that this country did not return to some of our pre-war luxuries? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 62% | 29% | 9% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 62% | 30% | 8% |
| Women | 61 | 28 | 11 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 64% | 27% | 9% |
| 30–49 years | 63 | 28 | 9 |
| 50 years and over | 59 | 31 | 10 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 63% | 30% | 7% |
| Middle | 65 | 28 | 7 |
| Lower | 60 | 30 | 10 |
| Very poor | 55 | 33 | 12 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Labor | 68% | 24% | 8% |
| Liberal | 59 | 31 | 10 |
| Conservative | 56 | 36 | 8 |
| Other voters | 69 | 22 | 9 |
| Non-voters | 55 | 31 | 14 |

**32.** (Canada Nov 13 '46) Do you think Canada is doing all she can to help those countries in need of food, or do you think we could do more? (CIPO)

| | *Doing all she can* | *Could do more* | *Doing too much* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 64% | 17% | 13% | 6% |
| BY SELECTED PROVINCES | | | | |
| Prairies | 59% | 27% | 8% | 6% |
| Quebec | 62 | 8 | 26 | 4 |

**33.** (Canada Nov 13 '46) What further steps should be undertaken? Asked of 17% of the sample who felt Canada could do more to help countries in need of food. (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| More rationing; do with less here; etc. | 3% |
| More production (better land cultivation; handle fish industry better, etc.) | 2 |
| Eliminate waste in shipping and distribution | 2 |
| End strikes | 1 |
| Better organization; less graft | 1 |
| Draft more canned foods | 1% |
| Allow more profit to farmers | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| No suggestions | 2 |
| | 17% |

**34.** (Australia Nov 23 '46) Do you think we should continue to ration both butter and meat for at least another year, so that as much as possible can be sent overseas? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Ration both meat and butter | 65% |
| Ration only meat | 3 |
| Ration only butter | 2 |
| Against rationing | 27 |
| Undecided | 3 |

**35.** (Great Britain Dec '46) Is it likely or unlikely that you will be sending any of your rationed foods to people in Germany? (BIPO)

| | *Provisions* | *Sweets* | *None* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 3% | 2% | 59% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 2% | 2% | 96% |
| Women | 3 | 3 | 94 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 2% | 2% | 96% |
| 30–49 years | 4 | 1 | 95 |
| 50 years and over | 2 | 2 | 96 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 7% | 2% | 91% |
| Middle | 4 | 2 | 94 |
| Lower | 2 | 1 | 97 |
| Very poor | 1 | 2 | 97 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative | 3% | 1% | 96% |
| Labor voters | 3 | 2 | 95 |
| Liberal | 4 | 1 | 95 |
| Others | 9 | 5 | 86 |
| Non-voters | 2 | 3 | 95 |
| Housewives only | 2 | 2 | 96 |

## FOOD SUPPLY

**1.** (Great Britain July '39) What extra supplies of food have you bought in case of emergency? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| For 1 week or less | 9% |
| 1–2 weeks | 4 |
| 2–3 weeks | — |
| 3–13 weeks | 2 |
| Haven't but intend to | 20 |
| Can't afford to | 30 |
| Think supply unnecessary | 28 |
| Have not considered question | 7 |

**2.** (Great Britain Nov '39) Do you think that the government's food rationing scheme is necessary or unnecessary? (BIPO)

Necessary 60% Unnecessary 28% Don't know 12%

**3.** (Great Britain Feb '40) Is your family buying the full amount of rationed foods allowed? 20% of the sample said

they couldn't afford to buy the full amount, and 18% said they did not need the full amount. Results for three of the most important items follow: (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Sugar | 94% | 6% |
| Butter | 85 | 15 |
| Bacon and ham | 62 | 38 |

**4.** (Great Britain Feb '40) To increase our war supplies, the Government says that every person should buy as few goods as possible. Do you agree or disagree? (BIPO)

Agree 51% Disagree 34% Don't know 15%

**5.** (Great Britain Feb '40) Should buying be cut down voluntarily or by including more things in rationing? Asked of 51% of the sample who thought that every person should buy as few goods as possible to increase war supplies. (BIPO)

Voluntarily 54% More rationing 36%
Don't know 10% = 100% of those questioned

**6.** (Great Britain Nov '40) Are you buying the full amount of rationed foods allowed? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tea | 91% | 3% | 6% |
| Sugar | 93 | 2 | 5 |
| Butter | 88 | 7 | 5 |
| Margarine | 84 | 8 | 8 |
| Bacon | 60 | 32 | 8 |
| Meat | 70 | 21 | 9 |

**7.** (Great Britain Jan '41) Have you had any difficulty in getting any of the unrationed foods? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Prices too high | 16% |
| None in the shops | 42 |
| No | 29 |
| Don't know | 13 |

**8.** (Great Britain Apr '41) If you are unable to get your main foods like meat, cheese, eggs, etc., are you satisfied with the alternatives which you can get? (BIPO)

Satisfied 60% Dissatisfied 35% Don't know 5%

**9.** (Great Britain Nov '41) Have you difficulty in getting any of the unrationed foods? (BIPO)

Yes 43% No 40% Don't know 17%

**10.** (Great Britain Nov '41) What foods [have you had difficulty in getting]? Asked of 43% of the sample who had difficulty in getting unrationed foods. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Tinned foods (meat, beans, fish, etc.) | 16% |
| Cereals | 14 |
| Fish | 11 |
| Fruit | 10 |
| Dried fruits | 9 |
| Biscuits, cakes | 9 |
| Offal, cooked meats, pies | 7 |
| Sweets and chocolate | 6 |
| Tinned milk | 2 |
| Meat and fish paste | 2 |
| Vegetables | 2 |
| Tinned fruit | 2 |
| Blancmange powders, jellies | 1 |
| Spice | 1 |
| Condiments | 1 |
| All unrationed foods | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| | 100% |
| | of those questioned |

**11.** (Great Britain Dec 19 '41) Would you like to see more foods rationed? (BIPO)

Yes 25% No 60% Don't know 15%

**12.** (Great Britain Feb '42) Do you find any of the food restrictions particularly troublesome? (BIPO)

Yes 45% No 51% Don't know 4%

**13.** (US Dec 30 '42) Right now do you think we have shortages only in some particular foods or in practically all food? 53% of the sample said they thought we had shortages in some particular foods, 10% said there were no shortages, and 7% said they didn't know. This 70% was asked: in the next twelve months, do you think we will have shorrages only in some particular foods or in practically all foods? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Shortages in practically all foods now | 30% |
| Shortages in some particular foods in the next twelve months | 24 |
| Shortages in practically all in the next twelve months | 33 |
| Don't know whether or not shortages will develop in the next twelve months | 13 |

**14.** (US Dec 20 '42, May 7 '43, Jan 15 '44) What do you think is causing food shortages? The 1943 question was asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | *Dec '42* | *May '43* | *Jan '44* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Needs of our armed forces | 38% | 42% | 34% |
| Needs of other countries | 25 | 16 | 19 |
| Shortages of farm labor and labor problems | 21 | 16 | 20 |
| Hoarding or excessive buying by consumers | 20 | 18 | 14 |
| Needs of our Allies | 18 | 17 | 15 |
| Inadequacy of transportation | 14 | 7 | 6 |
| Artificial shortages caused by middleman, wholesaler, or producer | 5 | 8 | 6 |
| Criticism of government policy | 5 | 4 | 7 |
| Government policy produces it | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| Feeding prisoners | — | 1 | * |
| Too much waste | — | — | 6 |
| Farm problems (other than labor) | — | — | 3 |
| People eating and/or needing more | — | — | 2 |
| Distribution difficulties (not specific) | — | — | 2 |
| There is not as much food being raised | — | — | 2 |
| There is no shortage | — | — | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 | 8 | 3 |
| Don't know | 6 | 9 | 7 |
| | 162%** | 147%** | 151%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**15.** (US Dec 30 '42 and Jan 20 '43) Do you think the food situation will become so serious that some people won't be able to get all the food they need? The 1943 question was asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '42 | 26% | 68% | 6% |
| Jan '43 | 24 | 67 | 9 |

**16.** (US Dec 30 '42) From what you've heard, what foods has the government already said it would ration? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Canned goods | 72% |
| Meat | 64 |
| Butter | 35 |
| Coffee; tea; spices | 27 |
| Sugar | 23 |
| Dairy products | 22 |
| Fats | 11 |
| Dried fruits | 11 |
| Fresh fruits, vegetables | 5 |
| Frozen foods | 4 |
| Staples | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 6 |
| Not ascertainable | 4 |
| | 287%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**17.** (US Dec 30 '42) In the next twelve months, do you think the government is planning to ration only a few foods or quite a large number of foods? 7% of the sample who thought the government would ration only a few foods and 83% who thought quite a number would be rationed were asked: Do you approve or disapprove of this? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know whether or not the government plans to ration food | 10% |
| Approve rationing | 79 |
| Disapprove | 6 |
| Don't know whether or not approve | 5 |

**18.** (US Dec 30 '42) Do you think we ought to start now to ration all foods in which shortages may develop, or do you think we ought to wait until there really is a shortage? (NORC)

Ration now 77% Wait 17% Don't know 6%

**19.** (US Dec 30 '42) What sort of things do you think people themselves might do to help the food situation? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Acrually produce food | 32% |
| Preserve and can goods | 11 |
| Utilize substitutes | 11 |
| Plan meals better | 9 |
| Make the best of it | 5 |
| Comply with regulations | 4 |
| Refrain from hoarding | 21 |
| Economize generally | 36 |
| Purchase sparingly | 16 |
| Buy cheaper foods | 5 |
| Eat less | 6 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| Not ascertainable | 4 |
| | 165%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**20.** (US Dec 30 '42) As you know, the government has announced it will start rationing more foods in February. Why do you suppose they announced this a month ahead of time? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Psychological preparation for consumers | 41% |
| Necessary preparation for administration | 5 |
| Necessary preparation for producer and middleman | 4 |
| To test public reaction | 4 |
| Give people opportunity for hoarding | 10 |
| Critical "don't know" | 11 |
| Miscellaneous critical | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1% |
| Don't know | 26 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**21.** (US Dec 30 '42) Do you approve or disapprove of their announcing this [rationing of more foods] a month ahead of time? (NORC)

Approve 43% Disapprove 47% Don't know 10%

**22.** (US Dec 30 '42 and Jan 20 '43) In the next month, do you think a lot of people will stock up on the foods they expect to be rationed? The 1943 question was asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '42 | 72% | 25% | 3% |
| Jan '43 | 66 | 27 | 7 |

**23.** (US Dec 30 '42) Would you say that so far food rationing has been handled very well, only fairly well, or poorly? 21% of the sample said they thought food rationing had been handled only fairly well, and 8% said they thought it had been handled poorly. This 29% was asked: In what way do you feel that food rationing could have been handled better? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Handled very well so far | 66% |
| Don't know how it has been handled so far | 5 |
| Shouldn't have been announced ahead of time | 8 |
| Administration could have been improved upon | 5 |
| Rationing should have started before shortages | 3 |
| Ration allowances inadequate | 2 |
| Inequity among regions and people | 2 |
| Should announce it ahead of time | 1 |
| No sanctions for enforcement | 1 |
| Dealer favoritism | 1 |
| Rationing unnecessary | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Didn't say how rationing could be better handled | 6 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**24.** (US Dec 30 '42) Who do you think is mainly responsible for this? Asked of 29% of the sample who thought food rationing had been handled only fairly well or poorly. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| General government bureaucracy | 10% |
| Big producers and packers | 5 |
| OPA; national food administration | 4 |
| Leon Henderson | 2 |
| Small dealers and storekeepers | 2 |
| Local ration board | 2 |
| Consumers | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 7 |
| | 35%* |

* Percentages add to more than 29 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**25.** (US Dec 30 '42) In selling rationed foods, do you think most dealers will show favoritism to some of their customers? (NORC)

Yes 37% No 57% Don't know 6%

**26.** (US Dec 30 '42) On the whole, do you think the food rationing program will work very well, only fairly well, or

poorly? 21% of the sample who thought it would work only fairly well and 4% who thought it would work poorly were asked: What do you think will be the biggest problem? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Think it will work very well | 68% |
| Don't know how it will work | 7 |
| People chiseling or hoarding | 6 |
| Producers or dealers getting supplies; distribution | 4 |
| Administrative problems | 3 |
| Educating the consumer | 2 |
| Dealer favoritism | 2 |
| Inequity among regions and consumers | 1 |
| Rationing allowances will be inadequate | 1 |
| No sanctions to prevent violations | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Don't know what problems will be | 4 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**27.** (US Dec 30 '42) What sort of things do you yourself plan to do to meet the food situation? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Actually produce food | 29% |
| Preserve and can foods | 16 |
| Utilize substitutes | 14 |
| Plan meals better | 6 |
| Make the best of it | 13 |
| Comply with regulation | 14 |
| Refrain from hoarding | 2 |
| Economize generally | 18 |
| Purchase sparingly | 7 |
| Buy cheaper foods | 1 |
| Eat less | 4 |
| Nothing planned | 6 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Not ascertainable | 5 |
| | 138%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**28.** (US Jan 7 '43) Do you think the food shortage will be so serious this year that there will be times when many people in this country even with money to buy goods will not get enough to eat? (AIPO) (Canada Feb 20 '43) Do you think the food shortage in this country will be so serious this year that there will be times when many people will not get enough to eat even though they have plenty of money? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '43 | 20% | 74% | 6% |
| Feb '43 | 13 | 81 | 6 |

**29.** (US Jan 20 '43 and Apr 28 '43) Do you feel that very much food is being wasted in this country? 44% of the Jan '43 sample and 45% of the Apr '43 sample who thought that food was being wasted were asked: Where do you think most of it is being wasted? Both asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | *Jan '43* | *Apr '43* |
|---|---|---|
| Don't think food is being wasted | 38% | 47% |
| Don't know whether or not food is being wasted | 18 | 8 |
| Being wasted in homes | 25 | 20 |
| In restaurants | 10 | 9 |
| In armed forces | 7 | 11 |
| In other places | 2 | 5 |
| Poor utilization of leftovers | 7 | 6 |
| Food left on plates | 3 | 3 |
| Overeating | 1% | — |
| In other ways | 1 | 5% |
| Wasted by children | 1 | 1 |
| By laboring classes | * | * |
| By other groups | 2 | 2 |
| Didn't say where it was being wasted | 1 | 1 |
| | 116%** | 118%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**30.** (US Jan 20 '43 and Apr 28 '43) Do you feel that food is being wasted unnecessarily in army camps? Asked of 44% of the Jan '43 sample and 45% of the Apr '43 sample of women who felt that a great deal of food was being wasted. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '43 | 19%* | 41% | 40% | = 100% of those questioned |
| Apr '43 | 27* | 34 | 39 | |

* Includes those who mentioned army as specifically wasting food on previous question.

**31.** (US Jan 20 '43) When meat and canned foods are rationed, do you think you and your family will still be able to get all you need to stay healthy? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

Yes 81% No 7% Don't know 12%

**32.** (US Jan 20 '43) Do you feel that you understand pretty well how this new food rationing program is going to work? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC) (Feb 23 '43) Do you understand how the food rationing point system works? (AIPO) (Apr 28 '43) Do you feel that you understand pretty well how this new food rationing program works? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Jan '43 | 52% | 48% |
| Feb '43 | 65 | 35 |
| Apr '43 | 88 | 12 |

FEB RESULTS BY SEX

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Women | 76% | 24% |
| Men | 53 | 47 |

**33.** (US Jan 20 '43) What problems, if any, do you think you will have under this program? Asked of 52% of the sample of women who felt that they understood pretty well how rationing would work. (Apr 28 '43) What problems, if any, are you having under this program? Asked of 88% of the sample of women who felt that they understood how rationing worked. (NORC)

JAN '43 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Problems concerning: | |
| Meat | 3% |
| Butter | 2 |
| Vegetables | 2 |
| Milk | 1 |
| Fruit or juice | 1 |
| Other canned goods | 1 |
| Anxiety over lack of variety of goods | 2 |
| Anxiety over health of family | 2 |
| Miscellaneous food anxieties | 2 |
| Anxiety over high prices | 1 |
| Difficulty with planning meals and buying | 6 |
| Difficulty with point system | 3 |
| More time taken in shopping | 1 |
| Miscellaneous administrative difficulties | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| No problems | 24% |
| Not ascertainable | 5 |
| | 57%* |

* Percentages add to more than 52 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

APR '43 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Inadequacy of ration allotment | 13% |
| Time span for certain stamps | 3 |
| Other difficulty with point and stamp system | 3 |
| High prices; cost of living | 2 |
| Shortages | 2 |
| Hard to get variety | 1 |
| Takes longer to shop | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| None | 61 |
| | 90%* |

* Percentages add to more than 88 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**34.** (US Jan 20 '43 and Apr 28 '43) What is there about it you don't understand? Asked of 48% of the Jan '43 sample of women and 12% of the Apr '43 sample of women who felt they didn't understand the operation of rationing. (NORC)

JAN '43 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| General statement of not understanding point system | 18% |
| Specific statement of not understanding point system | 15 |
| No understanding of other aspects of program | 4 |
| Will understand with practice | 2 |
| Anxiety about getting food | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| Not ascertainable | 2 |
| | 48% |

APR '43 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Points; point values | 5% |
| Stamps | 1 |
| Lack of understanding (miscellaneous) | 1 |
| Time span for certain stamps | 1 |
| Gripes on principle | 1 |
| Change in shopping situation | * |
| Cost of living | * |
| Respondent doesn't shop | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Not ascertainable | * |
| | * = 1 |
| | 12% |

**35.** (US Jan 21 '43) Do you think many people in this country, even with money to buy food, will find it impossible to get enough of the non-rationed foods they need this year? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Yes 38% No 51% No opinion 11%

**36.** (Canada Feb 3 '43) Do you think there should be a food minister in the Cabinet who would have complete control over the production, distribution, and prices of all foods? (CIPO)

Approve 63% Disapprove 24% No opinion 13%

**37.** (US Feb 23 '43) Do you think food rationing is necessary? (AIPO)

Yes 85% No 11% No opinion 4%

**38.** (US Apr '43) Do you think it will be necessary or unnecessary for the government to continue rationing food while we are getting back to peacetime conditions? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Necessary | 62% |
| Unnecessary | 30 |
| No opinion | 6 |
| Qualified answers | 2 |

**39.** (US Apr '43) Do you think the government actually will continue to ration food for a year or two after the war or not? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, will | 63% |
| No, will not | 23 |
| Qualified answers | 3 |
| Don't know | 11 |

**40.** (US May 7 '43) Are there any foods you're actually eating less of? Which? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sugar | 22% |
| Meat | 17 |
| Vegetables | 13 |
| Canned goods | 13 |
| Butter | 5 |
| Coffee | 3 |
| Fresh fruits | 2 |
| Cheese | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| None | 22 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**41.** (US May 7 '43) When buying food these days, what do you find are your biggest problems? Any other problems? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Food shortages | 44% |
| Rationing problems | 27 |
| High prices | 26 |
| Quality | 3 |
| Physical difficulties of shopping increased | 6 |
| No problems | 13 |
| Miscellaneous (general) | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 6 |
| | 126%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**42.** (US May 7 '43) In general, how do you feel about the point system—do you think this is a good way to handle rationing, or do you think they could figure out a better way to handle it? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

Good way 83% Could figure better way 9% Don't know 8%

**43.** (US May 7 '43) Is there anything you don't like about the point rationing system? What? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Inadequate point allotments | 10% |
| Inequities in point allotments | 2 |
| Other food problems | 2 |
| Difficulty with calculation of points | 5 |
| Difficulty because of length of shopping time | 4 |
| Difficulty with expiration dates of coupons | 3 |
| Other administrative and mechanical problems | 5 |
| General dislike of rationing | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |

| | |
|---|---|
| No difficulties | 64% |
| Not ascertainable | 2 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**44.** (US May 7 '43) Can you think of any way the [rationing point] system could be improved? How? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More red coupons | 2% |
| More blue coupons | 1 |
| More points (general) | 3 |
| Separate meat from butter | 1 |
| Too many points for babies | 1 |
| Too few for small families | 1 |
| Other correction in allotments | 1 |
| Fewer books | 2 |
| Other mechanical changes | 2 |
| All coupons expire at same date | 2 |
| No limits on duration of coupons | 2 |
| Do away with rationing | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| No improvements suggested | 80 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**45.** (US May 7 '43) Do you feel that point values are too high on any of the foods you buy? 59% of the sample who thought that some point values were too high were asked: On what foods are they too high? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Point values not too high | 31% |
| Don't know whether or not they are too high | 10 |
| Too high on vegetables and vegetable juices | 31 |
| On fruits | 27 |
| On fruit juices | 9 |
| On other canned goods | 5 |
| On meat | 20 |
| On butter or cheese | 7 |
| On miscellaneous items | 5 |
| Didn't say on what items they were too high | 1 |
| | 146%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**46.** (US May 7 '43) Why do you think the government sets high point values on some foods and low point values on others? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Shortages due to needs of armed forces | 11% |
| Shortages due to shipments abroad | 4 |
| Shortages due to inability to import | 3 |
| Shortages due to miscellaneous causes | 3 |
| Supply and demand (general answers) | 54 |
| To give every one a fair share | 4 |
| To spread consumption more evenly among different foods | 2 |
| To account for different nutritive values | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| Not ascertainable | 16 |
| | 105%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**47.** (US May 7 '43) From what you've heard, has the government ever changed the point values on any foods? 81% of the sample who said that the government had changed the point values on foods were asked: Why do you think they were changed? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Haven't been changed | 19% |
| Were reduced because of large supply; people weren't buying | 41 |
| To prevent food spoilage | 15 |
| To equalize distribution among people | 4 |
| To please the public | 2 |
| Reduced for miscellaneous reasons | 1 |
| Reduced, no reason given | 2 |
| Increased to limit purchases because of shortages | 3 |
| Increased for miscellaneous reasons | * |
| Some reduced, some raised | 4 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 1 |
| Didn't say why they were changed | 9 |
| | 101%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**48.** (US May 7 '43) Do you find that you have enough points to get all the meat, butter, and cheese you and your family need? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

Yes 74% No 25% Don't know 1%

**49.** (US May 7 '43) On what particular foods do you expect we may have serious shortages in the next year? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Meat | 47% |
| Fruits and vegetables | 43 |
| Dairy products | 18 |
| Canned foods | 15 |
| Bread | 10 |
| Coffee | 8 |
| Sugar and candy | 7 |
| Other specific foods | 14 |
| Everything | 1 |
| Same as now | * |
| None | 4 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 10 |
| Not ascertainable | 13 |
| | 190%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**50.** (US May 7 '43 and Aug 27 '43) Which one of these three statements comes closest to what you think our food situation will be a year from now—we will have more food than we have now because we will produce more; we may have shortages of some things, but we'll still have as much to eat as we have now; shortages will increase, and we'll all have to eat less? The May question was asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | *May '43* | *Aug '43* |
|---|---|---|
| Will produce more | 13% | 9% |
| Still have as much to eat | 50 | 55 |
| Shortages will increase | 30 | 32 |
| Don't know | 7 | 4 |

**51.** (US May 22 '43, Oct 22 '43, Jan 15 '44) How about food? Do you think you'll have to cut down on the amount of food you've been buying, or do you expect to get just as much as now? 54% of the May '43 sample and 69% of the Oct '43 sample who thought they would have to cut down were asked: Will this be because you can't get enough, or because

prices will be too high, or for some other reason? For the Oct '43 and '44 samples, "As the war goes on" was substituted for "How about food?" The Oct '43 question was asked of a national cross-section of women. In 1944 the second question in the series was not asked. (NORC)

| | *May '43* | *Oct '43* |
|---|---|---|
| Will get as much as now | 43% | 25% |
| Don't know whether or not will have to cut down | 3 | 6 |
| Can't get enough | 28 | 34 |
| Prices too high | 10 | 9 |
| Both | 11 | 16 |
| Patriotic reasons | 2 | — |
| Gardening and canning | 2 | — |
| Rationing and distribution | 1 | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | * | * |
| Food will be sent to other countries (Allies and conquered ones) | — | 3 |
| Food needed for our armed forces | — | 2 |
| Lower food production; lack of farm labor | — | 2 |
| Didn't say why they would have to cut down | 1 | 2 |
| | 101%** | |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

JAN '44 RESULTS

Cut down 43% As much as now 50% Don't know 7%

**52.** (US May 22 '43, Oct 22 '43, Jan 15 '44) Do you think you'll be able to get all the food you'll actually need? Asked only of those who thought they would have to cut down on the amount of food they had been buying—54% of the May '43 sample, 69% of the Oct '43 sample of women, and 43% of the Jan '44 sample. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| May '43 | 44% | 6% | 4% = 54% |
| Oct '43 | 55 | 8 | 6 = 69 |
| Jan '44 | 33 | 7 | 3 = 43 |

**53.** (Sweden June '43) A ship can carry either a cargo of coffee sufficient to allow one extra ration of a kilo per head or raw materials enough to allow one extra ration of one hg. butter and three hg. margarine per head. Which cargo would you prefer the ship to take? (SGI)

| | *Coffee* | *Fat* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 45% | 55% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 37% | 63% |
| Women | 52 | 48 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | |
| Towns | 47% | 53% |
| Country | 43 | 57 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper class | 49% | 51% |
| Middle class | 44 | 56 |
| Workers | 45 | 55 |

**54.** (US June '43) Would you rate as good, fair, or poor the job that has been done so far on putting into effect the rationing of foodstuffs? (FOR)

Good 44.8% Fair 36.9% Poor 13.0% Don't know 5.3%

**55.** (US July 7 '43) Do you think there is any need of having a committee of impartial, qualified men, such as the Baruch committee which investigated the rubber situation, to study and make a report on the food problem? (AIPO)

Yes 67% No 22% Undecided 11%

**56.** (US July 7 '43) Would you be for or against having Herbert Hoover take over the entire food problem in the United States? (AIPO)

| | *For* | *Against* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 50% | 35% | 15% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 36% | 48% | 16% |
| Republican | 74 | 16 | 10 |

**57.** (US Aug 4 '43) Now I'd like to ask you a couple of questions about the home front. Would you say that our production of food last year was more than usual, about the same, or less than usual? 54% of the sample who said it was more than usual were asked: Do you think it was a whole lot more or just a little more? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Production was about the same | 32% |
| Less than usual | 10 |
| Don't know whether it was more or less | 4 |
| A lot more | 30 |
| A little more | 22 |
| Don't know how much more | 2 |

**58.** (Great Britain Aug 22 '43) A shortage of green vegetables is threatened this winter. Are you taking any steps to offset it? (BIPO)

Yes 53% No 47%

**59.** (Great Britain Aug 22 '43) What steps? Asked of 53% of the sample who said they were doing something to offset the threatened shortage of green vegetables. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Growing all I can | 41% |
| We are storing, preserving vegetables | 11 |
| Don't know, no comment | 48 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**60.** (US Aug 27 '43, Oct 22 '43, Jan 15 '44) Do you feel that any food is being wasted in this country? 70% of the Aug '43 sample, 59% of the Oct '43 sample, 73% of the Jan '44 sample who said they thought food was being wasted were asked: Is enough wasted to make a real difference to the war effort? In 1944 the question read "Is enough being wasted to make a real, etc." The Oct '43 question was asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | *Aug '43* | *Oct '43* | *Jan '44* |
|---|---|---|---|
| None is being wasted | 26% | 30% | 22% |
| Don't know whether or not food is being wasted | 4 | 11 | 5 |
| Enough being wasted to make a difference | 48 | 39 | 46 |
| Not enough to make a difference | 16 | 13 | 17 |
| Don't know whether enough is being wasted to make a difference | 6 | 7 | 10 |

**61.** (US Aug 27 '43) Do you feel that there is anything you could do to cut down waste in your own home? What? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Could buy, prepare, or serve less food (or less variety) | 8% |
| Utilize leftovers | 5 |
| Utilize bread | 3 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Children waste foods | 2% |
| Utilize all parts of vegetables | 1 |
| Stay home more; do more of own cooking | 1 |
| General economizing | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| Yes, could economize, but don't know how | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| No waste | 77 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**62.** (US Aug 27 '43) Can you think of any foods, or parts of foods, that you are now using that you used to throw out before the war? 35% of the sample who said they could think of some were asked: What sort of things? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Can't think of any | 64% |
| Don't know anything about it | 1 |
| Now using fats and drippings | 14 |
| Tops and outer leaves of vegetables | 6 |
| Leftover vegetables | 6 |
| Cook with peelings on; use peelings | 2 |
| Vegetable water and juice | 1 |
| Other mentions of vegetables | 1 |
| Meats and bones | 7 |
| Bread and cereals | 5 |
| Leftovers and scraps in general | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Didn't say what sort of things | * |
| | 114%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**63.** (US Oct 22 '43) Are there any foods now being rationed that you think should not be rationed? (Dec 10 '43 and June 2 '44) Are there any foods or other things now being rationed which you think should not be rationed? 26% of the Oct '43 sample who said some foods were being rationed that should not be were asked: Which ones? 24% of the Dec '43 sample and 22% of the 1944 sample who said some foods were being rationed that should not be were asked: Which? Any others? The Oct and Dec '43 questions were asked of a national cross-section of women marketers. (NORC)

OCT '43 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| No foods rationed that shouldn't be | 65% |
| Don't know if any rationed that shouldn't be | 9 |
| Sugar shouldn't be rationed | 10 |
| Butter | 4 |
| Canned milk | 2 |
| Miscellaneous dairy products | 1 |
| Variety meat | 1 |
| Dried foods | 4 |
| Jams and jellies | 3 |
| Canned fruit juices | 1 |
| Miscellaneous canned goods | 4 |
| Other miscellaneous items | 4 |
| | 108%** |

DEC '43 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| No foods rationed that shouldn't be | 76% |
| Meat shouldn't be rationed | 5 |
| Butter | 3 |
| Canned milk | 1 |
| Miscellaneous dairy products | 1 |
| Dried foods | 2 |
| Canned goods | 2% |
| Jams and jellies | 1 |
| Sugar | 8 |
| Miscellaneous (baby foods) | 2 |
| Shoes | 2 |
| Other non-food items | 1 |
| Didn't name any | 2 |
| | 106%** |

JUNE '44 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| No foods rationed that shouldn't be | 76% |
| Didn't answer the first question | 2 |
| Sugar shouldn't be rationed | 8 |
| Shoes | 4 |
| Canned goods | 3 |
| Butter | 3 |
| Meats | 2 |
| Miscellaneous foods | 2 |
| Canned milk | 1 |
| Other non-food items | 1 |
| Everything | 2 |
| Mentioned non-rationed items | 1 |
| Didn't name any | * |
| | 105%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**64.** (US Oct 22 '43) Are there any foods not rationed now which you think ought to be rationed? 8% of the sample who thought some non-rationed foods should be rationed were asked: Which ones? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| None that should be rationed | 84% |
| Don't know whether or not more should be rationed | 8 |
| Chocolate should be rationed | 2 |
| Fresh fruits | 2 |
| Milk | 1 |
| Prepared mixes (desserts, etc.) | 1 |
| Eggs | * |
| Fresh vegetables | * |
| Chicken | * |
| Fish | * |
| Non-food items (soap, etc.) | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Mentioned rationed food items | 1 |
| Didn't say what should be rationed | * |
| | 102%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**65.** (US Oct 22 '43) Right now, do you think there is more food for the average civilian than there was before the war or not as much? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 8% |
| About the same | 34 |
| Not as much | 55 |
| Don't know | 3 |

**66.** (US Oct 22 '43 and Jan 15 '44) What are some of the things that people have been asked to do to help out the food situation? The 1943 question was asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | *Oct '43* | *Jan '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Raise own food | 33% | 43% |
| Can and preserve food | 31 | 24 |
| Buy economically; buy as little as possible | 30 | 28 |
| Save food; use leftovers | 26 | 30 |
| Not waste any food (general) | 24 | 18 |
| Use substitute foods; use vegetables, fruits, unrationed foods | 20 | 11 |
| Abide by rationing regulations; don't pay above ceiling prices | 12 | 14 |
| Don't hoard foods | 10 | 6 |
| Save fats and greases | 10 | 7 |
| Don't waste food at meals | 3 | 1 |
| Cut down on your eating | — | 8 |
| Eat and/or plan your meals wisely | — | 4 |
| Correct method of cooking | — | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 | 3 |
| Don't know or not ascertainable | 4 | 4 |
| | 206%* | 203%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**67.** (US Oct 22 '43) From what you know, which one of these government agencies decides just what foods are to be rationed? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| War Production Board | 6% |
| Office of Price Administration | 28 |
| War Food Administration | 42 |
| Office of Civilian Requirements | 4 |
| Don't know | 20 |

**68.** (Great Britain Nov 20 '43) Miners say that one reason for the fall in coal output is that their rations are inadequate. Even if it meant a slight fall in your rations would you agree to their rations being increased? (BIPO)

Agree 55% Disagree 38% Don't know 7%

**69.** (Great Britain Nov 20 '43 and May '45) What do you think will happen to food rations during the first year of peace—rationing will be ended, rations will be increased, rations will be decreased in amount? In 1945 "in amount" was omitted from the question. (BIPO)

| | *Nov '43* | *May '45* |
|---|---|---|
| Ended | 9% | 5% |
| Increased | 54 | 21 |
| Decreased | 18 | 59 |
| Don't know | 19 | 15 |

**70.** (US Dec 10 '43) Of course, we know there isn't enough for everyone to have all he wants, but how about meat, butter, cheese? Does your ration allow you and your family as much as you need, less than you need, or more than you need? 29% of the sample who said the ration allowed them less than they needed were asked: Have you ever tried to get any extra allowances of meat, butter, and cheese from your ration board? Asked of a national cross-section of women marketers. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Get as much as needed | 64% |
| More than needed | 7 |
| Don't use | * |
| Don't know whether or not get enough | * |
| Have tried to get extra allowances | 1 |
| Have not tried for extra allowances | 28 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**71.** (US Dec 10 '43) Do you happen to know which branch of the government decides how much of the total food supply should go to civilians? Who? Asked of a national cross-section of women marketers. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| OPA | 11% |
| War Food Administration (correct) | 8 |
| Department of Agriculture | 3 |
| Military department | 3 |
| Mention of some food agency (correctness doubted) | 1 |
| War Production Board | 1 |
| Executive branch | 1 |
| Civilian defense organization | * |
| Economic boards | * |
| The ration board | * |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Don't know | 71 |
| | 101%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**72.** (US Jan 15 '44) Do you think there is more food being produced in this country now than before the war? (NORC)

Yes 63% No 23% Don't know 14%

**73.** (US Jan 15 '44) About what part of our total food supply would you suppose is going for direct war purposes this year—that is, to our armed forces and to our Allies—a half, a fourth, a tenth, or less than that? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Half | 42% |
| Fourth | 29 |
| Tenth | 6 |
| Less than tenth | 2 |
| Don't know | 21 |

**74.** (US Jan 15 '44) Have you heard any stories about food spoiling in this country before people get a chance to buy it? 56% of the sample who said they had heard such stories were asked: What foods? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Haven't heard any stories | 44% |
| Heard it of pork | 16 |
| Beef | 6 |
| Other meats; poultry | 14 |
| Potatoes | 17 |
| Butter | 13 |
| Fresh vegetables | 10 |
| Fresh fruits | 9 |
| All canned goods | 3 |
| Eggs | 2 |
| Coffee | 1 |
| Sugar | 1 |
| Miscellaneous items | 3 |
| Don't know what foods | 2 |
| | 141%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**75.** (US Jan 15 '44) Here is a list of some ways in which food experts say people waste food in their homes. Which one of these do you think causes the most waste in American homes today? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Foods spoil because of poor storage | 14% |
| More food is bought than is really used | 15 |
| Leftover food is thrown away | 39 |
| More food is served on plates than is eaten | 11 |
| Certain parts of food such as vegetables tops that could be eaten are not used | 12 |
| Don't know | 9 |

**76.** (US Jan 15 '44) Can you think of any other important ways food is wasted in the home? How? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| No, can't think of any | 63% |
| Improper or bad cooking | 7 |
| Poor storage; poor canning | 5 |
| Excessive buying | 4 |
| Leftover food or edible food thrown away | 4 |
| Cooking too much at one time | 3 |
| Children don't eat all they are served | 2 |
| Overeating | 2 |
| People are too particular about what they eat | 2 |
| Spoilage in market | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Don't know | 6 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**77.** (US Jan 15 '44) I'd like to read you a list of some of the things that have been suggested to save food. Would you mind telling me which are done regularly in your own home? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *Qualified* | *No* | *Don't know or don't use* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Save fat drippings from cooking and salvage | 95% | 1% | 3% | 1% |
| Render out fat from meat scraps | 75 | 4 | 17 | 4 |
| Use dry bread and crusts | 79 | 7 | 12 | 2 |
| Use the tops of celery and beets | 39 | 23 | 32 | 6 |
| Use the outside leaves of lettuce and cabbage | 47 | 13 | 36 | 4 |
| Use the water left over in cooking vegetables | 47 | 13 | 37 | 3 |
| Cook potatoes and vegetables without peeling them | 33 | 30 | 36 | 1 |
| Use the flour left over after rolling meats or fish | 50 | 11 | 30 | 9 |
| Use up all food before it spoils | 84 | 8 | 7 | 1 |
| Use up extra pie dough | 77 | 3 | 4 | 16 |
| Serve no more on plates than is eaten | 81 | 7 | 10 | 2 |
| Make regular use of left-over foods | 94 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

**78.** (US Jan 15 '44) Have you ever heard of the "Clean Plate Club"? 26% of the sample who said they had heard of the club were asked: Are you a member? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hadn't heard of club | 74% |
| Are members | 9 |
| Not members | 17 |
| Didn't say whether or not a member | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**79.** (Great Britain Feb '44) Would you like to see the government keep its powers after the war to control the buying and distribution of food? (BIPO)

Yes 64% No 23% Don't know 13%

**80.** (Great Britain Feb '44) What rationed food would you like to see increased in supply? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Fats | 35% |
| Sugar | 18 |
| Meat | 16 |
| Tea | 7 |
| Eggs | 5 |
| Milk | 4% |
| Bacon | 3 |
| Cheese | 2 |
| Dried fruit | 2 |
| Preserves | 1 |
| Sweets | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 6 |

**81.** (US May 18 '44 and May 26 '44) As far as you know, is there more food for civilians now than there was a year ago or is there less? 49% of the May 18 sample who said they thought there was more food for civilians and 14% who thought there was less were asked: What makes you think so? The May 26 sample was not asked for reasons. (NORC)

MAY 18 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Same amount as a year ago | 20% |
| Don't know whether there is more or less | 17 |
| Think there is more because: | |
| Food is easier to buy | 19 |
| More because rationing is relaxed | 18 |
| People raised victory gardens; canned; stored; preserved | 6 |
| Good production this year or last | 3 |
| War needs are less | 2 |
| Food is being released from storage | 2 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 2 |
| Don't know what makes them think there is more | 2 |
| Think there is less because: | |
| It is hard to get | 4 |
| Production shortage or difficulties | 4 |
| Military needs | 3 |
| Food for foreign countries | 1 |
| We are sending food overseas | 1 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 1 |
| Don't know what makes them think there is less | 1 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

MAY 26 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 51% |
| Same | 17 |
| Less | 17 |
| Don't know | 15 |

**82.** (US May 18 '44 and May 26 '44) As things look now, will there be more food for civilians in the coming year, or will there be less? 35% of the May 18 sample who thought there would be more food for civilians and 24% who thought there would be less were asked: What makes you think so? The May 26 sample was not asked for reasons. (NORC)

MAY 18 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Will be the same amount | 20% |
| Don't know whether there will be more or less | 21 |
| Will be more because: | |
| More victory gardens and canning | 13 |
| Higher production in general | 11 |
| War needs will be less | 4 |
| Present abundance | 3 |
| Reduction in rationing | 3 |
| High level of present supply | 2 |
| Miscellaneous reasons | 1 |
| Don't know why there will be more | 2 |
| Will be less because: | |
| Bad weather reduces production | 8 |
| Shortage of farm labor | 6 |
| Foreign countries will need more food | 5 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Military needs will be greater | 4% |
| We will be sending food overseas | 2 |
| Rationing was taken off | * |
| Miscellaneous reasons | 1 |
| Don't know why there will be less | 1 |
| | 107%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

MAY 26 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 36% |
| Same | 14 |
| Less | 31 |
| Don't know | 19 |

**83.** (US May 18 '44 and May 26 '44) Do you think what you have been told about the food supply for civilians has been clear, or hasn't it been clear? (NORC)

| | *Clear* | *Not clear* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| May 18 '44 | 62% | 22% | 16% |
| May 26 '44 | 55 | 33 | 12 |

**84.** (US May 18 '44) What hasn't been clear? Asked of 22% of the sample who did not think what they had been told about the food supply had been clear. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Contradictory reports (genetal) | 5% |
| Skepticism expressed about accuracy of reports | 4 |
| Sudden changes in rationing without reason or contradictoty information | 3 |
| Contradictory reports about shortages and oversupply | 3 |
| Not given enough information and/or told why actions were taken | 3 |
| Statements about supply don't correspond to observed prices, supplies, point values | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 22% |

**85.** (US May 26 '44) During the past week, have you read anything in the newspapers or heard anything over the radio about the country's food supply? 29% of the sample who said they had heard or read something were asked: What did you hear or read? Do you happen to remember anything else? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hadn't heard or read anything | 71% |
| Gave an accurate account of what had read | 10 |
| Gave an ambiguous account | 9 |
| Gave an inaccurate account | 8 |
| Didn't remember what had heard or read | 2 |

**86.** (France Nov 1 '44) Which of the following six commodities would you like to see back on sale first? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Chocolate | 40% |
| Coffee | 38 |
| Tea | 7 |
| Bananas | 6 |
| Oranges | 6 |
| Lemons | 1 |
| No opinion | 2 |

**87.** (Great Britain Apr '45) Which of the rationed foods would you find it hardest to cut down on? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Bacon | 2% |
| Fats | 31 |
| Sugar | 21 |
| Meat | 20 |
| Tea | 15 |
| Preserves | 1% |
| Eggs | 1 |
| Milk | 2 |
| Cheese | 2 |
| Everything | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 2 |

**88.** (France May 1 '45) Is the present supply of food better or worse than in Feb '44 and Oct '44? (FIPO)

| *Compared with* | *Worse* | *The same* | *Better* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '44 | 59% | 22% | 13% | 6% |
| Oct '44 | 73 | 16 | 7 | 4 |

**89.** (France May 1 '45) Do you think the Ministry of Food is doing everything it can to assure a proper supply? (FIPO)

Yes 13% No 77% No opinion 10%

**90.** (Great Britain June 12 '45) Which of the food ration cuts do you find it most difficult to put up with? (BIPO)

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nothing | 3% | 5% | 2% |
| Fats | 45 | 31 | 58 |
| Meat | 16 | 21 | 10 |
| Bacon | 14 | 17 | 12 |
| Points | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Cheese | 5 | 7 | 4 |
| Milk | 1 | 1 | — |
| Sugar | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Tea | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Everything | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| No answer; don't know | 6 | 8 | 3 |

**91.** (US Aug 8 '45) Are you satisfied with the way rationing of various food products is being handled now? (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 36% No opinion 4%

**92.** (Netherlands Dec 12 '45) In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the system and working of the distribution of food? (NIPO)

Satisfied 80% Dissatisfied 14% No opinion 6%

**93.** (Germany Jan 31 '46) What do you think of food distribution? Is the distribution fairly carried out? (OMGUS)

Fairly 87% Unfairly 8% No opinion 5%

**94.** (Germany Jan 31 '46) Did you get everything you wanted to buy last week? (OMGUS)

Yes 81% No 18% No answer 1%

**95.** (Germany Jan 31 '46) What were you unable to get? Asked of 18% of the sample who were not able to get everything they wanted to buy. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Soap | 3% |
| Matches | 1 |
| Sugar | 3 |
| Milk | 1 |
| Marmalade | 2 |
| Eggs | 1 |
| Foods, unspecified | 1 |
| Other | 3 |
| Smoked sausage | 1 |
| Flour; noodles | 1 |
| No answer | 7 |
| | 24%* |

* Percentages add to more than 18 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**96.** (January Feb 21 '46, Feb '46, May 8 '46, Nov 25 '46) How do you get along with the present food supply? (OMGUS)

| | *Good* | *Sufficient* | *Insufficient* | *Bad* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb 21 '46 | 12% | 33% | 37% | 18% |
| Feb '46 | 7 | 40 | 29 | 24 |
| | | | *Insufficient and Bad* | |
| Nov 25 '46 | 11 | 38 | 51% | |

MAY '46 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Rations too small (general): situation very bad; food very scarce; barely enough | 58% |
| Rations too small but can manage; must be careful, but can make the rations last | 24 |
| Specific rations too small: fats | 6 |
| Specific rations too small: meat, fish | 1 |
| Specific rations too small: bread, flour | 15 |
| Specific rations too small: sugar | 3 |
| Specific rations too small: other | 1 |
| Am satisfied; have enough | 12 |
| Other | 1 |
| No answer | * |
| | 121%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**97.** (Germany Feb '46) Do you believe that, in general, the food rations are the same in all four zones, or do you think that they are greater in some zones than others? (OMGUS)

Different 62% Same 15% No opinion 22% No answer 1%

**98.** (Germany Feb '46) People who said they thought the food rations were greater in some zones than in others (62% of the sample) were asked in which zones they were highest, second highest, and lowest. (OMGUS) Results follow:

| | *Highest* | *Second highest* | *Lowest* |
|---|---|---|---|
| American | 53% | 5% | — |
| British | 7 | 38 | 2% |
| French | — | 1 | 22 |
| Russian | 1 | 2 | 32 |
| No answer | 1 | 16 | 6 |
| | 62% | 62% | 62% |

**99.** (Great Britain Mar '46) Do you agree or disagree that the government is in any way to blame for the present food situation in this country? (BIPO)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 57% | 16% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 25% | 65% | 10% |
| Women | 30 | 49 | 21 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 26% | 54% | 20% |
| 30–49 years | 26 | 62 | 12 |
| 50 years and over | 30 | 53 | 17 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 35% | 57% | 8% |
| Middle | 30 | 63 | 7 |
| Lower | 25 | 56 | 19 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative and National Liberal | 49% | 41% | 10% |
| Labor | 16 | 70 | 14 |
| Liberal | 24 | 54 | 22 |
| Other | 16 | 68 | 16 |
| Did not vote | 23 | 50 | 27 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional and salaried-executive | 30% | 64% | 6% |
| Salaried-clerical | 28 | 63 | 9 |
| Proprietors of business and farmers | 24 | 68 | 8 |
| Weekly wages (factory) | 22 | 63 | 15 |
| Agriculture workers | 40 | 47 | 13 |
| Weekly wages (others) | 24 | 61 | 15 |
| Housewives | 32 | 47 | 21 |
| Retired; unoccupied | 25 | 53 | 22 |

**100.** (Great Britain Mar '46) What should they [the government] have done differently? Asked of 27% of the sample who agreed that the government was responsible for the present food situation. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should have had more foresight | 6% |
| Should not have sent food abroad | 5 |
| Should have maintained bigger stocks | 3 |
| General organization should have been better | 3 |
| Public should have been kept informed of true situation | 1 |
| Should have better agricultural policy | 1 |
| Restaurants should have been allocated less food | 1 |
| Miscellaneous suggestions | 7 |
| | 27% |

**101.** (France Mar 1 '46) Do you find that the food supply is better now or not as good as at the same time last year? (FIPO)

| | *Better* | *Not as good* | *Same* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 20% | 46% | 30% | 4% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 19% | 44% | 31% | 6% |
| Women | 21 | 48 | 29 | 2 |

**102.** (US Mar 13 '46, Mar 27 '46, Apr 10 '46, Apr 24 '46, May 15 '46, May 29 '46, June 12 '46) Will you tell me what particular foods the government wants to save? (AIPO)

| | *Mar 13* | *Mar 27* | *Apr 10* | *Apr 24* | *May 15* | *May 29* | *June 12* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Wheat | 32 | 32 | 40 | 40 | 33 | 36 | 35 |
| Bread | 8 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 12 | 10 | 11 |
| Flour | 12 | 12 | 12 | 11 | 8 | 8 | 10 |
| Grain | 13 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 10 | 10 | 12 |
| Fats | 12 | 14 | 10 | 9 | 6 | 7 | 11 |
| Oil | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Wheat, bread, flour, grain, corn, and fats and oil | 23 | 25 | 19 | 28 | 34 | 25 | 24 |
| Meat | 23 | 25 | 26 | 16 | 17 | 19 | 24 |
| Sugar | 12 | 10 | 10 | 7 | 3 | 5 | 5 |
| Butter, milk, dairy products | 10 | 8 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| Canned goods | — | 2 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 9 | 6 |
| Potatoes | — | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | — | — |
| Corn | — | 3 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Vegetables | — | 1 | — | — | — | 1 | 1 |
| Rice | — | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Fruits | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| Everything | — | — | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 8 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| No answer; don't know | 9 | 8 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 7 |
| Percentages | 164* | 167* | 165* | 158* | 143* | 150* | 158* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**103.** (US Mar 13 '46, Mar 27 '46, Apr 10 '46, Apr 24 '46, May 15 '46, May 29 '46, June 12 '46) Is your family doing anything now to save on these things [food the government wants to save]? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar 13 | 56% | 40% | 4% |
| Mar 27 | 53 | 42 | 5 |
| Apr 10 | 60 | 36 | 4 |
| Apr 24 | 67 | 28 | 5 |
| May 15 | 74 | 21 | 5 |
| May 29 | 74 | 20 | 6 |
| June 12 | 74 | 20 | 6 |

**104.** (US Mar 13 '46, Mar 27 '46, Apr 10 '46, Apr 24 '46, May 15 '46, May 29 '46, June 12 '46) What [are you doing to save food]? Asked of 56% of the Mar 13 sample, 53% of the Mar 27 sample, 60% of the Apr 10 sample, 67% of the Apr 24 sample, 74% of the May 15 sample, 74% of the May 29 sample, 74% of the June 12 sample whose families were doing something to save on food the government wanted saved. (AIPO)

| | *Mar 13* | *Mar 27* | *Apr 10* | *Apr 24* | *May 15* | *May 29* | *June 12* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| No answer | 5 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 3 |
| Cutting down; eating less | 40 | 38 | 40 | 41 | 49 | 46 | 38 |
| Eating rye or whole wheat bread; using dark flour | 3 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Not wasting food; using leftovers | 25 | 26 | 28 | 32 | 26 | 27 | 38 |
| Doing without | 5 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Saving fats, drippings | 25 | 32 | 24 | 23 | 19 | 17 | 12 |
| Eat more of other foods; grow vegetables | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 7 |
| Everything we can; all we were asked | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Eat out | * | * | * | 1 | * | * | * |
| Hoarding | * | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| By not buying in black market | * | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Selling livestock | — | * | — | — | — | — | — |
| Bread and fats | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| Canning and preserving food | — | — | * | — | — | — | — |
| Sending parcels to Europe | — | — | — | 1 | * | * | * |
| Contributing to drives | — | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Forced to cut down | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — |
| Enforced savings | — | — | — | — | — | 2 | — |
| Miscellaneous | 3 | — | — | — | — | — | 6 |
| Percentages | 114** | 117** | 115** | 117** | 118** | 116** | 112** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages are based on the number of respondents who were doing something to save foods and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**105.** (Germany Apr 15 '46) In your opinion, why were the rations reduced recently in the American zone? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Insufficient food (general); food shortages in Germany and/or the world; must make what is available go around | 19% |
| Insufficient food stocks; crop was bad; nothing until next harvest comes in; army took all that had been stored; no stocks | 44 |
| Must feed others: refugees, etc. in Germany; overcrowded in Germany; too many in occupation force | 16 |
| Must feed others: other zones, other countries | 6 |
| No interzonal trade; food is available but cannot be distributed; need a unified government | 4 |
| Production facilities unavailable; farm lands lost or destroyed through the war; no seed; no farm equipment; can't produce food | 4 |
| Black market | 1 |
| Have to save for war with Russia | 2 |
| Don't know; no opinion; can't say | 6 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**106.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statements: (OMGUS)

| | AMERICAN ZONE AND BERLIN | | | BERLIN ONLY | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
| Excess American food supplies should be sent with first priority to the United States occupied zone of Germany | 60% | 33% | 7% | 69% | 31% | — |
| The countries who gave the Allies the most help and whose people suffered most should receive surplus food stuffs first | 74 | 17 | 9 | 77 | 21 | 2% |

**107.** (Germany May 8 '46) What is your opinion of the food ration system, is it justly or unjustly carried out? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Just | 88% |
| Unjust | 5 |
| Don't know | 6 |
| No answer | 1 |

**108.** (Germany May 8 '46) Why [is the food ration system unjust]? Asked of 5% of the sample who thought the ration system was unjust. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Rations are too small (general); not enough to eat | * |
| Rations are too small (specific): not enough fats, sugar, meat, bread, etc. | 1 |
| Favors farmers, people who live on the land, self suppliers get more, rations same but can supplement them | 1 |
| Favors farmers, people who live on the land, they get bigger meat and fats ration (their rations actually larger) | * |
| Not selective enough; displaced persons, foreigners who don't want to go home get more to eat | 1 |
| Not selective enough; people who don't work should not get rations | 2 |
| Don't know, can't say | * |
| No answer | * |
| | 5% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**109.** (Germany May 8 '46) During the past week, was there any special supplementary ration issued to all Germans in this community in addition to the regular ration? 25% of the sample who said supplementary rations had been issued were asked: What did the supplementary ration consist of? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| No supplementary ration issued | 67% |
| Don't know whether or not supplementary ration was issued | 8 |
| Don't know what supplementary ration consisted of | * |
| Supplementary ration of sugar | 5 |
| Cheese; milk products | 11 |
| Oil; fats | 1 |
| Vegetables; dried peas | 2 |
| Candy | * |
| Fish | 8 |
| Eggs or egg powder | 1 |
| Other items | * |
| | 103%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**110.** (Germany May 8 '46) What efforts do you or other members of your family make to secure more food than the ration allows you? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Can't do anything: no time; no opportunity; no contacts; no money or nothing to trade | 42% |
| Have a garden; raise vegetables | 13 |
| Raise animals: chickens, rabbits, etc. | 6 |
| Get food from the country: friends, relatives; go to the farmers | 10 |
| Work in exchange for food | 3 |
| Don't need to do anything: work on the land; am farmer; etc. | 28 |
| Don't need to do anything: get extra rations (heavy worker, political victims, etc.) | 1 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**111.** (Germany May 8 '46) Are you or members of your family able to get supplementary food items besides the rationed ones you get in the stores? (OMGUS)

Yes 21% No 76% No opinion 3%

**112.** (Germany May 8 '46) Some people are able to get supplementary food by visiting friends or relatives in the country. Are you, or is a member of your family, able to do so? Those who said "yes" were asked: How often do you go to the country? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Once a week | 3% |
| 2 or 3 times a month | 3 |
| Once a month | 4 |
| Less often | 7 |
| Twice a week or more | * |
| No | 81 |
| No answer | 1 |
| Didn't say how often | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**113.** (Germany May 8 '46) As far as you know, do the farmers sell unrationed food for cash or do they want to trade it for goods? 43% of the sample who said the farmers bartered for other goods and 12% who said they did both were asked: What goods do they usually ask for? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sell for cash | 4% |
| No opinion about what they do | 41 |
| Barter for clothing or textiles; shoes | 35 |
| For other foods: sugar; coffee, etc. | 6 |
| For tobacco | 12 |
| For household things and consumer goods: furniture, etc. | 7 |
| For farm equipment; machinery; tools; nails; etc. | 6 |
| For anything they happen to need (no specific items mentioned) | 1 |
| For other items | 2 |
| Didn't say for what | 1 |
| | 115%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**114.** (Germany May 8 '46) In your opinion, are the farmers generally keeping food back from the public market which they normally would sell? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 33% |
| No | 40 |
| Don't know | 26 |
| No answer | 1 |

**115.** (Germany May 8 '46) Do you regularly give part of the food you get on your ration to somebody that needs it more than you do? 15% of the sample who said they gave part of their food ration to someone were asked: To whom do you give food? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| To children | 2% |
| To husband | 1 |
| To parents | 1 |
| Other relatives | 4 |
| Refugees | 3 |
| Evacuees | 1 |
| All those that are hungry: children, war prisoners, neighbors, friends | 4 |
| Household help | * |
| Didn't say to whom | * |
| Didn't give any away | 85 |
| No answer | * |
| Others | * |
| * = 1 | |
| | 102%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**116.** (Germany May 8 '46) Why do you think the rations have been cut? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Insufficient food (general); food shortage in Germany and/or the world; must make what is available go around | 41% |
| Insufficient food stocks; crop was bad; nothing until next harvest comes in; army took all that had been stored; no stocks | 27 |
| Must feed others; refugees, etc. in Germany; overcrowding in Germany; too many in occupation forces | 15 |
| Must feed others: other zones, other countries | 3 |
| No interzonal trade; food is available but can't be distributed throughout Germany; need a unified government; need unified trade | 2 |
| Production facilities unavailable; farm lands lost or destroyed through the war; no seed, no farm equipment, can't produce food | 6 |
| Black market | 1 |
| Have to save for war with Russia | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Other: lack of transport; political reason; bad organization | 6% |
| Want to lower living standard; hatred towards us; want to punish us | 2 |
| Don't know; no opinion; don't say | 5 |
| No answer | * |
| | 109%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**117.** (Germany May 8 '46) Do you believe that the food situation in the American zone will be better or worse in the next few months? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 37% |
| Worse | 41 |
| No opinion | 20 |
| No answer | 2 |

**118.** (Canada May 29 '46) What do you think is the main reason why we are having continued rationing of butter, meat, and sugar? (CIPO)

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Shipping overseas | 68% | 65% | 71% |
| Production down | 7 | 6 | 8 |
| Black markets; rackets | 4 | 5 | 2 |
| Poor administration | 3 | 4 | 2 |
| Price ceilings | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Not necessary | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Low farm prices | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Help shortage (farm) | 1 | 1 | * |
| Hoarding | * | * | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 | 7 | 6 |
| Undecided | 5 | 5 | 6 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**119.** (Great Britain June '46) How does your food today compare with a year ago as to quantity? (BIPO)

| | *Better* | *The same* | *Worse* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 5% | 41% | 54% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 6% | 43% | 51% |
| Women | 5 | 38 | 57 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 9% | 38% | 53% |
| 30–49 years | 5 | 40 | 55 |
| 50 years and over | 5 | 42 | 53 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 6% | 51% | 43% |
| Middle | 8 | 42 | 50 |
| Lower | 5 | 39 | 56 |
| Very poor | 3 | 40 | 57 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative | 4% | 33% | 63% |
| Labor | 6 | 46 | 48 |
| Liberal | 6 | 49 | 45 |
| Other | 10 | 28 | 62 |
| Non-voters | 7 | 38 | 55 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| London and South | 8% | 41% | 51% |
| Midlands | 4 | 40 | 56 |
| Wales | 4 | 45 | 51 |
| Northern | 5 | 43 | 52 |
| Scotland | 3 | 30 | 67 |

**120.** (France June 1 '46) Do you think the food supply would be better or worse if the sale of all articles of food were unrestricted? (FIPO)

| | *Better* | *Worse* | *No change* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 60% | 15% | 15% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 57% | 18% | 17% | 8% |
| Women | 64 | 13 | 13 | 10 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Professional | 52% | 22% | 14% | 12% |
| Workers | 56 | 16 | 16 | 12 |
| White-collar | 62 | 16 | 13 | 9 |
| Farmers | 63 | 13 | 15 | 9 |
| Business | 65 | 13 | 18 | 4 |

**121.** (Germany June 7 '46) Do you think that the German civil government is in any way to blame for the present food situation in Germany? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | * |
| Some blame | 17% |
| No blame | 64 |
| Don't know | 19 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**122.** (Germany June 7 '46) How about the military government—do you think it is in any way to blame for the present food situation in Germany? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Some blame | 26% |
| No blame | 56 |
| Don't know | 17 |
| No answer | 1 |

**123.** (Italy July '46) Are you in favor of ration cards for food? (DOXA)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, for all products | 14.1% |
| Yes, for most important products | 18.6 |
| Yes, for bread only | 10.5 |
| No | 53.1 |
| Don't know | 3.7 |

**124.** (Germany July 25 '46) The Americans claim to be sending to Germany enough food to supply one-fifth of the rations consumed in the American zone. Do you believe this or not? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Believe it | 73% |
| Don't believe it | 16 |
| No opinion | 10 |
| No answer | 1 |

**125.** (France Asked in July '46 and Aug '46) Do you find that the food distribution is better now than last month or not so good? (Asked in Sept '46, Oct '46, Dec '46) In your opinion, is the food distribution better or worse than last month? (FIPO)

| | *Better* | *Worse* | *No change, the same* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| July '46 | 40% | 10% | 45% | 5% |
| Aug '46 | 51 | 8 | 37 | 4 |
| Sept '46 | 28 | 23 | 45 | 4 |
| Oct '46 | 5 | 47 | 44 | 4 |
| Dec '46 | 8 | 41 | 48 | 3 |
| JULY AND SEPT RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| *Professional* | | | | |
| July '46 | 49% | 2% | 40% | 9% |
| Sept '46 | 28 | 20 | 40 | 12 |

| | Better | Worse | No change, the same | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *White-collar* | | | | |
| July '46 | 42% | 9% | 44% | 5% |
| Sept '46 | 35 | 20 | 39 | 6 |
| *Business* | | | | |
| July '46 | 42 | 9 | 45 | 4 |
| Sept '46 | 39 | 18 | 36 | 7 |
| *Living on income* | | | | |
| July '46 | 42 | 10 | 45 | 3 |
| Sept '46 | 36 | 22 | 41 | 1 |
| *Farmers* | | | | |
| July '46 | 37 | 9 | 48 | 6 |
| Sept '46 | 13 | 22 | 56 | 9 |
| *Workers* | | | | |
| July '46 | 37 | 12 | 48 | 3 |
| Sept '46 | 25 | 26 | 46 | 3 |
| SEPT '46 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Communist | 23% | 27% | 46% | 4% |
| Socialist | 29 | 20 | 49 | 2 |
| Radical-socialist | 27 | 18 | 43 | 12 |
| MRP | 34 | 22 | 39 | 5 |
| PRL | 32 | 26 | 37 | 5 |
| DEC '46 RESULTS BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 8% | 38% | 50% | 4% |
| Women | 7 | 43 | 47 | 3 |
| DEC '46 RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Less than 2,000 | 9% | 27% | 60% | 4% |
| 2,000–20,000 | 7 | 40 | 50 | 3 |
| 20,000–40,000 | 11 | 42 | 43 | 4 |
| 40,000–100,000 | 5 | 41 | 48 | 6 |
| More than 100,000 and Paris | 7 | 48 | 43 | 2 |

**126.** (Germany Aug 9 '46) We should like to know if you have any criticisms about the following items, for often criticism is worth more than praise. Are you satisfied, not quite satisfied, or not satisfied at all with the distribution of food? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Satisfied | 59% |
| Not quite satisfied | 29 |
| Not at all satisfied | 10 |
| No opinion | 2 |

**127.** (Netherlands Sept '46) How long do you think it will take before all foodstuffs can be bought without rationing? (NIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 1 year | 4% |
| 1 year | 25 |
| 1–2 years | 6.5 |
| 2 years | 34 |
| 2–3 years | 3 |
| 3 years | 13.5 |
| 4 years | 4 |
| 5 years | 4 |
| 6 years or more | 2 |
| Don't know | 4 |

**128.** (Hungary Sept '46) Can you now buy sufficient food? (HIPOR)

Yes 76% No 2% Partly 20% Uncertain 2%

**129.** (Germany Nov 25 '46) Do you feel better since the food rations have been raised? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| No | 42% |
| Yes | 12 |
| Yes, some | 42 |
| No increase | 4 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**130.** (Germany Nov 25 '46) In the previous ration period, residents of large cities got larger rations than small towns and villages. Now that the rations are raised to 1550 calories these differences are stopped. Do you think that is right or not? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Right | 66% |
| Not | 28 |
| No opinion | 6 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

# FRANCE

## Colonies

**1.** (France Aug '39) The French public was asked if it would fight rather than surrender the smallest part of its colonial possessions. Results follow: (FIPO)

Surrender 44% Fight 40% No opinion 16%

**2.** (France Aug '39) The public was asked if it was as painful to see a piece of their colonial empire surrendered to Germany as a part of French territory. Results follow: (FIPO)

Yes 53% No 43% No opinion 4%

**3.** (France Asked in Oct '45) In your opinion, who is responsible for the troubles in Indo-China? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| The Japanese | 36% |
| The British | 12 |
| The Chinese | 9 |
| The Americans | 6 |
| The Indo-Chinese | 5 |
| The French | 5 |
| Other answers | 12 |
| No answer | 30 |
| | 115%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**4.** (France Apr 1 '46) In your opinion, should the same rights be given the population of the French colonies as to French citizens? (FIPO)

Yes 63% No 22% No opinion 15%

**5.** (France June 16 '46) Should we administer our colonies for the profit of France or mostly for the profit of the colonial populations? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Profit of France | 31% |
| Profit of colonies | 28 |
| Both | 25 |
| No opinion | 16 |

## Constitution

**1.** (France Apr 16 '46 and Oct 1 '46) Are you following the discussions on the Constitution? (FIPO)

| | *Regularly or always* | *Sometimes* | *Never* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '46 | 18% | 51% | 31% |
| Oct '46 | 17 | 50 | 33 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| *Men* | | | |
| Apr '46 | 27% | 58% | 15% |
| Oct '46 | 28 | 53 | 19 |
| *Women* | | | |
| Apr '46 | 9 | 43 | 48 |
| Oct '46 | 6 | 47 | 47 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| *Professional* | | | |
| Apr '46 | 30% | 61% | 9% |
| Oct '46 | 33 | 49 | 18 |
| *Business* | | | |
| Apr '46 | 31 | 52 | 17 |
| Oct '46 | 31 | 51 | 18 |
| *Living on income* | | | |
| Apr '46 | 30 | 39 | 31 |
| Oct '46 | 30 | 46 | 24 |
| *White-collar* | | | |
| Apr '46 | 24 | 53 | 23 |
| Oct '46 | 26 | 53 | 21 |
| *Workers* | | | |
| Apr '46 | 22 | 54 | 24 |
| Oct '46 | 17 | 52 | 31 |
| *Farmers* | | | |
| Apr '46 | 9 | 54 | 37 |
| Oct '46 | 13 | 53 | 34 |
| OCT '46 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Communist | 28% | 52% | 20% |
| Socialist | 19 | 56 | 25 |
| Radical-Socialist | 56 | 21 | 23 |
| MRP | 17 | 54 | 29 |
| PRL | 26 | 40 | 34 |

**2.** (France Oct 1 '46) Have you read in the newspapers or heard on the radio the declaration by General De Gaulle concerning the proposed Constitution? (FIPO)

| | *Read it in the newspapers* | *Heard it on the radio* | *Both* | *Neither* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 36% | 10% | 14% | 36% | 4% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 46% | 8% | 19% | 24% | 3% |
| Women | 27 | 12 | 10 | 46 | 5 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Professional | 50% | 4% | 21% | 20% | 5% |
| Living on income | 37 | 9 | 24 | 21 | 9 |
| Business | 40 | 9 | 27 | 23 | 1 |
| Workers | 40 | 10 | 15 | 31 | 4 |
| White-collar | 38 | 11 | 15 | 33 | 3 |
| Farmers | 42 | 5 | 10 | 40 | 3 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| | *Read, heard, or both* | | | | |
| Communist | 70% | | | 29% | 1% |
| Socialist | 64 | | | 35 | 1 |
| Radical-Socialist | 73 | | | 23 | 4 |
| MRP | 66 | | | 31 | 3 |
| PRL | 70 | | | 28 | 2 |

**3.** (France Oct 1 '46) Do you approve or disapprove of the position taken by General De Gaulle in this declaration? Asked of 60% of the sample who knew about De Gaulle's statement on the proposed Constitution. (FIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 25% | 25% | 10% = | 60% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Communist | 1% | 69% | 30% = | 100% of those |
| Socialist | 12 | 34 | 54 | who followed the |
| Radical-Socialist | 33 | 22 | 45 | announcements |
| MRP | 56 | 3 | 41 | |
| PRL | 63 | 2 | 35 | |

**4.** (France Oct 1 '46) Do you believe that the Constitution which is now being studied by the Constituent Assembly will be accepted at the next referendum? (FIPO)

| | *Accepted* | *Rejected* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 34% | 12% | 54% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Communist | 34% | 15% | 51% |
| Socialist | 45 | 11 | 44 |
| Radical-Socialist | 32 | 16 | 52 |
| MRP | 38 | 12 | 50 |
| PRL | 31 | 21 | 48 |

**5.** (France Asked in Oct '46) In your opinion, should the Constitution be revised? (FIPO)

Yes 50% No 28% No opinion 22%

**6.** (France Oct 16 '46) If General De Gaulle were to recommend voting against the Constitution, would you vote for or against it? (FIPO)

| | *For* | *Against* | *No answer* | *Would not vote* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 29% | 28% | 33% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| | | | *No answer and Would not vote* | |
| Men | 35% | 23% | 42% | |
| Women | 24 | 33 | 43 | |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Housewives | 22% | 36% | 42% | |
| Workers | 41 | 19 | 40 | |
| White-collar | 31 | 24 | 45 | |
| Professional | 22 | 33 | 45 | |
| Business | 22 | 36 | 42 | |
| Living on income | 25 | 38 | 37 | |

**7.** (France Oct 16 '46) The referendum on the Constitution has been announced for next October 6. Which of the four statements best expresses your own feeling: (1) We must get away from the provisional government as soon as possible and therefore should vote "yes" in the referendum, even if the Constitution is not entirely satisfactory. (2) The Constitution is a matter of such great importance that one should not hesitate to vote "no" if it is not completely satisfactory. (3) People are tired of politics and it is not worth the trouble of voting in the referendum. (4) It is still too early to know what to do about the referendum. Asked between Sept 18 and 28. (FIPO)

Statement 1 ..... 34%
Statement 2 ..... 30
Statement 3 ..... 15
Statement 4 ..... 21

Among those who had already decided about their vote the decision was:

Yes 53% No 47%

**8.** (France Oct 16 '46) The referendum on the Constitution has been set for next October 13. Which of the following five statements best expresses your own opinion: (1) On the whole the Constitution corresponds to the democratic ideal of the new France, and one should therefore vote "yes." (2) We must get away from the provisional government as soon as possible and one should therefore vote "yes" even if the Constitution is not entirely satisfactory. (3) The Constitution is a matter of such importance that one should not hesitate to vote "no" because it is not completely satisfactory. (4) One should vote "no" and bring the reign of the three large parties to an end. The plan for the Constitution is the expression of tripartism and would prolong the present regime. (5) There is no point in voting in the referendum and we are tired of politics. Asked between Sept 18 and 28. (FIPO)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *Statement 5 and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 18% | 35% | 17% | 11% | 19% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 20% | 38% | 16% | 12% | 14% |
| Women | 15 | 33 | 17 | 11 | 24 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Workers | 28% | 38% | 10% | 7% | 17% |
| Living on income | 16 | 41 | 15 | 8 | 20 |
| Farmers | 17 | 34 | 15 | 14 | 20 |
| White-collar | 16 | 35 | 19 | 11 | 19 |
| Professional | 7 | 37 | 23 | 21 | 12 |
| Business | 12 | 30 | 26 | 15 | 17 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Communist | 46% | 46% | 2% | — | 6% |
| Socialist | 25 | 56 | 6 | 3% | 10 |
| Coalition of parties of the left | 6 | 23 | 31 | 29 | 11 |
| MRP | 8 | 29 | 29 | 18 | 16 |
| PRL | 1 | 9 | 41 | 36 | 13 |

Excluding those who were not interested or didn't answer the question, the following opinions emerge:

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 65% | 35% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 67% | 33% |
| Women | 63 | 37 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | |
| Workers | 79% | 21% |
| Living on income | 71 | 29 |
| Farmers | 64 | 36 |
| White-collar | 57 | 43 |
| Professional | 50 | 50 |
| Business | 50 | 50 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Communist | 98% | 2% |
| Socialist | 90 | 10 |
| Radical-Socialist | 32 | 68 |
| MRP | 44 | 56 |
| PRL | 12 | 88 |

Have you already read the text of the Constitution?

Yes 37% No 63%

**9.** (France Oct 16 '46) The two following questions were asked before the various parties made known the positions which they advised their members to take in regard to the referendum, i.e. before the final vote on the Constitution by the Constituent Assembly: If the party for which you intend to vote should recommend that you vote for the Constitution, would you vote for it? If the party for which you intend to vote should recommend that you vote against the Constitution, would you vote against it? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *Would not vote* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| VOTE FOR | | | | |
| National total | 50% | 17% | 25% | 8% |
| OPINIONS OF THOSE WHO WOULD VOTE FOR IT BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Communist | 85% | 3% | 9% | 3% |
| Socialist | 65 | 11 | 20 | 4 |
| Coalition of parties of the left | 45 | 22 | 25 | 8 |
| MRP | 42 | 27 | 27 | 4 |
| PRL | 35 | 44 | 19 | 2 |
| VOTE AGAINST | | | | |
| National total | 43% | 20% | 27% | 10% |
| OPINIONS OF THOSE WHO WOULD VOTE AGAINST IT BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Communist | 63% | 18% | 14% | 5% |
| Socialist | 41 | 26 | 27 | 6 |
| Coalition of parties of the left | 39 | 25 | 25 | 11 |
| MRP | 48 | 20 | 28 | 4 |
| PRL | 59 | 21 | 18 | 2 |

## Defenses

**1.** (France Feb 1 '46) Are you for a large reduction in military expenditures in the 1946 budget? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Larger reduction | 67% |
| Slight reduction | 18 |
| No reduction | 7 |
| No opinion | 8 |

**2.** (France Feb 16 '46) In your opinion, how many men should be in the French army in 1946? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Fewer than 150,000 men | 12% |
| 150,000–249,000 men | 10 |
| 250,000–349,000 men | 9 |
| 350,000–449,000 men | 4 |
| 450,000–549,000 men | 15 |
| 550,000–649,000 men | 2 |
| 650,000–749,000 men | 1 |
| 750,000–849,000 men | 1 |
| 850,000 and over | 5 |
| No army | 2 |
| No opinion | 39 |

Median—400,000 men

## Foreign Relations

**1.** (France July 21 '39) Which foreign country do you prefer? Which is the foreign country you like least? (FIPO)

| *Prefer* | | *Like least* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Great Britain | 23% | Germany | 70% |
| United States | 26 | Italy | 10 |
| Switzerland | 15 | Russia | 5 |
| Russia | 7 | Japan | 3 |
| Belgium | 9 | Great Britain | 2 |
| Sweden | 3 | Spain | 1 |
| Italy | 4 | All others | 4 |
| Spain | 1 | No opinion | 5 |
| All others | 6 | | |
| No opinion | 6 | | |

**2.** (Great Britain Apr '44) Should the Allies recognize the French Committee of National Liberation in Algiers as the provisional government for France? (BIPO)

Yes 44% No 15% Don't know 41%

**3.** (France June 1 '45) What dissatisfied you most in the foreign policy? Asked of a national cross-section of people who were dissatisfied with the government's policy. 63% of a national sample is represented. (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Relations with the United States | 2% |
| France's absence at Yalta and her position at the San Francisco Conference | 2 |
| Other answers | 6 |
| No answer | 90 |
| | 100% of those who were dissatisfied |

## Foreign Relations (Russia)

**1.** (France Dec 1 '44) Do you consider the present Russian attitude toward France satisfactory? (FIPO)

Yes 53% No 17% No opinion 30%

## Foreign Relations (Spain)

**1.** (France Aug '39) Do you think that if General Franco wins the Spanish war, France will have one more enemy on her borders? (FIPO)

Yes 74% No 21% No answer 5%

**2.** (France Dec 16 '44) Do you consider General Franco's government a friend or an enemy of France? (FIPO)

Friend 12% Enemy 58% No opinion 30%

**3.** (France Feb 1 '46) In your opinion, should France break off all diplomatic relations with Franco Spain, or should she wait until Great Britain and the United States decide to break them also? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Wait for Great Britain and United States | 41% |
| Break off relations immediately | 29 |
| Don't break off relations | 14 |
| No opinion | 16 |

**4.** (France Apr 1 '46) Do you approve of the measures which have just been taken by the French government in regard to Franco? (FIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 47% | 33% | 20% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| Under 50 years | 52% | 31% | 17% |
| Over 50 years | 41 | 38 | 21 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Workers | 64% | 22% | 14% |
| Employers | 54 | 32 | 14 |
| Farmers | 40 | 31 | 29 |
| Professional | 37 | 51 | 12 |
| Business | 36 | 52 | 12 |
| Living on income | 40 | 37 | 23 |

**5.** (France Apr 1 '46) Should France immediately recognize the Spanish Republican government? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40% | 35% | 25% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| Under 50 years | 44% | 34% | 22% |
| Over 50 years | 35 | 39 | 26 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Workers | 57% | 25% | 18% |
| Employers | 45 | 35 | 20 |
| Farmers | 35 | 31 | 34 |
| Living on income | 36 | 40 | 24 |
| Professional | 29 | 60 | 11 |
| Business | 30 | 49 | 21 |

## National Assemblies

**1.** (France July '39) Do you think it a good idea to prolong for another two years the terms of the present national deputies? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 36% | 57% | 7% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 27% | 66% | 7% |
| 30–39 years | 42 | 53 | 5 |
| 40–49 years | 32 | 59 | 9 |
| 50–59 years | 40 | 52 | 8 |
| 60 years and over | 39 | 54 | 7 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farmers | 37% | 57% | 6% |
| Industry and transportation | 31 | 63 | 6 |
| Business | 41 | 52 | 7 |
| Professional | 36 | 56 | 8 |

**2.** (France Oct 16 '44) Can you name three members of the Algiers Consultative Assembly? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

Yes 19% No 56% Don't know 25%

**3.** (France Oct 16 '44) Do you consider the Consultative Assembly of Algiers as sufficiently representative of French opinion until the next elections? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 35% | 38% | 27% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Workers | 41% | 28% | 31% |
| White-collar | 36 | 41 | 23 |
| Business | 34 | 46 | 20 |
| Professional | 22 | 55 | 23 |
| Living on income | 38 | 34 | 28 |

**4.** (France Nov 1 '44) Should the future legislature have the same powers as before the war, greater powers, or fewer? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Greater powers | 29% |
| Less powers | 26 |
| Same powers | 16 |
| No opinion | 29 |

**5.** (France Nov 16 '44) Do you think that after its reorganization (chiefly through adding resistance members) the Consultative Assembly will adequately reflect French opinion until elections? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

Yes 32% No 30% No opinion 38%

**6.** (France Jan 1 '45) Maurice Thorez has just been pardoned in order to sit in the Consultative Assembly. Do you approve of this decision? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Paris | 26% | 63% | 11% |
| Provinces | 38 | 40 | 22 |

**7.** (France May 16 '45) Whom would you like to have as president of the Council after the war? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| De Gaulle | 17% |
| Thorez | 5 |
| Blum | 3 |
| Herriot | 3 |
| Jeanneney | 1 |
| Others | 18 |
| No answer | 53 |

**8.** (France Asked in July '45) Should the Constituent Assembly to be elected in August be composed of a single assembly or by the joining of a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Single assembly | 50% |
| Chamber of deputies and senate | 30 |
| Other answers | 2 |
| No opinion | 18 |

**9.** (France Asked in July '45) If the Constituent Assembly is a single assembly, should it be sovereign; that is to say, should the government be responsible to it? (FIPO)

Yes 67% No 14% No opinion 19%

**10.** (France Dec 16 '45, Jan 16 '46, Feb 1 '46, Mar 1 '46) Do you approve or disapprove of the actions of the Constituent Assembly to date? (FIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '45 | 54% | 19% | 27% |
| Jan '46 | 37 | 20 | 43 |
| Feb '46 | 25 | 40 | 35 |
| Mar '46 | 22 | 31 | 47 |
| OPINION IN JAN AND MAR '46 BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| *Workers* | | | |
| Jan '46 | 41% | 22% | 37% |
| Mar '46 | 26 | 30 | 44 |
| *White-collar* | | | |
| Jan '46 | 39 | 22 | 39 |
| Mar '46 | 23 | 40 | 37 |
| *Business* | | | |
| Jan '46 | 37 | 24 | 39 |
| Mar '46 | 22 | 42 | 36 |
| *Professional* | | | |
| Jan '46 | 43 | 31 | 26 |
| *Farmers* | | | |
| Jan '46 | 43 | 12 | 45 |
| *Living on income* | | | |
| Mar '46 | 24 | 28 | 48 |
| MAR '46 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Communist | 32% | 35% | 33% |
| Socialist | 36 | 23 | 41 |
| Radical-Socialist | 28 | 27 | 45 |
| United Republican | 14 | 36 | 50 |
| MRP | 28 | 19 | 53 |

**11.** (France Apr 1 '46) In your opinion should the new Constitution set up a legislature composed of one Chamber or several Chambers? 30% of the sample who said they thought there should be two Chambers were asked: Of whom should the second Chamber be made up, in your opinion? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should be one Chamber | 44% |
| Should be three Chambers | 2 |
| No opinion | 24 |
| Second Chamber should be the same as the old Senate | 14 |
| Should be economic and trade union | 13 |
| Should be French Union | 1 |
| Should be the same as the first Chamber | 1 |
| Other answers | 1 |

**12.** (France Apr 1 '46) How should its members be chosen? Asked of 30% of the sample who thought the legislature should be composed of two Chambers. (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| By restricted suffrage | 13% |
| By elections within the syndicates | 9 |
| Universal suffrage | 7 |
| Other | 1 |
| | 30% |

**13.** (France Apr 1 '46) What should its powers be? Asked of 30% of the sample who thought the legislature should be composed of two Chambers. (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sovereign assembly | 21% |
| Consultative assembly | 6 |
| Other | 3 |
| | 30% |

**14.** (France Apr 16 '46) In your opinion, should the president of the Council be appointed by the president of the Republic or elected by the Chamber of Deputies? (FIPO)

| | *Chamber of Deputies* | *President* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 53% | 30% | 17% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Workers | 62% | 22% | 16% |
| White-collar | 63 | 28 | 9 |
| Farmers | 46 | 33 | 21 |
| Business | 52 | 42 | 6 |
| Living on income | 47 | 44 | 9 |
| Professional | 43 | 51 | 6 |

**15.** (France May 16 '46) Are you in favor of a second Assembly having the powers of the Senate? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 44% | 51% | 5% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 40% | 57% | 3% |
| Women | 48 | 45 | 7 |

**16.** (France Aug 1 '46) Among the following ideas about the Constitution which do you prefer: (1) one legislative Chamber; president of the Republic elected by the Chamber, his powers honorary; president of Council elected by Chamber and responsible to it; (2) two Chambers; election of president of the Republic by the two Chambers; he chooses president of the Council who is responsible to the Chambers; (3) two Chambers; election of president of Republic by the two Chambers plus the representatives of the local assemblies; he names president of Council and ministers, who are responsible to him. (FIPO)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *None of these* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 31% | 26% | 23% | 5% | 15% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| | | | | | *None of these and No opinion* |
| Communist | 83% | 7% | 2% | | 8% |
| Socialist | 46 | 28 | 13 | | 13 |
| Other left | 15 | 49 | 21 | | 15 |
| MRP | 5 | 35 | 46 | | 14 |
| PRL | 4 | 28 | 53 | | 15 |

## Politics and Government

**1.** (US July 29 '41) Which of these two do you think comes closest to representing the opinion of the French people as a whole—the Vichy government under Marshal Pétain, or the Free French under General De Gaulle? Asked of a national cross-section of people who knew who General De Gaulle was. 36% of a national sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Vichy government under Marshal Pétain | 10% |
| Free French under General De Gaulle | 73 |
| Both | 2 |
| Neither | 3 |
| Other | 1 |
| No opinion | 11 |

**2.** (US Nov 25 '41) Do you happen to know who is the head of the present French government at Vichy? Those who said they knew who was head were asked: Who is it? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Did not know | 51% |
| Thought Pétain was head | 45 |
| Hitler | 1 |
| Darlan | 1 |
| Others | 2 |

**3.** (US Nov 25 '41) Do you think the French government will let the Germans use the French bases in North Africa against Britain? Asked of a national cross-section of people familiar with the current French government. (AIPO)

Yes 76% No 13% No opinion 11%

**4.** (US Nov 25 '41) Do you think the French government will let the Germans use the French fleet against Britain? Asked of a national cross-section of people familiar with the current French government. (AIPO)

Yes 65% No 22% No opinion 13%

**5.** (US Nov 25 '41) What is your opinion of this French government [at Vichy]? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| A puppet under Germany | 25% |
| A bad government | 7 |
| Trying to do the best they can in a difficult situation | 7 |
| Leaders do not truly represent the people | 2 |
| Are against Axis, will help Allies when and if they can | 1 |
| Are untrustworthy; two-faced | 1 |
| Other opinions | 1 |
| No opinion | 6 |
| Those who knew little or nothing about the Vichy government | 53 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (US Nov 25 '41) Which do you think is better for the United States to do—to tell the French government that we now consider it a full partner of Germany and break off all relations with this government, or to continue our relations with the French government, hoping to keep it from becoming a full partner of Germany? Asked of 47% of the sample familiar with the current French government. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Break off relations | 17% |
| Continue relations | 26 |
| Other | 1 |
| No choice | 3 |
| | 47% |

**7.** (Great Britain June '42) Do you think that the Vichy government really represents the attitude of the French people? 80% of the sample who said they thought the Vichy government did not represent the attitude of the French people were asked: Do you think the Free French really represent the attitude of the French people? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Vichy government is representative | 6% |
| Don't know whether or not Vichy government is representative | 14 |
| Free French government is representative | 59 |
| Neither is representative | 12 |
| Don't know whether or not Free French is representative | 9 |

**8.** (Great Britain June '42) Which do you think more truly represents the French people, the Vichy government or the Free French movement? Asked of 12% of the sample who thought neither the Vichy government nor the Free French represented the French people. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Vichy government | — |
| Free French | 10% |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 12% |

**9.** (US July 1 '42) Do you happen to know who the Free French are? Those who knew who the Free French were, were asked: Who are they? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct answer | 51% |
| Incorrect answer | 5 |
| No, don't know | 42 |
| No answer | 2 |

**10.** (Great Britain Dec 27 '42) Do you approve or disapprove of Admiral Darlan becoming head of the government in French North Africa? (BIPO)

Approve 18% Disapprove 51% Don't know 31%

**11.** (US Feb 3 '43) Whom would you prefer to see head of the French in North Africa, De Gaulle or Giraud? Asked of a national cross-section of those who knew who Giraud and De Gaulle were. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| De Gaulle | 35% |
| Giraud | 36 |
| Neither | 4 |
| No opinion | 25 |

**12.** (Great Britain Nov 20 '43) After the war, do you think that France will have a democratic government or some form of dictatorship? (BIPO)

Democratic 46% Dictatorship 14% Don't know 40%

**13.** (Great Britain Aug '44) Before the war France was counted as one of the great powers. Do you think it likely that she will become one again? (BIPO)

Yes 53% No 26% Don't know 21%

**14.** (France Apr 16 '45) Do you think the government should follow the advice of the Consultative Assembly? (FIPO)

Yes 71% No 12% No opinion 17%

**15.** (France Apr 16 '45) Do you think the government should be guided by the advice of the National Resistance Council? (FIPO)

Yes 70% No 16% No opinion 14%

**16.** (France Asked in May '45) In your opinion, should the composition of the government be modified as a result of the last elections? 56% of the sample who thought the composition of the government should be modified were asked: In which direction? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Present composition should be maintained | 22% |
| No opinion as to what should be done | 22 |
| Government should be more to the left | 41 |
| More "resistants" | 2 |
| Other answers | 9 |
| Don't know which direction | 4 |

**17.** (France May 16 '45) After the war, would you like to have a government of national unity, a Communist-Socialist, Socialist-Radical, Radical-Conservative, Conservative, Radical, Socialist, or authoritarian government? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| National unity | 30% |
| Socialist | 15 |
| Communist-Socialist | 13 |
| Communist | 7 |
| Authoritarian | 9 |
| Socialist-Radical | 7 |
| Radical | 4 |
| Conservative | 3 |
| Radical-Conservative | 1 |
| Other answers | 4 |
| No answer | 7 |

**18.** (France June 1 '45) After the liberation were you dissatisfied with the government's policy? (FIPO)

Yes 63% No 28% Don't know 9%

**19.** (France June 1 '45) What dissatisfied you most in internal affairs? Asked of 63% of the sample who said that after the liberation they were dissatisfied with the government's policy. (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Purge; repression of the black market and of illicit profits | 23% |
| Food distribution | 22 |
| General politics | 9 |
| Economic and financial politics | 7 |
| Lack of authority | 6 |
| Administrative confusion | 3 |
| Other answers | 9 |
| No answer | 37 |
| | 116%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who said they were dissatisfied with the government's policy, and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**20.** (France Asked in Sept '45) Do you agree that until the new Constitution is put into effect the rights of the state should be organized according to the law tentatively proposed by the government? (FIPO)

Yes 56% No 27% No opinion 17%

**21.** (France Oct '45, Nov '45, Feb 1 '46) After the next elections, which would you like to see, a government of national unity or one with a Socialist-Communist majority, or with a Socialist-MRP majority? (FIPO)

| | *Feb '46* | *Nov '46* | *Oct '45* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National unity | 32% | 37% | 13% |
| Socialist-Communist | 30 | 29 | 24 |
| Socialist-Communist and Radical-Socialist | — | — | 14 |
| Socialist and MRP | 19 | 25 | 20 |
| Socialist, MRP and Radical-Socialist | — | — | 17 |
| Other and no opinion | 19 | 9 | 12 |

**22.** (France Feb 16 '46, Mar 16 '46, Nov 1 '46) Do you approve or disapprove of the present government to date? (FIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '46 | 14% | 58% | 28% |
| Mar '46 | 26 | 45 | 29 |
| Nov '46 | 13 | 77 | 10 |
| MAR '46 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farmers | 35% | 34% | 31% |
| Professional | 36 | 46 | 18 |
| Workers | 31 | 46 | 23 |
| White-collar | 25 | 48 | 27 |
| Business | 23 | 54 | 23 |

**23.** (France Mar 1 '46) In your opinion, what is the main job of the new government? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Food supply | 41% |
| Financial problems | 33 |
| Reinstate France at home and abroad | 17 |
| Economic recovery; production | 15 |
| Stabilization of prices and wages | 9 |
| Struggle against the black market and its traffickers | 4 |
| The purge | 3 |
| Reconstruction | 2 |
| Other (i.e. clothing, nationalization, etc.) | 1 |
| No opinion | 13 |
| | 138%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**24.** (France July 16 '46) During the coming years, do you want to see government policy move to the left or to the right of what it is at present? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Move to the left | 35% |
| Move to the right | 26 |
| Stay as is | 19 |
| No opinion | 20 |

**25.** (France Nov 1 '46) Some people say that if things are not going well at present it is because we have a tripartite government made up of opposing factions which make it impossible to get things done. Do you think that things are not going well at the moment? 73% of the sample who thought things were not going well were asked: Do you agree with this explanation? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Think things are going well | 14% |
| No opinion as to how things are going | 13 |
| Think tripartite government responsible for things not going well | 56 |
| Government not responsible for things going badly | 9 |
| No opinion as to why things are not going well | 8 |

## Presidents (Election)

**1.** (France May 16 '45) Whom would you like to be president after the war? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| De Gaulle | 49% |
| Herriot | 4 |
| Lebrun | 2 |
| Thorez | 2 |
| Blum | 1 |
| Jeanneney | 1 |
| Others | 5 |
| No answer | 37 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (France July '45, Sept '45, Oct '45, Nov '45, Jan '46) Question 1: In your opinion who should be president of the new government after the next election? (Feb 1 '46) Question 2: In your opinion, who should be president of the Republic after the next election? (Apr 16 '46) Question 3: After the next election, it will be necessary to choose a president of the Republic. Whom would you like to see fill this office? (Asked in Dec '46) Question 4: The Council of the Republic and the National Assembly are going to elect a president of the Republic at the beginning of January. Whom would you like as president of the Republic? (Asked in Dec '46) Question 5: The National Assembly is going to elect a president of the government. Whom would you like as president of the government? (FIPO)

| | *July '45* | *Sept '45* | *Oct '45* | *Nov '45* | *Jan '46* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| De Gaulle | 71% | 64% | 65% | 75% | 28% |
| Maurice Thorez | 3 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 10 |
| Léon Blum | 2 | 6 | 6 | 3 | 7 |
| Jacques Duclos | — | — | — | — | 3 |
| Edouard Herriot | 8 | 8 | 6 | 2 | 2 |
| Félix Gouin | — | — | — | — | 2 |
| Others | 6 | 17 | 7 | 4 | 9 |
| No answer | 10 | | 11 | 10 | 39 |

| | *Feb '46 Question 2* | *Apr '46 Question 3* | *Dec '46 (early) Question 4* | *Dec '46 (late) Question 5* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| De Gaulle | 32% | 16% | 27% | 3% |
| Edouard Herriot | 6 | 5 | 25 | 12 |
| Léon Blum | 4 | 6 | 5 | 5 |
| Maurice Thorez | 2 | 3 | 1 | 16 |
| Félix Gouin | 2 | 11 | 2 | 5 |
| Georges Bidault | — | — | 4 | 21 |
| Marcel Cachin | — | — | 5 | — |
| Vincent Auriol | — | — | 3 | 5 |
| Francisque Gay | — | — | 2 | — |
| Robert Schuman | — | — | — | 2 |
| Jacques Duclos | — | — | — | 2 |
| Maurice Schumann | — | — | — | 1 |
| Others | 4 | 9 | 4 | 7 |
| No answer | 50 | 50 | 22 | 21 |

**3.** (France Dec 16 '45) The Constituent Assembly has just chosen the president of the government. Do you approve of this choice? (FIPO)

Yes 81% No 13% No opinion 6%

**4.** (France Mar 1 '46) Do you approve of the appointment of M. Gouin as president of the government? (FIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Indifferent* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 45% | 7% | 34% | 14% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 53% | 7% | 30% | 10% |
| Women | 37 | 6 | 39 | 18 |

**5.** (France Apr 16 '46) Two proposals are being made at the present time for the appointment of the president of the Republic. According to one, the president of the Republic would be elected by the Chamber of Deputies only. According to the other, the president of the Republic would be elected by the Chamber of Deputies and by one or two Consultative Assemblies anticipated by the projected Constitution. Which do you prefer? (FIPO)

| | *More Chambers* | *Only Chamber of Deputies* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 38% | 34% | 28% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional | 60% | 25% | 15% |
| Living on income | 57 | 26 | 17 |
| Business | 50 | 31 | 19 |
| White-collar | 38 | 39 | 23 |
| Workers | 32 | 44 | 24 |

**6.** (France Oct 1 '46) If you had to choose a president of the Republic among the following persons, MM. Auriol, Bidault, Blum, Delbos, De Gaulle, Giraud, Gouin, Herriot, Joliot-Curie, Leclerc, Thorez, whom would you prefer? Whom do you like least? (FIPO)

| | *Prefer* | *Like least* |
|---|---|---|
| General De Gaulle | 35% | 12% |
| Léon Blum | 11 | 3 |
| Maurice Thorez | 11 | 51 |
| Georges Bidault | 10 | 2 |
| Félix Gouin | 8 | 1 |
| Edouard Herriot | 8 | 2 |
| Joliot-Curie | 4 | 3 |
| General Leclerc | 4 | 4 |
| Vincent Auriol | 3 | 1 |
| General Giraud | 1 | 11 |
| Yvon Delbos | * | 2 |
| No answer | 5 | 8 |

* Less than 0.5%.

## Presidents (Powers and Duties)

**1.** (France Nov 1 '44) Should France's future Constitution grant greater powers to the president? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

Yes 58% No 22% No opinion 20%

**2.** (France Apr 16 '46) Should the president of the Republic, in your opinion, play an important political role, or should he exercise purely honorary functions? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Play an important role | 48% |
| Exercise honorary functions | 37 |
| No opinion | 15 |

**3.** (France Apr 16 '46) Should the president of the Republic have the right to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies if they overthrow the government? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 44% | 36% | 20% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Business | 59% | 28% | 13% |
| Professional | 57 | 34 | 9 |
| Living on income | 53 | 33 | 14 |
| White-collar | 41 | 48 | 11 |
| Workers | 39 | 43 | 18 |

**4.** (France May 16 '46) Should the president of the Republic keep the powers that he had before the war? (FIPO)

Yes 69% No 27% No opinion 4%

## FREE SPEECH

**1.** (US May 12 '38) Have you heard of Mayor Hague? 61% of the sample who said they had heard of Mayor Hague were asked: Do you think Mayor Hague is right in refusing to allow his political opponents to hold meetings in Jersey City? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Right in refusing | 11% |
| Not right | 41 |
| No opinion as to whether or not he is right | 9 |
| Haven't heard of Mayor Hague | 39 |

**2.** (US May 12 '38) A separate cross-section comparable to the one used for the preceding questions was asked: Have you heard of Mayor Hague of Jersey City? 63% of the sample who had heard of him were asked: Do you think Mayor Hague is right in refusing to allow radicals from out of town to hold meetings in Jersey City? (May 27 '38) Have you heard of Mayor Hague? 63% of the sample who had heard of him were asked: Do you think Mayor Hague is right in keeping radicals from holding meetings in Jersey City? (AIPO)

| | *May 12 '38* | *May 27 '38* |
|---|---|---|
| Right in refusing | 32% | 33% |
| Not right | 24 | 24 |
| No opinion as to whether or not he is right | 7 | 6 |
| Haven't heard of Mayor Hague | 37 | 37 |

**3.** (US May 27 '38) Do you believe in freedom of speech? 96% of the sample who said they believed in free speech were asked: Do you believe in it to the extent of allowing radicals to hold meetings and express their views in this community? (AIPO) (July 15 '42) Do you believe in free speech to the extent of allowing radicals to hold meetings and express their views in this community? (OPOR)

| | *May '38* | *July '42* |
|---|---|---|
| Don't believe in free speech | 3% | — |
| No opinion on the subject | 1 | 7% |
| Allow radicals to hold meetings | 38 | 29 |
| Not to the extent of allowing radicals to hold meetings | 53 | 64 |
| No opinion as to how far it should be carried | 5 | — |

**4.** (US June 9 '38) Do you believe in freedom of speech? 95% of the sample who said they believed in free speech were asked: Do you believe in it to the extent of allowing Communists to hold meetings and express their views in this community? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't believe in free speech | 3% |
| No opinion on the subject | 2 |
| Allow Communists to hold meetings | 35 |
| Not to the extent of allowing Communists to hold meetings | 53 |
| No opinion as to how far it should be carried | 7 |

**5.** (US June 9 '38) Do you believe in freedom of speech? 95% of the sample who said they believed in free speech were asked: Do you believe in it to the extent of allowing Fascists to hold meetings and express their views in this community? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't believe in free speech | 3% |
| No opinion on the subject | 2 |
| Allow Fascists to hold meetings | 34 |
| Not to the extent of allowing Fascists to hold meetings | 52 |
| No opinion as to how far it should be carried | 9 |

**6.** (US Nov 30 '39) Should colleges let leaders of the Communist party make speeches to student groups? (AIPO)

Yes 24% No 68% No opinion 8%

**7.** (US Feb '40) Do you think that in America anybody should be allowed to speak on any subject any time he wants to, or do you think there are times when free speech should be prohibited or certain subjects or speakers prohibited? (FOR)

| | *Anybody, any subject, any time* | *Prohibit some* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49.2% | 43.9% | 6.9% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 47.5% | 51.6% | 0.9% |
| Poor | 52.1 | 38.7 | 9.2 |

**8.** (US Feb '40) What subjects [should be prohibited]? Asked of 43.9% of the sample who thought that people should not be permitted to speak on some subjects, and some speakers should be prohibited. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Socialism, Communism, Nazism, and other isms | 40.2% |
| Subjects against our Constitution or form of government | 39.2 |
| War, foreign, or other propaganda | 11.4 |
| Subjects concerning religion and morals | 8.6 |
| Un-American subjects | 7.9 |
| Subjects concerning labor, strikes, or likely to cause riot | 5.3 |
| Politics | 2.1 |
| Subjects against the President | 2.0 |
| Other | 4.4 |
| | 121.1%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who thought there should be some limitation of freedom of speech in America and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**9.** (US Feb '40) What speakers [should be prohibited]? Asked of 43.9% of the sample who thought some people should not be permitted to speak, and discussion of some subjects should not be allowed. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Browder, Communists, reds, radicals, Thomas, Socialists | 40.0% |
| Kuhn, Bund leaders, Nazis, Fascists | 17.9 |
| Anyone speaking against our form of government | 15.2 |
| Foreigners, aliens | 13.4 |
| Propagandists, agitators, troublemakers | 9.8 |
| Poorly informed crackpots | 3.2 |
| Lewis, Green, Bridges, labor leaders | 3.0 |
| Father Coughlin | 2.8 |
| Other | 13.4 |
| | 118.7%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who thought there should be some limitation of freedom of speech in America and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**10.** (US July 20 '40) Here are some measures which have been suggested to improve our national defense. Should persons who oppose our present form of government be forbidden to express their opinions in public, or should they be free to express such opinions? (OPOR) (Nov 19 '40) In order to improve our national defense, do you think persons who oppose our present form of government should be forbidden to express their opinions in public, or should they be free to express such opinions? (AIPO)

| | *Should be forbidden* | *Should be free* | *Qualified answers* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| July '40 | 38% | 50% | 9% | 3% |
| Nov '40 | 30 | 57 | 7 | 6 |

**11.** (US Nov 19 '40) Do you believe in freedom of speech? 97% of the sample who said they believed in free speech were asked: Do you believe in it to the extent of allowing Fascists and Communists to hold meetings and express their views in this community? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't believe in free speech | 1% |
| Don't know whether or not believe in it | 2 |
| Feel strongly that Fascists and Communists should be allowed to hold meetings | 4 |
| Should be allowed to hold meetings, but don't feel very strongly about it | 18 |
| Feel strongly that they should not be allowed to hold meetings | 48 |
| Shouldn't be allowed, but don't feel very strongly about it | 22 |
| Don't know how far it should be carried | 5 |

**12.** (US Jan 28 '41 and July 10 '41) In Jan two separate but comparable cross-sections were questioned. The first was asked: Do you think that in America anybody should be allowed to speak on any subject any time he wants to, or do you think there are times when free speech should be prohibited or certain subjects or speakers prohibited? The second cross-section was asked: Do you think that in America anybody should be allowed to speak on any subject any time he wants to, or do you think there are times when free speech should be prohibited? Both samples were asked the follow-up question: Do you believe in free speech to the extent of allowing Fascists and Communists to hold meetings and express their views in this community? In July, only the questions as put to the second cross-section were used. 44% of the first Jan cross-section, 47% of the second, and 44% of the July sample thought free speech should be allowed at all times. These groups were asked the follow-up question. (OPOR)

| | *First Jan cross-section* | *Second Jan cross-section* | *July cross-section* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Free speech should be prohibited sometimes | 53% | 51% | 53% |
| No opinion on the subject at all | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| Allow Fascists and Communists to hold meetings | 20 | 19 | 16 |
| Don't allow meetings to be held | 22 | 25 | 26 |
| No opinion as to whether or not meetings should be allowed | 2 | 3 | 2 |

**13.** (US Feb 14 '42) When the war is over, do you think the United States should or should not take a full and active part along with other nations in guaranteeing freedom of speech all over the world? (NORC)

Should 82% Should not 11% Don't know 7%

**14.** (US Nov '43 and Nov '45) In peacetime, do you think people in this country should be allowed to say anything they want to in a public speech? 34% of the 1943 sample and 32% of the 1945 sample who answered "no" were asked: What should not be allowed? (NORC)

| | *Nov '43* | *Nov '45* |
|---|---|---|
| Should be allowed to say anything | 63% | 64% |
| Nothing against the government | 12 | 15 |
| Not propaganda; no racial or religious propaganda | 2 | 2 |
| No riot or rabble rousing; not cause unrest or riot | 4% | 1% |
| Nothing obscene; not slander | 11 | 7 |
| No, didn't specify what | 5 | — |
| Not group prejudice | 3 | — |
| No trouble making | — | 4 |
| No stumping for factions | — | 3 |
| No secret information to other countries | — | 2 |
| Don't know | 3 | 4 |
| | 103%* | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**15.** (US Nov '43) In peacetime, do you think anyone in the United States should be allowed to make speeches against certain races in this country? (NORC)

Yes 17% No 77% Don't know 6%

**16.** (US June 12 '46) Are people in Russia free to criticize their government publicly? (AIPO)

Yes 7% No 75% No opinion 18%

**17.** (Germany Nov 25 '46) Should the German people have complete freedom of speech? (OMGUS)

Yes 77% No 14% No answer * No opinion 9%

* Less than 0.5%.

## FRENCH-CANADIANS

**1.** (Canada Aug 15 '42) In general, do you believe that French-Canadians have been well treated in the civil service, war industries, the army, in business? Asked of a cross-section of French-Canadians. (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| The civil service | 26% | 60% | 14% |
| War industries | 29 | 54 | 17 |
| The army | 26 | 55 | 19 |
| In business | 26 | 53 | 21 |

## FUEL

**1.** (Great Britain June '42) Were you short of coal last winter? (BIPO)

Yes 29% No 71%

**2.** (Great Britain June '42) Do you think that rationing would make your situation better or worse? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 32% |
| Worse | 22 |
| Same | 28 |
| Don't know | 18 |

**3.** (Sweden Aug '42) Do you think that the government should take care of the national fuel supply by introducing a compulsory labor service and sending manpower to the woods? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 17% | 28% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 58% | 22% | 20% |
| Women | 52 | 12 | 36 |

**4.** (Great Britain Sept 20 '42) Have you worked out your fuel target yet? (BIPO)

Yes 16% No 84%

**5.** (Great Britain Oct '42) Are you in favor of compulsory fuel rationing for households? (BIPO)

Yes 51% No 37% Don't know 12%

**6.** (US Dec 2 '42) Is the place where you live heated with oil? (AIPO)

Yes 16% No 84%

**7.** (US Feb 3 '43) What is the type of fuel mainly used to heat the place where you live? (Jan 17 '45) What type of fuel is mainly used to heat the place where you live? (AIPO)

| | *Feb '43* | *Jan '45* |
|---|---|---|
| Oil | 12% | 15% |
| Kerosene | 4 | 2 |
| Gas | 17 | 16 |
| Wood | 18 | 17 |
| Coal | 19 | 55 |
| Other | 35 | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 | 1 |
| | 106%* | 107%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**8.** (US Feb 3 '43) Do you think the rationing of fuel oil has been handled fairly in your area? 13% of the sample who said they thought fuel oil rationing had not been handled fairly were asked: In what way has it been handled unfairly? Asked of a national cross-section of oil furnace owners living in a state where fuel oil was rationed. (AIPO)

| | *Total 30 states with fuel oil rationing* | *Oil users* | *Others* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Handled unfairly because: | | | |
| Inefficiently run; clerical errors; etc. | 2% | 6% | 1% |
| Inequality in apportionment; same size house gets different ration | 2 | 6 | 2 |
| Unfairness in distribution to consumers; favoritism shown by rationing boards; some people get as much as they want; if you know "right" party you can get oil; the "wrong" people get the right number of stamps; too much political chicanery | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Not enough to go around; lots of people are freezing; insufficient oil for heating; some homes and apartment houses have been without heat for days | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| Those who saved oil last winter suffer disproportionately by being cut down; no allowances made for those who economized last year | 1 | 1 | — |
| Other answers | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Didn't say in what way | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Those who think the rationing is being handled fairly | 54 | 68 | 53 |
| Those with no opinion | 33 | 9 | 36 |

**9.** (US Oct 22 '43 and May 18 '44) Do you think the rationing of fuel oil has been handled very well, only fairly well, or poorly? 3% of both samples who said they thought it had been handled only fairly well and 4% of both samples who thought it had been handled poorly were asked: In what way hasn't it been handled as well as it could have been? The 1943 question was asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | *Oct '43* | *May '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Has been handled very well | 35% | 43% |
| Don't know whether it has been handled well or poorly | 58 | 50 |
| Poor distribution; individual allotments are unfair; unequal | 2 | 1 |
| Allotment too small; points too high; should have more points; ration too small (general) | 2 | 3 |
| Regional distribution is unfair, unequal | 1 | — |
| Answered in terms of shortages | 1 | — |
| Enforcement of regulations too lax | — | 1 |
| Miscellaneous ways | — | 1 |
| Didn't say in what way | 1 | 1 |

**10.** (US Oct 22 '43 and May 18 '44) Who do you think is mainly responsible? Asked of 3% of both samples who said they thought fuel oil rationing had been handled only fairly well and 4% of both samples who thought it had been handled poorly. (NORC)

| | *Oct '43* | *May '44* |
|---|---|---|
| General government bureaucracy | 1% | 2% |
| OPA | 1 | 1 |
| Local ration board | 1 | 1 |
| People in charge of rationing (national) | 1 | — |
| Miscellaneous | — | 1 |
| Didn't say who was responsible | 3 | — |
| Don't know | — | 2 |
| | 7% | 7% |

**11.** (US Dec 10 '43) Of course, we know there isn't enough for everyone to have all he wants, but how about fuel oil and kerosene? Does your ration allow you and your family as much as you need, less than you need, or more than you need? 6% of the sample who said the ration allowed them less than they needed were asked: Have you ever tried to get any extra allowances of fuel oil and kerosene from your ration board? Asked of a national cross-section of women marketers. (June 2 '44) Does your ration allow you to get all the rationed fuel oil and kerosene your family really needs? 5% of the sample who said the ration allowed them less than they needed were asked: Have you ever tried to get any extra allowances of fuel oil or kerosene from your ration board? Asked of a national cross-section of women marketers. (NORC)

| | *Dec '43* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Get as much as needed | 28% | 32% |
| Get more than needed | 1 | * |
| Don't know whether or not get all needed | 3 | 4 |
| Don't use | 62 | 59 |
| Have tried to get extra allowance | 3 | 4 |
| Have not tried | 3 | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**12.** (US Dec 10 '43 and June 2 '44) What happened? Asked of 3% of the 1943 sample and 4% of the 1944 sample of women marketers who had tried to get extra fuel oil from their ration board. (NORC)

| | 1943 | 1944 |
|---|---|---|
| Got allotment | 2% | 2% |
| Got only part of it | — | 1 |
| Other answers or don't know | 1 | 1 |
| | 3% | 4% |

**13.** (US Feb 20 '45) The war mobilization director has recently requested that all places of entertainment be closed by midnight to conserve fuel and other war resources. Do you approve or disapprove of this? (AIPO)

| | Approve | Disapprove | Undecided |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 82% | 13% | 5% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 75% | 18% | 7% |
| 30–49 years | 82 | 13 | 5 |
| 50 years and over | 86 | 10 | 4 |

**14.** (Sweden Sept '45) Have you any idea whether the fuel supplies for the coming winter are being planned well or badly? (SGI)

| | Well | Satisfactorily | Badly | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 11% | 20% | 29% | 40% |
| Executives only | 20 | 35 | 37 | 8 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 6% | 26% | 32% | 36% |
| Middle class | 12 | 20 | 28 | 40 |
| Workers | 11 | 19 | 28 | 42 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Large towns | 9% | 19% | 35% | 37% |
| Other towns | 10 | 18 | 35 | 37 |
| Country | 12 | 20 | 25 | 43 |

**15.** (Sweden Sept '45) What do you consider the greatest points of neglect or miscalculation [in the fuel supply plan for the coming winter]? Asked of 29% of the sample who thought the plan was bad. (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too low chopping wages | 13% |
| Wood prices bad | 4 |
| Price politics | 2 |
| Transport system bad | 8 |
| Miscalculation of import possibilities | 5 |
| Too few laborers for the woods | 17 |
| Wood cutting began too late | 2 |
| Faulty system and lack of firmness in the organization | 15 |
| Other reasons | 10 |
| Don't know | 24 |
| | 100% |

of those questioned

**16.** (Great Britain Sept 29 '45) Do you think that you and your family are likely to be cold this winter from lack of fuel? (BIPO)

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 51% | 16% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher class | 19% | 72% | 9% |
| Middle class | 26 | 63 | 11 |
| Lower class | 37 | 45 | 18 |

**17.** (Canada Oct 6 '45) At the present time, do you have enough coal to last you all winter? 66% of the sample who said they did not have enough were asked: Would you say you have more than half or less than half of your winter's needs? Only householders who had to furnish their own fuel and who used coal or coke were questioned. (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Have full winter's supply | 31% |
| More than half | 13 |
| About half | 14 |
| Less than half | 25 |
| None at all | 14 |
| Uncertain how much | 3 |

**18.** (Canada Oct 6 '45) Have you taken any definite steps to see that you burn less coal this year than last? Asked of a national cross-section of coal users. (CIPO)

Have taken steps 34% Have not 66%

**19.** (Germany Dec 11 '45) What do you think of the ration system for fuel? Is it impartially carried out or not? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Impartial | 75% |
| Not impartial | 6 |
| No opinion | 18 |
| No answer | 1 |

**20.** (Germany Dec 11 '45) Do you, or anyone in your family, help in some way to provide fuel for the winter? 23% of the sample who said they did not help were asked: Why not? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Help provide winter fuel | 77% |
| Haven't time to help | 6 |
| Too old; too weak; sick | 4 |
| No ways and means provided | 2 |
| No point in gathering wood | 1 |
| Have fuel enough | 6 |
| Other answers | 2 |
| No answer | 2 |

**21.** (Great Britain Feb 16 '46) Have you had enough coal or other fuel to keep you warm so far this winter? (BIPO)

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 65% | 35% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 68% | 32% |
| Women | 62 | 38 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 21–29 years | 68% | 32% |
| 30–49 years | 63 | 37 |
| 50 years and over | 66 | 34 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Higher | 76% | 24% |
| Middle | 73 | 27 |
| Lower | 61 | 39 |
| Very poor | 53 | 47 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| London and southern England | 73% | 27% |
| Midlands and northern England | 61 | 39 |
| Wales | 65 | 35 |
| Scotland | 47 | 53 |

**22.** (Hungary Sept '46) Can you now buy sufficient fuel? (HIPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 25% |
| No | 36 |
| Only part | 35 |
| Uncertain | 4 |

# GAMBLING

**1.** (Great Britain Mar '38) Do you regularly complete coupons for football pools? 60% of the sample who said they did not were asked: Do you occasionally complete coupons for football pools? (BIPO)

Occasionally 12% Never 48% Regularly 40%

**2.** (Great Britain Mar '38) About what sum do you stake on the average? Asked of 52% of the sample who bet something regularly or occasionally in football pools. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 6d | 24% |
| 1s | 27 |
| More than 1s., not more than a half crown | 39 |
| More than a half crown | 10 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**3.** (Great Britain Mar '38) Would you like to see football pools regulated by the state? (BIPO)

Yes 22% No 29% No opinion 49%

**4.** (Great Britain Mar '38) Would you prefer a state lottery? (BIPO)

Yes 29% No 21% No opinion 50%

**5.** (US July 13 '38, Sept 17 '41, Dec 28 '44) During the past year have you done any of the following things: bought a ticket in a church raffle or lottery; bought a sweepstakes ticket; bet on an election or some sports event; bought a number on a punch board; played cards or other games for money, such as dice; bet on a horse race; played a slot machine; played the numbers game? (AIPO)

| | *July '38* | *Sept '41* | *Dec '44* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Church raffle or lottery | 29% | 24% | 24% |
| Sweepstakes ticket | 13 | — | — |
| Bet on election or other event | 19 | 21 | 17 |
| Bought punch board number | 26 | 23 | 15 |
| Played games for money | 21 | 24 | 20 |
| Bet on horse race | 10 | 9 | 7 |
| Played slot machine | 23 | 24 | 16 |
| Numbers game | 9 | 8 | 7 |
| None of them | 47 | 46 | 55 |
| | 197%* | 179%* | 161%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

20% of the 1944 sample who said they had played cards or other games for money, such as dice, were asked: Which games?

| | |
|---|---|
| Poker, penny ante, stud poker | 52% |
| Rummy, gin rummy, Michigan, "500" | 17 |
| Dice, craps | 15 |
| Bridge | 11 |
| Pinochle | 7 |
| Bingo, screeno, keeno | 5 |
| Black Jack, "7½," "21" | 5 |
| Other games including: fantan, solitaire, cribbage, smudge, pan, etc | 6 |
| Cards, unspecified | 5 |
| Didn't say | 15% |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| | 142%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who had played cards or other games for money and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**6.** (US July 13 '38, Sept 17 '41, Dec 28 '44) On the whole, have you made or lost money on these games of chance? Asked of 53% of the 1938 sample, 54% of the 1941 sample, 45% of the 1944 sample who had played a game of chance during the previous year. (AIPO)

| | *Made* | *Lost* | *Even* | | *No answer* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1938 | 22% | 68% | 10% | = 100% | 10% | |
| 1941 | 8 | 31 | 18 | | 43 | = 100% |
| 1944 | 15 | 49 | 36 | | | = 100% |
| | | | | | | of those questioned |

**7.** (Great Britain Oct '38) Do you go in for football pools? (BIPO)

Yes 47% No 53%

**8.** (Great Britain Nov '44) Do you approve or disapprove of football pools? (BIPO)

Approve 59% Disapprove 27% Don't know 14%

**9.** (Great Britain Nov '44) If [football] pools do continue, should they be run for private profits, or run by the government like the horse-racing tote profits going to public purposes? (BIPO)

Private 19% Public 56% Don't know 25%

**10.** (Great Britain Oct '46) The chancellor of the exchequer says that he is considering a plan to tax betting. Would you approve or disapprove of a tax on all forms of betting including football pools? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 58% | 30% | 12% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 60% | 33% | 7% |
| Women | 56 | 26 | 18 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 47% | 38% | 15% |
| 30–49 years | 56 | 31 | 11 |
| 50 years and over | 63 | 24 | 13 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 73% | 19% | 8% |
| Middle | 65 | 25 | 10 |
| Lower | 54 | 33 | 13 |
| Very poor | 48 | 37 | 15 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative | 61% | 27% | 12% |
| Labor | 57 | 33 | 10 |
| Liberal | 62 | 19 | 19 |
| Other voters | 52 | 41 | 7 |
| Non-voters | 54 | 30 | 16 |

# GASES, ASPHYXIATING AND POISONOUS

## War Use

**1.** (Great Britain Dec '39 and Oct '40) Interviewers were asked to check whether the respondents were or were not carrying

gas masks. The percentages were calculated on the basis of interviews made in the street. Interviews made in the door were ignored in the calculation. The results were: (BIPO)

| | *Dec '39* | *Oct '40* |
|---|---|---|
| Those respondents who carry gas masks | 34% | 51% |
| Those respondents who do not carry gas masks | 66 | 49 |

**2.** (US Sept 20 '44) If it means an earlier end to the war in the Pacific, would you approve or disapprove of the Allies using poison gas against Japanese cities? (AIPO)

Approve 23% Disapprove 71% No opinion 6%

**3.** (US Sept 20 '44) If it would shorten the war in Europe, would you approve or disapprove of using poison gas against German cities? (AIPO)

Approve 20% Disapprove 76% No opinion 4%

**4.** (US Dec 12 '44) The Japs say they will execute any American bomber pilots forced to land in Japan. If the Japs do this, should we use poison gas against Japanese cities? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 47% | 10% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 24% | 70% | 6% |
| Completed high school | 37 | 56 | 7 |
| High school, incomplete | 47 | 46 | 7 |
| Grade school only | 49 | 38 | 13 |

**5.** (US Mar 20 '45 and May 15 '45) If it would shorten the war in the Pacific, would you approve or disapprove of using poison gas against Japanese soldiers? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '45 | 36% | 59% | 5% |
| May '45 | 30 | 64 | 6 |

**6.** (US Mar 20 '45) If you were a soldier, which would you most hate to have used against you—a flame thrower or poison gas? (AIPO)

Flame thrower 33% Poison gas 48% Don't know 19%

**7.** (US Mar 20 '45 and May 15 '45) Do you think the American armed forces should use poison gas against the Japanese soldiers? 31% of the March sample thought poison gas should be used and 63% thought it should not. Both these groups were asked: Why? (AIPO)

MARCH RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know whether or not we should use it | 6% |
| Anything to annihilate them, nothing too bad; gas is the easiest way to kill them since we have to kill them anyway; the quickest way | 12 |
| If they use it first we should use it | 7 |
| They are hardly human; they are treacherous; not worthy of decent warfare | 4 |
| It is the only way to shorten the war | 3 |
| Their atrocities against us warrant it; they have asked for it | 2 |
| Our casualties would be lower; it would save lives | 2 |
| Too cruel, uncivilized, inhuman; not fair; mass killing of men | 17 |
| Japs would retaliate; might do the same thing to us | 11 |
| We shouldn't lower ourselves | 3 |
| Innocent persons harmed—their war lords make them fight | 1 |
| Experience in last war proves we should not use it | 1 |
| Unchristian; against my religion | 1 |
| Only if they use it first | 21% |
| Other reasons why we shouldn't use poison gas | 2 |
| Didn't say why we shouldn't use it | 7 |

MAY RESULTS

Yes 26% No 65% No opinion 9%

**8.** (US June 12 '45) Would you favor or oppose using poison gas against the Japanese if doing so would reduce the number of American soldiers who are killed and wounded? (AIPO)

Favor 40% Oppose 49% No opinion 11%

**9.** (US June 12 '45) If the heads of our army said that lives of many of our soldiers would be spared by using poison gas against the Japanese, would you favor or oppose using poison gas? (AIPO)

Favor 39% Oppose 54% No opinion 7%

## GASOLINE

**1.** (US Aug 26 '41) Do you own or operate a passenger automobile? 59% of the sample who said they operated a passenger automobile were asked: About how many gallons of gasoline per week do you now use? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't own a passenger car | 40% |
| Didn't answer the first question | 1 |
| Use 1–4 gallons per week | 5 |
| 5 gallons | 10 |
| 6–9 gallons | 6 |
| 10 gallons | 11 |
| 11–15 gallons | 9 |
| 16–20 gallons | 5 |
| 21–30 gallons | 5 |
| Over 30 gallons | 5 |
| Didn't say how much gasoline | 3 |

**2.** (US Aug 26 '41) What is the least number of gallons [of gasoline] per week that you could get along on in the next two months? Asked of 59% of the sample who operated passenger cars. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1–4 gallons | 7% |
| 5 gallons | 9 |
| 6–9 gallons | 6 |
| 10 gallons | 10 |
| 11–15 gallons | 9 |
| 16–20 gallons | 6 |
| 21–30 gallons | 6 |
| Over 30 gallons | 3 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 59% |

**3.** (US Aug 26 '41) Do you think Congress should investigate the gasoline situation, or do you think such an investigation is unnecessary? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Congress should investigate | 51% |
| Investigation is unnecessary | 33 |
| No answer | 2 |
| No opinion | 14 |

**4.** (US May 21 '42) What kind of a ration card did you get? Asked of a cross-section of car or truck owners in gas-rationed areas. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| A | 30% |
| B–1 | 7 |
| B–2 | 10 |
| B–3 | 29 |
| X | 10 |
| None | 5 |
| All others | 7 |
| No answer | 2 |

**5.** (US May 21 '42) Can you get along on your present gas ration without serious sacrifice? Asked of a cross-section of car or truck owners in gas-rationed areas who received ration cards other than X. (AIPO)

Yes 75% No 23% No answer 2%

**6.** (US May 21 '42) If it becomes necessary to give up using your car altogether, will it make any great difference to you? Asked of a national cross-section of car or truck owners in gas-rationed areas. 51% of the sample who said it would make a great difference if they had to give np the use of their car altogether were then asked: In what way? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Said it would not make any difference | 48% |
| No opinion as to whether or not it would make a difference | 1 |
| Would make a difference because need car for transportation to and from work | 17 |
| Need car for business | 25 |
| Have no other means of transportation | 6 |
| Need transportation for old and crippled | 1 |
| Other reasons | 2 |

**7.** (US May 21 '42) Why do you think the government is rationing gasoline in this area? Asked in gas-rationed areas. (AIPO) (May 30 '42) Why do you think the government is rationing gasoline in certain areas of the country? (AIPO) (July 23 '43, Dec 18 '43, Apr 28 '44) What do you think is the main reason for rationing gasoline in this part of the country? (NORC)

| | *May 21 '42* | *May 30 '42* | *July '43* | *Dec '43 Newly rationed areas* | *Dec '43 Old-rationed areas* | *Apr '44* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Because of gas shortage; to conserve gas | 34% | 11% | 8% | 14% | 13% | 15% |
| Transportation situation; shortage of transportation facilities usually implied | 22 | 32 | 12 | 4 | 29 | 16 |
| To conserve tires | 21 | 29 | 43 | 32 | 8 | 12 |
| For the war; because of the war | 8 | 11 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| Gas is needed for more important things, planes, etc. | 5 | 5 | 20 | 29 | 43 | 27 |
| To make us war-conscious | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| To save automobiles | — | 1 | — | — | — | 2 |
| For the sake of fairness; to equalize sacrifice | — | — | 4 | 18 | 6 | 18 |
| Just to satisfy Easterners | — | — | 3 | 5 | * | 4 |
| Politics are to blame | — | — | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Lack of foresight or knowledge on part of administration | — | — | 1 | * | * | * |
| No reason for it here | — | — | — | — | — | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 2 |
| Don't know; no opinion; not ascertainable | 12 | 11 | 7 | 4 | 5 | 10 |
| Percentages | 109** | 110** | 109** | 117** | 115** | 113** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

**8.** (US May 21 '42 and May 30 '42) How necessary do you think gas rationing is? The May 21 question was asked in gas-rationed areas. (June 9 '42, June 26 '42, July 11 '42, July 18 '42, Sept 16 '42, Nov 8 '42, Nov 19 '42, Dec 11 '42, July 23 '43, Dec 18 '43, Apr 28 '44) Do you think gasoline rationing throughout the nation is necessary? (Dec 2 '42) Do you think that gasoline rationing in this area is necessary? (AIPO, NORC)

| | *Yes, necessary* | *No, not necessary* | *Depends on section* | *Don't know or no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| AIPO May 21 '42 | 59% | 19% | — | 22% |
| AIPO May 30 '42 | 52 | 27 | 4% | 17 |
| AIPO June 9 '42 | 34 | 50 | — | 16 |
| NORC June 26 '42 | 38 | 45 | — | 17 |
| NORC July 11 '42 | 36 | 46 | — | 18 |
| NORC July 18 '42 | 37 | 48 | — | 15 |
| NORC Sept 16 '42 | 51 | 33 | — | 16 |
| NORC Nov 8 '42 | 55 | 36 | — | 9 |
| NORC Nov 19 '42 | 54 | 35 | — | 11 |
| AIPO Dec 2 '42 | 62 | 31 | — | 7 |
| NORC Dec 11 '42: | | | | |
| Old-rationed areas | 79 | 14 | — | 7 |
| Newly rationed areas | 67 | 26 | — | 7 |
| NORC July 23 '43 | 66 | 26 | — | 8 |
| NORC Dec 18 '43: | | | | |
| Newly rationed areas | 72 | 21 | — | 7 |
| Old-rationed areas | 81 | 12 | — | 7 |
| NORC Apr 28 '44 | 72 | 19 | — | 9 |
| AIPO DEC 2 '42 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 74% | 18% | — | 8% |
| East central | 55 | 41 | — | 4 |
| West central | 51 | 40 | — | 9 |
| South | 59 | 34 | — | 7 |
| Far West | 60 | 37 | — | 3 |
| Car owners only | 60 | 34 | — | 6 |
| States previously under gasoline rationing | 76 | 19 | — | 5 |
| States put under gasoline rationing this month | 50 | 47 | — | 3 |

**9.** (US Nov 19 '42, Dec 2 '42, Dec 11 '42, July 23 '43, Dec 18 '43, Apr 28 '44) All samples were asked to give reasons for their attitude toward gasoline rationing. (NORC, AIPO)

RATIONING NECESSARY

| | NORC *Nov 19 '42* | AIPO *Dec 2 '42* | NORC *Apr 28 '44* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Save rubber, tires | 28% | 57% | 7% |
| For the war | — | 12 | 37 |
| Save gasoline | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| Save gasoline for military use | 11 | 6 | 8 |
| Save gasoline to avoid transportation shortage | 4 | 7 | 1 |
| Prevent non-essential driving | 8 | 13 | 6 |
| Equalize sacrifice | 6 | — | 12 |
| Government thinks it necessary | 2 | 4 | 2 |
| Makes cars last longer | — | — | 2 |
| Make people conscious of war | 1 | — | — |
| If nationwide | — | 2 | — |

| | NORC *Nov 19 '42* | AIPO *Dec 2 '42* | NORC *Apr 28 '44* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Miscellaneous | 2% | 1% | 1% |
| Not ascertainable; no answer; don't know | 2 | 5 | 1 |
| | 68%* | 110%** | 81%* |

* Percentages add to more than the percentages questioned because some respondents gave more than one answer.

** 62% of the total sample thought gasoline rationing necessary. These percentages are based on the number of respondents who thought rationing necessary and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

RATIONING UNNECESSARY

| | NORC *Nov 19 '42* | AIPO *Dec 2 '42* | NORC *Old-rationed Dec 11 '42* | NORC *Newly rationed Dec 11 '42* | NORC *July 23 '43* | NORC *Newly rationed Dec 18 '43* | NORC *Old-rationed Dec 18 '43* | NORC *Apr 28 '44* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No shortage | 19% | 58% | 11% | 19% | 14% | 12% | 4% | 11% |
| Transportation no problem | 2 | 3 | — | — | 2 | 1 | 1 | — |
| Voluntary driving limitation | 3 | — | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Reduced speed | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Saving tires an individual matter | 3 | — | 1 | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| Other reasons mentioning tires | 3 | — | * | 3 | 1 | 1 | — | — |
| Would cause transportation problem; wouldn't give people necessary gas; sufficient gas, but no transportation | 5 | 18 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Business will suffer | 2 | — | — | 1 | — | * | 1 | — |
| Racketeering | 1 | — | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| Tire-saving device | — | 16 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Unfair that one area should suffer | — | 2 | — | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Miscellaneous | 4 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Not ascertainable or no answer | 1 | 17 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Percentages | 44** | 119† | 18** | 34** | 27** | 22** | 13** | 19** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than the percentages questioned because some respondents gave more than one answer.

† Percentages are based on the number of respondents who thought rationing unnecessary (31%) and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**10.** (US May 21 '42) Do you think the gasoline rationing is being handled fairly in this community? 27% of the sample who said they didn't think gas rationing had been handled fairly were asked: What is your criticism? Asked in gas-rationed areas. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, it is being handled fairly | 56% |
| Rationing has been too lax; too much politics | 21 |
| Rationing has been too strict | 1 |
| Gasoline stations have sold gas and not punched cards | 3 |
| Other reasons why it isn't handled fairly | 2 |
| Don't know whether or not it is being handled fairly | 17 |

**11.** (US May 21 '42) Congressmen and Senators receive cards which permit them an unlimited amount of gasoline. What is your opinion of this policy? Asked in a gas-rationed area. (AIPO)

| *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Qualified answers* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 19% | 63% | 13% | 5% |

**12.** (US June 9 '42, June 26 '42, July 11 '42, Sept 16 '42, Nov 8 '42, Dec 11 '42, July 23 '43) Do you think gasoline rationing is the best way to save tires? (AIPO, NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know or no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| AIPO June 9 '42 | 63% | 27% | 10% |
| NORC June 26 '42 | 69 | 21 | 10 |
| NORC July '42 | 71 | 19 | 10 |
| NORC Sept '42 | 77 | 14 | 9 |
| NORC Nov '42 | 79 | 15 | 6 |
| NORC Dec '42: | | | |
| Old-rationed | 84 | 11 | 5 |
| Newly rationed | 82 | 14 | 4 |
| NORC July 23 '43 | 80 | 15 | 5 |

**13.** (US Dec 11 '42 and July 23 '43) What do you think would be the best way to save tires? Asked of 11% of the Dec '42 sample in the old-rationed areas and 14% in the newly rationed areas and of 15% of the July '43 national sample who thought gasoline rationing was not the best way to save tires. (NORC)

| | *Old-rationed areas Dec '42* | *Newly rationed areas Dec '42* | *July '43* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Eliminate unnecessary driving by voluntary means | 1% | 2% | 3% |
| Specific mention of strict check on necessary driving; by enforced means | 9 | 10 | 1 |
| Enforce speed limit | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Save rubber; conserve rubber in other ways | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Curtail driving | — | — | 3 |
| Put cars out of commission for the duration | — | — | 1 |
| Government should requisition cars | — | — | * |
| Requisition non-essential tires | — | — | * |
| Miscellaneous | * | 2 | 2 |
| Not ascertainable; no suggestions | — | 1 | 1 |
| | 12%** | 18%** | 16%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Totals more than percentages questioned because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**14.** (US June 9 '42) Do you go shopping less frequently than you did before gas rationing started? Asked of a sample of car or truck owners in gas-rationed areas. (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 43%

**15.** (US June 9 '42) Without giving any names, have you heard of any cases where service stations or garages sell gasoline to customers without punching the full amount on ration cards? Asked of a cross-section of car owners in gas-rationed areas. (AIPO)

Yes 43% No 57%

**16.** (US June 9 '42) Do you think there should be any punishment of service station operators who disobey gasoline ration-

ing rules? 69% of the sample who thought they should be punished were asked: What should the punishment be? Asked of a cross-section of car owners in gas-rationed areas. (AIPO) (Apr 28 '44) If a dealer sells gas and doesn't collect enough coupons do you think he should be punished in any way? 79% of the sample who thought he should be punished were asked: In what way? Asked of a national cross-section of car users. (NORC)

| | *June '42* | *Apr '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Shouldn't be punished | 17% | 11% |
| No opinion as to whether or not they should be punished | 14 | 10 |
| Should lose selling privileges temporarily or permanently; have their licenses revoked | 26 | 34 |
| Should be fined | 25 | 9 |
| Imprisonment; should have jail sentences | 3 | 3 |
| Should be let off with warning | 1 | — |
| Leave punishment up to proper authorities: OPA, court, the law | — | 9 |
| More drastic punishment suggested for more serious offenders | — | 6 |
| Restrict his business | — | 4 |
| More than one punishment | — | 3 |
| Mild punishment | — | 3 |
| Publicize the offense | — | 1 |
| Miscellaneous suggestions | — | * |
| Don't know what the punishment should be | 13 | 7 |
| Operators should be fired | 1 | — |

* Less than 0.5%.

**17.** (US July 14 '42) Do you think we will have gasoline rationing throughout the entire country within the next six months? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 47% | 41% | 12% |
| Rationed areas | 52 | 34 | 14 |
| Non-rationed areas | 45 | 44 | 11 |

**18.** (US July 14 '42) Do you think it is necessary to ration gasoline throughout the country in order to save tires? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 44% | 7% |
| Rationed areas | 63 | 29 | 8 |
| Non-rationed areas | 41 | 52 | 7 |

**19.** (US Aug 26 '42) If President Roosevelt made a radio talk explaining that it would be necessary to ration gasoline to reduce everybody's driving by as much as one-third from what is being driven now in order to save rubber, would you be willing to see this done? Asked of a national cross-section of car owners. (AIPO)

Yes 84% No 13% No opinion 3%

**20.** (US Sept 15 '42) Are you in favor of nation-wide gas rationing in order to conserve tires? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 73% | 22% | 5% |
| Rationed areas | 89 | 8 | 3 |
| Non-rationed areas | 66 | 28 | 6 |

**21.** (Great Britain Nov '42) Do you think that petrol rationing is tight enough? (BIPO)

Yes 29% No 49% Don't know 22%

**22.** (US Dec 11 '42) Do you think many people are trying to get more gasoline than they have been allowed? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Old-rationed areas | 54% | 33% | 13% |
| Newly rationed areas | 51 | 36 | 13 |

**23.** (US Dec 11 '42) If people have a chance to get more gasoline than they've been allowed, do you think they should? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Old-rationed areas | 18% | 77% | 5% |
| Newly rationed areas | 21 | 71 | 8 |

**24.** (US Dec 11 '42, July 23 '43, Oct 22 '43, Apr 28 '44, May 18 '44) Do you think the government has handled gasoline rationing very well, only fairly well, or poorly? In Oct '43 and May '44 the question was: Do you think the rationing of gasoline has been handled very well, only fairly well, or poorly? In Oct '43 only women were questioned. (NORC)

| | *Very well* | *Fairly well* | *Poorly* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '42: | | | | |
| Old-rationed areas | 35% | 37% | 20% | 8% |
| Newly rationed areas | 54 | 24 | 13 | 9 |
| July '43 | 40 | 37 | 17 | 6 |
| Oct '43 | 43 | 12 | 18 | 27 |
| Apr '44 | 45 | 31 | 15 | 9 |
| May '44 | 46 | 14 | 23 | 17 |

**25.** (US Dec 11 '42, Oct 22 '43, Apr 28 '44, May 18 '44) In what way hasn't it been handled as well as it could have been? Asked of all those who thought gasoline rationing had been handled only fairly well or poorly. In Apr '44 the question was: What's been the trouble? In Oct '43 only women were questioned. (NORC)

| | *Old-rationed areas Dec '42* | *Newly rationed areas Dec '42* | *Oct '43* | *Apr '44* | *May '44* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % |
| Allotment unfair, too small | 32 | 19 | 18 | 2 | 7 |
| Confusion and red tape; government inefficiency; lack of decisiveness in policy; too lenient; enforcement too lax; politics | 7 | 10 | — | 7 | 6 |
| Regional distribution unfair, unequal; poor distribution; unfair distribution | 1 | 2 | 6 | 17 | 11 |
| Should have been nation-wide at start | 8 | 1 | — | — | — |
| Rationing unnecessary; reason not clear | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | 3 |
| Black market | — | — | 3 | 12 | 10 |
| Criticism of local boards | — | — | — | 4 | 3 |
| Chiseling on gasoline allotments | — | — | — | 2 | — |
| Don't know how to improve | 1 | * | — | 3 | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 5 | 2 | 1 | — | — |
| Percentages | 62** | 39** | 30 | 53** | 42** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than those questioned because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**26.** (US Oct 22 '43 and May 18 '44) Who do you think is mainly responsible? The 1943 question was asked of 30% of the sample of women and the 1944 question was asked of 37% of a national sample who thought the rationing of gasoline had been handled only fairly well or poorly. (NORC)

| | *Oct '43* | *May '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Government | 4% | 10% |
| OPA | 4 | 5 |
| Dealers and producers | 1 | 2 |
| The public | 2 | 4 |
| Local ration board | 7 | 9 |
| People in charge of rationing (national) | 3 | — |
| Miscellaneous | 2 | 1 |
| Didn't say who | 9 | — |
| Don't know | — | 9 |
| | 32%* | 40%* |

* Percentages add to more than 30 and 37 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**27.** (US Apr 28 '44) How could it [gasoline rationing] have been handled better? Asked of 46% of the sample who thought gasoline rationing had been handled only fairly well or poorly. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Stricter enforcement of regulations | 9% |
| Increase or improve OPA personnel | 6 |
| Fairer distribution | 5 |
| Eliminate rationing (not necessary) | 2 |
| Have same allotments in all parts of country | 2 |
| Increase allotments | 2 |
| Can't be done; can't control people | 2 |
| Improve information to public | 1 |
| Cut out pleasure driving | 1 |
| Give everyone same allotments | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Don't know | 14 |
| | 47%* |

* Percentages add to more than 46 because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

**28.** (US Jan 21 '43) Will your present gasoline ration be enough to run your farm during your busy season? 29% of the sample who said the ration would not be enough were asked: Do you think you will be able to get enough gasoline? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Present ration will be enough | 46% |
| No opinion as to whether or not present ration will be enough | 25 |
| Will be able to get enough | 14 |
| Will not be able to get enough | 4 |
| No opinion as to whether or not will be able to get enough | 11 |

**29.** (US Apr '43) Do you think it will be necessary or unnecessary for the government to continue rationing gasoline while we are getting back to peacetime conditions? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Necessary | 30% |
| Unnecessary | 59 |
| Qualified answers | 2 |
| Don't know | 9 |

**30.** (US Apr '43) Do you think the government actually will continue to ration gasoline for a year or two after the war or not? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Will | 29% |
| Will not | 54 |
| Qualified answers | 2 |
| Don't know | 15 |

**31.** (US July 23 '43) As you know, in some parts of the country the gasoline ration is smaller than in other parts. Do you think it is necessary to have it this way, or do you think it should be the same all over the country? 43% of the sample thought it was necessary to have it this way and 50% thought it should be the same all over the country. These groups were asked: Why? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know whether or not necessary to have it as is | 7% |
| Necessary because: | |
| Depends on availability (mention of shipping problem) | 17 |
| Depends on availability (no mention of shipping problem) | 12 |
| Inadequate civilian transportation | 7 |
| Depends on need (general) | 2 |
| Most of gasoline goes to armed forces | 1 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 1 |
| Didn't say why necessary to have it as is | 3 |
| Should be the same in all parts of the country because: | |
| Generalized answers on the subject | 28 |
| Specific answers | 20 |
| Didn't say why it should be the same | 2 |

**32.** (US July 23 '43) Do you think the amount of gasoline allowed on an "A" card alone should be increased, decreased or kept the same? 30% of the sample who thought it should be increased were asked: What should the monthly ration be? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should be kept the same | 51% |
| Should be decreased | 3 |
| Don't know whether or not it should be increased | 16 |
| Ration should be 7–9 gallons | 1 |
| 10–14 gallons | 7 |
| 15–19 gallons | 3 |
| 20–24 gallons | 9 |
| 25–34 gallons | 5 |
| 35–44 gallons | 1 |
| 45–100 gallons | 1 |
| Unlimited | * |
| Didn't say what it should be | 3 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**33.** (US July 23 '43) When you come right down to it, if people around here have a chance to buy gasoline without coupons, do you think they should? 8% of the sample said they should, and 85% said they shouldn't. These groups were asked: Why do you think so? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Qualified answers or don't know whether or not should buy without coupons | 7% |
| Should buy: | |
| Depends on how badly they need it | 2 |
| Critical of rationing program (general) | 1 |
| If it isn't fairly rationed | 1 |
| For emergency purposes | 1 |
| If geographical distribution is unfair | * |
| Miscellaneous reasons why should buy | 2 |
| Didn't say why should buy | 1 |
| Should not buy: | |
| Disobedient to the government, the laws | 23 |
| That's black market | 16 |
| Inequality of distribution, of sacrifice | 12 |
| Just not right | 10 |
| Patriotic, winning-the-war considerations | 9 |
| Defeats purpose of rationing | 7 |
| People would use more | 1 |
| Would create shortage | 1 |
| No need to chisel, can get all that's necessary | 2 |
| Miscellaneous reasons why shouldn't buy | 1 |
| Didn't say why shouldn't buy | 3 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**34.** (US July 23 '43 and Dec 18 '43) Do you think there is much chiseling in the rationing of gasoline, or do you think the rationing rules are being pretty well obeyed? (NORC)

| | *Chiseling* | *Being obeyed* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| July '43 | 40% | 46% | 14% |
| Dec '43 newly rationed | 34 | 52 | 14 |
| old-rationed | 43 | 43 | 14 |

**35.** (US Dec 18 '43) What do you think is the main reason why this chiseling is going on? Asked of 34% in the newly rationed areas and 43% in the old-rationed areas who thought there was chiseling in gasoline rationing. (NORC)

| | *Newly rationed areas* | *Old-rationed areas* |
|---|---|---|
| Consumers are selfish and dishonest, etc. | 11% | 15% |
| People are unpatriotic; not war-conscious | 4 | 3 |
| People want to use their cars for pleasure driving | 4 | 5 |
| People not convinced of necessity of rationing | 4 | 2 |
| Selfish dealers make it possible | 4 | 5 |
| People feel they are not getting fair share | 3 | 5 |
| Real need for it | 3 | 4 |
| Some people have pull | 2 | 2 |
| Unlawful use of coupons or counterfeit coupons | 2 | 1 |
| Redundant answers | 1 | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 | 3 |
| Don't know | 1 | 1 |
| | 41%* | 48%* |

* Percentages add to more than the percentages questioned because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**36.** (US July 23 '43) If the ban on pleasure driving is lifted, do you think people will use up all of their [gasoline] coupons whether they really need to or not? 15% of the sample thought people would use all the coupons, 8% thought they would not. These two groups were asked: What makes you feel that way? Asked of those who lived in an area where pleasure driving was banned. 28% of a national sample is represented. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know whether or not people would use all their coupons | 5% |
| Would use them all because: | |
| People are selfish and will take advantage (criticism implied) | 4 |
| Human nature (normal behavior) | 3 |
| People just want to ride | 2 |
| They've been restrained | 1 |
| It's such a small amount anyway | 1 |
| They do it with other rationed goods | 1 |
| They're afraid the rules may be changed | 1 |
| Miscellaneous reasons why they would use them | 1 |
| Didn't say why they would use them | 1 |
| Would not use them because: | |
| Will use gas only if needed | 2 |
| People realize there's a war on | 1 |
| Will not use coupon just to use their gas up | 1 |
| People will be fair (general) | 1 |
| People will use less if not checked up on | 1 |
| Extra driving costs money | 1 |
| Didn't say why wouldn't use them | 1 |
| | 28% |

**37.** (US Oct 22 '43) Which one of these government agencies decides how much gasoline is to be used on the home front and how much is to be used for military purposes? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| War Production Board | 8% |
| Office of Price Administration | 14 |
| Office of Defense Transportation | 24 |
| Petroleum Administration for War | 29 |
| Don't know | 25 |

**38.** (US Dec 10 '43) How about if he [a friend of yours] bought black market gasoline—that is, bought gas without coupons [what would you do]? Asked of a cross-section of women who did the family marketing and knew what ceiling prices were. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| It wouldn't make any difference to me at all, and I wouldn't do or say anything about it | 9% |
| I wouldn't like it, but I wouldn't do or say anything about it | 23 |
| I'd talk to him, and try to get him not to do it again | 34 |
| I'd call him unpatriotic and avoid seeing him in the future | 9 |
| Excluded from questioning because of unfamiliarity with the term "ceiling prices" | 15 |
| Don't know | 10 |

**39.** (US Dec 10 '43) Is there anything else you'd do about it? What? Asked of 34% of the sample who would try to persuade a friend not to buy black market gasoline again and the 9% who would avoid such a friend in the future. Asked of a national cross-section of women marketers. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Report him | 10% |
| Report him, qualified | 1 |
| Call unpatriotic (not avoid seeing him) | 1 |
| Report dealer | 2 |
| Report dealer, qualified | * |
| Boycott dealer | * |
| Talk to dealer | * |
| No, wouldn't do anything else (general) | 20 |
| Nothing else I could do | 1 |
| None of my business | 1 |
| Too busy; don't want to get mixed up in anything | * |
| Disapprove but wouldn't do anything else for ethical reasons | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 4 |
| | 43% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**40.** (US Dec 10 '43) How about gasoline coupons? [After the ration period is over and you have some unused coupons, what do you do with them?] Asked of a national cross-section of women marketers. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Give them back to ration board | 3% |
| Throw them away or destroy them | 2 |
| Nothing, leave them in book | 1 |
| Give them to neighbors, friends, or relatives | 1 |
| Give them to the dealer | * |
| Never have any left | 51 |
| Don't know | 5 |
| Have no car | 37 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**41.** (US Dec 10 '43 and June 2 '44) Of course, we know there isn't enough for everyone to have all he wants, but how about gasoline? Does your ration allow you and your family as much as you need, less than you need, or more than you need? 23% of each sample who said their ration allowed them less than they needed were asked: Have you ever tried to get any extra allowances of gasoline from your ration board? Asked of a na-

tional cross-section of women marketers. The first part of the first question was omitted with the 1944 sample. (NORC)

| | *1943* | *1944* |
|---|---|---|
| Ration is enough | 36% | 38% |
| More than needed | 1 | * |
| Don't know whether or not ration is enough | 3 | 2 |
| Don't use gasoline | 37 | 37 |
| Have tried to get extra ration | 12 | 12 |
| Haven't tried to get extra ration | 11 | 10 |
| Don't know whether or not have tried | — | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**42.** (US Dec 10 '43 and June 2 '44) What happened? The question was asked of 12% of each sample of women marketers who had asked their ration boards for extra allowances of gasoline. (NORC)

| | *1943* | *1944* |
|---|---|---|
| Got allotment asked for | 7% | 6% |
| Got allotment but criticize procedure | * | * |
| Only got part of allotment asked for | 1 | 2 |
| Plea was denied | 2 | 2 |
| Plea denied and respondent feels unfairly treated | 1 | 1 |
| Haven't heard from board | — | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | — | * |
| Don't know | 1 | * |
| | 12% | 12% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**43.** (US Dec 18 '43 and Apr 28 '44) If someone told you that a certain gasoline station was black market, what would that mean to you—that is, what would the station be doing to make it black market? The 1944 question was asked of a national cross-section of car users. (NORC)

| | *Newly rationed area 1943* | *Old-rationed area 1943* | *1944* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Selling gas without accepting stamps, coupons | 67% | 53% | 60% |
| Selling gas without coupons and selling at higher than legal prices | 9 | 14 | 10 |
| Selling illegal or bootleg gas (no answer to "how") | 11 | 9 | 6 |
| Selling gas at higher than legal prices | 4 | 8 | 3 |
| Statements voicing disapproval of black market | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Statement voicing approval of black market in gasoline | * | * | * |
| Station would be getting gas or coupons from illegal source | 7 | 12 | 8 |
| Accepting coupons not properly endorsed | — | — | 17 |
| Any mention of counterfeiting coupons | — | — | 9 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Don't know | 5 | 7 | 4 |
| | 106%** | 108%** | 120%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**44.** (US Dec 18 '43 and Apr 28 '44) What are some of the things people can do to try to stop black market in gasoline? The 1944 question was asked of a national cross-section of car users. (NORC)

| | *Newly rationed area 1943* | *Old-rationed area 1943* | *1944* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Refuse to buy from a black-market station | 44% | 50% | 44% |
| Report him | 24 | 19 | 20 |
| Only buy with coupons | 17 | 20 | 28 |
| Report him to OPA | 9 | 6 | 5 |
| Only do essential driving | 3 | 7 | 3 |
| Be careful of your extra coupons | 3 | 2 | 7 |
| Not pay above ceiling prices | 2 | 5 | 2 |
| Better educational programs | 2 | 4 | 2 |
| Criticisms of handling of program | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| Nothing people can do | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Should be up to people's conscience, people be more honest | 3 | 3 | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 | 3 | * |
| Don't know | 10 | 6 | 6 |
| | 124%** | 129%** | 127%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

**45.** (US Dec 18 '43) Out of every hundred gallons of gasoline this country produces, about how many would you say go for military purposes? Just your best guess. (NORC)

| | *Newly rationed area* | *Old-rationed area* |
|---|---|---|
| Under 20 gallons | 2% | 1% |
| 20–29 gallons | 4 | 5 |
| 30–39 gallons | 5 | 4 |
| 40–49 gallons | 3 | 3 |
| 50–59 gallons | 25 | 19 |
| 60–69 gallons | 16 | 16 |
| 70–79 gallons | 26 | 28 |
| 80–89 gallons | 6 | 8 |
| 90 gallons and over | 5 | 5 |
| No answer | * | — |
| Don't know | 8 | 11 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**46.** (US Dec 18 '43 and Apr 28 '44) In the next year, do you think more gasoline will be available for ordinary, everyday driving, or less? The 1944 question was asked of a national cross-section of car users. (NORC)

| | *More* | *About the same* | *Less* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '43: | | | | |
| Newly rationed areas | 18% | 16% | 56% | 10% |
| Old-rationed areas | 22 | 20 | 46 | 12 |
| Apr '44 | 32 | 19 | 31 | 18 |

**47.** (US Apr 28 '44) 32% of the 1944 sample who thought more gasoline would be available next year and 31% who thought less would be available were asked: Why? (NORC)

| *More will be available* | |
|---|---|
| Military needs will be less | 13% |
| Greater leniency in rationing | 4 |
| Transportation facilities for gasoline have improved | 2 |
| Production of gas increased | 2 |
| Surplus of gas | 2 |
| Fewer cars will be in use | 1 |
| More synthetic products | 1 |
| Conditional; depends on war | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Newspapers, radio, officials, etc., say there will be more | 1% |
| Politics | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 34%* |

* Percentages add to more than 32 because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

*Less will be available*

| | |
|---|---|
| Military needs will be greater | 24% |
| Severer rationing | 2 |
| Conditional; depends on war needs | 1 |
| Newspapers, radio, officials, etc., say there will be less | 1 |
| Scarcity of gas | 1 |
| Loss through black market | 1 |
| Conditional; depends on control of black market | * |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Don't know | * |
| | 32%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 31 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**48.** (US Dec 18 '43) Right now, would you say this country is producing more gasoline of all kinds than was being produced just before the war or not as much? (NORC)

| | *More* | *About the same* | *Not as much* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Newly rationed | 58% | 14% | 17% | 11% |
| Old-rationed | 60 | 14 | 13 | 13 |

**49.** (US Dec 18 '43) Why can't this country produce more gasoline for ordinary, everyday driving, to make up for the gasoline the armed forces are taking? (NORC)

| | *Newly rationed area* | *Old-rationed area* |
|---|---|---|
| Manpower | 40% | 38% |
| Machinery or production facilitation | 16 | 15 |
| Transportation factor | 8 | 16 |
| Restriction of supply (conservation for future) | 6 | 3 |
| Some price factor | 4 | 4 |
| No reason why we can't produce more | 11 | 5 |
| Natural resources limited or exhausted | 7 | 9 |
| Use crude oil for other purposes | 3 | 2 |
| Capacity of oil wells cannot be increased | 2 | 5 |
| New wells not being opened | 2 | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 | 3 |
| Don't know | 17 | 20 |
| | 118%* | 121%* |

* Percentages add to more than 10[illegible] because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**50.** (US Dec 18 '43) Taking everything into consideration, do you think the United States has been sending too much of our gasoline to our Allies? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Newly rationed areas | 13% | 73% | 14% |
| Old-rationed areas | 12 | 75 | 13 |

**51.** (US Dec 18 '43) If you had a chance to sit down and talk with a man in the government who knows most about the gasoline situation, what would you ask him? That is, what would you most like to know about the gasoline situation? (NORC)

| | *Newly rationed area* | *Old-rationed area* |
|---|---|---|
| Questions pertaining to rationing—equity or amount of | 15% | 17% |
| Why can't we get and/or when are we going to get more gasoline (no mention of essential use) | 9 | 10 |
| Why can't we, or when are we going to, get more gas for essential driving | 3 | 2 |
| How much goes to armed forces and/or Allies | 7 | 6 |
| Are the armed forces and/or the Allies getting gasoline | 7 | 5 |
| Questions pertaining to Allied resources and relative contribution implying criticism | 6 | 4 |
| Are we producing enough, or do we have enough for war purposes | 3 | 2 |
| What about production and/or supply for other purposes | 7 | 5 |
| Questions pertaining to the destination and disposal of gas supplies | 4 | 3 |
| Questions about the processing of gasoline (technical) | 2 | 1 |
| Questions relating to restrictions on production | 7 | 3 |
| Questions pertaining to rubber situation, tires | 3 | 1 |
| Questions concerning the black market | 2 | 4 |
| Questions pertaining to government methods | 2 | 3 |
| Why pleasure driving isn't eliminated | 1 | 3 |
| Why distribution and transportation isn't improved | 1 | 2 |
| Questions on price | 1 | 1 |
| Questions relating to use and/or effect of the pipe line | * | 1 |
| Questions pertaining to the quality of gasoline | * | 1 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 1 | 1 |
| No questions | 14 | 16 |
| Don't know | 12 | 12 |
| | 107%** | 103%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**52.** (US Dec 18 '43) Do you think many people here are getting more gas than they really need from the local boards? Asked of a national cross-section of car owners whose cars were still being used. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Car no longer in use* | *Don't own car* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Newly rationed areas | 16% | 38% | 3% | 32% | 11% |
| Old-rationed areas | 18 | 30 | 6 | 34 | 12 |

**53.** (US Dec 18 '43) What kind of people? Asked of 16% (newly rationed areas) and 18% (old-rationed areas) of the sample who were car users and thought many people were getting more gas than they really needed from the local boards. (NORC)

| | *Newly rationed areas* | *Old-rationed areas* |
|---|---|---|
| People who use car for non-essential purposes | 4% | 5% |
| Farmers | 3 | 1 |
| War workers | 2 | 3 |

| | *Newly rationed areas* | *Old-rationed areas* |
|---|---|---|
| People with pull | 1% | 2% |
| Moneyed people | 1 | 2 |
| Government workers | 1 | 1 |
| People who use their car to get to work | * | 1 |
| Share-the-car drivers | * | 1 |
| Minority groups | * | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 | 3 |
| Don't know | 1 | 1 |
| | 17%** | 21%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 16 and 18 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**54.** (US Dec 18 '43) In order to get a "B" card, what are some of the things a car owner must certify or prove to the local board? Asked of a national cross-section of car owners whose cars were still being used. (NORC)

| | *Newly rationed areas* | *Old-rationed areas* |
|---|---|---|
| Car is needed for work (no mention that no other means of transportation is available) | 26% | 26% |
| Must prove that he drives certain number of miles | 9 | 8 |
| Car needed for essential driving | 8 | 6 |
| Must be a member of car-pool | 7 | 6 |
| Has no other adequate means of transportation to work | 5 | 6 |
| Just need the gas | 5 | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 | 2 |
| Don't know | 14 | 14 |
| Car no longer in use | 3 | 6 |
| Don't own a car | 32 | 34 |
| | 111%* | 110%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**55.** (US Dec 18 '43) All those car owners except the ones who thought that certification of membership in a car pool was enough to get a "B" card were then asked: From what you know, is it necessary to be a member of a car-pool to get a "B" card? 58% of the car owners in the newly rationed area and 54% in the old-rationed area are represented. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *No answer* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Newly rationed | 5% | 38% | 11% | 4% | = 58% |
| Old-rationed | 4 | 35 | 12 | 3 | = 54 |

**56.** (US Dec 18 '43) What would you say is the main reason motorists are required to write their car number on gasoline coupons when they buy gas? Asked of a national cross-section of car owners whose cars were still being used. (NORC)

| | *Newly rationed area* | *Old-rationed area* |
|---|---|---|
| To avoid interchanging coupons | 32% | 23% |
| To stop black market, illegal use of gas coupons | 14 | 19 |
| To check on how much a person is getting (if too much) | 7 | 8 |
| To check (general) | 6 | 3 |
| To check up, but they didn't | 3 | 2 |
| To check on mileage | * | * |
| Inaccurate answers | 3% | 2% |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know | 3 | 4 |
| Car no longer in use | 3 | 6 |
| Don't own a car | 32 | 34 |
| | 104%** | 102%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**57.** (US Dec 18 '43) Do you think there's anything wrong about giving your gasoline coupons to friends if you don't use them yourself? Asked of a national cross-section of car owners whose cars were still being used. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Car no longer in use* | *Don't own car* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Newly rationed areas | 38% | 24% | 3% | 32% | 3% |
| Old rationed areas | 34 | 23 | 6 | 34 | 3 |

**58.** (US Dec 18 '43) Is it against the law to do this? Asked of 38% (newly rationed area) and 34% (old-rationed area) of the sample of car users who thought it wrong to give away gasoline coupons to friends if they didn't use them themselves. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Newly rationed areas | 34% | 1% | 3% | = 38% |
| Old-rationed areas | 29 | 1 | 4 | = 34 |

**59.** (US Jan 7 '44) Have you ever heard the slogan "Oil Is Ammunition"? (NORC)

Yes 68% No 30% Don't know 2%

**60.** (US Jan 7 '44) Does it [the slogan "Oil Is Ammunition"] make you think of motor oil, fuel oil, gasoline, or what? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Gasoline | 51% |
| Motor oil | 35 |
| Fuel oil (kerosene) | 33 |
| Kitchen fats and greases | 8 |
| All kinds of oil | 8 |
| Crude oil | 2 |
| Miscellaneous specific | 1 |
| Don't know | 22 |
| | 160%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**61.** (US Apr 28 '44) Have you heard anything on the radio recently about what people can do to help the gasoline situation? 48% of a sample of car users who said they had heard something were asked: What were they asking people to do? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Haven't heard anything about it | 51% |
| Don't know whether or not have heard | 1 |
| Asking to cut down driving; only drive when necessary | 23 |
| Don't buy on the black market; discourage black market | 15 |
| Join car pool; share car | 12 |
| Keep cars in good condition | 5 |
| Drive slowly | 4 |
| Don't buy gas without coupons | 2 |
| Endorse your coupons | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't accept or give away coupons | 2% |
| Redundant answers | 2 |
| Use other means of transportation | 1 |
| Don't buy/sell coupons | 1 |
| Report offenders | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know what they were asking | 1 |
| | 123%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**62.** (US Apr 28 '44) How about magazines and newspapers? Have you read anything lately about what people can do to help the gasoline situation? 32% of the sample who said they had read something were asked: What were they asking people to do? Asked of a national cross-section of car users. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Haven't read anything about it | 66% |
| Don't know whether or not have read anything | 2 |
| Cut down driving; only drive when necessary | 14 |
| Don't buy on black market; discourage black market | 9 |
| Join car pool; share car | 8 |
| Keep cars in good condition | 4 |
| Drive slowly | 4 |
| Endorse your coupons | 2 |
| Don't buy gas without coupons | 1 |
| Don't accept or give away coupons | 1 |
| Use other means of transportation | 1 |
| Don't buy/sell coupons | * |
| Report offenders | * |
| Redundant answers | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 116%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**63.** (US Apr 28 '44) How much chiseling do you think there is in getting gasoline—a lot, only a little, or none at all? 53% of the sample thought there was a lot and 24% thought only a little. These two groups were asked: What kind of things do chiselers do? The questions were asked of a national cross-section of car owners whose cars were still in use. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Chiselers buy or sell gas without coupons or without enough coupons | 16% |
| Exchange coupons; use other people's coupons (no mention of buying) | 16 |
| Falsify needs to ration board | 12 |
| Buy or sell coupons (no mention of counterfeit) | 12 |
| Any mention of use of counterfeit coupons | 10 |
| General statement that they are doing something illegal, wrong | 10 |
| Use extra allotment for unnecessary purposes | 6 |
| Pay more than ceiling prices | 4 |
| Pay extra to get gas without coupons | 4 |
| Steal coupons | 2 |
| Bribery | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know what kinds of things they do | 7 |
| Don't know whether or not there is any chiseling | 20 |
| Think there is none | 3 |
| | 124%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**64.** (US Apr 28 '44) What kinds of people are doing most of it? Asked of 77% of a national cross-section of car users who thought there was some chiseling in getting gasoline. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| All kinds; no one particular group; general public | 23% |
| Regular chiselers; unprincipled people | 9 |
| People who use car for non-essential driving; pleasure drivers | 9 |
| Moneyed people | 8 |
| People who are not war-conscious | 6 |
| People whose ration doesn't allow them enough for necessary driving | 3 |
| Farmers | 2 |
| Minority groups | 2 |
| War workers | 2 |
| People holding "A" coupons | 2 |
| People with pull | 1 |
| Other workers | 1 |
| Salesmen | 1 |
| Dealers; filling stations | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Don't know | 11 |
| | 84%* |

* Percentages add to more than 77 because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

**65.** (US Apr 28 '44) Has a gas station ever given you a chance to buy gas without collecting enough coupons or without collecting any coupons at all? Asked of a national cross-section of car users. (NORC)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Yes 9% | No 89% | Don't know 2% |

**66.** (US Apr 28 '44) Do you yourself know of any one who has bought gas without coupons in the last three months? Asked of a national cross-section of car users. (NORC)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Yes 21% | No 78% | No answer 1% |

**67.** (US Apr 28 '44) Do you think many people around here are getting more gas than they really need from the local boards? Asked of a national cross-section of car users. (NORC)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Yes 23% | No 59% | Don't know 18% |

**68.** (US Apr 28 '44) As far as you know, do gas stations have to turn in coupons for all the gasoline they sell, or are they allowed to get gas to sell without giving coupons? 82% of the sample who said they must have coupons were asked: Do you have any idea where a dealer gets these coupons when he sells gas without collecting any? Where? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know whether or not they must have coupons | 16% |
| Can get gas without coupons | 2 |
| Use counterfeited coupons | 12 |
| From people who do not use their coupons | 11 |
| From black market | 5 |
| Bought from crooks, gangsters (general) | 4 |
| Stolen | 3 |
| From ration board | 1 |
| More coupons taken in than gas sold | 1 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 1 |
| Don't know | 50 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**69.** (US Apr 28 '44) Do you think there is anything wrong about giving your gasoline coupons to friends if you don't use them yourself? 43% of the sample who said there was nothing wrong with giving coupons away were asked: Why don't you think so? Asked of a national cross-section of car users. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not right to give unused coupons away | 50% |
| Don't know whether or not it is wrong | 7 |
| All right if used for necessary driving and/or in an emergency | 18 |
| A certain amount is allotted, doesn't matter who uses it | 9 |
| They are mine to use as I wish | 5 |
| It's the neighborly thing to do | 3 |
| Coupons should be used, not wasted | 3 |
| Miscellaneous reasons | 2 |
| Didn't say why they thought so | 4 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**70.** (US Apr 28 '44) Who do you think is more responsible for the black market in gasoline—the government or the people? Asked of a national cross-section of car users. (NORC)

Government 23% People 63% Don't know 14%

**71.** (US Apr 28 '44) In order to get a "B" ration, what are some of the things a car owner must certify or prove to the local board? Asked of a national cross-section of car users. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| That car is needed for work (no mention that other means of transportation is available) | 41% |
| Must prove that he drives certain number of miles | 17 |
| Must be member of a car-pool | 14 |
| Car needed for essential driving | 9 |
| They need the gas | 5 |
| Has no other adequate means of transportation to work | 5 |
| Must prove tire inspection | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know | 29 |
| | 122%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**72.** (US Apr 28 '44) From what you know, is it necessary to be a member of a car-pool to get a "B" ration for home to work driving? Asked of 86% of a national cross-section of car users who did not mention car-sharing as one of the things a car owner must certify to get a "B" ration. (NORC)

Yes 14% No 41% Don't know 31% = 86%

**73.** (US Apr 28 '44) Do you, or does anyone in your family have to use your car for necessary driving? 84% of the sample who said they had to use their cars for necessary driving were asked: What sort of necessary driving? A national cross-section of car users were questioned. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't have to use car for necessary driving | 16% |
| Need it for transportation during business day | 39 |
| Transportation to and from work | 33 |
| Shopping | 14 |
| Health; invalids; etc. | 6 |
| Going to church | 4 |
| Volunteer work | 3 |
| Taking children to school | 2 |
| Transportation is scarce or crowded (no mention of purpose) | 1 |
| Visiting | 1 |
| Miscellaneous purposes | 1 |
| Didn't say why they had to use it | 1 |
| | 121%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**74.** (US Apr 28 '44) The same 84% of the car users who were asked the preceding question were also asked: Does your ration allow you to get all the gasoline you need for necessary driving? 24% of the sample said the ration was inadequate. This 24% was asked: How many more gallons a week would you need for necessary driving? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Get enough on the ration | 58% |
| Don't know whether or not ration is enough | 2 |
| Need 2 gallons or less | 4 |
| 3 gallons | 3 |
| 4 gallons | 2 |
| 5 gallons | 5 |
| 6 gallons | 1 |
| 7–9 gallons | 1 |
| 10 gallons | 2 |
| Over 10 gallons | 3 |
| Don't know how much extra is needed | 3 |
| | 84% |

**75.** (US Apr 28 '44) Why can't this country produce more gasoline for ordinary, evetyday driving to make up for the gasoline the armed forces are taking? Asked of a national cross-section of car users. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Manpower | 32% |
| Transportation factor | 14 |
| Machinery or production facilities | 10 |
| Restriction of supply (conservation for future) | 7 |
| No reason why we can't produce more | 7 |
| Some price factor | 3 |
| Natural resources limited or exhausted | 7 |
| New wells not being opened (no statement of other factors) | 3 |
| Capacity of oil wells cannot be increased | 2 |
| Use crude oil for other purposes | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 32 |
| | 119%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**76.** (US Apr 28 '44) If there is more gas for civilians in the future, but no new cars are made to take the place of those that are wearing out, what do you think the government should do about gas rations—increase the basic ration or keep the ration as it is now in order to prevent cars from wearing out so fast? Asked of a national cross-section of car users. (NORC)

Increase 49% Keep present ration 41% Don't know 10%

**77.** (US June 2 '44) Do you have a family automobile which still is in use? 60% of the sample who said their cars were still in use were asked: What kind of gas ration do you have? Asked of a national cross-section of women marketers. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| "A" card | 24% |
| "B" card | 21 |
| "C" card | 12 |
| "T" card | 2 |
| Didn't say what kind of card | 1 |
| No car or car no longer in use | 40 |

**78.** (US June 2 '44) After the ration period is over and you have some unused gasoline coupons, what do you do with them? Asked of 60% of a national sample of women marketers who had a family automobile which was still in use. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Never have any left | 46% |
| Give them to the ration board | 7 |
| Destroy them or throw them away | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 5 |
| | 60% |

**79.** (Canada Aug 15 '45) Do you think the amount of gasoline allowed to car drivers should now be increased to more than it is, or not? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 54% | 31% | 15% |
| BY CAR OWNERSHIP | | | |
| Car owners | 59% | 32% | 9% |
| Non-car owners | 50 | 31 | 19 |

**80.** (Canada Aug 15 '45) Do you think the amount of gasoline allowed to car drivers will be increased before the end of the year? (CIPO)

Yes 44% No 31% Undecided 25%

## GAULLE, CHARLES DE

**1.** (US July 29 '41) Do you happen to know who General De Gaulle is? Those who said they knew who General De Gaulle was were asked: Who is he? (US Aug 19 '41) Do you happen to know who General De Gaulle is? A comparable cross-section was asked: Do you happen to know who the Free French are? Those of the second cross-section who indicated that they were familiar with the underground movement were asked: Who are they? (US Feb 3 '43) Can you tell me who General De Gaulle is? (AIPO) (Canada Aug 23 '44) Will you tell me who De Gaulle is? (CIPO)

| | *Correct or reasonably correct* | *Vague, incorrect, or don't know* |
|---|---|---|
| July '41 | 36% | 64% |
| Aug '41 | 38 | 62 |
| Feb '43 | 44 | 56 |
| Aug '44 | 75 | 25 |
| CANADIAN RESULTS BY EDUCATION | | |
| College | 90% | 10% |
| High school | 85 | 15 |
| Public school | 62 | 38 |

**2.** (Canada Aug 23 '44) From what you have seen or read do you approve or disapprove of the way the United Nations have treated De Gaulle? Asked of 75% of the sample who knew who De Gaulle was. (CIPO)

Approve 40% Disapprove 23% Undecided 37% = 100% of those who knew who De Gaulle was

**3.** (France Oct 1 '44) Did you go to see General De Gaulle march in the parade? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 44% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| Central | 64% | 36% |
| West | 67 | 33 |
| South | 54 | 46 |
| North and East | 41 | 59 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 20–34 years | 62% | 38% |
| 35–49 years | 59 | 41 |
| 50–64 years | 45 | 55 |
| 65 years and over | 26 | 74 |

**4.** (France Nov 16 '44) Did you listen to De Gaulle's broadcast of Oct 14 '44? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

Yes 55% No 45%

**5.** (France Nov 16 '44) Did you read it [De Gaulle's speech of Oct 14 '44] in the newspaper? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

Yes 62% No 32% No answer 6%

**6.** (France Nov 16 '44) Did you approve of his speech? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians who knew about General De Gaulle's speech of Oct 14 '44. (FIPO)

Yes 80% No 3% No opinion 17% = 100% of those who knew about General De Gaulle's speech

**7.** (France Jan 1 '45) Do you think General De Gaulle's trip to Moscow will have favorable consequences for France? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Paris | 77% | 7% | 16% |
| Provinces | 72 | 11 | 17 |

**8.** (France Apr 16 '45) Did you read or hear General De Gaulle's speech to the Consultative Assembly on Mar 2 '45? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Read only | 33% |
| Heard only | 23 |
| Read and heard | 26 |
| Neither read nor heard | 18 |

**9.** (France Apr 16 '45) Did you approve or disapprove of this speech [of General De Gaulle]? (FIPO)

Approve 62% Disapprove 8% No opinion 30%

**10.** (France Apr 16 '45) Do you think General De Gaulle was justified in declining President Roosevelt's invitation to Algiers? A comparable cross-section was asked the question in the following form: Do you think General De Gaulle should have accepted President Roosevelt's invitation to Algiers? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| First cross-section | 63% | 15% | 22% |
| Second cross-section | 27 | 58 | 15 |

COMBINED RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve of De Gaulle's decision | 61% |
| Disapprove of De Gaulle's decision | 20 |
| No opinion | 19 |

**11.** (France Asked in Sept '45) General De Gaulle has refused to receive M. Jouhaux, who came to present to him the formulated observations of the CGT and the parties of the left on the subject of the vote of the next Constitution. Do you approve of this decision? (FIPO)

Yes 44% No 40% No opinion 16%

**12.** (France Feb 16 '46) In your opinion, has General De Gaulle done well or badly? (FIPO)

| | *Well* | *Badly* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41% | 36% | 23% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 38% | 39% | 23% |
| Women | 44 | 32 | 24 |

| | *Well* | *Badly* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Workers | 35% | 43% | 22% |
| White-collar | 37 | 41 | 22 |
| Farmers | 48 | 26 | 26 |

**13.** (France Mar 1 '46) Do you consider General De Gaulle as a man of the right, the left, or outside the parties? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| The right | 49% |
| The left | 1 |
| Outside the parties | 39 |
| No opinion | 11 |

**14.** (France Mar 1 '46) Do you approve of General De Gaulle leaving the presidency of the government? (FIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 47% | 28% | 25% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional | 57% | 28% | 15% |
| White-collar | 55 | 28 | 17 |
| Workers | 54 | 27 | 19 |

**15.** (France Mar 1 '46) Do you think that sometime General De Gaulle will again become head of the government? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 21% | 43% | 36% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 19% | 48% | 33% |
| Women | 23 | 39 | 38 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Business | 27% | 44% | 29% |
| Professional | 24 | 50 | 26 |
| White-collar | 20 | 50 | 30 |
| Workers | 17 | 53 | 30 |

**16.** (France Mar 1 '46) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with General De Gaulle's departure? (FIPO)

| | *Dis-satisfied* | *Satisfied* | *Indifferent or no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40% | 32% | 28% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 34% | 41% | 25% |
| Women | 45 | 24 | 31 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Workers | 28% | 45% | 27% |
| White-collar | 39 | 40 | 21 |
| Living on income | 36 | 34 | 30 |
| Professional | 42 | 36 | 22 |
| Business | 48 | 35 | 17 |
| Farmers | 43 | 22 | 35 |

**17.** (France Mar 1 '46) In your opinion, for what reasons did General De Gaulle resign? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Disagreements with party politics, the Constituent Assembly, or the ministers | 28% |
| Impossibility of making his politics triumphant | 15 |
| Feeling of incapacity to overcome the present difficulties | 9 |
| Decline of his prestige | 8 |
| Weary of political strife | 8 |
| Did not consent to the reduction of military authority | 3 |
| Disagreement on miscellaneous points | 2 |
| Foreign influence | 1 |
| Political design | 1 |
| Other | 4 |
| No opinion | 21 |

**18.** (France Mar 1 '46) How did you learn of the resignation of General De Gaulle? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| On the radio | 37% |
| Through the newspapers | 30 |
| Through conversation | 29 |
| Don't remember | 4 |

**19.** (France Mar 1 '46) What were your feelings on learning this news [of De Gaulle's resignation]? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Surprise | 31% |
| Uneasiness and sorrow | 19 |
| Violent and indignant feelings | 12 |
| Satisfaction | 16 |
| Indifference | 7 |
| Expected it | 5 |
| No answer | 10 |

**20.** (France Mar 1 '46 and Oct 16 '46) If General De Gaulle were to become head of a political party, would you vote for that party? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '46 | 31% | 46% | 23% |
| Oct '46 | 35 | 47 | 18 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| *Men* | | | |
| Mar '46 | 24% | 55% | 21% |
| Oct '46 | 28 | 56 | 16 |
| *Women* | | | |
| Mar '46 | 37 | 37 | 26 |
| Oct '46 | 41 | 38 | 21 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| *Business* | | | |
| Mar '46 | 42% | 44% | 14% |
| Oct '46 | 42 | 38 | 20 |
| *Professional* | | | |
| Mar '46 | 29 | 44 | 27 |
| Oct '46 | 44 | 40 | 16 |
| *White-collar* | | | |
| Mar '46 | 29 | 55 | 16 |
| Oct '46 | 28 | 54 | 18 |
| *Workers* | | | |
| Mar '46 | 23 | 56 | 21 |
| Oct '46 | 24 | 63 | 13 |
| *Farmers* | | | |
| Mar '46 | 31 | 38 | 31 |
| Oct '46 | 36 | 39 | 25 |
| *Living on income* | | | |
| Mar '46 | 19 | 53 | 28 |
| Oct '46 | 38 | 46 | 16 |
| OCT '46 RESULTS BY AGE | | | |
| 20–34 years | 31% | 52% | 17% |
| 35–49 years | 32 | 50 | 18 |
| 50–64 years | 35 | 46 | 19 |
| 65 years and over | 46 | 34 | 20 |
| OCT '46 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHIC SECTION | | | |
| Southwest | 27% | 56% | 17% |
| Paris and Seine | 32 | 53 | 15 |
| Southeast | 34 | 42 | 24 |
| Northwest | 36 | 47 | 17 |
| Northeast | 40 | 39 | 21 |

**21.** (France Mar 16 '46, May 16 '46, July 16 '46, Aug '46, Sept '46, Oct 1 '46, Oct 16 '46. Asked in Dec '46) Do you want General De Gaulle to return to power? (FIPO)

| | Yes | No | No answer or No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '46 | 27% | 52% | 21% |
| May '46 | 29 | 52 | 19 |
| July '46 | 36 | 42 | 22 |
| Aug '46 | 33 | 48 | 19 |
| Sept '46 | 34 | 46 | 20 |
| Oct 1 '46 | 38 | 45 | 17 |
| Oct 16 '46 | 34 | 52 | 14 |
| Dec '46 | 34 | 53 | 13 |
| **BY SEX** | | | |
| *Men* | | | |
| Mar '46 | 23% | 59% | 18% |
| July '46 | 29 | 51 | 20 |
| Aug '46 | 30 | 55 | 15 |
| Oct 1 '46 | 33 | 52 | 15 |
| Oct 16 '46 | 32 | 57 | 11 |
| Dec '46 | 30 | 59 | 11 |
| *Women* | | | |
| Mar '46 | 30 | 46 | 24 |
| July '46 | 42 | 34 | 24 |
| Aug '46 | 37 | 41 | 22 |
| Oct 1 '46 | 43 | 38 | 19 |
| Oct 16 '46 | 45 | 38 | 17 |
| Dec '46 | 38 | 48 | 14 |
| **BY AGE** | | | |
| *20–34 years* | | | |
| Aug '46 | 30% | 51% | 19% |
| Oct 1 '46 | 35 | 48 | 17 |
| Dec '46 | 32 | 57 | 11 |
| *35–49 years* | | | |
| Aug '46 | 27 | 56 | 17 |
| Oct 1 '46 | 36 | 51 | 13 |
| Dec '46 | 31 | 59 | 10 |
| *50–64 years* | | | |
| Aug '46 | 36 | 46 | 18 |
| Oct 1 '46 | 40 | 42 | 18 |
| Dec '46 | 36 | 51 | 13 |
| *65 years and over* | | | |
| Aug '46 | 46 | 30 | 24 |
| Oct 1 '46 | 48 | 30 | 22 |
| Dec '46 | 45 | 41 | 14 |
| **BY OCCUPATION** | | | |
| *Business* | | | |
| Mar '46 | 34% | 41% | 25% |
| July '46 | 42 | 40 | 18 |
| Aug '46 | 43 | 41 | 16 |
| Sept '46 | 46 | 38 | 16 |
| Oct 1 '46 | 46 | 41 | 13 |
| Oct 16 '46 | 47 | 42 | 11 |
| Dec '46 | 47 | 39 | 14 |
| *Professional* | | | |
| Mar '46 | 30 | 51 | 19 |
| July '46 | 50 | 33 | 17 |
| Aug '46 | 42 | 42 | 16 |
| Sept '46 | 44 | 39 | 17 |
| Oct 1 '46 | 37 | 38 | 25 |
| Oct 16 '46 | 50 | 41 | 9 |
| Dec '46 | 45 | 45 | 10 |
| *White-collar* | | | |
| Mar '46 | 24 | 60 | 16 |
| July '46 | 30 | 52 | 18 |
| Aug '46 | 29 | 57 | 14 |
| Sept '46 | 29 | 56 | 15 |
| Oct 1 '46 | 36 | 53 | 11 |
| Oct 16 '46 | 32% | 56% | 12% |
| Dec '46 | 27 | 60 | 13 |
| *Workers* | | | |
| Mar '46 | 17 | 68 | 15 |
| July '46 | 23 | 58 | 19 |
| Aug '46 | 24 | 62 | 14 |
| Sept '46 | 27 | 56 | 17 |
| Oct 1 '46 | 29 | 55 | 16 |
| Oct 16 '46 | 27 | 63 | 10 |
| Dec '46 | 25 | 67 | 8 |
| *Farmers* | | | |
| Mar '46 | 31 | 40 | 29 |
| July '46 | 39 | 35 | 26 |
| Aug '46 | 38 | 41 | 21 |
| Oct 1 '46 | 37 | 40 | 23 |
| Oct 16 '46 | 39 | 36 | 25 |
| Dec '46 | 38 | 46 | 16 |
| *Living on income* | | | |
| Mar '46 | 27 | 51 | 22 |
| July '46 | 29 | 47 | 24 |
| Aug '46 | 34 | 44 | 22 |
| Oct 1 '46 | 43 | 39 | 18 |
| Oct 16 '46 | 42 | 40 | 18 |
| *Housewives* | | | |
| July '46 | 47 | 28 | 25 |
| Oct 1 '46 | 48 | 34 | 18 |
| Oct 16 '46 | 51 | 33 | 16 |
| **BY POLITICS** | | | |
| *Communist* | | | |
| May '46 | 3% | 91% | 6% |
| July '46 | 3 | 92 | 5 |
| Oct 1 '46 | 2 | 95 | 3 |
| *Socialist* | | | |
| May '46 | 14 | 70 | 16 |
| July '46 | 16 | 66 | 18 |
| Oct 1 '46 | 21 | 66 | 13 |
| *Radical Socialist* | | | |
| May '46 | 35 | 41 | 24 |
| Oct 1 '46 | 39 | 40 | 21 |
| *MRP* | | | |
| May '46 | 66 | 16 | 18 |
| July '46 | 69 | 13 | 18 |
| Oct 1 '46 | 72 | 12 | 16 |
| *PRL* | | | |
| May '46 | 59 | 26 | 15 |
| July '46 | 61 | 19 | 20 |
| Oct 1 '46 | 77 | 13 | 10 |
| *Coalition of parties of the left* | | | |
| July '46 | 33 | 38 | 29 |
| *Other moderate and right parties* | | | |
| May '46 | 43 | 39 | 18 |
| **OCT 16 '46 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION** | | | |
| Southwest | 32% | 54% | 14% |
| Paris and Seine | 35 | 55 | 10 |
| Northwest | 38 | 48 | 14 |
| Southeast | 39 | 43 | 18 |
| Northeast | 45 | 39 | 16 |

**22.** (France July 1 '46) General De Gaulle declined the invitation addressed to him by Felix Gouin to be present at the victory celebration on the 13th of May at Paris and went instead to the tomb of Clemenceau. Do you approve or disapprove of General De Gaulle's action on this occasion? (FIPO)

Approve 49% Disapprove 31% No opinion 20%

**23.** (France Aug 1 '46) Have you heard or read De Gaulle's speech at Bayeux on June 16? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Read it | 33% |
| Heard it on radio | 13 |
| Both | 18 |
| Didn't hear or read it | 36 |

**24.** (France Aug 1 '46) Do you approve or disapprove of what he said? Asked of 64% of the sample who had heard or read De Gaulle's speech at Bayeux on June 16. (FIPO)

| | *Approved speech* | *Disapproved speech* | *Indifferent and no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 29% | 21% | 50% = 100% of those who had heard or read the speech |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Communist | 3% | 59% | 38% |
| Socialist | 13 | 33 | 54 |
| Other leftist parties | 39 | 10 | 51 |
| MRP | 64 | 2 | 34 |
| PRL | 72 | 5 | 23 |

**25.** (France Aug 1–16 '46) Do you think he [De Gaulle] will regain power? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 34% | 39% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Communist | 9% | 66% | 25% |
| Socialist | 15 | 47 | 38 |
| Other leftist parties | 27 | 33 | 40 |
| MRP | 50 | 13 | 37 |
| PRL | 47 | 16 | 37 |

**26.** (France Sept '46) Did you read in the newspapers or hear on the radio the speech delivered by General De Gaulle at Bar-le-Duc on Sunday, July 21? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Read the speech in the newspapers | 35% |
| Heard the speech on the radio | 16 |
| Neither heard nor read | 49 |

**27.** (France Sept '46) Do you approve or disapprove of this speech [General De Gaulle's speech at Bar-le-Duc]? (FIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Indifferent and didn't know of speech* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 25% | 14% | 61% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Workers | 19% | 22% | 59% |
| Living on income | 27 | 16 | 57 |
| Business | 41 | 13 | 46 |
| Professional | 43 | 15 | 42 |

**28.** (France Oct 16 '46) Did you read in the newspapers or hear on the radio the speech which General De Gaulle made at Epinal on Sunday, September 29, 1946? Asked between October 3 and 8. (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Read it in the press | 34% |
| Heard it on the radio | 17 |
| Heard and read it | 18 |
| Neither heard nor read it | 31 |

**29.** (France Oct 16 '46) On the whole do you approve or disapprove of what General De Gaulle said in this speech [at Epinal on Sunday, September 29, 1946]? Asked between October 3 and 8. (FIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* | *Neither read nor heard the speech* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 28% | 32% | 9% | 31% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Communist | 2% | 69% | 2% | 27% |
| Socialist | 8 | 54 | 11 | 27 |
| Coalition of parties of the left | 46 | 21 | 16 | 17 |
| MRP | 53 | 10 | 13 | 24 |
| PRL | 69 | 1 | 2 | 28 |

**30.** (France Oct 16 '46) Do you think that General De Gaulle has ambitions for personal power? (FIPO)

No 40% Yes 41% No opinion 19%

**31.** (France Oct 16 '46) Some people say that a vote on the Constitution is really a vote for or against General De Gaulle. Do you agree? (FIPO)

Yes 25% No 48% No opinion 27%

## GENERALS

**1.** (US Aug 29 '42) Which one [of these countries] do you think has the smartest generals? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia | 5% |
| Japan | 1 |
| Germany | 19 |
| England | 2 |
| United States | 58 |
| Don't know | 15 |

**2.** (US Feb 3 '43) Can you tell me who General Giraud is? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct | 29% |
| Partially correct | 11 |
| Incorrect | 5 |
| Vague | 17 |
| No answer | 7 |
| Don't know | 31 |

**3.** (US Nov 26 '43) Have you heard or read about the General Patton incident in Italy? (AIPO)

Yes 85% No 15%

**4.** (US Nov 26 '43) Leaving aside questions of military policy, which way would you as a citizen have greater confidence in the army high command—if General Patton is brought back to the United States, or if he is left in charge of his troops in Italy? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who were familiar with the General Patton incident in Italy. 85% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Brought back 22% Left 70%*
Undecided 8% = 100% of those questioned

* Voters with a family member or close relative serving in the armed forces were 72% in favor of leaving Patton where he was.

**5.** (US Mar 20 '45) Who do you think is the greatest United States army general in the war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| MacArthur | 43% |
| Eisenhower | 31 |
| Patton | 17 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Marshall | 1% |
| Hodges | 1 |
| Stilwell | 1 |
| Bradley | 1 |
| Incorrect answers such as Montgomery, Halsey | 1 |
| Didn't say | 5 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

6. (US Oct 17 '45) What is your opinion of General George Patton? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Unqualified approval of Patton | 50% |
| Qualified approval | 22 |
| Disapproval | 7 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| No opinion or never heard of him | 18 |

## GEOGRAPHY

1. (US Mar 6 '40) What countries in South America can you name? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| All countries | 2% |
| Brazil | 65 |
| Argentina | 52 |
| Chile | 46 |
| Peru | 28 |
| Uruguay | 27 |
| Paraguay | 24 |
| Ecuador | 15 |
| Bolivia | 17 |
| Venezuela | 14 |
| Colombia | 14 |
| French Guiana | 12 |
| Dutch Guiana | 14 |
| British Guiana | 12 |
| No answer | 25 |
| Incorrect answers | 10 |
| | 377%* |

* Some respondents named a number of countries correctly, which accounts for the total of more than 100.

2. (US Mar 6 '40) What is the largest South American country? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Brazil | 57% |
| Argentina | 7 |
| Chile | 1 |
| All other countries in South America | 1 |
| Named countries not in South America | 1 |
| No answer | 33 |

3. (US Dec 10 '40) Three questions were used: (1) Can you tell me the name of any countries you think of when people speak of Latin America? (2) Do you think of Latin America as including all countries in Central and South America? 60% of the sample said they did. The remaining 40% were asked: (3) Can you think of the names of any more countries in Central and South America, in addition to those you have mentioned? (OPOR)

RESULTS OF THE FIRST QUESTION

| | |
|---|---|
| Brazil | 43%* |
| Argentina | 38 |
| Chile | 26 |
| Mexico | 21% |
| Uruguay | 15 |
| Panama | 15 |
| Peru | 13 |
| Paraguay | 10 |
| Colombia | 8 |
| Bolivia | 8 |
| Venezuela | 7 |
| Ecuador | 7 |
| Nicaragua | 5 |
| Guatemala | 4 |
| Honduras | 4 |
| British Guiana | 3 |
| Other correct answers | 11 |
| Incorrect answers | 7 |
| No answer | 47 |

RESULTS OF THE SECOND QUESTION

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 60% |
| No | 20 |
| Don't know | 20 |

RESULTS OF THE THIRD QUESTION

| | |
|---|---|
| Brazil | 19% |
| Argentina | 16 |
| Chile | 14 |
| Peru | 8 |
| Uruguay | 7 |
| Bolivia | 6 |
| British Guiana | 6 |
| Paraguay | 6 |
| Panama | 6 |
| French Guiana | 5 |
| Dutch Guiana | 5 |
| Ecuador | 5 |
| Colombia | 4 |
| Mexico | 4 |
| Venezuela | 4 |
| Other correct countries | 5 |
| Incorrect answers | 2 |
| No answer | 68 |

WHEN RESULTS FROM FIRST AND THIRD QUESTIONS ARE COMBINED

| | |
|---|---|
| Brazil | 62% |
| Argentina | 54 |
| Chile | 40 |
| Mexico | 25 |
| Uruguay | 22 |
| Peru | 21 |
| Panama | 21 |
| Paraguay | 16 |
| Bolivia | 14 |
| Ecuador | 12 |
| Colombia | 12 |
| Venezuela | 11 |
| British Guiana | 9 |
| French Guiana | 8 |
| Dutch Guiana | 8 |
| Nicaragua | 6 |
| Honduras | 5 |
| Guatemala | 5 |
| Costa Rica | 3 |
| West Indies, Salvador, British Honduras | 5 |

NUMBER OF COUNTRIES IN LATIN AMERICA CORRECTLY NAMED

| | |
|---|---|
| Over 15 countries | 1% |
| 10–14 countries | 5 |

| | |
|---|---|
| 6–9 countries | 14% |
| 4–5 countries | 17 |
| 1–3 countries | 32 |
| None | 31 |

* Percentages in tables 1, 3, and 4 add to considerably more than 100 because respondents were encouraged to name all the countries they could.

**4.** (US Dec 10 '40) Which country in Central and South America would you say is the largest in area? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Brazil | 61% |
| Argentina | 10 |
| No answer and don't know | 24 |
| All others | 5 |

**5.** (US Dec 10 '40) London, England, is about three thousand two hundred miles from New York. How far would you think it is from Buenos Aires, Argentina, to New York? (OPOR)

Correct 13% Below 51% Above 3% Don't know 33%

**6.** (US Dec 11 '40) How far would you say it is, roughly, from the United States to the Dutch East Indies? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know | 43% |
| Less than 5,000 | 24 |
| 5,000–8,000 | 21 |
| 8,000–10,000 | 6 |
| 10,000–14,000 | 5 |
| Over 14,000 miles | 1 |

**7.** (US Dec 11 '40) Do you happen to know where Singapore is? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 1.3% |
| Correct or nearly correct | 17.7 |
| Generally close | 14.4 |
| Correct as to hemisphere | 18.3 |
| No | 45.1 |
| Other incorrect | 1.4 |
| Indefinite | 1.8 |

**8.** (US Dec 11 '40) Do you happen to know whether or not Singapore is in the same part of the world as China and India? (OPOR)

Yes 68% No 3% Don't know 29%

**9.** (US Jan 28 '41) Can you tell me the name of the country where the armies of Greece and Italy are fighting? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Balkans (no specific country), or didn't name a country | 1% |
| Albania | 55 |
| Greece | 3 |
| Italy | 1 |
| Others | 7 |
| Don't know | 33 |

**10.** (US Jan 28 '41) Can you tell me what country controls Gibraltar? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| England | 68% |
| Spain | 2 |
| Italy | 1 |
| Other | 1 |
| France | 1 |
| Turkey | 1 |
| Don't know; no answer | 26 |

**11.** (US Jan 28 '41) About how many miles would you say it is from London to Berlin? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| 100 and under | 3% |
| 200–499 | 20 |
| 500–799 | 27 |
| 800–1,099 | 11 |
| 1,100–1,999 | 4 |
| 2,000 and over | 3 |
| Don't know | 32 |

**12.** (US Mar 26 '42) Can you find Alaska on the map? Australia, China, Brazil, Iceland, India? (June 17 '42) Can you find Alaska on the map? Brazil, China, Iceland, Peru, India, and Central America? (OPOR)

| | *Right* | *Wrong* | *Can't understand map; don't know; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Alaska* | | | |
| Mar '42 | 71% | 29% | — |
| June '42 | 73 | 17 | 10% |
| *Brazil* | | | |
| Mar '42 | 61 | 39 | — |
| June '42 | 58 | 32 | 10 |
| *China* | | | |
| Mar '42 | 41 | 59 | — |
| June '42 | 43 | 47 | 10 |
| *Iceland* | | | |
| Mar '42 | 49 | 51 | — |
| June '42 | 52 | 38 | 10 |
| *India* | | | |
| Mar '42 | 43 | 57 | — |
| June '42 | 45 | 45 | 10 |
| *Australia* | | | |
| Mar '42 | 68 | 32 | — |
| *Peru* | | | |
| June '42 | 45 | 45 | 10 |
| *Central America* | | | |
| June '42 | 69 | 21 | 10 |

**13.** (US May 6 '42) Which three of the following countries would you especially like to know more about; which one do you feel you already know the most about; and which one do you know the least about? (NORC)

| | *Like to know more* | *Know most* | *Know least* |
|---|---|---|---|
| India | 37% | 1% | 20% |
| Russia | 32 | 5 | 7 |
| Argentina | 24 | 1 | 7 |
| China | 23 | 3 | 3 |
| England | 15 | 47 | 1 |
| Finland | 10 | 1 | 5 |
| Brazil | 22 | * | 6 |
| Mexico | 16 | 5 | 1 |
| Canada | 10 | 18 | * |
| Australia | 32 | 3 | 5 |
| Turkey | 20 | * | 38 |
| None | 7 | 5 | 1 |
| Don't know and no answer | 12 | 11 | 6 |
| | 260%** | | |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because respondents were asked to name three countries on this part of the question.

**14.** (US May 2 '45) Do you happen to know where the following places are? (AIPO)

| | NATIONAL TOTAL | | COLLEGE | | HIGH SCHOOL | | GRADE SCHOOL OR LESS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Correct* % | *Incorrect* % | *Correct* % | *Incorrect* % | *Correct* % | *Incorrect* % | *Correct* % | *Incorrect* % |
| Guam | 28 | 72 | 46 | 54 | 35 | 65 | 20 | 80 |
| Okinawa | 33 | 67 | 54 | 46 | 36 | 64 | 26 | 74 |
| Java | 26 | 74 | 57 | 43 | 32 | 68 | 15 | 85 |
| The Hague | 36 | 64 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Munich | 67 | 33 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Singapore | 14 | 86 | 37 | 63 | 17 | 83 | 6 | 94 |
| Osaka | 43 | 57 | 72 | 28 | 55 | 45 | 28 | 72 |
| Manila | 74 | 26 | 95 | 5 | 85 | 15 | 63 | 37 |
| Kyushu | 41 | 59 | 72 | 28 | 54 | 46 | 26 | 74 |
| Chungking | 79 | 21 | 98 | 2 | 91 | 9 | 67 | 33 |
| Vladivostok | 65 | 35 | — | — | — | — | — | — |

**15.** (Canada Aug 4 '45) Now some of these places aren't well-known, but can you tell me where they are—Guam, Oslo, Munich, Trieste, Canberra? (CIPO)

| | *Reasonably correct* | *Wrong or don't know* |
|---|---|---|
| Munich | 74% | 26% |
| Oslo | 55 | 45 |
| Guam | 45 | 55 |
| Canberra | 45 | 55 |
| Trieste | 36 | 64 |

**16.** (US Aug 8 '45) How many states are there in the Union? (AIPO)

Correct 92% Incorrect 4% Don't know 4%

**17.** (US Aug 8 '45) Is the Arctic Ocean at the North or South Pole? (AIPO)

North 75% South 11% Don't know 14%

**18.** (US Aug 8 '45) Is Portugal the name of a city, country, or island? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| City | 6% |
| Country | 78 |
| Island | 9 |
| Don't know | 7 |

**19.** (US Aug 8 '45) Can you name a state that borders on Idaho? (AIPO)

Correct 53% Incorrect 14% Don't know 33%

**20.** (US Feb 13 '46) Can you tell me where Hawaii, or the Hawaiian Islands, are? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct | 21% |
| Partly correct | 52 |
| Incorrect | 6 |
| No answer | 21 |

## GERMANS IN THE U.S.

**1.** (US Sept 16 '37) Do you think Nazis in the United States are a menace to the country? (AIPO)

Yes 58% No 24% No opinion 18%

**2.** (US Sept 16 '37) Are you in favor of permitting Nazis who are American citizens to wear uniforms and parade in this country? (AIPO)

Yes 14% No 71% No opinion 15%

**3.** (US Apr '45) After the war, do you think Germans living in the United States should have as good a chance to get any kind of a job, or do you think all other people should have the first chance at any kind of job? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| As good chance | 34% |
| All other people first | 27 |
| If loyal; if U.S. citizens | 37 |
| Don't know | 2 |

## GERMANY

### Army

**1.** (US July 15 '42) Do you believe most of the German generals are loyal to Hitler? (OPOR)

Yes 60% No 29% No opinion and no answer 11%

**2.** (US July 16 '42) Do you think most of the rank and file soldiers in the German army are loyal to Hitler? (OPOR)

Yes 61% No 30% No opinion 9%

### Census

**1.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) Have you heard that a census will be taken in all four zones of Germany at the end of October this year? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 1% |
| Yes, have heard about it | 49 |
| No, heard of it the first time | 50 |

**2.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) In the American zone of Germany alone about five hundred thousand unpaid volunteers will be asked for to help gather census information on October 29th. If you should be asked, would you be willing to help do this? (OMGUS)

Yes 66% No 33% No answer 1%

### Colonies

**1.** (Great Britain Apr 3 '37) Do you favor returning any of her former colonies to Germany? (BIPO)

Yes 24% No 76% = 100% No opinion 2%

**2.** (Great Britain Oct '38 and Mar '39) Are you in favor of giving back any former German colonies? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '38 | 15% | 85% = 100% | 13% |
| Mar '39 | 14 | 78 | 8 = 100% |

**3.** (Great Britain Oct '38 and Mar '39) Would you rather fight than hand them back? Asked of 85% of the 1938 sample and 78% of the 1939 sample who opposed returning to Germany any of her former colonies. (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '38 | 78% | 22% = 100%* | 9 |
| Mar '39 | 69 | 19 | 12 = 100%* |

*of those questioned

**4.** (France Aug '39) Do you think that colonies ought to be given to Germany (as a result of the Munich agreement)? (FIPO)

Yes 59% No 33% No opinion 8%

**5.** (France Aug '39) Do you think that France should give back to Germany the colonies which we had confiscated through the League of Nations after World War I? (FIPO)

Yes 22% No 70% No opinion 8%

**6.** (France Aug '39) Do you think that Germany has the right to reclaim some colonies from France and from England? (FIPO)

Yes 28% No 67% No opinion 5%

## Defenses

**1.** (US Nov 19 '41) Here are three ways to describe Germany's situation today. Which one of these statements comes closest to the way you feel—(1) Germany is still very strong but will be defeated by Britain and Russia with the help of supplies from this country. (2) Germany is the strongest military nation in the world. She can be defeated only if this country enters the war. (3) Germany is so strong that she will never be defeated, whether we get into the war or not? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Statement 1 | 58% |
| Statement 2 | 31 |
| Statement 3 | 3 |
| No choice | 6 |
| Can't read | 1 |
| Other | 1 |

**2.** (US July 15 '42) Do you think Germany's militaty sttength is greater or less than it was when the war first began in 1939? 27% of the sample who thought Germany's strength was greater and 50% who thought it was less were asked: Why do you think so? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Militaty sttength is the same | 10% |
| No opinion as to whether it is greater or less | 13 |
| Greater because: | |
| Evidence from present campaigns; they are beating England and/or Russia | 1 |
| Evidence from campaigns (unspecified); strength in battles | 3 |
| Conquered countries provide more resources | 16 |
| They're accumulating military experience and equipment | 3 |
| Increasing production; plenty of raw materials | 2 |
| Lack of strong offensive against them | * |
| Other reasons why it is gteater | 1 |
| Didn't say why it is greater | * |
| | * = 1 |
| Less because: | |
| Fewer men and less equipment; weakened by a long war | 37 |
| Evidence of change in their methods of fighting; change in tactics; present battles and campaigns | 1 |
| Failure to take England | ** |
| Failure to conquer Russia; weakened by Russian campaign | 4 |
| Production weakened by bombing | 1 |
| Having to garrison occupied countries reduces their strength | 2 |
| Because of the blockade | ** |
| Their morale is weakening | 1 |
| Other reasons why it is less | 2 |
| Didn't say why it is less | 2 |

** Less than 0.5%.

**3.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statements: (OMGUS)

| | AMERICAN ZONE AND BERLIN | | | BERLIN ONLY | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Since foreigners and people of other races are probably enemies, one should always be militarily prepared to attack them first | 10 | 82 | 8 | 15 | 83 | 2 |
| Germany should be allowed to have an army in order to be able to defend herself against aggression from other European nations | 44 | 47 | 9 | 41 | 58 | 1 |
| The Allies are fully justified in not allowing Germany to have an army | 47 | 26 | 27 | 61 | 23 | 16 |
| Law among nations is settled by power | 30 | 58 | 12 | 36 | 61 | 3 |

## Foreign Relations

**1.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statements: (OMGUS)

| | AMERICAN ZONE AND BERLIN | | | BERLIN ONLY | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| The German people were the victims of a conspiracy by other nations | 19 | 77 | 4 | 29 | 68 | 3 |
| Germany frequently used to get into difficult situations because other nations did not understand her | 53 | 34 | 13 | 49 | 47 | 4 |
| It is not to be assumed that other nations will attack us if we stand on friendly terms with them | 64 | 29 | 7 | 70 | 29 | 1 |

**2.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) Most people are interested in what others think of them. The German people are in the difficult position of having to regain the respect of people in other countries in the world. As far as you can judge, which people have today the greatest respect and admiration for the German people? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| America | 20% |
| England | 12 |
| Switzerland | 2 |
| Belgium | * |
| Spain | * |
| Argentina; South America | * |
| The Allies | 2 |
| Germany's former Allies: Italy, Japan, and followers | * |
| Poland, Turkey, Ireland, India, Czechoslovakia, neutral states, Portugal | * |
| Russia | 1 |
| France | 1 |
| Scandinavia | 1 |
| Netherlands | * |
| All peoples | 1 |
| No opinion; don't know; I am too old; in general, they respect us | 38 |

| | |
|---|---|
| No country | 30% |
| No answer | 4 |
| | 112%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Are you in agreement or not with the following statement—Germany is frequently in a difficult position because other people have no understanding of Germany? (OMGUS)

| *Agreement* | *Disagreement* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 56% | 21% | 23% | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

## Politics and Government

**1.** (US Feb '42) Do you think the people in Germany should be given a chance to vote in a fair election, to choose what kind of a government they should have after the war? How about the Italian people? the Japanese people? the French people? Asked supposing the Allies won the war. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Depends* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| German people | 62% | 28% | 3% | 7% |
| Italian | 64 | 24 | 2 | 10 |
| Japanese | 50 | 36 | 3 | 11 |
| French | 78 | 10 | 2 | 10 |

**2.** (US Feb '42) In your opinion, after the war will the German people want the kind of government they have now or some other kind? How about the Italian people? the Japanese people? Asked supposing the Allies won the war. (NORC)

| | *Present kind* | *Some other kind* | *Depends* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| German people | 19% | 66% | 2% | 13% |
| Italian | 20 | 58 | 1 | 21 |
| Japanese | 41 | 32 | 1 | 26 |

**3.** (US Feb '42) What kind [of government will the German (Italian, Japanese) people want]? Asked of 68% of the sample who thought the German people would want another kind of government after the war or that it would depend on conditions, 59% of the sample who felt the same way about the Italian people, and 33% of the sample who said the same thing about the Japanese people. Asked supposing the Allies won the war. (NORC)

| | *Democracy* | *Other* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| German people | 61% | 11% | 28% = 100% of those questioned |
| Italian | 58 | 16 | 26 |
| Japanese | 52 | 10 | 38 |

**4.** (US July 15 '42) Here is a list of certain practices which we have, or try to have, in this country. Do you know which of these the people in Germany enjoy now and which have been taken away from them? (OPOR)

| | *Do not have* | *Have* | *No answer or Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| A laboring man in Germany can move to another city to work if he wants to | 71% | 3% | 26% |
| A farmer in Germany can sell his farm and move into the city if he wants to | 71 | 3 | 26 |
| Poor people in Germany who are sick get immediate attention whether they pay for it or not | 35% | 28% | 37% |
| Newspaper editors in Germany are free to express their opinions | 92 | 1 | 7 |
| If a man in Germany wants to start a business of his own, he is free to do so | 69 | 5 | 26 |
| Anyone in Germany can listen to any radio program he wants to, including programs from other countries | 93 | 1 | 6 |
| Girls in Germany can attend the same grammar schools as boys | 31 | 15 | 54 |

**5.** (US July 15 '42) As far as you know, is the German Reichstag (that is, their Congress) elected by the people the same way our Congress is? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Elected like ours | 9% |
| Not elected like ours | 55 |
| Don't know and no answet | 36 |

**6.** (US Jan 27 '43) If the German army did overthrow Hitler, do you think this would mean that the German people would or would not control the govetnment? (AIPO)

Would 21% Would not 60% No opinion 19%

**7.** (US Feb '44) After the war, do you think we should let the people in Germany vote in a free election to choose the kind of government they want? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should | 47% |
| Shouldn't | 37 |
| Should after awhile | 3 |
| After they have qualified, become stabilized | 1 |
| After education away from Nazism | 2 |
| If election is supervised, a really free election | 2 |
| Only if they choose certain kind of government | 1 |
| Don't know | 7 |

**8.** (US Feb '44) If the German people voted to have some form of Communism, do you think we should let them have it or not? Asked of 56% of the sample who thought that after the war the German people should be allowed to vote in a free election and choose the kind of government they wanted. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should | 22% |
| Shouldn't | 24 |
| Don't know | 6 |
| Not ascertainable | 4 |
| | 56% |

**9.** (Australia Nov '44) After the war, should Germany be ruled by the Allies, or should Germany be allowed to govern herself? 72% of the sample who thought Germany should be ruled by the Allies were asked: For how many years? (APOP)

| *Allied government for* | |
|---|---|
| 5–10 years | 17% |
| 15–20 years | 14 |
| About 25 years | 7 |
| About 50 years | 6 |
| Longer periods or always | 28 |
| Should have self-government | 22 |
| No opinion as to what kind of government Germany should have | 6 |

**10.** (US Mar '45) As soon as the Nazis are thrown out, do you think the Germans would voluntarily elect the right kind of government in a free election, or do you think the only way they would get the right kind of government at first is for the United Nations to set it up? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germans would elect right kind | 6.0% |
| United Nations would have to set it up | 82.9 |
| Don't know | 11.1 |

**11.** (Germany Nov 5 '45) Do you think that the German people as a whole are more capable of self-government today than they were three months ago? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 45% |
| No | 32 |
| No opinion | 19 |
| Other answers | 3 |
| No answer | 1 |

**12.** (Germany Nov 26 '45) Do you believe that the German people will someday be able to govern themselves along democratic lines? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 70% |
| No | 9 |
| No opinion | 17 |
| Yes, if right people get into power | 2 |
| Yes, and reason not given | 0.5 |
| No answer | 1 |
| Other answers | 0.5 |

**13.** (Germany Dec 1 '45) Do you think the officials of the present German civil government are really working for their own interests or for the good of the community? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| For their own good | 12% |
| For the good of the community | 62 |
| No opinion | 14 |
| Both to some extent | 11 |
| Other answers | 1 |

**14.** (Germany Dec 11 '45) Generally speaking, do you think that the German people are more capable of ruling themselves now than they were three months ago? 13% of the sample who thought they were not were asked: Why not? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| They are more capable now | 65% |
| No opinion as to whether or not they are more capable | 22 |
| Will take the Germans years to learn to rule | 1 |
| Just have the impression that they are not capable (no elaboration) | 1 |
| Too much hate and/or confusion | 2 |
| People do not change in three months; things haven't changed | 2 |
| It's too early yet | 2 |
| Other reasons why they are not capable | 5 |
| Didn't say why they are not capable | 1 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**15.** (Germany Dec 27 '45 and Aug 9 '46) Do you think the Germans have learned in the past few months how to govern themselves better? 20% of the 1945 sample who said they thought not, were asked: Why not? (OMGUS)

RESULTS IN DEC '45

| | |
|---|---|
| Have learned to govern themselves better | 61% |
| No opinion as to whether or not they have learned | 19 |
| Things have not changed; nothing has happened; no progress has been made | 4 |
| We haven't had a chance to try yet | 1 |
| Germans are not ready yet; still can't forget the war; need to recuperate | 5% |
| No adequate political leadership and/or unity | 5 |
| Insufficient or unjust denazification | 1 |
| Didn't say why they hadn't learned | 3 |
| Don't know; can't say; no opinion | 1 |

RESULTS IN AUG '46

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 59% |
| No | 17 |
| No opinion | 24 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**16.** (Germany Jan 14 '46, Mar 22 '46, July 25 '46) Would you approve of Bavaria's being separated from the Reich and becoming an independent state? (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '46 | 27% | 51% | 22% | — |
| Mar '46 | 17 | 63 | 17 | 3% |
| July '46 | 20 | 65 | 15 | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

20% of the July sample who thought that Bavaria should secede were asked: Should Bavaria join a confederation of German states or should she remain entirely separate and independent?

| | |
|---|---|
| Confederation | 10% |
| Independent | 8 |
| No opinion | 2 |
| | 20% |

**17.** (Germany Jan 14 '46) At present, economic policy in the American zone is being formulated by the various state governments. Do you think it would be better or worse if economic policy were formed by a central government? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 54% |
| Worse | 7 |
| OK as things are now | 14 |
| No answer | 1 |
| No opinion | 24 |

**18.** (Germany Jan 14 '46) Do you think that the Allies will be able to work successfully together in creating a united Germany? (July 25 '46) Do you think the Allies will cooperate successfully to leave behind a unified Germany at the end of the occupation period? (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '46 | 71% | 15% | 13% | 1% |
| July '46 | 55 | 25 | 20 | — |

**19.** (Germany Jan 14 '46) Do you think that a central government should be set up for all four occupation zones of Germany? (OMGUS)

Yes 59% No 18% No opinion 23%

**20.** (Germany Mar 22 '46) Would you favor a monarchy for Germany or not? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 16% |
| No | 60 |
| No opinion, don't know, can't say | 21 |
| No answer | 3 |

**21.** (Germany Apr 4 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statements: (OMGUS)

| | AMERICAN ZONE AND BERLIN | | | BERLIN ONLY | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* % | *No* % | *No opinion* % | *Yes* % | *No* % | *No opinion* % |
| Hitler and his government were criminals who misled the German people | 90 | 6 | 4 | 95 | 4 | 1 |
| Sometimes it is necessary to make suggestions or criticize official policies even to a superior | 86 | 7 | 7 | 89 | 8 | 3 |
| It is the duty of a citizen to keep himself informed about his government and to feel responsible for its actions | 81 | 11 | 8 | 84 | 13 | 3 |

**22.** (Norway July 5 '46) In your opinion, should Germany again be self-governing, or do you think that it ought to be under control? (NGI)

| | *Under control* | *Self-government* | *Don't know* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 88% | 7% | 4% | 1% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 88% | 10% | 2% | — |
| Women | 87 | 4 | 7 | 2% |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 18–25 years | 90% | 5% | 4% | 1% |
| 25–35 years | 86 | 9 | 4 | 1 |
| 35–50 years | 89 | 7 | 4 | — |
| 50 years and over | 85 | 7 | 6 | 2 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| High | 90% | 8% | 2% | — |
| Middle | 90 | 6 | 4 | — |
| Low | 87 | 7 | 4 | 2% |

**23.** (Norway July 5 '46) Do you think that this control should go on indefinitely or only last a limited period? Asked of 88% of the sample who thought that Germany ought to be controlled. (NGI)

| | *Limited period* | *Always* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 51% | 43% | 6% = 100% of those questioned |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 60% | 37% | 3% |
| Women | 42 | 49 | 9 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–25 years | 45% | 49% | 6% |
| 25–35 years | 53 | 42 | 5 |
| 35–50 years | 48 | 46 | 6 |
| 50 years and over | 56 | 36 | 8 |

**24.** (Germany July 25 '46) For the period of occupation the following four systems of government are possible in the United States zone of Germany. Which of these would you prefer? (1) A strong central government directing the United States zone from Berlin. (2) A federal government in Berlin that leaves a great deal of responsibility to the states. (3) No central government. Though the states form a confederation everyone of them retains the right of an independent government. (4) No confederation of states. Every state has its own absolutely separate and independent government. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Statement 1 | 31% |
| Statement 2 | 22 |
| Statement 3 | 18 |
| Statement 4 | 6 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**25.** (Germany July 25 '46) For the period of occupation, a central German government of all four zones might be formed. Do you think such a central government should be established or not? 70% of the sample thought a central government should be established and 10% thought not. These two groups were asked: Why and why not? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| No opinion as to whether or not a central government should be established | 20% |
| Should be established because: | |
| German states are economically dependent on one another; unity will improve economic development | 22 |
| Exchange of goods | 13 |
| Unification of administration; unified government able to do better job | 10 |
| To re-establish unity at last; unity is only possibility of building Germany up again; speeds reconstruction | 15 |
| Zonal borders cause greatest difficulties | 5 |
| Question of financial demands and reparations more easily solved by central government | 1 |
| One government not as expensive as many | 1 |
| Other reasons | 1 |
| Didn't give any reason | 1 |
| Don't know; don't understand anything about it; leave it to others | 1 |
| Should not be established because: | |
| Every state should have its own administration | 2 |
| Can live better without Prussia, because Prussians always make war | 4 |
| Russian zone would gain position of power; Russians are feared very much | 2 |
| Too early yet; better if Americans alone have the say here | 1 |
| Other reasons | 1 |

**26.** (Germany July 25 '46) Do you consider the Allies capable of setting up such a central German government? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Capable | 75% |
| Hardly capable | 6 |
| Incapable | 3 |
| No opinion | 16 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**27.** (Germany Aug 9 '46) Do you think the Allies will be able to establish a central German government? (OMGUS)

Yes 44% No 18% No opinion 38% No answer *

* Less than 0.5%.

**28.** (Germany Aug 9 '46) What kind of a central German government will the Allies try to establish? Asked of 44% of the sample who thought the Allies would be able to establish a central government. (OMGUS)

| | *Will try to establish* |
|---|---|
| Federal government; federal constitution; individual rights of the states to be respected | 12% |
| Strong central government in Berlin; unified government of all zones in Berlin; zonal borders to be abolished; government as before 1933 | 17 |
| Government based on democratic principles | 31 |
| Germany to become a mandate of the Allies; Americans should stay | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| No Communistic government; Russians to have no voice in it | 1% |
| Government set up after model of Control Council | * |
| A government capable of a strong economic policy | 2 |
| A Christian government | 1 |
| Other answers | 2 |
| Social Democratic government | 1 |
| Don't know; no opinion | 29 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 100% |

of those questioned

* Less than 0.5%.

What do you think the Allies will agree on? Asked of 18% of the total sample who thought the Allies would not be able to establish a central German government.

*Will agree on*

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany to be divided into several states; autonomous government for each state | 5% |
| No agreement between the Allies yet; no agreement with the French; depends on Russia; Russia will not give in; cooperation England-United States | 59 |
| Separation of the eastern parts from the rest of Germany | 6 |
| Will continue the same way as before | 3 |
| War with Russia | 1 |
| Other answers | 1 |
| No opinion; don't know; development not yet to be foreseen; don't read newspapers | 23 |
| No answer | 2 |
| | 100% |

of those questioned

**29.** (Germany July 25 '46) Do you expect any important changes in the government established in Germany by the Allies to take place after the occupation period has come to an end? 9% of the sample who said they expected changes were asked: What changes do you expect? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't expect any changes | 51% |
| No opinion as to whether or not there will be changes or no answer to the first question | 40 |
| Expect a unified government uninfluenced by Allies | 2 |
| A government that causes Germany to be respected again in the world | * |
| A move to the left | 1 |
| Disturbances might easily arise; disagreement between party leaders; frequent changes of government; quarrels about internal politics | 2 |
| Depends on external influences; changes might be influenced by Nazi spirit still existing | 1 |
| Situation in general will improve | 1 |
| A change to the right | * |
| No opinion; don't know | 1 |
| Didn't say what changes expected | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**30.** (Germany Aug 9 '46) We should like to know if you have any criticisms about the following items, for often criticism is worth more than praise. Are you satisfied, not quite satisfied, or not at all satisfied with progress in rebuilding a democratic government? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Satisfied | 54% |
| Not quite satisfied | 17 |
| Not at all satisfied | 6 |
| No opinion | 23 |

**31.** (Germany Aug 9 '46) In your opinion, are the German people capable of learning how to govern themselves in a democratic way? (OMGUS)

Yes 79% No 6% No opinion 15% No answer *

* Less than 0.5%.

**32.** (Germany Nov 25 '46) Which should be accomplished first, the economic or the political unity of the four zones in Germany? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Economic | 63% |
| Political | 8 |
| Both together | 16 |
| No opinion | 13 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**33.** (Germany Nov 25 '46) Have you noted any progress toward union of the four zones? (OMGUS)

Yes 11% No 51% No opinion 38% No answer *

* Less than 0.5%.

**34.** (Germany Asked in Dec '46) Are you in favor of a unified German state, a federal state, or a division of Germany into independent countries without a central government? (GMZFO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Unified state | 47% |
| Federal state | 40 |
| Independent countries | 10 |
| No opinion | 3 |

## Territorial Expansion

**1.** (Germany Mar 29 '46) Before the war it was often said that parts of Europe with considerable German minorities, e.g. Sudetenland should be legally reincorporated in Germany. Did you agree to that or not? (OMGUS)

Yes 36% No 39% No opinion 25%

**2.** (Germany Mar 29 '46) A separate cross-section comparable to that used for the preceding question was asked: Before the war Hitler often said that parts of Europe with considerable German minorities, e.g. Sudetenland, should be legally reincorporated into Germany. Did you agree to that or not? (OMGUS)

Agreed 39% Disagreed 40% No opinion 21%

**3.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statement: Territories such as Danzig, Sudetenland, and Austria should be part of Germany proper. (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| American zone and Berlin | 52% | 36% | 12% |
| Berlin only | 58 | 38 | 4 |

# GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

## Banks (Australia)

**1.** (Australia Dec '41) Should control of banking by the Commonwealth government be increased, or decreased, or no change? (APOP)

| | *Increase control* | *No change* | *Decrease control* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40% | 36% | 6% | 18% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Labor voters | 61% | 26% | 2% | 11% |
| Other voters | 40 | 44 | 9 | 7 |

**2.** (Australia July '43 and Nov '46) Do you favor private or government ownership of the trading banks? (APOP)

| | *Government* | *Private* | *Undecided* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| July '43 | 41% | 39% | 9% | 11% |
| Nov '46 | 32 | 50 | 18 | — |
| 1946 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Executives | 7% | 81% | 12% | |
| Farmers | 18 | 71 | 11 | |
| White-collar | 28 | 57 | 15 | |
| Artisans | 44 | 40 | 16 | |
| Unskilled labor | 47 | 27 | 26 | |

**3.** (Australia Feb–Mar '45 and May '45) The government proposes to abolish the Commonwealth bank board and place the bank under government control. Do you favor or oppose that change? (APOP)

| | *Oppose* | *Favor* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Feb–Mar '45 | 53% | 30% | 17% |
| May '45 | 60 | 24 | 16 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| *Labor* | | | |
| Feb–Mar '45 | 36% | 45% | 19% |
| May '45 | 45 | 37 | 18 |
| *Non-labor* | | | |
| Feb–Mar '45 | 79 | 9 | 12 |
| May '45 | 81 | 9 | 10 |
| Those who voted in favor of the powers referendum, May '45 | 50 | 30 | 20 |
| FEB–MAR RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Well-to-do | 97% | 3% | — |
| Better-off | 72 | 17 | 11% |
| Artisans | 49 | 34 | 17 |
| Low income | 45 | 32 | 23 |

## Banks (Canada)

**1.** (Canada May 3 '44) Do you think the government should own and operate all banks in Canada, or do you think we should continue with the present system? (CIPO)

Approve 23% Disapprove 66% Undecided 11%

## Banks (France)

**1.** (France Jan 16 '46) Do you approve of the nationalization of banks as it has been voted? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 44% | 28% | 28% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Workers | 49% | 27% | 24% |
| White-collar | 47 | 31 | 22 |
| Farmers | 46 | 18 | 36 |
| Professional | 46 | 39 | 15 |
| Living on income | 43 | 32 | 25 |
| Business | 39 | 43 | 18 |

**2.** (France May 16 '45) Would you approve of nationalization of the banks? (FIPO)

Approve 70% Disapprove 13% No opinion 17%

## Banks (Great Britain)

**1.** (Great Britain May '45) Would you approve or disapprove of the nationalization of the Bank of England? (BIPO)

Approve 39% Disapprove 20% Don't know 41%

## Banks (U.S.)

**1.** (US Nov 20 '36, Dec 8 '36, July 5 '37, July '42, May 29 '45, Sept 6 '45, Dec 31 '46) Do you favor government ownership of banks? (AIPO, FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No, leave alone* | *Undecided or don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '36 (AIPO) | 36% | 56% | 8% = 100% |
| Dec '36 (AIPO) | 43 | 57 = 100% | 14 |
| July '37 (AIPO) | 53 | 47 = 100 | 15 |
| *Aug '37 (AIPO) | 49 | 51 = 100 | 18 |
| **July '42 (FOR) | 64.8 | 25.2 | 10.0 = 100 |
| †May '45 (AIPO) | 27 | 61 | 12 = 100 |
| ‡Sept '45 (AIPO) | 25 | 64 | 11 = 100 |
| ‡Sept '45 (AIPO) Union members only | 34 | 55 | 11 = 100 |
| §Dec '46 (AIPO) | 26 | 66 | 8 = 100 |

* The question was: Would you like to have the government own and control the banks?

** After the war is over, do you think the government should own and operate all banks, only regulate them, or leave them entirely alone? 64.8% includes 56.5% who thought the government should only regulate and 8.3% who thought the government should own and operate.

† Do you believe the government should own the banks?

‡ Do you think the government should own the banks in this country?

§ Do you think the United States government should own the banks in this country?

**2.** (US July 5 '37) Do you think the government will someday take over the banks? (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 39% = 100% No opinion 23%

**3.** (US Sept 16 '37) Do you think that government regulation of the stock exchanges has helped investors? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 69% | 31% = 100% | 43% |
| OPINIONS OF INVESTORS | | | |
| All investors interviewed | 62% | 38% | |
| Investors who voted for Roosevelt | 80 | 20 | |
| Investors who voted for Landon | 44 | 56 | |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 83% | 17% | |
| Republican | 47 | 53 | |

**4.** (US Mar 23 '38) Have you heard about the Wall Street case of Richard Whitney? (AIPO)

Yes 63% No and no answer 37%

**5.** (US Mar 23 '38) Do you think it [the Richard Whitney case] calls for further regulation of Wall Street? Asked of a national cross-section of people who had heard about the Whitney case. 63% of the total sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 74% | 26% = 100% | 15% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republican | 62% | 38% | |
| Democratic | 81 | 19 | |

**6.** (US July 2 '38) Do you approve of federal regulation of the Securities Exchange? Asked of 20% of a national sample who owned stocks and bonds. (AIPO)

Yes 12% No 4% No opinion 4% = 20%

**7.** (US Dec '41) After the war is over, do you think there will be more, the same, or less government regulation of banking? (FOR)

More 36.3% Same 35.0% Less 6.1% Don't know 22.6%

**8.** (US Dec '41) Those with opinions on the preceding question were asked whether they thought this would be a good or bad thing. (FOR)

| | *Good* | *Bad* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| More | 59.9% | 30.4% | 9.7% | = 100.0% of those questioned |
| Same | 84.3 | 7.5 | 8.2 | = 100.0* |
| Less | 51.9 | 37.9 | 10.2 | = 100.0* |

* 100% of those questioned.

## GOVERNORS

**1.** (US Mar 24 '43 and Apr 6 '43) What kind of job would you say the governor of this state is doing—outstanding, about average, or poor? (AIPO)

| | *Outstanding* | *Better than average* | *Average* | *Poor* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '43 | 17% | 14% | 42% | 8% | 19% |
| Apr '43 | 13 | 14 | 43 | 8 | 22 |

**2.** (US Apr 6 '43) If the present governor becomes a candidate for governor again, would you vote for him or against him? (AIPO)

For 55% Against 21% No opinion 24%

**3.** (Canada Mar 22 '44) It has been the custom for the governor of Canada to come from Britain. Do you approve of this, or do you think a Canadian should be appointed to this office? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should come from Britain | 32% |
| Should come from Canada | 59 |
| Undecided | 9 |

**4.** (US Aug 8 '45) What is the name of the governor of your state? (AIPO)

Correct 85% Incorrect 2% Don't know 13%

**5.** (Canada Aug 29 '45) Do you happen to know who has been governor general of Canada for the past five years? (CIPO)

Correct 70% Incorrect or don't know 30%

**6.** (Canada Aug 29 '45) The term of the present governor general ends this year. Which of these things would you like to see done about appointing a new governor general—continue to appoint someone from Britain, appoint a Canadian, abolish position altogether? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Someone from Britain | 27% |
| Canadian | 42 |
| Abolish position | 20 |
| Undecided | 11 |

**7.** (Australia May–June '46) When the Duke of Gloucester returns to England, should the next governor general be an Englishman, or an Australian, or should the position of governor general be abolished? (APOP)

| | *Favor Englishmen* | *Australian* | *Abolish position* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 29% | 45% | 19% | 7% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Labor voters | 13% | 56% | 24% | 7% |
| Non-labor | 50 | 30 | 15 | 5 |

## GREAT BRITAIN

### Army and Navy

**1.** (Great Britain Dec '38) Have you volunteered for any form of national service? (BIPO)

Yes 19% No 81%

**2.** (Great Britain Dec '38) Do you intend to volunteer under the National Register System? Asked of 81% of the sample who had not volunteered for any form of national service. (BIPO)

Yes 29% No 37% No opinion 34% = 100% of those who had not volunteered for national service

**3.** (Great Britain Dec 19 '41) From what you have heard or read, do you or do you not feel that our army is being trained efficiently? (BIPO)

Yes 60% No 18% Don't know 22%

**4.** (Great Britain Mar 1 '43) Do you think that the British army has already seen its hardest fighting, or that its worst fighting has yet to come? (BIPO)

Passed 9% To come 76% Don't know 15%

**5.** (Great Britain Feb 16 '46) Is any member of your immediate family still in the forces? (BIPO)

Army 26% Navy 12% RAF 16% None 53% = 107%*

* 7% had more than one relative still in the forces.

### Army and Navy (Demobilization)

**1.** (Great Britain Sept '43) Mr. Bevin has said that soldiers will be demobilized "first in—first out." Do you think this is the right way? 29% of the sample who disapproved of Mr. Bevin's system were asked: What do you suggest? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve of Mr. Bevin's system | 59% |
| Don't know whether or not it is right | 12 |
| Key men first; needs of industry | 9 |
| Married men first | 6 |
| Those who have jobs to go first | 5 |
| Those abroad longest should go first | 3 |
| Older men should come first | 1 |
| Miscellaneous; no comment; don't know | 5 |

**2.** (Great Britain Aug '44) In demobilizing the forces, which in your opinion is better, for the government to demobilize men as quickly as possible to look for jobs themselves, or to let them out gradually as jobs are made available for them? (BIPO)

Quickly 16% Gradually 76% Don't know 8%

**3.** (Great Britain Apr '45) Do you approve of the government's decision to demobilize men at the end of the war against Germany, at the same time calling up men below thirty-five years of age? (BIPO)

Approve 78% Disapprove 13% Don't know 9%

**4.** (Great Britain Nov 3 '45) On the whole, do you approve or disapprove of the government's plans for demobilization? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 28% | 16% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 61% | 28% | 11% |
| Women | 51 | 28 | 21 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 55% | 29% | 16% |
| 30–49 years | 58 | 28 | 14 |
| 50 years and over | 54 | 27 | 19 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 52% | 38% | 10% |
| Middle | 54 | 31 | 15 |
| Lower | 57 | 26 | 17 |

**5.** (Great Britain Feb 16 '46) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way that the government scheme for demobilization is working? (BIPO)

| | *Satisfied* | *Dis-satisfied* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 27% | 17% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 62% | 24% | 14% |
| Women | 50 | 30 | 20 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 53% | 34% | 13% |
| 30–49 years | 57 | 26 | 17 |
| 50 years and over | 56 | 26 | 18 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 52% | 34% | 14% |
| Middle | 57 | 26 | 17 |
| Lower | 56 | 27 | 17 |
| BY MILITARY STATUS OF FAMILY MEMBERS STILL IN ARMED FORCES | | | |
| Army | 54% | 38% | 8% |
| Navy | 51 | 40 | 9 |
| RAF | 48 | 44 | 8 |
| None | 59 | 17 | 24 |

## Army and Navy (Pay, Allowances, etc.)

**1.** (Great Britain Oct '41) Do you think that the scale of allowances paid to soldiers' wives and dependents should be increased or left as it is now? (BIPO)

Same 12% Increased 76% Don't know 12%

**2.** (Great Britain Oct '41 and Dec 27 '42) Should women or should women not be paid the same compensation as men for injuries due to enemy action? (BIPO)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '41 | 84% | 11% | 5% |
| Dec '42 | 84 | 13 | 3 |

**3.** (Great Britain Aug 22 '42) From your experience of how soldiers' wives are managing, do you think that their allowances are or are not big enough? (BIPO)

Are 15% Are not 66% Don't know 19%

**4.** (Great Britain Mar '44) Even if it meant more taxation for you, would you favor increasing the pay of soldiers? (BIPO)

Yes 81% No 11% Don't know 8%

## Colonies

**1.** (US June 3 '42) The English have often been called oppressors because of the unfair advantage some people think they have taken of their colonial possessions. Do you feel there is any truth in this charge? 56% of the sample who thought there was some truth in the charge were asked: In what way do you think this charge is true? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Their colonies were held down and denied home rule, freedom, etc. | 15% |
| They have been brutal in their colonies | 3 |
| They have been grabbing; selfish exploiters | 15 |
| In India, Burma, Malaya | 19 |
| Ireland | 8 |
| Australia, South Africa, others | 6 |
| Yes, but many still prefer the British to others | 1 |
| Yes, but maybe they had to hold down the colonial peoples | 1 |
| Colonies did not cooperate in war effort at first | 1 |
| Taxes | 2 |
| British gave colonies nothing in return | 3 |
| American experience | 1 |
| They have shown improvement | 3 |
| They made material improvements in their colonies | 3 |
| Duplicity of the colonial administration at the top | 1 |
| No answer; don't know | 1 |
| Charge is not true | 33 |
| Don't know whether or not charge is true | 11 |
| | 127%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (US Apr 6 '43) Would you say that the British have treated the people in their colonies and possessions fairly or unfairly in recent years? 31% of the sample said that the British had treated their colonials unfairly and 5% gave qualified answers. These two groups were asked: Where and in what way were they unfair? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Treat them fairly | 38% |
| Don't know whether or not they are treated fairly | 26 |
| Treated unfairly in all colonies | 4 |
| In India | 25 |
| Ireland | 1 |
| Australia | 1 |
| Canada | 1 |
| Other specific countries | 4 |
| Unspecified | 2 |
| Don't know where | 2 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## Defenses

**1.** (Great Britain Oct '38) In the present situation, do you favor increased expenditure on armaments? (BIPO)

Yes 72% No 18% No opinion 10%

**2.** (Great Britain Dec '38) How should the increase in rearmament be paid for—by further taxation or by government loans? (BIPO)

By loans 55% By taxes 17% No opinion 28%

## Foreign Relations

**1.** (Great Britain June '37) What foreign nation do you like best? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| United States | 37% |
| France | 28 |
| Germany | 15 |
| Others | 20 |

**2.** (Great Britain Mar 5 '38 and Mar 12 '38) Do you favor Mr. Chamberlain's foreign policy? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar 5 | 26% | 58% | 16% |
| Mar 12 | 24 | 56 | 20 |

**3.** (Great Britain Feb '39) Which of these statements comes nearest to representing your view of Mr. Chamberlain's policy of appeasement: it is a policy which will ultimately lead to enduring peace in Europe; it will keep us out of war until we have time to rearm; it is bringing war nearer by whetting the appetites of the dictators? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Lead to enduring peace | 28% |
| Keep us out of war | 46 |
| Bringing war nearer | 24 |
| No opinion | 2 |

**4.** (Great Britain June '39) Which foreign country do you prefer? Which is the foreign country you like least? (BIPO)

| | *Prefer* | | *Like least* |
|---|---|---|---|
| United States | 33% | Germany | 54% |
| France | 22 | Italy | 9 |
| Switzerland | 2 | Russia | 5 |
| Russia | 12 | Japan | 11 |
| Belgium | 1 | Spain | 1 |
| Sweden | 1 | France | 1 |
| Italy | * | No opinion | 19 |
| Germany | 3 | | |
| Finland | * | | |
| Norway | 2 | | |
| Eire | * | | |
| Denmark | 1 | | |
| Holland | 1 | | |
| Spain | * | | |
| All others | 3 | | |
| No opinion | 19 | | |

* Less than 0.5%.

**5.** (Great Britain July '42) Speaking very generally, which country do you think is more popular with the British at the present time, Russia or the United States? (BIPO)

Russia 62% United States 24% Same or don't know 14%

**6.** (Great Britain Sept '43) What are your feelings at the present time toward the Italian people? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hatred; bitterness; anger | 5% |
| Dislike | 10 |
| Deserve what they are getting | 4 |
| Contempt; disgust | 9 |
| Mixed feelings; indifference | 13 |
| Distrust | 7 |
| Dupes of Mussolini | 10 |
| Pity; sorry for them* | 20 |
| Friendly* | 14 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| No comment; don't know | 5 |

* Qualified by statements such as "but not for all."

## Foreign Relations (France)

**1.** (Great Britain Dec 19 '41) Should we or should we not declare war on Vichy France? (BIPO)

Yes 38% No 37% Don't know 25%

**2.** (Great Britain June '42) After the war, should we regard the French people as our friends, our enemies, or as neutrals? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Friends | 57% |
| Enemies | 3 |
| Neutrals | 32 |
| Don't know | 8 |

**3.** (Great Britain Apr '43) How do you feel towards the French nation? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Friendly; they are a clever people; very intelligent | 14% |
| Feel sorry for them | 11 |
| People plucky; government rotten | 10 |
| Underground movement strong and brave | 2 |
| Indifferent; no feeling | 9 |
| All right; same as anybody else | 6 |
| Reserved, cautious, definitely lukewarm attitude | 8 |
| Don't like them; never did like them; last war memories | 15 |
| They are treacherous; don't trust them; Fascist; fifth columnists | 11 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| No comment | 9 |

**4.** (France Dec 1 '44) Do you consider the present British attitude toward France satisfactory? (FIPO)

Yes 63% No 22% No opinion 15%

**5.** (Great Britain Mar '45) Are you in favor of a military and political alliance between Britain and France? (BIPO) (France Mar '45 and Sept '45) Are you in favor of a political and military alliance with Great Britain? (France May 16 '46) Are you in favor of an alliance with Great Britain? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Indifferent* | *Don't know or No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Britain Mar '45 | 60% | 21% | — | 19% |
| France Mar '45 | 79 | 11 | — | 10 |
| France Sept '45 | 72 | 14 | — | 14 |
| France May '46 | 68 | 9 | 15% | 8 |
| MAY '46 RESULTS IN FRANCE BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Communist | 41% | 27% | 23% | 9% |
| Socialist | 73 | 6 | 16 | 5 |
| Radical-Socialist | 70 | 7 | 18 | 5 |
| PRL | 86 | 5 | 6 | 3 |
| MRP | 85 | 3 | 6 | 6 |
| Others | 77 | 7 | 9 | 7 |
| MAY '46 RESULTS IN FRANCE BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Professional | 88% | 6% | 4% | 2% |
| Business | 74 | 10 | 9 | 7 |
| Farmers | 72 | 5 | 16 | 7 |
| White-collar | 68 | 12 | 13 | 7 |
| Workers | 62 | 14 | 17 | 7 |

## Foreign Relations (Germany)

**1.** (Great Britain May '39) In his speech last Friday Hitler said: ". . . the opinion prevails in Great Britain that no matter in what conflict Germany should someday be entangled, Great Britain would always have to take her stand against Germany. . . ." Do you think this statement is true or untrue? (BIPO)

True 31% Untrue 58% No opinion 11%

**2.** (Great Britain Sept '43 and Aug 26 '45) What are your feelings at the present time towards the German people? (BIPO)

1943 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Hatred; bitterness; anger | 45% |
| Dislike | 14 |
| Deserve what they are getting | 6 |
| Mixed feelings; indifference | 5 |
| Contempt; disgust | 5 |
| Dupes of Hitler | 4 |
| Pity; sorry for them* | 6 |
| Friendly* | 7 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| No comment; don't know | 3 |

* Qualified by statement such as "but not for all."

1945 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Sympathy (e.g. "People have been misled," "some of them are good," "feel sorry for them," "no hard feelings," etc.) | 25% |
| Hatred (e.g. loathing, bitterness, disgust, contempt, "only good German a dead one," etc.) | 21 |
| Dislike (e.g. "no sympathy for them," "can never forgive them," "not very friendly," etc.) | 14 |
| Indifferent (e.g. "don't think about them," "no particular feeling") | 11 |
| Keep them down; keep them under strict control | 6 |
| Caution (e.g. "a menace," "got to watch them," "not trustworthy," etc.) | 5 |
| Treatment should be harsher | 4 |
| Education (e.g. "re-educate the youth," "must be taught principles of democracy," "need moral and spiritual training," etc.) | 3 |
| Serve them right; must be made aware of their guilt | 3 |
| Should work out their own salvation | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| No answer; don't know | 5 |

## Foreign Relations (Russia)

**1.** (Great Britain Mar '39 and Apr '41) Would you like to see Great Britain and Soviet Russia being more friendly to each other? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know or No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '39 | 84% | 7% | 9% |
| Apr '41 | 70 | 13 | 17 |

**2.** (Great Britain Aug '39) Do you, or do you not, think the British government is doing its best to secure a pact with Russia? (BIPO)

Think so 50% Think not 30% Don't know 20%

**3.** (Great Britain Oct '39) Should a British cabinet minister be sent to Moscow now to discuss our future relations with Russia? (BIPO)

Yes 47% No 34% Don't know 19%

**4.** (Great Britain Mar '40) Would you like to see our government trying to establish friendly relations with Russia? (BIPO)

Yes 41% No 47% Don't know 12%

**5.** (Great Britain Mar '40) Do you think that one day we shall have to fight Russia? (BIPO)

Yes 41% No 30% Don't know 29%

**6.** (Canada Sept 1 '45) In answer to the question: Do you know which party won the recent election in Britain? 83% of the sample said either Labor or Attlee. This group was asked: Do you think this will make it easier or harder for Britain to get along with Russia? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Easier | 55% |
| Harder | 5 |
| No difference | 8 |
| Undecided | 15 |
| Hadn't followed the election | 17 |

**7.** (Great Britain Sept 29 '45 and June '46) Are your feelings toward Russia more friendly or less friendly than they were a year ago? (BIPO)

| | *More friendly* | *The same* | *Less friendly* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '45 | 16% | 54% | 19% | 11% |
| June '46 | 8 | 41 | 41 | 10 |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| *Sept '45* | | | | |
| Men | 19% | 53% | 20% | 8% |
| Women | 14 | 54 | 17 | 15 |
| *June '46* | | | | |
| Men | 10 | 42 | 42 | 6 |
| Women | 7 | 40 | 40 | 13 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| *Sept '45* | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 16% | 58% | 15% | 11% |
| 30–49 years | 16 | 56 | 17 | 11 |
| 50 years and over | 17 | 50 | 21 | 12 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| *June '46* | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 7% | 47% | 38% | 8% |
| 30–49 years | 8 | 40 | 44 | 8 |
| 50 years and over | 9 | 41 | 38 | 12 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| *Sept '45* | | | | |
| Higher | 5% | 61% | 30% | 4% |
| Middle | 15 | 52 | 25 | 8 |
| Lower | 18 | 54 | 15 | 13 |
| *June '46* | | | | |
| Higher | 5 | 38 | 54 | 3 |
| Middle | 4 | 44 | 45 | 7 |
| Lower | 10 | 41 | 38 | 11 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| *June '46* | | | | |
| Conservative | 4% | 36% | 51% | 9% |
| Labor | 12 | 48 | 33 | 7 |
| Liberal | 5 | 39 | 46 | 10 |
| Others | 14 | 48 | 31 | 7 |
| Non-voters | 6 | 38 | 42 | 14 |

**8.** (France Apr 1 '46) Some people have said that Russia brought to the United Nations assembly in London a policy directed systematically against Britain and the British Empire. Do these reports appear to you to be true or false? (FIPO)

True 31% False 20% No opinion 49%

**9.** (Australia Apr–May '46) Would you favor or oppose a permanent military alliance between the British Empire and Russia? (APOP)

Favor 52% Against 34% No opinion 14%

## Parliament

**1.** (Great Britain Nov '38) Would you favor a new political grouping including members of Parliament from all parties under the leadership of Mr. Eden? (BIPO)

Yes 40% No 39% No opinion 21%

**2.** (Great Britain July '39) Parliament is to break up as usual during August and September. Are you satisfied with this arrangement or do you think Parliament should continue to meet? (BIPO)

Satisfied 40% Continue to meet 50% Don't know 10%

## Politics and Government

**1.** (US May 3 '40) Do you think the British government has done a good job or a poor job in conducting the war to date? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good job | 10% |
| Fair job | 21 |
| Poor job | 69 |
| | 100% |
| Don't know | 18% |

**2.** (Great Britain Jan 24 '43) Do you think that after the war we shall go back to the party system we had before the war? (BIPO)

Shall 48% Shall not 20% Don't know 32%

**3.** (Great Britain Apr '43) Would you favor continuing, after the war, government spending in support of music, theater, films, etc.? (BIPO)

Yes 57% No 26% Don't know 17%

**4.** (Great Britain Nov 20 '43) At the end of the war, would you like to see a coalition government continue, or a party government with the other parties in opposition? 46% of the sample who said they would prefer a party government were asked which party they would choose. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Prefer coalition | 41% |
| Don't know which | 13 |
| Labor, Socialist | 13 |
| Conservative | 5 |
| Liberal | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Didn't name a party or don't know which | 25 |

**5.** (Great Britain Aug '44) What kind of government would you like to see leading the country in the period following the war, an all-party government, a Conservative-Liberal government, Labor-Liberal government, a Conservative, Labor, or Liberal government? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| All-party | 35% |
| Conservative-Liberal | 3 |
| Labor-Liberal | 6 |
| Conservative | 12 |
| Liberal | 4 |
| Labor | 26 |
| Don't know | 14 |

**6.** (Great Britain Aug '44) Who would you like to see leading this new government? (Jan '45) Who would you like to see leading the new government after the war? (BIPO)

| | *Aug '44* | *Jan '45* |
|---|---|---|
| Eden | 21% | 31% |
| Churchill | 24 | 20 |
| Attlee | 7 | 4 |
| Cripps | 6 | 6 |
| Morrison | 3 | 3 |
| Bevin | 2 | 3 |
| Sinclair | 1 | 1 |
| Shinwell | 1 | 1 |
| Woolton | 1 | — |
| Communist party | — | 1 |
| Miscellaneous members | 6 | 12 |
| No name | 28 | 18 |

**7.** (Great Britain Nov '44) When Germany has been defeated, the government will no longer direct older working people and women running homes. Do you think that the government should keep its powers to direct the remainder? (BIPO)

Yes 29% No 56% Don't know 15%

**8.** (Great Britain Jan '45) In general, from what you have heard and read, do you approve or disapprove of the British government's policy towards the resistance movements in countries which have been liberated? (BIPO)

Yes 41% No 31% Don't know 28%

**9.** (Great Britain July '45) Do you think that the election results mean that the British people want the Labor party to govern along existing lines only more efficiently, or to introduce sweeping changes such as nationalization? (BIPO)

| | *Existing lines* | *Changes* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 30% | 56% | 14% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 28% | 59% | 13% |
| Women | 31 | 53 | 16 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 23% | 59% | 18% |
| 30–49 years | 32 | 57 | 11 |
| 50 years and over | 30 | 54 | 16 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 37% | 46% | 17% |
| Middle | 35 | 51 | 14 |
| Lower | 27 | 59 | 14 |

**10.** (Great Britain Sept 29 '45) In general, do you think that the government is or is not telling the public enough about the policies it is following? (BIPO)

| | *Is* | *Is not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 29% | 50% | 21% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 31% | 55% | 14% |
| Women | 27 | 45 | 28 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 29% | 44% | 27% |
| 30–49 years | 29 | 53 | 18 |
| 50 years and over | 29 | 48 | 23 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 24% | 65% | 11% |
| Middle | 30 | 58 | 12 |
| Lower | 29 | 46 | 25 |

**11.** (Great Britain Nov 3 '45) At the present time is the government doing its job well or badly? (BIPO)

| | *Well* | *Badly* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 57% | 16% | 27% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 65% | 17% | 18% |
| Women | 54 | 15 | 31 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 61% | 12% | 27% |
| 30–49 years | 62 | 16 | 22 |
| 50 years and over | 57 | 17 | 26 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 42% | 34% | 24% |
| Middle | 52 | 22 | 26 |
| Lower | 64 | 12 | 24 |

**12.** (Netherlands Nov 12 '46) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the attitude of our English allies in the Indies? (NIPO)

Satisfied 11% Dissatisfied 62% No opinion 27%

**13.** (US Feb '46) With which of these statements about Great Britain do you come closest to agreeing: (1) Great Britain has proved herself to be one of the really good nations in the world. (2) While Great Britain may have some serious faults, on the whole she is a good and reliable nation. (3) Although Great Britain may have a few good points, she will always try to get away with more than she should if she isn't watched closely. (4) Great Britain is a dangerous nation and can't be trusted. (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 10.6% | 38.3% | 37.1% | 4.2% | 9.8% |
| Anti-Semites* | 8.1 | 31.2 | 49.3 | 10.0 | 1.4 |

* 8.8% of the sample who identified themselves by taking one or both of two opportunities offered to express hostility to the Jews in response to other questions on the ballot.

**14.** (Great Britain Feb 16 '46) In general, is the Labor government doing better or worse than you expected at the time they were elected? (BIPO)

| | *Better* | *As expected* | *Worse* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 18% | 46% | 29% | 7% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 20% | 49% | 27% | 4% |
| Women | 16 | 43 | 31 | 10 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 17% | 46% | 29% | 8% |
| 30–49 years | 18 | 47 | 28 | 7 |
| 50 years and over | 18 | 45 | 30 | 7 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 16% | 42% | 41% | 1% |
| Middle | 16 | 46 | 33 | 5 |
| Lower | 19 | 47 | 26 | 8 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Conservative or National Liberal | 8% | 38% | 48% | 6% |
| Labor | 26 | 54 | 15 | 5 |
| Liberal | 20 | 49 | 27 | 4 |
| Other | 20 | 51 | 26 | 3 |
| Did not vote | 12 | 39 | 32 | 17 |
| Didn't say how voted | 14 | 34 | 43 | 9 |

**15.** (Great Britain June '46 and Aug '46) In general, do you approve or disapprove of the government's record to date? (Oct '46 and Dec '46) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the government's record to date? (BIPO)

| | *Approve or satisfied* | *Disapprove or dissatisfied* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| June '46 | 42% | 45% | 13% |
| Aug '46 | 46 | 41 | 13 |
| Oct '46 | 44 | 43 | 13 |
| Dec '46 | 43 | 42 | 15 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| *June '46* | | | |
| Men | 46% | 44% | 10% |
| Women | 37 | 46 | 17 |
| *Aug '46* | | | |
| Men | 50 | 42 | 8 |
| Women | 42 | 40 | 18 |
| *Oct '46* | | | |
| Men | 48% | 45% | 7% |
| Women | 42 | 40 | 18 |
| *Dec '46* | | | |
| Men | 49 | 41 | 10 |
| Women | 39 | 41 | 20 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| *June '46* | | | |
| 21–29 years | 45% | 39% | 16% |
| 30–49 years | 43 | 44 | 13 |
| 50 years and over | 39 | 48 | 13 |
| *Aug '46* | | | |
| 21–29 years | 47 | 36 | 17 |
| 30–49 years | 48 | 41 | 11 |
| 50 years and over | 42 | 44 | 14 |
| *Oct '46* | | | |
| 21–29 years | 53 | 34 | 13 |
| 30–49 years | 50 | 40 | 10 |
| 50 years and over | 42 | 45 | 13 |
| *Dec '46* | | | |
| 21–29 years | 44 | 37 | 19 |
| 30–49 years | 47 | 41 | 12 |
| 50 years and over | 42 | 41 | 17 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| *June '46* | | | |
| Conservative | 10% | 83% | 7% |
| Labor | 70 | 19 | 11 |
| Liberal | 39 | 47 | 14 |
| Other | 28 | 55 | 17 |
| Non-voters | 31 | 42 | 27 |
| *Aug '46* | | | |
| Conservative | 10 | 80 | 10 |
| Labor | 77 | 14 | 9 |
| Liberal | 44 | 42 | 14 |
| Other voters | 50 | 36 | 14 |
| Non-voters | 37 | 38 | 25 |
| *Oct '46* | | | |
| Conservative | 16 | 77 | 7 |
| Labor | 72 | 19 | 9 |
| Liberal | 34 | 53 | 13 |
| Other voters | 35 | 43 | 22 |
| Non-voters | 40 | 36 | 24 |
| *Dec '46* | | | |
| Conservative | 11 | 80 | 9 |
| Labor | 73 | 18 | 9 |
| Liberal | 33 | 47 | 20 |
| Others | 48 | 24 | 28 |
| Non-voters | 33 | 38 | 29 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| *June '46* | | | |
| Higher | 23% | 68% | 9% |
| Middle | 38 | 54 | 8 |
| Lower | 45 | 39 | 16 |
| Very poor | 43 | 38 | 19 |
| *Aug '46* | | | |
| Higher | 20 | 71 | 9 |
| Middle | 34 | 56 | 10 |
| Lower | 54 | 32 | 14 |
| Very poor | 52 | 29 | 19 |
| *Oct '46* | | | |
| Higher | 23 | 70 | 7 |
| Middle | 39 | 52 | 9 |
| Lower | 53 | 33 | 14 |

| | *Approve or satisfied* | *Disapprove or dissatisfied* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Very poor | 50% | 31% | 19% |
| *Dec '46* | | | |
| Higher | 20 | 72 | 8 |
| Middle | 37 | 55 | 8 |
| Lower | 50 | 32 | 18 |
| Very poor | 51 | 29 | 20 |
| JUNE '46 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| London and South | 45% | 42% | 13% |
| Midlands | 37 | 50 | 13 |
| Wales | 45 | 45 | 10 |
| Northern | 41 | 44 | 15 |
| Scotland | 38 | 52 | 10 |
| DEC '46 RESULTS BY UNION STATUS | | | |
| Union members | 60% | 28% | 12% |
| Non-union members | 37 | 47 | 16 |

**16.** (Great Britain Aug '46) On the whole, where would you say the government has done the better job: in foreign affairs, on the home front? (BIPO)

| | *Home front* | *Foreign affairs* | *Equally well* | *Equally badly* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 22% | 20% | 19% | 23% | 16% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 24% | 22% | 21% | 25% | 8% |
| Women | 20 | 17 | 16 | 22 | 25 |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 24% | 21% | 16% | 19% | 20% |
| 30–49 years | 24 | 19 | 18 | 24 | 15 |
| 50 years and over | 19 | 20 | 20 | 24 | 17 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Higher | 14% | 24% | 10% | 47% | 5% |
| Middle | 24 | 23 | 9 | 32 | 12 |
| Lower | 22 | 18 | 23 | 18 | 19 |
| Very poor | 17 | 18 | 23 | 15 | 27 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Conservative | 10% | 23% | 7% | 48% | 12% |
| Labor | 30 | 19 | 31 | 6 | 14 |
| Liberal | 28 | 19 | 17 | 23 | 13 |
| Other voters | 30 | 13 | 23 | 17 | 17 |
| Non-voters | 22 | 18 | 11 | 20 | 29 |

**17.** (Great Britain Aug '46) Do you think we shall or shall not have a Conservative government in Britain within five years? Ten years? (BIPO)

| | FIVE YEARS | | | TEN YEARS | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Shall* | *Shall not* | *Don't know* | *Shall* | *Shall not* | *Don't know* |
| National total | 29% | 48% | 23% | 46% | 24% | 30% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | |
| Men | 28% | 53% | 19% | 45% | 29% | 26% |
| Women | 30 | 43 | 27 | 46 | 19 | 35 |
| BY AGE | | | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 27% | 48% | 25% | 45% | 22% | 33% |
| 30–49 years | 28 | 50 | 22 | 44 | 28 | 28 |
| 50 years and over | 32 | 45 | 23 | 48 | 21 | 31 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Higher | 49% | 33% | 18% | 71% | 13% | 16% |
| Middle | 37 | 44 | 19 | 58 | 18 | 24 |
| Lower | 25 | 50 | 25 | 39 | 27 | 34 |
| Very poor | 22 | 46 | 32 | 34 | 25 | 41 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | | |
| Conservative | 58% | 21% | 21% | 80% | 4% | 16% |
| Labor | 10 | 72 | 18 | 20 | 45 | 35 |
| Liberal | 22 | 49 | 29 | 42 | 20 | 38 |
| Other voters | 20 | 53 | 27 | 35 | 24 | 41 |
| Non-voters | 31 | 35 | 34 | 46 | 14 | 40 |

**18.** (Great Britain Nov '46) Would you approve or disapprove if the government spent money on encouraging the arts (music, theater, painting, sculpture, etc.)? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Dis-approve* | *Don't know* | *Don't care* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 52% | 27% | 12% | 9% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 56% | 28% | 9% | 7% |
| Women | 49 | 26 | 15 | 10 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 55% | 26% | 11% | 8% |
| 30–49 years | 55 | 28 | 9 | 8 |
| 50 years and over | 49 | 27 | 14 | 10 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher income | 75% | 21% | 3% | 1% |
| Middle income | 72 | 20 | 5 | 3 |
| Lower income | 42 | 31 | 15 | 12 |
| Very poor | 35 | 31 | 18 | 16 |

**19.** (Great Britain Nov '46) Would you approve or disapprove if the government spent money on giving economic security to the men and women working in them [the arts]? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Dis-approve* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 57% | 23% | 20% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 60% | 26% | 14% |
| Women | 53 | 21 | 26 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 58% | 21% | 21% |
| 30–49 years | 59 | 25 | 16 |
| 50 years and over | 54 | 22 | 24 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher income | 68% | 22% | 10% |
| Middle income | 71 | 21 | 8 |
| Lower income | 50 | 24 | 26 |
| Very poor | 42 | 25 | 33 |

## Prime Ministers

**1.** (Great Britain Mar '39 to Mar '44, dates listed below) If Mr. Chamberlain retires, whom would you like to be prime minister? Asked of supporters of the current government. (BIPO)

| | *Mar '39* | *Mar '40** | *June '41*** | *Nov '41†* | *Apr '42‡* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Eden | 38% | 28% | 37% | 38% | 37% |
| Cripps | — | — | — | 1 | 34 |
| Bevin | — | — | 7 | 7 | 2 |
| Attlee | — | 6 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Beaverbrook | — | — | 7 | 11 | 2 |
| Hore-Belisha | 2 | — | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| Herbert Morrison | — | — | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Halifax | 7 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Lloyd George | 1 | — | 3 | 2 | — |

| | *Mar '39* | *Mar '40** | *June '41*** | *Nov '41†* | *Apr '42‡* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Shinwell | — | — | — | 2% | 1% |
| Churchill | 7% | 25% | — | — | — |
| Sinclair | — | — | 1% | 1 | — |
| Duff Cooper | 2 | — | 1 | — | — |
| Hoare | 2 | — | — | — | — |
| Alexander | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| Others | 2 | 23 | 7 | — | 2 |
| Don't know; no opinion | 35 | 11 | 18 | 24 | — |
| None could take his place | — | — | 10 | 3 | — |
| No name mentioned | — | — | — | — | 17 |
| Simon | 4 | — | — | — | — |
| Miscellaneous | — | — | — | 3 | — |

| | *July '42‡* | *Nov '42‡* | *Apr 4 '43§* | *Mar '44§§* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Eden | 34% | 39% | 48% | 55% |
| Cripps | 28 | 24 | 16 | 5 |
| Bevin | 3 | 4 | 7 | 3 |
| Attlee | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| Beaverbrook | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Hore-Belisha | 2 | 1 | — | — |
| Herbert Morrison | 1 | 2 | 2 | 5 |
| Lloyd George | 1 | 1 | — | — |
| Shinwell | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Sinclair | — | — | 1 | 1 |
| Woolton | — | — | — | 1 |
| Greenwood | — | — | 1 | 1 |
| No choice | 20 | 17 | 14 | 15 |
| Others | 4 | 6 | — | — |
| Miscellaneous | — | — | 5 | 7 |

* The question was: If Mr. Chamberlain were to retire, whom would you like to succeed him as prime minister?

** If anything should happen to Mr. Churchill, who do you think would be the best man to take his place as prime minister?

† If anything should happen to Mr. Churchill, whom would you like to succeed him?

‡ If anything should happen to Mr. Churchill, whom would you like to succeed him as prime minister?

§ If anything should happen to Mr. Churchill, whom would you like to see succeed him as prime minister?

§§ If anything happened to Churchill, who do you think should succeed him as prime minister?

**2.** (Great Britain Dec '39) If you had the choice between Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Churchill, which would you have as prime minister? (BIPO)

Chamberlain 52% Churchill 30% No choice 18%

**3.** (Great Britain June 26 '45) If the Conservatives are returned at the election, whom would you like to see as prime minister? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Churchill | 71% |
| Eden | 23 |
| No answer; don't know | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |

**4.** (Great Britain June 26 '45) If Labor is returned at the election, whom would you like to see as prime minister? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Attlee | 47% |
| Bevin | 13 |
| Cripps | 10 |
| Herbert Morrison | 7 |
| Churchill | 2 |
| Greenwood | 1 |
| Alexander | 1 |
| Shinwell | 1 |
| No answer; don't know | 15 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |

**5.** (Great Britain Feb 16 '46) If anything should happen to Mr. Attlee, whom would you like to see succeed him as prime minister? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Ernest Bevin | 27% |
| Anthony Eden | 18 |
| Winston Churchill | 13 |
| Stafford Cripps | 7 |
| Herbert Morrison | 7 |
| Aneurin Bevan | 3 |
| Hugh Dalton | 2 |
| E. Shinwell | 2 |
| Arthur Greenwood | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| No reply; don't know | 16 |

BY POLITICS

| | *E. Bevin* | *Churchill* | *Eden* | *Cripps* | *Morrison* | *A. Bevan* | *Dalton* | *Miscellaneous or no choice* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Conservative or National Liberal | 12% | 30% | 36% | 2% | 2% | 1% | 2% | 15% |
| Labor | 39 | 4 | 7 | 10 | 12 | 4 | 2 | 22 |
| Liberal | 27 | 7 | 23 | 10 | 7 | 1 | 3 | 22 |
| Other | 8 | 8 | 13 | 20 | 5 | 8 | — | 38 |
| Didn't vote | 22 | 12 | 20 | 7 | 3 | 2 | — | 34 |
| Refused to answer | 24 | 24 | 20 | 5 | 5 | — | 2 | 20 |

## HABEAS CORPUS

**1.** (Canada Aug 10 '46) What do you understand by "writ of habeas corpus"? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct definition | 25% |
| Vague | 11 |
| Incorrect definition | 5 |
| Don't know | 59 |

## HAPPINESS

**1.** (US Mar 8 '39) Do you think you would have rather lived during the horse-and-buggy days instead of now? (AIPO)

Yes 25% No 69% No opinion 6%

**2.** (US Mar 8 '39) Do you think Americans were happier and more contented at that time [during the horse-and-buggy days than they are now]? (AIPO)

Yes 62% No 26% No opinion 12%

**3.** (US Mar 8 '39) Do you think Americans were happier and more contented thirty years ago than they are now? (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 23% No opinion 16%

**4.** (US Mar 8 '39) Do you wish that you were living in those days [thirty years ago] rather than now? (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 61% No opinion 9%

**5.** (US May 18 '39) Ten years from now, do you believe Americans will generally be happier than they are today? (AIPO)

Yes 42% No 35% Don't know 23%

**6.** (US Mar 6 '40) If you could be sure of only one of the following, which would you choose—wealth, a happy home, or an interesting job? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Wealth | 13% |
| A happy home | 68 |
| An interesting job | 19 |

**7.** (US Mar 6 '40) Do you feel that you have a happy home? Asked of 68% of the sample who chose a happy home over wealth or an interesting job. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, emphatically | 50% |
| Yes | 39 |
| No, emphatically | 3 |
| No | 8 |
| | 100% of those who chose a happy home |

**8.** (US Mar 6 '40) Do you find your work interesting? Asked of 19% of the sample who chose an interesting job over wealth or a happy home. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, emphatically | 28% |
| Yes | 27 |
| No, empharically | 7 |
| No | 5 |
| Not employed | 33 |
| | 100% of those who chose an interesting job |

**9.** (US Aug '43) So far as you personally are concerned, do you think the chances are that the next ten years of your life will be exciting ones, just average, or rather dull? Asked of a national cross-section of women from twenty to thirty-five years old. (FOR)

| | *Exciting* | *Average* | *Dull* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43.3% | 43.6% | 9.3% | 3.8% |
| BY SELECTED GROUPS | | | | |
| Single women (20–24 years) | 53.8% | 35.0% | 6.5% | 4.7% |
| Opinions of unattractive women | 26.1 | 44.9 | 21.7 | 7.3 |

**10.** (US Apr 10 '46, France July 16 '46, Canada Oct 12 '46) Will you tell me in your own words what the word "happiness" means to you? (AIPO, FIPO, CIPO) (Great Britain Dec '46) What does happiness mean for you? (BIPO)

| | UNITED STATES | FRANCE *Men* | FRANCE *Women* | CANADA | GREAT BRITAIN |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % |
| Contentment; freedom from worry; adjustment to surroundings; peace; quiet | 44 | 14 | 10 | 32 | 14 |
| Marriage; family; children; happy home life; good husband; good wife | 17 | 8 | 10 | 19 | 33 |
| Money; sufficient money; good wages | 12 | 47 | 36 | 38 | 12 |
| Wealth | — | 10 | 11 | — | — |
| Health; physical well-being; comfort | 16 | 21 | 22 | 18 | 15 |
| Success in chosen work; achievement; security; absence of fear; congenial work; good job; having plenty to do | 15 | — | — | 6 | 14 |
| Love; affection | 1 | 1 | 5 | — | — |
| Understanding people; making other people happy; being unselfish; interest in life; morally good things; helping others; living a good life | 6 | — | — | — | 5 |
| Getting along with people, congeniality; good friends | 4 | — | — | 7 | 3 |
| Having fun; enjoyment; doing as I please; being my own boss; enjoying hobbies | 2 | — | — | — | 6 |
| Religion; obeying God's will | 2 | — | — | 2 | 1 |
| Wisdom | — | 8 | 9 | — | — |
| Living in a free country | — | — | — | 3 | — |
| Everything going smoothly | — | — | — | — | 2 |
| Having enough to eat | — | — | — | — | 2 |
| Miscellaneous or vague answers | 7 | 17 | 16 | 13 | 9 |
| No answers; don't know | 5 | 30 | 29 | 6 | 7 |
| Percentages | 131* | 156* | 148* | 144* | 123* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**11.** (US Apr 10 '46, France July 16 '46, Canada Oct 12 '46, Great Britain Dec '46) In general, how happy would you say that you are—very happy, fairly happy, or not very happy? (AIPO, FIPO, CIPO, BIPO)

| | *Very happy* | *Fairly happy* | *Not very happy* | *Not at all* | *No answer* | *Don't know* | *Other answers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| US | 39% | 50% | 8% | 1% | 2% | — | — |
| France | 8 | 44 | 40 | — | — | 3% | 5% |
| Canada | 32 | 55 | 10 | 3 | — | — | — |
| Great Britain | 38 | 56 | — | 6 | — | — | — |

**12.** (Canada Oct 16 '46) If you could choose, which one of these periods of history would you prefer to live in? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| In the present | 57% |
| 100 years from now | 13 |
| Gay nineties | 12 |
| Time of Christ | 3 |
| Middle ages | 3 |
| Early 19th century | 2 |
| Elizabethan | 1 |
| Other | 1 |
| Can't choose | 8 |

## HEATING

**1.** (US Dec 10 '43) Do you use oil to heat your home? Asked of a national cross-section of women who do the family marketing. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 14% |
| No | 70 |
| Don't live in independent dwellings | 16 |

**2.** (US Dec 10 '43) During the last year have you done any work on your home, such as putting up storm windows or installing weather stripping, so you won't have to use as much fuel this winter? Asked of 14% of a sample of women marketers who live in independent dwellings and who use oil to heat their homes. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 6% |
| No | 5 |
| Was already done | 3 |
| No answer | * |
| Don't use oil or don't heat own home | 86 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**3.** (US Dec 10 '43) Do you have a thermostat in the house? Asked of the same sample as preceding question. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 8% |
| No | 6 |
| No answer | * |
| Don't use oil or don't heat own home | 86 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**4.** (US Dec 10 '43) About what average temperature do you keep your thermostat during the day? And during the night? Asked of 8% of sample of women marketers who live in independent dwellings heated by oil and who have a thermostat in the house. (NORC)

| *Day* | | *Night* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 71 degrees and over | 1% | 61 degrees and over | 3% |
| 66 degrees to 70 degrees | 4 | 56 to 60 degrees | 2 |
| 65 degrees | 2 | 55 degrees | 1 |
| 64 degrees and less | * | 54 degrees or less | * |
| Not ascertainable | * | Turn off | 1 |
| | * = 1 | Not ascertainable | * |
| | | | * = 1 |
| | 8% | | 8% |

**5.** (France Jan 1 '46) How many rooms will you be able to heat this winter? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| One | 59% |
| Two | 26 |
| Three | 6 |
| Four | 2 |
| Five or more; all | 2 |
| None | 5 |

Median 1.5 rooms

**6.** (France Jan 1 '46) Have you already begun to heat your home? (FIPO)

Yes 82% No 16% No answer 2%

**7.** (France Jan 1 '46) For how many months do you think you can have heat this year? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| One | 4% |
| Two | 11 |
| Three | 17 |
| Four | 16 |
| Five | 25 |
| All winter for several days a week or several hours a day | 14 |
| Less than three months for several days a week or hours a day | 1 |
| No answer | 12 |

Median—4 months

**8.** (France Jan 1 '46) What type of heat did you have before the war? What type will you use this winter? Which do you prefer? (FIPO)

| | *Before war* | *This winter* | *Preference* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Coal | 43% | 32% | 19% |
| Wood | 13 | 28 | 12 |
| Coal and wood | 13 | 25 | 16 |
| Central heating | 21 | 5 | 30 |
| Electric heating | 1 | 2 | 12 |
| Gas | * | * | 1 |
| Combination | 3 | 4 | 1 |
| No answer | 6 | 4 | 9 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**9.** (Great Britain Nov '46) For heating your rooms, do you prefer an open grate, an anthracite stove, gas, electricity, central heating, or some other method? (BIPO)

| | *Open grate* | *Anthracite* | *Gas* | *Electricity* | *Central heating* | *Other* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 67% | 1% | 2% | 10% | 20% | — |
| BY SEX | | | | | | |
| Men | 65% | 1% | 1% | 11% | 22% | — |
| Women | 69 | 1 | 2 | 10 | 18 | — |
| BY AGE | | | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 69% | 2% | — | 10% | 19% | — |
| 30–49 years | 65 | 1 | 2% | 10 | 22 | — |
| 50 years and over | 68 | 2 | 2 | 10 | 17 | 1% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Higher income | 51% | 1% | 1% | 16% | 30% | 1% |
| Middle income | 62 | 2 | 2 | 11 | 23 | — |
| Lower income | 70 | 1 | 2 | 9 | 18 | — |
| Very poor | 75 | — | 2 | 7 | 16 | — |
| BY TYPES OF PRESENT HEATING | | | | | | |
| Central heating | 36% | — | 1% | 4% | 59% | — |
| Open fires | 73 | 1% | 1 | 8 | 17 | — |
| Other | 23 | 6 | 15 | 42 | 14 | — |

**10.** (Great Britain Nov '46) If it would reduce the nation's demand for coal, would you be prepared to do away with open fires and have central heating? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 68% | 24% | 8% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 71% | 23% | 6% |
| Women | 66 | 25 | 9 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 70% | 22% | 8% |
| 30–49 years | 71 | 22 | 7 |
| 50 years and over | 64 | 27 | 9 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher income | 74% | 25% | 1% |
| Middle income | 80 | 18 | 2 |
| Lower income | 63 | 27 | 10 |
| Very poor | 56 | 29 | 15 |
| BY TYPES OF PRESENT HEATING | | | |
| Central heating | 79% | 19% | 2% |
| Open fires | 66 | 26 | 8 |
| Other | 80 | 14 | 6 |

## HISTORIC HOUSES, ETC.

**1.** (Sweden Mar '46) Do you think that old houses from around 1600 and 1700 and the beginning of the nineteenth century should be preserved in this city even if this prevents the building of modern houses? Asked of a national cross-section of city dwellers. (SGI)

| | *Should be preserved* | *Should not be* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48% | 46% | 6% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 64% | 30% | 6% |
| Middle class | 52 | 44 | 4 |
| Workers | 43 | 50 | 7 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 15–19 years | 43% | 48% | 9% |
| 20–29 years | 46 | 48 | 6 |
| 30–49 years | 44 | 49 | 7 |
| 50–64 years | 56 | 41 | 3 |
| 65 years and over | 58 | 37 | 5 |

**2.** (Sweden Mar '46) Do you think it valuable to preserve the old houses and farms in this neighborhood which show how your forefathers lived? Asked of a national cross-section of villagers. (SGI)

| | *Valuable to preserve them* | *Not important* | *No such farms in this place* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 18% | 19% | 7% |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 15–19 years | 52% | 13% | 26% | 9% |
| 20–29 years | 48 | 23 | 20 | 9 |
| 30–49 years | 59 | 16 | 20 | 5 |
| 50–64 years | 60 | 16 | 17 | 7 |
| 65 years and over | 54 | 17 | 21 | 8 |

## HITLER, ADOLF

**1.** (US Jan 28 '41) Do you happen to know how many years Hitler has been in power in Germany? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1–4 years | 2% |
| 5–7 years | 13 |
| 8 years | 47 |
| 9–11 years | 10 |
| 12 years and over | 8 |
| No answer | 20 |

**2.** (US June 9 '43) After the war is over, how do you think we should treat Hitler? (AIPO) (France Oct 16 '44) What should we do with Hitler? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO) (US Apr 4 '45) When Germany is defeated, do you think Hitler should be punished? The 95% of the sample who thought Hitler should be punished after the defeat of Germany were asked: How would you like to see him punished? (AIPO)

UNITED STATES OPINION IN 1943

| | |
|---|---|
| None of our affair; let his own people take care of him; we should stay out of European governments | 2% |
| He won't be alive to be treated; he will have committed suicide or someone will have killed him | 6 |
| Be lenient, not too hard on him | 2% |
| Court-martial him; give him fair trial; face a military tribunal | 1 |
| Isolate him; exile him; same as Kaiser | 6 |
| Imprison him; confine him; put him in asylum | 23 |
| Torture him; make him suffer mentally and physically; persecute him | 3 |
| Kill him; hang him; shoot him | 39 |
| Treat him as they have treated others; an eye for an eye; give him some of his own medicine | 5 |
| Other suggestions | 3 |
| No opinion | 10 |

FRENCH OPINION IN 1944

| | |
|---|---|
| Shoot him; kill him; hang him | 40% |
| Torture him before putting him to death | 30 |
| Deport him; put him under house arrest; imprison him | 15 |
| Other punishments | 8 |
| He will commit suicide | 5 |
| Let him be free except for political activity | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |

UNITED STATES OPINION IN 1945

| | |
|---|---|
| Kill him instantly; kill him slowly; torture him to death | 51% |
| Imprisonment; exile | 12 |
| Let him live; torture him; make him suffer; punish him; put him on exhibition | 19 |
| Other punishment | 2 |
| Made no suggestion | 11 |
| Didn't think Hitler should be punished | 2 |
| Had no opinion on the subject | 3 |

**3.** (US May 15 '45, Sweden June '45, US Sept 6 '45) Do you personally believe that Hitler is dead? (AIPO, SGI) (Great Britain July '45) Do you believe that Hitler is dead or alive? (BIPO) (Canada July 28 '45 and Denmark July 28 '45) Do you believe that Hitler is dead? (CIPO, DGI)

| | *Yes, dead* | *No, alive* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| US May '45 | 17% | 68% | 15% |
| Sweden | 45 | 38 | 17 |
| Great Britain | 29 | 47 | 24 |
| Canada | 22 | 58 | 20 |
| Denmark | 22.6 | 52.6 | 24.8 |
| US Sept '45 | 16 | 69 | 15 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| *Sweden* | | | |
| Men | 52% | 32% | 16% |
| Women | 38 | 44 | 18 |
| *Great Britain* | | | |
| Men | 33 | 41 | 26 |
| Women | 25 | 53 | 22 |
| BRITISH RESULTS BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 25% | 49% | 26% |
| 30–49 years | 28 | 48 | 24 |
| 50 years and over | 33 | 44 | 23 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| *Sweden* | | | |
| Upper class | 61% | 23% | 16% |
| Middle class | 52 | 33 | 15 |
| Workers | 39 | 42 | 19 |
| *Great Britain* | | | |
| Higher | 38 | 37 | 25 |
| Middle | 32 | 43 | 25 |
| Lower | 28 | 49 | 23 |

| | *Yes, dead* | *No, alive* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| UNITED STATES RESULTS IN MAY '45 BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 23% | 65% | 12% |
| High school | 15 | 72 | 13 |
| Grade school or less | 16 | 66 | 18 |
| CANADIAN RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Quebec | 31% | 53% | 16% |
| Rest of Canada | 20 | 59 | 21 |

**4.** (Germany Oct 26 '45 and Mar 29 '46) Did you put your faith in the Führer right up to the end of the war? (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '45 | 9% | 89% | 1% | 1% |
| Mar '46 | 12 | 88 | — | — |

88% of the 1946 sample who said they didn't trust Hitler up to the end of the war were asked: How long did you trust him?

| | |
|---|---|
| Never had any faith in Hitler from the beginning; didn't believe in Hitler; only did duty as German | 35% |
| Until war began; until 1939 | 16 |
| Until 1940 | 3 |
| Until 1941 | 7 |
| Until 1942 | 5 |
| Until 1943 | 6 |
| Until 1944 | 5 |
| Until Stalingrad | 5 |
| Until war on German soil | 1 |
| No answer; don't know | 5 |
| | 88% |

**5.** (Germany Jan 31 '46) Have you heard about the will which Hitler wrote in the chancellery in Berlin shortly before his death in April '45? (OMGUS)

Yes 71% No 29%

**6.** (Germany Jan 31 '46) Do you think the will was really written by Hitler or do you think it was a forgery? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Genuine | 38% |
| Forgery | 13 |
| No opinion | 46 |
| No answer | 3 |

**7.** (Germany Feb 21 '46) Do you think the German generals did right in trying to kill Hitler on July 20, 1944? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 73% |
| No | 11 |
| No opinion | 14 |
| Partly right, partly wrong | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |

**8.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) Would you have liked to see Hitler on trial with the rest of the leaders of National Socialism, or do you think it was better that he spared himself this ignominy? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Would have liked to see Hitler on trial | 72% |
| It was better to spare himself this ignominy | 12 |
| No opinion | 16 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

## HOLIDAYS

**1.** (France Aug '39) In celebrating the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the French Revolution, do you consider that we are celebrating at the same time the anniversary of the Republic? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 65.5% | 25.5% | 9% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 66% | 13% | 21% |
| 30–39 years | 56 | 44 | — |
| 40–49 years | 78 | 16 | 6 |
| 50–59 years | 73 | 19 | 8 |
| 60 years and over | 73 | 16 | 11 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farmers | 74% | 17% | 9% |
| Industry and transportation | 70 | 21 | 9 |
| Business | 57 | 34 | 9 |
| Professional | 74 | 16 | 10 |

**2.** (France Aug '39) Do you think that on the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the French Revolution we should celebrate the birth of our political system by demonstrations as impressive as those of the totalitarian countries? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 65% | 27.5% | 7.5% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 64% | 24% | 12% |
| 30–39 years | 71 | 24 | 5 |
| 40–49 years | 60 | 35 | 5 |
| 50–59 years | 70 | 26 | 4 |
| 60 years and over | 63 | 30 | 7 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farmers | 55% | 36% | 9% |
| Industry and transportation | 72 | 23 | 5 |
| Business | 59 | 33 | 8 |
| Professional | 74 | 21 | 5 |

**3.** (US Aug 17 '39) Do you approve or disapprove of President Roosevelt's plan to change Thanksgiving Day to one week earlier (this would be Nov 23 instead of Nov 30)? (AIPO)

Approve 29% Disapprove 71% = 100% No opinion 17%

**4.** (US Aug 17 '39) Would you approve or disapprove a plan to have all holidays, like the Fourth of July, celebrated on Mondays so as to make longer week-ends? (Mar 27 '46) Would you approve or disapprove of having all holidays like Decoration Day, Washington's Birthday, but not Christmas, celebrated on Mondays in order to have longer week-ends? (AIPO) (Canada June 1 '46)

Would you approve or disapprove of having all holidays like Victoria Day or Dominion Day celebrated on Mondays in order to have longer week-ends? (CIPO)

| | *Yes, approve* | *No, disapprove* | *No opinion or undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| US Aug '39 | 51% | 49% | — |
| US Mar '46 | 52 | 37 | 11% |
| Canada | 82 | 10 | 8 |
| US '39 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 58% | 42% | — |
| Mid-Atlantic | 57 | 43 | — |
| East central | 51 | 49 | — |
| West central | 35 | 65 | — |
| South | 41 | 59 | — |
| West | 46 | 54 | — |
| US '46 RESULTS BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 56% | 35% | 9% |
| 30–49 years | 55 | 34 | 11 |
| 50 years and over | 45 | 41 | 14 |

| | *Yes, approve* | *No, disapprove* | *No opinion or undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| US '46 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farmers | 33% | 47% | 20% |
| Professional and business | 55 | 39 | 6 |
| White-collar | 59 | 32 | 9 |
| Manual workers | 56 | 33 | 11 |

**5.** (France Dec 16 '44) Did you go to the Champs Élysées on Armistice Day? (FIPO)

Yes 36% No 64%

**6.** (Denmark Apr 1 '45) Do you think that Easter should be on a fixed date so that it comes at the same time each year? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Fixed date | 29.0% |
| At different times | 32.3 |
| Should be abolished | 0.6 |
| Don't know | 38.1 |

**7.** (Denmark Apr 1 '45) When should it [Easter] be? Asked of 29% of the sample who thought Easter should be on a fixed date. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| March (last half) | 10.1% |
| April (first half) | 25.7 |
| April (middle) | 3.7 |
| April (last half) | 19.0 |
| May (first half) | 11.6 |
| May (last half) | 7.4 |
| Other replies | 13.3 |
| Don't know | 9.2 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned |

**8.** (US May 2 '45) Do you think Roosevelt's birthday should be made a holiday in this state? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 54% |
| No | 32 |
| No opinion | 7 |
| Decide later | 7 |

**9.** (Great Britain Apr 27 '46) Do you approve or disapprove of the decision to give extra rations for Victory Day parties? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 39% | 56% | 5% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 36% | 60% | 4% |
| Women | 42 | 53 | 5 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 41% | 53% | 6% |
| 30–49 years | 40 | 55 | 5 |
| 50 years and over | 36 | 59 | 5 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 29% | 65% | 6% |
| Middle | 31 | 64 | 5 |
| Lower | 43 | 52 | 5 |

**10.** (Canada June 1 '46) The Ottawa government is changing the name of Dominion Day to Canada Day. Do you approve or disapprove of this? (CIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Indifferent* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46% | 29% | 21% | 4% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| Quebec | 78% | 5% | 12% | 5% |
| Rest of Canada | 34 | 37 | 24 | 5 |

**11.** (US June 26 '46) It has been suggested that the United States and other nations set aside one day as a national holiday to promote peace and understanding among the people of the world. What do you think of this idea? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Excellent; very good | 9% |
| Good | 39 |
| Okay | 15 |
| Would do no good; no effect; no good | 20 |
| Foolish | 3 |
| Should have more than one day; use our Sundays; should think about peace every day | 3 |
| Peace can be better acquired by people while working | * |
| Just so the plan wouldn't be sidetracked by politics | * |
| Have our own day | * |
| Good if they will promote peace and understanding | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| No answer | 7 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**12.** (US June 26 '46) Would you approve or disapprove of the United States taking part [in a world-wide holiday set aside to promote peace and understanding]? (AIPO)

Approve 74% Disapprove 17% No opinion 9%

**13.** (Canada July 3 '46) There has been some discussion about changing the date of Remembrance Day from November 11 to VE Day or VJ Day. Have you any feelings about this? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No preference | 43% |
| November 11 and VE or VJ Day | 32 |
| VE Day | 12 |
| VJ Day | 12 |
| Miscellaneous | 6 |
| | 105%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**14.** (US Nov 13 '46) In two weeks it will be Thanksgiving Day again. What do you feel most thankful for this year? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| War is over; world at peace | 26% |
| Good health | 25 |
| Being home again; family will be here | 11 |
| Being alive | 6 |
| Being out of service; family out of service | 4 |
| Have family and friends | 3 |
| Good job; have a job | 5 |
| Having a place to live | 3 |
| Republican victory | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 14 |
| Nothing | 5 |
| No answer | 2 |
| | 107%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**15.** (Australia Nov 23 '46) Would you favor or oppose always celebrating New Year's Day on the first Monday of the New Year? (APOP)

Favor 49% Oppose 44% Undecided 7%

**16.** (Australia Nov 23 '46) What about always having Christmas Day on the last Monday of the year? (APOP)

Favor 26% Oppose 68% Undecided 6%

**17.** (Hungary Dec '46) What are your plans for New Year's eve? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

BY SEX AND SOCIAL STATUS

| | *Go to bed* | *Have a good time* | *Work* | *Don't know yet* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Educated men | 34.8% | 57.7% | 4.7% | 2.8% |
| Bourgeois men | 28.7 | 59.3 | 6.7 | 5.3 |
| Working men | 39.7 | 44.2 | 14.4 | 1.7 |
| Educated women | 34.5 | 61.3 | 4.2 | — |
| Bourgeois women | 45.7 | 48.9 | 5.0 | 0.4 |
| Working women | 54.1 | 31.8 | 9.9 | 4.2 |

# HOME ECONOMICS

## Equipment and Supplies

**1.** (US Oct '35) Would you rather have your milk delivered in a glass bottle, a paper container, or a tin can? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Glass bottle | 88.2% |
| Paper container | 6.0* |
| Tin can | 1.0 |
| Don't care | 4.5 |
| Don't know | .3 |

* 63% of the 6% who favored paper came from six of the few places where it has definitely been tried out.

**2.** (US Jan '36) Do you ever buy beer for home consumption? (FOR)

Yes 27.9% No 71.9% Don't know .2%

**3.** (US Jan '36) Have you ever bought it [beer] in sealed tins? Asked of 27.9% of the sample who bought beer for home consumption. (FOR)

Yes 25.6% No 72.6% Don't know 1.8% = 100% of those questioned

**4.** (US Jan '36) Do you like beer in cans better than in bottles? (FOR)

Yes 44.4% No 34.3% Don't know 21.3% = 100% of those questioned

**5.** (US Aug '38) If you could satisfactorily air condition any one room in your house for two hundred dollars, would you do it? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24.7% | 66.1% | 9.2% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 32.2% | 64.0% | 3.8% |
| Poor | 21.2 | 68.7 | 10.1 |

**6.** (US Aug '38) If you could satisfactorily air condition your entire house for $1,200, would you do it? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 22.6% | 66.8% | 10.6% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 29.4% | 65.3% | 5.3% |
| Poor | 19.4 | 69.8 | 10.8 |

**7.** (US Aug '38) If you could have either you wanted—a new $1,200 automobile or a complete job of air conditioning in your house, which would you choose? (FOR)

| | *Automobile* | *Air conditioning* | *Neither* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 47.2% | 38.1% | 1.0% | 13.7% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 46.6% | 42.2% | .2% | 11.0% |
| Poor | 46.8 | 34.6 | 1.5 | 17.1 |

**8.** (US May 10 '39 and Apr 24 '46) Do you happen to have an electric refrigerator in your home? (Aug 14 '46, Aug 28 '46, Sept 11 '46, Sept 25 '46, Nov 13 '46, Nov 27 '46, Dec 11 '46) Do you have an electric refrigerator, gas refrigerator, or an ice box in your home? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| May '39 | 42% | 58% |
| Apr '46 | 58 | 42 |

| | *Electric* | *Gas* | *Ice box* | *None* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug 14 '46 | 58% | 5% | 24% | 13% | — |
| Aug 28 '46 | 58 | 5 | 24 | 12 | 1% |
| Sept 11 '46 | 58 | 5 | 23 | 14 | — |
| Sept 25 '46 | 56 | 6 | 25 | 13 | — |
| Nov 13 '46 | 58 | 6 | 22 | 14 | — |
| Nov 27 '46 | 60 | 6 | 23 | 11 | — |
| Dec 11 '46 | 62 | 6 | 21 | 11 | — |

**9.** (US May 10 '39) Do you happen to have an electric vacuum sweeper in your home? (AIPO)

Yes 46% No 54%

**10.** (Sweden Oct '43) If you could express two serious wishes of improvement to make your daily work easier, what would you choose? Asked of a national cross-section of married country women. (SGI)

| | *National total* % | *Farmers' wives* % | *Upper class* % | *Middle class* % | *Workers* % | *20–29 years* % | *30–49 years* % | *50 years and over* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Water; sink; drains | 41 | 44 | 14 | 33 | 47 | 47 | 33 | 35 |
| Central heating; bathroom | 24 | 21 | 14 | 22 | 26 | 28 | 22 | 25 |
| Inside plumbing | 2 | 2 | — | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 1 |
| Electric light | 1 | 2 | — | — | 2 | — | 1 | 2 |
| Better, more modern house | 11 | 14 | — | 14 | 10 | 11 | 10 | 13 |
| Wash house | 10 | 9 | 29 | 13 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 13 |
| Help with the work | 8 | 10 | 14 | 14 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 9 |
| No milking | 2 | 4 | — | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Holidays, etc | 11 | 6 | — | 13 | 11 | 14 | 14 | 6 |
| All right as is | 17 | 12 | 29 | 13 | 19 | 15 | 16 | 19 |
| Don't know | 7 | 4 | 29 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 6 | 5 |
| Percentages | 134* | 128* | 129* | 132* | 136* | 139* | 124* | 130* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**11.** (US June 2 '44) In the past six months, have you had any repairs made on your radio or electrical appliances? 24% of the sample who said they had some repairs made were asked: During the last year, would you say repair prices on radios and electrical appliances have gone up or down? Only women marketers were questioned. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Haven't had any repairs made | 64% |
| Didn't answer the first question | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Not questioned because of unfamiliarity with ceiling prices | 11% |
| Prices have gone up | 11 |
| Have stayed the same | 4 |
| Have gone down | * |
| Don't know whether prices have gone up or down | 9 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**12.** (US June 2 '44) Do you generally find out what ceiling prices are before you buy repair services on your radio or other electrical appliances? Asked of 24% of the women marketers who had repairs made on radios or electrical appliances in the preceding six months. (NORC)

Yes 3% No 19% No answer 2% = 24%

**13.** (France Jan 1 '45) Do you intend to buy a frigidaire after the war? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Paris | 47% | 44% | 9% |
| Provinces | 30 | 63 | 7 |

**14.** (Belgium July–Oct '46) Certificates for household refurnishing must still be officially validated. For what articles would you prefer to be able to use these certificates? (INSOC)

| | *Crockery* | *Other household goods* | *Clothing* | *Shoes* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9.3% | 12.1% | 51.1% | 18.3% | 9.2% |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | | | | |
| Urban | 11.7% | 9.3% | 54.3% | 18.1% | 6.6% |
| Rural | 8.4 | 14.0 | 47.5 | 17.5 | 12.6 |
| Industrial | 6.7 | 14.5 | 50.0 | 19.6 | 9.2 |

**15.** (Czechoslovakia Dec '46) If you won a prize competition, which of the following articles would you choose—a vacuum cleaner, electric washing machine, electric stove, electric refrigerator, kitchen robot, wireless set? (CZIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Vacuum cleaner | 5% |
| Washing machine | 24 |
| Electric stove | 14 |
| Electric refrigerator | 8 |
| Kitchen robot | 14 |
| Radio | 24 |
| Don't know | 11 |

## HOMEOPATHY

**1.** (Sweden Feb '42) Have you ever been to a homeopathist, a natural healer, or a quack [doctor]? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 18% | 82% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | |
| Towns | 17% | 83% |
| Country | 19 | 81 |

**2.** (Sweden Feb '42) Do you believe in homeopathic medicine? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 14% | 64% | 22% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Towns | 14% | 69% | 17% |
| Country | 14 | 61 | 25 |

## HORSE-RACING

**1.** (US Oct '35) Do you think that lotteries similar to the Irish hospitals' sweepstakes and conducted only for charity or taxation should be allowed in this country? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 55.3% | 32.5% | 12.2% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Northeast | 57.5% | 31.5% | 11.0% |
| Southeast | 48.3 | 32.1 | 19.6 |
| Southwest | 40.8 | 44.6 | 14.6 |
| West | 44.3 | 41.5 | 14.2 |
| Pacific coast | 78.7 | 17.2 | 4.1 |

**2.** (US May 10 '37) Are you in favor of making bets on horse-racing legal? (AIPO)

Yes 47% No 40% No opinion 13%

**3.** (US Apr 19 '38 and July 8 '39) Do you think betting on horse races should be legal in this state? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '38 | 61% | 39% | = 100% | 9% | |
| July '39 | 51 | 40 | | 9 | = 100% |
| 1938 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| New England | 65% | 35% | | | |
| Middle Atlantic | 70 | 30 | | | |
| East central | 55 | 45 | | | |
| West central | 59 | 41 | | | |
| South | 52 | 48 | | | |
| Rocky Mountain | 60 | 40 | | | |
| Pacific coast | 66 | 34 | | | |
| Businessmen's vote | 64 | 36 | | | |

**4.** (US July 13 '38) Do you think the sale of Irish sweepstakes tickets should be made legal in this country? (AIPO)

Yes 50% No 50% = 100% No opinion 21%

**5.** (Australia Nov '41) Should week-day race meetings be stopped during the war? (Sept '44) Do you think the time has come to have mid-week races again? (APOP)

| | *Oppose mid-week races* | *Favor* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '41 | 58% | 32% | 10% |
| Sept '44 | 60 | 25 | 15 |
| 1941 RESULTS BY STATE | | | |
| Western Australia | 70% | 20% | 10% |
| Southern Australia | 66 | 23 | 11 |
| Tasmania | 66 | 27 | 7 |
| Queensland | 64 | 26 | 10 |
| Victoria | 57 | 36 | 7 |
| New South Wales | 53 | 36 | 11 |
| 1941 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Well-to-do | 71% | 20% | 9% |
| Better off | 63 | 28 | 9 |
| Artisans, etc | 56 | 34 | 10 |
| Lowest incomes | 50 | 39 | 11 |

**6.** (Australia Dec '41) Should off-the-course betting be legal or illegal? (Sept–Oct '42) Should off-the-course betting be stamped out, left as it is, or made legal? (Aug '45) Should off-the-course betting be stamped out or made legal? (APOP)

| | *Legalize* | *Stamp out betting, continue illegal* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '41 | 48% | 39% | 13% |
| Sept-Oct '42 | 39 | 52 | 9 |
| Aug '45 | 56 | 32 | 12 |
| 1941 RESULTS BY STATES | | | |
| New South Wales | 52% | 35% | 13% |
| Victoria | 51 | 38 | 11 |
| Western Australia | 46 | 42 | 12 |
| Queensland | 45 | 38 | 17 |
| Tasmania | 35 | 53 | 12 |
| South Australia | 34 | 48 | 18 |
| 1945 RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Capitals | 62% | 28% | 10% |
| Towns | 55 | 33 | 12 |
| Farm | 53 | 35 | 12 |

**7.** (Australia Mar-Apr '42) Should Saturday race meetings continue, or be restricted, or stopped? (APOP)

| | *Continued* | *Restricted* | *Stopped* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 31% | 31% | 35% | 3% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Labor voters | 41% | 28% | 29% | 2% |
| Non-labor voters | 22 | 34 | 42 | 2 |

**8.** (Australia Sept '42) During the war, should race meetings be held every Saturday, or only once a month in each state, or not at all? (Aug '43) How many raceless Saturdays, if any, do you think there should be each month? (APOP)

| | *Every Saturday* | *Occasionally* | *Not at all* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '42 | 38% | 25% | 32% | 5% |
| Aug '43 | 37 | 26 | 18 | 19 |
| 1942 RESULTS BY SEX | | | | |
| | | *Occasionally and Not at all* | | |
| Men | 46% | 51% | | 3% |
| Women | 29 | 64 | | 7 |

**9.** (Australia June–July '45) Do you think midweek racing should be resumed now, or not until after the war, or cut out altogether? (Feb–Mar '46) Do you think midweek races should be resumed now, or not for a few months, or not at all? (In states where midweek racing has been resumed recently the question began, "Do you think midweek races should have been resumed now. . . .") (APOP)

| | *Resume now* | *Later* | *Never* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| June–July '45 | 10% | 33% | 50% | 7% |
| Feb–Mar '46 | 23 | 13 | 47 | 17 |
| 1946 RESULTS BY SEX AND POLITICS | | | | |
| *Labor voters* | | | | |
| Men | 37% | 16% | 36% | 11% |
| Women | 25 | 12 | 41 | 22 |
| *Non-labor* | | | | |
| Men | 16 | 12 | 64 | 8 |
| Women | 8 | 11 | 54 | 27 |

**10.** (Great Britain May '46) Would you approve of a tax on betting on dog and horse-racing? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 61% | 27% | 12% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 57% | 35% | 8% |
| Women | 64 | 20 | 16 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 55% | 30% | 15% |
| 30–49 years | 62 | 28 | 10 |
| 50 years and over | 62 | 26 | 12 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 70% | 23% | 7% |
| Middle | 69 | 23 | 8 |
| Lower | 56 | 30 | 14 |

## HOSPITALS

**1.** (Great Britain Feb '39) 1,092 hospitals in Great Britain are dependant upon charity for their support. Do you favor continuing this system, or should hospitals be a public service supported by public funds? (BIPO)

Continue present system 22% Public charge 71%
No opinion 7%

**2.** (US June '39) Do you think the government should own and operate all, some, or none of the nation's hospitals and medical service? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| All | 14.4% |
| Some | 59.2 |
| None | 18.8 |
| Don't know or depends | 7.6 |

**3.** (US Feb 6 '40) President Roosevelt has asked Congress for about ten million dollars to build fifty hospitals in farm areas. Would you be willing to pay higher taxes in order to build these hospitals? (AIPO)

Yes 54% No 46% = 100% No opinion 11%

**4.** (US Feb 6 '40) President Roosevelt has asked Congress for about ten million dollars to build fifty hospitals in farm areas where they are needed. Would you be willing to pay higher taxes in order to build these hospitals? Asked of a separate cross-section comparable to that used for the preceding question. (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 40% = 100% No opinion 10%

**5.** (Great Britain July '44) Have you ever been an in-patient of a hospital? 8% of the sample had been in private wards and 45% of the sample had been patients in other than private wards. These two groups were asked: Was it a municipal or voluntary hospital? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Never been an in-patient | 47% |
| Patient in municipal hospital | 22 |
| Voluntary hospital | 31 |

**6.** (Great Britain July '44) Were you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way you were treated? Asked of 53% of the sample who said they had been an in-patient of a hospital. (BIPO)

Satisfied 45% Dissatisfied 6% Don't know 2% = 53%

**7.** (Great Britain July '44) Have you ever attended the out-patient department of a hospital? 47% of the sample who said they had attended the out-patient department of a hospital were asked: Were you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way you were treated? (BIPO)

| | *Never been an out-patient* | *Satisfied with treatment* | *Dis-satisfied* | *Don't know whether dis-satisfied or satisfied* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total... | 53% | 36% | 9% | 2% |

BY TYPE OF TREATMENT

| | *Had been out-patient* | *Had not* |
|---|---|---|
| Out-patient as a casualty.. | 30% | 70% |
| For other reasons..... | 22 | 78 |

**8.** (Great Britain July '44) Was it a voluntary or a municipal hospital? Asked of 47% of the sample who had attended the out-patient department of a hospital. (BIPO)

Voluntary 36% Municipal 11% = 47%

**9.** (Great Britain July '44) Should voluntary hospitals remain voluntary, should they be run by a public authority, or should they become partly voluntary and partly public? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Voluntary..... | 21% |
| Public..... | 42 |
| Mixed..... | 21 |
| Don't know..... | 16 |

**10.** (US Apr 18 '45) Do you think your city or county government should set up a public hospital here to be supported by local taxes? Asked in communities having no public hospital. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes..... | 22% |
| No..... | 17 |
| Don't know..... | 4 |
| No answer..... | 57 |

**11.** (US Apr 18 '45) Do you think there are enough hospitals, or a big enough hospital, in this community to take care of the sick? Asked in communities having no public hospital. (AIPO)

Yes 16% No 27% Don't know 3% No answer 54%

**12.** (US Apr 10 '46) Do you approve or disapprove of having the federal government pay the cost of building hospitals where they are needed? (AIPO)

Approve 80% Disapprove 14% No opinion 6%

## HOTELS, TAVERNS, ETC.

**1.** (Australia Nov 3 '41) At what hours should hotels open and close? (Aug 21 '42) During the war, what hour should hotels open in the morning and close in the evening? (Dec '44) What hotels' hours do you favor for after the war? (May 4 '46) What hotels' hours do you favor? (APOP)

OPINION STATE BY STATE

| | *Approve present closing time* | *Favor later closing time* | *Favor earlier closing time* | *Not interested* | *Open always* | *Prohibitionists* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *South Australia* | | | | | | |
| 1941..... | 63% | 24% | 8% | 5% | — | — |
| 1942..... | 62 | 12 | 11 | 15 | — | — |
| 1944..... | 54 | 15 | — | 22 | 3% | 6% |
| 1946..... | 41 | 39 | — | 15 | — | 5 |
| *Victoria* | | | | | | |
| 1941..... | 55 | 33 | 9 | 3 | — | — |
| 1942..... | 57 | 25 | 7 | 11 | — | — |
| 1944..... | 52 | 25 | — | 9 | 3 | 11 |
| 1946..... | 41 | 42 | — | 8 | — | 9 |
| *New South Wales* | | | | | | |
| 1941..... | 40% | 48% | 6% | 6% | — | — |
| 1942..... | 51 | 30 | 4 | 15 | — | — |
| 1944..... | 35 | 28 | — | 19 | 7% | 11% |
| 1946..... | 34 | 42 | — | 14 | — | 10 |
| *Queensland* | | | | | | |
| 1941..... | 41 | 43 | 12 | 4 | — | — |
| 1942..... | 11 | 40 | 27 | 22 | — | — |
| 1944..... | 33 | 15 | 15 | 19 | 10 | 8 |
| 1946..... | 27 | — | 43 | 23 | — | 7 |
| *Western Australia* | | | | | | |
| 1941..... | 51 | 21 | 22 | 6 | — | — |
| 1942 (Perth)..... | 34 | 58 | — | 8 | — | — |
| 1944..... | 35 | 10 | 35 | 12 | 3 | 5 |
| 1946..... | 46 | 12 | 21 | 16 | — | 5 |
| *Tasmania* | | | | | | |
| 1941..... | 68 | — | 25 | 7 | — | — |
| 1942..... | 51 | — | 29 | 20 | — | — |
| 1944..... | 65 | — | 13 | 18 | — | 4 |
| 1946..... | 78 | — | 3 | 9 | — | 10 |

CLOSING TIME

| | *1942* | *1944* | *1946* |
|---|---|---|---|
| South Australia..... | 6 pm | 6 pm | 6 pm |
| Victoria..... | 6 pm | 6 pm | 6 pm |
| New South Wales.... | 6 pm | 6 pm | 6 pm |
| Queensland..... | 7 pm | 8 pm | 10 pm |
| Western Australia.... | 6 pm | 9 pm | 9 pm |
| Tasmania..... | 10 pm | 10 pm | 10 pm |

**2.** (Australia Apr 30 '42) Should hotels be closed during the afternoon and then opened again until the usual closing time in the evening? (APOP)

| | *Opposed* | *Favored* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 53% | 38% | 9% |

OPINION STATE BY STATE

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Queensland..... | 62% | 31% | 7% |
| New South Wales..... | 56 | 35 | 9 |
| Victoria..... | 56 | 35 | 9 |
| Tasmania..... | 28 | 47 | 25 |
| South Australia..... | 29 | 54 | 17 |
| Western Australia..... | 40 | 53 | 7 |

**3.** (Australia Aug 21 '42) Should they [hotels] close on weekdays in the afternoon between 2 and 4:30? (APOP)

OPINION STATE BY STATE

| | *Close 2 to 4:30* | *Don't close* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| South Australia..... | 63% | 24% | 13% |
| Western Australia.... | 56 | 31 | 13 |
| New South Wales.... | 40 | 44 | 16 |
| Victoria..... | 40 | 47 | 13 |
| Queensland..... | 32 | 46 | 22 |
| Tasmania..... | 22 | 42 | 36 |

**4.** (Australia Feb 5 '44 and Mar 23 '46) And what about hotels —should they be open or closed [on Anzac Day]? The same question was used in 1946 with the addition "in the afternoon." (APOP)

| | *Close hotels* | *Open hotels* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '44..... | 55% | 37% | 8% |
| Mar '46..... | 43 | 53 | 4 |

**5.** (Australia Apr–May '46) Do you think cafes should be licensed to sell beer and wines with meals between noon and 3 p.m. and between 6 p.m. and 9 p.m.? (APOP)

License cafes 49% Don't license them 46%
No opinion 5%

## HOURS OF LABOR

**1.** (US Dec 14 '35) Do you think the federal government ought to set a limit on the number of hours employees should work in each business and industry? (Mar 29 '37, May 17 '37, July 26 '37) Should Congress set a limit on the hours employees should work in each business and industry? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 55% | 45% = 100% | — |
| Mar '37 | 58 | 42 = 100 | 9% |
| May '37 | 58 | 42 = 100 | 10 |
| July '37 | 60 | 40 = 100 | 8 |

MAY '37 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Democratic | 68% | 32% |
| Republican | 34 | 66 |
| Others | 66 | 34 |

MAY '37 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 50% | 50% |
| Middle Atlantic | 60 | 40 |
| East central | 56 | 44 |
| West central | 51 | 49 |
| South | 62 | 38 |
| Mountain | 65 | 35 |
| Pacific coast | 59 | 41 |

**2.** (US Jan 18 '36) Do you favor a thirty-hour week for labor? (Nov 20 '36) Do you favor a thirty-hour week in industry? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '36 | 59% | 41% = 100% | 6% |
| Nov '36 | 65 | 35 = 100 | 4 |

**3.** (US Feb 8 '36) Do you think the hours of labor in industry should be reduced? (May 24 '37) Do you think the hours worked per week should be reduced? Asked of a national cross-section of employed persons. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '36 | 58% | 42% | — |
| May '37 | 39 | 38 | 23% |

**4.** (US Feb 15 '36 and Great Britain Apr 3 '37) One plan for reducing unemployment is to shorten the hours of labor in business and industry. Do you favor this plan? (AIPO, BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| US Feb '36 | 76% | 24% = 100% | — |
| Britain Apr '37 | 89 | 11 = 100 | 1% |

US OPINION IN FEB '36 BY POLITICS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Democratic | 86% | 14% |
| Republican | 61 | 39 |
| Socialist | 88 | 12 |
| Third party | 78 | 22 |

US OPINION IN FEB '36 STATE BY STATE

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Maine | 63% | 37% |
| Delaware | 65 | 35 |
| South Dakota | 65 | 35 |
| Kansas | 66% | 34% |
| Nebraska | 66 | 34 |
| Virginia | 67 | 33 |
| Oklahoma | 68 | 32 |
| Vermont | 68 | 32 |
| Iowa | 70 | 30 |
| Maryland | 71 | 29 |
| Kentucky | 71 | 29 |
| Connecticut | 72 | 28 |
| Minnesota | 72 | 28 |
| New Mexico | 72 | 28 |
| Massachusetts | 73 | 27 |
| Rhode Island | 73 | 27 |
| West Virginia | 73 | 27 |
| Wisconsin | 74 | 26 |
| New Hampshire | 75 | 25 |
| Texas | 75 | 25 |
| Colorado | 75 | 25 |
| New Jersey | 76 | 24 |
| Ohio | 76 | 24 |
| Louisiana | 76 | 24 |
| Mississippi | 76 | 24 |
| Utah | 76 | 24 |
| Idaho | 76 | 24 |
| California | 76 | 24 |
| Missouri | 77 | 23 |
| South Carolina | 77 | 23 |
| Georgia | 77 | 23 |
| Tennessee | 77 | 23 |
| Montana | 77 | 23 |
| Oregon | 77 | 23 |
| New York | 78 | 22 |
| North Carolina | 78 | 22 |
| Pennsylvania | 79 | 21 |
| Michigan | 79 | 21 |
| Illinois | 79 | 21 |
| Arkansas | 79 | 21 |
| Arizona | 79 | 21 |
| Indiana | 80 | 20 |
| Washington | 80 | 20 |
| Florida | 81 | 19 |
| North Dakota | 82 | 18 |
| Nevada | 83 | 17 |
| Alabama | 88 | 12 |
| Wyoming | 88 | 12 |

**5.** (US July '36) Should hours of work be limited by law for employees in factories? (FOR)

Yes 75.2% No 15.0% Don't know 9.8%

**6.** (US July '36) Should hours of work be limited by law for employees in domestic service? (FOR)

Yes 53.7% No 33.0% Don't know 13.3%

**7.** (US July '36) If people could have more leisure, which would be better, a shorter working day or a longer vacation? (FOR)

Shorter day 68.5% Longer vacation 28.0% Don't know 3.5%

**8.** (US Nov 13 '36) How many hours a day is it reasonable for a man to work? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 hours | 1% |
| 6 hours | 15 |
| 7 hours | 6 |
| 8 hours | 68 |
| 9 hours | 3 |
| 10 hours | 6 |
| 11–16 hours | 1 |

**9.** (US Apr 26 '37) Would you favor reducing the hours of labor in business and industry even if doing so would raise the price of goods? (AIPO)

Yes 49% No 51% = 100% No opinion 8%

**10.** (US May 24 '37) How many hours are you supposed to put in on your job in a regular week (excluding overtime)? Asked of a national cross-section of employed persons excluding those on relief projects. (AIPO)

| | *Less than 40 hours* | *40–45 hours* | *46–50 hours* | *51–55 hours* | *56–60 hours* | *61 hours and over* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 14% | 37% | 24% | 5% | 10% | 10% |
| BY TYPES OF LABOR | | | | | | |
| Skilled | 17% | 41% | 22% | 4% | 9% | 7% |
| Unskilled | 12 | 33 | 26 | 7 | 10 | 12 |

Average 47 hours

**11.** (US June 1 '37) About what figure would you want as the maximum (the longest) number of hours a week which workers should work in this community? (Jan 25 '38) What is the largest number of hours per week any worker should work in this community? (AIPO)

1937 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 30 hours | 2% |
| 30 hours | 4 |
| Over 30 hours to 40 hours | 5 |
| 40 hours | 32 |
| Over 40 hours to 44 hours | 6 |
| 45 hours to 48 hours | 4 |
| 48 hours | 22 |
| Over 48 hours to 50 hours | 4 |
| Over 50 hours to 60 hours | 3 |
| 60 hours and over | 7 |
| No answer | 11 |

Median 40 hours

1938 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 40 hours | 6% |
| 40 hours | 33 |
| Between 40 and 48 hours | 11 |
| 48 hours | 27 |
| Over 48 hours | 17 |
| No opinion | 6 |

Median 44 hours

**12.** (US Dec 2 '38) Do you think he [your employer] requires you to work too many hours a week? Asked of a national cross-section of employed persons. (AIPO)

Yes 13% No 87% = 100% No answer 4%

**13.** (US July 17 '39) Have you heard about the new law that requires all WPA workers to work an average of thirty hours a week (one hundred and thirty a month)? (AIPO)

Yes 80% No 20%

**14.** (US July 17 '39) What do you think of this law [that requires all WPA workers to work an average of thirty hours a week]? Interviewers discussed law with respondents before recording ideas. A comparable cross-section was asked the question in the following form: What is your opinion of the law? (AIPO)

| | *Approve strongly* | *Approve mildly* | *Total approve* | *Disapprove strongly* | *Disapprove mildly* | *Total disapprove* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 25% | = 67% | 19% | 14% | = 33% |
| WPA workers | 28 | 25 | = 53 | 31 | 16 | = 47 |
| All other voters | 46 | 25 | = 71 | 16 | 13 | = 29 |

**15.** (US Sept '40) If a labor shortage develops and restrictions on hours are lifted, what is the maximum work week that can be attained in your business without a net loss in production? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *40 hours* | *48 hours* | *56 hours* | *60 hours or more* | *Don't know, no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 4.5% | 48.0% | 19.0% | 12.1% | 16.4% |
| BY SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL SECTIONS | | | | | |
| Far West | 5.0% | 54.5% | 15.8% | 7.9% | 16.8% |
| South | 2.5 | 38.0 | 25.5 | 18.1 | 15.9 |

**16.** (US Dec 16 '40) Should factories making war materials work every day of the year including Sunday and holidays? (AIPO)

Yes 46% No 49% No opinion 5%

**17.** (US Dec 10 '41) Would you be willing to work eight hours more a week at your present job? Asked of a national cross-section of defense workers. (AIPO)

Yes 88% No 12%

**18.** (US Jan 6 '42) How many hours a week do you work? Asked of a national cross-section of employed persons and farmers. (AIPO) (May 30 '42) How long a work week do you put in (or your husband or wife)—about how many hours in an average week? (NORC) (Nov 10 '42) How many hours a week do you work at your present job? Asked of a national cross-section of regularly paid employed persons. (AIPO)

| | *Average hours worked per week—median* |
|---|---|
| JAN '42 RESULTS | |
| National total | 54 hours |
| JAN '42 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | |
| Farmers | 62 |
| Employers and administrators | 61 |
| Skilled workers | 51 |
| Professional | 50 |
| Semi-skilled and unskilled workers | 49 |
| White-collar | 47 |

MAY '42 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 30 hours | 1% |
| 30–39 hours | 4 |
| 40–44 hours | 34 |
| 45–49 hours | 25 |
| 50–54 hours | 10 |
| 55–59 hours | 6 |
| 60–69 hours | 8 |
| 70–79 hours | 3 |
| 80–89 hours | 2 |
| 90 and more | * |
| All the time | * |
| Not ascertainable | 7 |

* Less than 0.5%.

NOV '42 RESULTS

| | *Those connected with war effort* | *Farmers* | *Others* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 40 hours or less | 25% | 7% | 32% |
| 41–47 hours | 16 | 3 | 13 |
| 48 hours | 27 | 6 | 18 |
| 49–59 hours | 17 | 17 | 15 |
| 60 hours or more | 13 | 49 | 18 |
| No estimate made | 2 | 18 | 4 |

**19.** (US Jan 23 '42) Do you happen to know how many hours a week, on the average, each worker in war industries in Germany now has to work? 6% of the sample who said they knew the number of hours were asked: How many? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know how many hours | 93% |
| No answer to the first question | 1 |
| No limit to number of hours | * |
| Germans work 60 hours or over | 1 |
| Over 60 to 80 hours | 3 |
| Over 80 hours | 2 |
| Didn't say how many hours | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**20.** (US Jan 23 '42) What is your guess [on how many hours per week German workers in war industries work]? Asked of 93% of the sample who said they didn't know how many hours a German worker in war industries now works. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, no guess | 18% |
| No limit | 1 |
| Under 60 hours | 7 |
| 60–65 hours | 12 |
| 66–70 hours | 11 |
| 71–80 hours | 16 |
| 81–90 hours | 16 |
| Over 90 hours | 12 |
| | 93% |

**21.** (US Jan 23 '42) Do you happen to know how many hours a week, on the average, each worker in war industries in England now has to work? 7% of the sample who said they knew the number of hours were asked: How many? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know how many hours | 90% |
| No answer to the first question | 3 |
| No limit to number of hours | * |
| Under 60 hours | 2 |
| 60–80 hours | 4 |
| Over 80 hours | 1 |
| Didn't say how many hours | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**22.** (US Jan 23 '42) What is your guess [on the number of hours English war workers now work]? Asked of 90% of the sample who said they didn't know how many hours English war workers now work. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer; no guess | 17% |
| No limit | * |
| 55 hours and under | 13 |
| 56–65 hours | 24 |
| 66–75 hours | 20 |
| 76–85 hours | 11 |
| Over 85 hours | 5 |
| | 90% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**23.** (US Jan 23 '42) How many hours a week, on the average, do you think each worker in war industries in the United States will have to work in order for our country to win the war? (AIPO)

Mean average 60 hours a week

**24.** (Canada Mar 23 '42) How many hours do you think workers in war industries should work each week? (CIPO) (US Jan 7 '43) How many hours a week do you think people should be required to work in war factories? A comparable cross-section was asked the question in the following form: How many hours a week do you think a person employed in a war plant should be required to work? Results were combined. (Jan 21 '43) How many hours a week do you think people should be required to work in war plants? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | *40 hours* | *41–47 hours* | *48 hours* | *49–59 hours* | *60 hours and over* | *No limit* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mar 23 '42 | — | — | 43% | 25% | 32% | — | — |
| Jan 7 '43 | 14% | 4% | 50 | 15 | 13 | 1% | 3% |
| Jan 21 '43 | 4 | 1 | 41 | 16 | 31 | 1 | 6 |

Jan 21 '43 median = 49 hours

**25.** (US May 30 '42) If a certain plant has a forty-hour week, what does that mean to you—does it mean that employees there can't work more than forty hours a week, or that they must be paid overtime if they work more than forty hours a week? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Can't work more than 40 hours | 7% |
| Must be paid overtime | 84 |
| Don't know | 9 |

**26.** (US May 30 '42) Do you think workers in war industries who are now working forty-eight hours a week and are being paid overtime for all hours over forty should continue on this basis, or do you think they should work forty-eight hours without getting any overtime pay? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should continue | 53% |
| Should not continue | 37 |
| Don't know | 10 |

**27.** (Great Britain Oct '42) Do you work shorter time in the winter than in the summer? (BIPO)

Yes 21% No 79%

**28.** (Great Britain Oct '42) Is this [working shorter time] mainly because of the blackout? (BIPO)

Yes 11% No 89%

**29.** (Great Britain Oct '42) About how many hours a week shorter? Asked of 21% of the sample who said they worked shorter hours in winter than in summer. (BIPO)

Average 6 hours 30 minutes

**30.** (Australia Nov '42) Do you think war industries should work every day, including Sundays, with the workers having days off in turn? (APOP)

Favor 7-day roster 68% Oppose it 26% Undecided 6%

**31.** (US Nov 10 '42) Would you be willing to work at least forty-eight hours a week in your present job? Asked of a national cross-section of regularly paid employed persons who work under 48 hours a week. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *Qualified* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| War workers | 79% | 11% | 5% | 5% |
| Non-war workers | 74 | 17 | 4 | 5 |

**32.** (US Nov 10 '42) Would you favor or oppose a law requiring workers connected with war industries to work at least forty-eight hours a week? (AIPO)

Favor 78% Oppose 12% No opinion 10%

**33.** (US Nov 19 '42) About how many hours a week, on the average, do you think workers in war industries are actually working now? How many hours a week, including all overtime, do you think workers in war industries should put in? (NORC)

| *Working now* | | *Should work* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Under 40 hours | 2% | Under 48 hours | 5% |
| 40 hours | 18 | 48 hours | 34 |
| 41–47 hours | 9 | 49–50 hours | 7 |
| 48 hours | 28 | 51–59 hours | 17 |
| 49–59 hours | 14 | 60–69 hours | 20 |
| 60–69 hours | 7 | 70–79 hours | 5 |
| 70 hours and over | 2 | 80 hours and over | * |
| Not ascertainable | 20 | Not ascertainable | 12 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**34.** (US Nov 19 '42) And how many hours a week do you think workers in war industries should put in before they get extra pay for overtime? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| 40 hours and less | 23% |
| 41–44 hours | 3 |
| 45–47 hours | 2 |
| 48 hours | 37 |
| 49–50 hours | 3 |
| 50–54 hours | 2 |
| 55–59 hours | 1 |
| 60 hours | 3 |
| Over 60 hours | 1 |
| No extra pay | 14 |
| Not ascertainable | 11 |

**35.** (Australia Dec '42) How many hours a week, at the most, do you think a man can work efficiently each week in a munition factory? Asked of a national cross-section of men excluding farmers. (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Inefficient after 44 hours | 24% |
| Maximum of 48 hours | 30 |
| Maximum at 50 hours | 11 |
| Maximum at 56 hours | 24 |
| Maximum at 60 hours | 11 |

**36.** (US Jan '43) How many hours did you put in on your job last week (including any overtime you may have put in)? Asked only of the "working force"—factory labor, miners, transportation and public-utility workers, personal-service workers (janitors, beauticians, laundrymen, domestics, etc.). (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Male factory workers | 49.1 hours |
| Female factory workers | 44.1 |
| Male personal-service workers | 56.0 |
| Female personal-service workers | 48.1 |
| Male transport and utility workers | 51.9 |
| Male mine workers | 41.1 |
| Workers saying they are in war industries | 48.0 |
| Workers saying they are in non-war occupations | 49.0 |

**37.** (US Jan '43) Would you call the industry you are working in now a war industry? Asked of the same cross-section as the preceding question. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Male mine workers | 83.2% | 16.8% |
| Male factory workers | 77.8 | 22.2 |
| Female factory workers | 65.6 | 34.4 |
| Male transport and public-utility workers | 52.3% | 47.7% |
| Male personal-service workers | 9.2 | 90.8 |
| Female personal-service workers | 9.8 | 90.2 |

**38.** (US Jan 21 '43) About how many hours did you work per day, not counting Sundays during last spring and summer? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | *Hours worked daily last spring and summer* |
|---|---|
| Under 10 hours | 7% |
| 10 hours | 18 |
| 11 hours | 5 |
| 12 hours | 25 |
| 13 hours | 9 |
| 14 hours | 16 |
| 15 hours | 10 |
| 16 hours | 8 |
| Over 16 hours | 2 |
| | 100% |
| No estimate | 4% |

Median 12 hours

**39.** (US Jan 21 '43) Could you put in more hours than that [which you worked last spring and summer] this year? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Yes 33% No 60% Don't know 7%

**40.** (US Jan 21 '43) How many hours a day on the average do you think you can work this year during spring and summer? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | *Hours could work this spring and summer* |
|---|---|
| Under 10 hours | 4% |
| 10 hours | 11 |
| 11 hours | 5 |
| 12 hours | 27 |
| 13 hours | 9 |
| 14 hours | 21 |
| 15 hours | 10 |
| 16 hours | 9 |
| Over 16 hours | 4 |
| | 100% |
| No estimate | 3% |

Median 13 hours

**41.** (US Feb '43) What percentage of your employees are working overtime? Asked of a national cross-section of manufacturers and merchants. (FOR)

| | *Manufacturers* | *Merchants* |
|---|---|---|
| None or less than 10% | 16.2% | 40.2% |
| 10%–19% | 10.8 | 19.0 |
| 20%–39% | 13.0 | 14.4 |
| 40%–59% | 10.5 | 6.6 |
| 60%–79% | 9.2 | 5.9 |
| 80%–100% | 39.6 | 11.4 |
| Don't know | .7 | 2.5 |

**42.** (US Mar '43) About how many hours a week would you be willing to put in regularly at farming this year? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

| | *Farmers* | *Farm-hands* |
|---|---|---|
| 48 hours or less | 6.0% | 8.0% |
| 49–59 hours | 5.5 | 10.7 |
| 60–83 hours | 51.9 | 56.7 |
| 84 hours and over | 23.5 | 11.8 |
| Don't know | 13.1 | 12.8 |

**43.** (Denmark Apr 22 '44) Are you for or against a general week-end closing [of offices and workshops] from Saturday at 2 o'clock? (DGI)

For 80.6% Against 7.6% Don't know 11.8%

**44.** (Denmark Apr 22 '44) If you yourself are among those who get the week end, are you willing to work all the more on the other days? (DGI)

Yes 64.7% No 12.4% Don't know 22.9%

**45.** (Denmark Oct 22 '44) Do you think that the housemaid's working day should end at a certain time? (DGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Employers | 40.6% | 45.3% | 14.1% |
| Maids | 73.9 | 17.4 | 8.7 |
| Remaining public | 61.1 | 22.7 | 16.2 |

**46.** (Denmark Oct 22 '44) When [do you think the housemaid's working day should end]? Asked of 40.6% of employers, 73.9% of maids, and 61.1% of the remaining public who thought that the housemaid's working day should end at a certain time. (DGI)

| | *6 p.m.* | *7 p.m.* | *8 p.m.* | *According to agreement (8 hours)* | *Other replies* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Employers | 10.2% | 64.8% | 9.7% | 5.7% | 3.4% | 6.2% = 100% of those questioned |
| Maids | 19.6 | 60.8 | 13.7 | — | 2.0 | 3.9 |
| Remaining public | 20.9 | 53.3 | 8.8 | 5.6 | 1.7 | 9.7 |

**47.** (Denmark Oct 22 '44) Do you think that if housemaids work overtime, they should be compensated by extra time off or money? (DGI)

| | *Time off* | *Money* | *Neither* | *Time off or money (according to own choice)* | *Time off or money (according to agreement)* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Employers | 33.8% | 10.6% | 17.6% | 2.3% | 15.7% | 20.0% |
| Maids | 27.7 | 40.0 | 10.8 | 1.5 | 4.6 | 15.4 |
| Remaining public | 30.9 | 31.2 | 6.8 | 2.4 | 4.9 | 23.8 |

**48.** (Denmark Oct 22 '44) What time do you think a housemaid's day off should begin? (DGI)

| | *Previous evening* | *In the morning* | *Before noon* | *Noon* | *1 p.m.* | *2 p.m. or later* | *Don't know* | *According to agreement* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Employers | 5% | 11% | 19% | 10% | 19% | 18% | 17% | 1% |
| Maids | 11 | 16 | 30 | 14 | 16 | 9 | — | 4 |
| Remaining public | 3 | 21 | 24 | 14 | 10 | 6 | 21 | 1 |

**49.** (Great Britain Nov '44) After the war, how many hours would be a reasonable working week in factories after which overtime should be paid? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Up to 36 hours | 5% |
| Up to 40 hours | 39 |
| Up to 44 hours | 20 |
| Up to 48 hours | 29 |
| Over 48 hours | 3 |
| Don't know | 4 |

Average hours per week 43

(US Nov 29 '44) After the war, how many hours per week do you think workers in business and industry should work? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 30 hours or less | 4% |
| Between 30 and 40 hours | 5 |
| 40 hours | 50 |
| Between 40 and 48 hours | 8 |
| 48 hours | 25 |
| Over 48 hours | 5 |
| No opinion | 3 |

(Australia Aug '45) After the war, how many hours should be worked each week in factories before overtime is paid? (APOP)

BY SEX

| | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| 48 hours | 10% | 10% |
| 46 hours | 1 | — |
| 44 hours | 45 | 52 |
| 40 hours | 37 | 21 |
| Fewer than 40 | 3 | 1 |
| No opinion | 4 | 16 |

(US Sept 6 '45) How many hours a week do you think persons should work in a regular work week now that the war is over? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 40 hours | 10% |
| 40 hours | 66 |
| 41–47 hours | 5 |
| 48 hours | 12 |
| Over 48 hours | 1 |
| No opinion | 6 |

Median 40 hours

(US Sept 6 '45) How many hours do you think there should be in the regular work week? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 20–29 hours | 1% |
| 30 hours | 6 |
| 32 hours | 1 |
| 35 hours | 4 |
| 36 hours | 4 |
| 37–40 hours | 66 |
| 42–44 hours | 2 |
| 45 hours | * |
| 48 hours | 8 |
| 50 hours and over | 1 |
| Don't know, no answer | 7 |

Median 40 hours

* Less than 0.5%

(Great Britain Nov 3 '45) How many hours would be a reasonable working week in factories after which overtime would be paid? (BIPO)

| | *Up to 36 hours* | *Up to 40 hours* | *Up to 44 hours* | *Up to 48 hours* | *Over 48 hours* | *Don't know; No reply* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 4% | 39% | 22% | 26% | 2% | 7% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | | |
| Professional; salaried-executive | 4% | 31% | 25% | 32% | 2% | 6% |
| Salaried-clerical | 3 | 45 | 26 | 17 | 5 | 4 |
| Proprietor, shop or business; farmers | 1 | 27 | 28 | 32 | 8 | 4 |
| Weekly wages; factory, heavy industry, transport, miner | 5 | 52 | 21 | 18 | 1 | 3 |
| Agricultural workers (excluding farmers) | 8 | 17 | 21 | 35 | 4 | 15 |
| Weekly wages, all others | 3 | 42 | 22 | 24 | 3 | 6 |
| Housewives | 3 | 33 | 22 | 29 | 1 | 12 |
| Retired; unoccupied | 3 | 27 | 16 | 37 | 4 | 13 |

(Australia Dec '45, Jan '46) In your opinion, how many hours should be worked each week by people in factories before overtime is paid? (APOP)

| | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| 48 hours | 7% | 7% |
| 44 hours | 39 | 42 |
| 40 hours | 47 | 36 |
| Less than 40 hours | 3 | 2 |
| No opinion | 4 | 13 |

(Canada June 29 '46) How many hours do you think people working in industry should work each week? (CIPO)

| | *35 hours and under* | *36–40 hours* | *41–44 hours* | *45–48 hours* | *Over 48 hours* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 2% | 38% | 18% | 35% | 7% |
| BY LABOR STATUS | | | | | |
| Union families | 3% | 56% | 11% | 26% | 4% |
| Non-union families | 1 | 36 | 19 | 36 | 8 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | |
| Farm | * | 20% | 15% | 48% | 17% |
| Non-farm | 2% | 44 | 18 | 31 | 5 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**50.** (Canada Nov 25 '44) To reduce unemployment after the war it has been suggested that we establish a thirty-hour week in industry to spread work among more people. Do you think this is a good idea or do you think we should have a longer working week? (CIPO)

| | *30 hours* | *Longer work week* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 62% | 27% | 11% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Over 100,000 | 72% | 21% | 7% |
| 10,000–100,000 | 64 | 26 | 10 |
| Under 10,000 | 63 | 27 | 10 |
| Farms | 46 | 36 | 18 |
| BY LABOR STATUS | | | |
| Union | 71% | 21% | 8% |
| Others | 59 | 29 | 12 |

**51.** (US Sept 6 '45) During peacetime the number of hours in the regular work week in most industries is forty hours. Do you think the number of hours should be increased or decreased? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Increased | 12% |
| Decreased | 17 |
| Same | 65 |
| No opinion | 6 |

**52.** (Australia May–June '46) Do you think the Commonwealth Parliament should pass a law for the forty-hour week, or should it be left to the arbitration court to decide? (APOP)

| | *Favor law* | *Favor court* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 55% | 12% |
| Unskilled workers only | 47 | 39 | 14 |

**53.** (US Oct '46) About what time do you usually get to your office? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *8:00 a.m.* | *8:30 a.m.* | *9:00 a.m.* | *9:30 a.m.* | *10:00 to 12:00* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 20.7% | 28.0% | 33.8% | 14.2% | 3.3% |
| BY TYPES OF INDUSTRY | | | | | |
| Manufacturing | 27.3% | 29.5% | 29.6% | 10.8% | 2.8% |
| Commerce | 16.8 | 25.8 | 36.7 | 16.7 | 4.0 |
| Rails and utilities | 11.1 | 35.5 | 39.1 | 11.6 | 2.7 |
| Finance | 10.5 | 28.1 | 40.3 | 17.9 | 3.2 |

**54.** (US Oct '46) What time do you usually leave the office? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Before 4:30* | *4:30 to 5:00* | *5:00 to 5:30* | *5:30 to 6:00* | *6:00 to 7:00* | *After 7:00* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9.7% | 20.6% | 37.3% | 23.5% | 7.9% | 1.0% |
| BY TYPE OF INDUSTRY | | | | | | |
| Manufacturing | 7.9% | 21.9% | 38.5% | 23.6% | 7.2% | .9% |
| Commerce | 8.1 | 15.0 | 36.7 | 28.2 | 10.8 | 1.2 |
| Rails and utilities | 7.0 | 21.1 | 44.7 | 21.5 | 4.8 | .9 |
| Finance | 18.1 | 25.9 | 32.9 | 18.5 | 4.4 | .2 |

**55.** (US Oct '46) About how often do you work at night in the office? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *In the office* | *At home* |
|---|---|---|
| Seldom | 80.5% | 54.1% |
| One to two nights | 13.7 | 26.9 |
| Two to three nights | 3.4 | 9.6 |
| Three to four nights | 1.3 | 5.6 |
| More | 1.1 | 3.8 |

**56.** (US Oct '46) On days when you work at your office, how long do you usually spend at lunch? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| A half hour or less | 13.0% |
| Between half an hour and an hour | 43.1 |
| Between an hour and an hour and a half | 39.3 |
| An hour and a half to two hours | 4.3 |
| Two to three hours | 0.3 |

**57.** (US Oct '46) If you could double your income by working two or three more hours a day, would you do so? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 29.3% | 70.7% |
| BY SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL SECTIONS | | |
| South | 37.7% | 62.3% |
| Far West | 23.5 | 76.5 |

**58.** (US Oct '46) Do you work at your office on Saturdays in winter? In the summer? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Usually* | *Occa-sionally* | *Practically never* |
|---|---|---|---|
| IN WINTER | | | |
| National total | 61.9% | 16.1% | 22.0% |
| IN WINTER BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Greater New York | 35.6% | 24.0% | 40.4% |
| Remainder of the Northeast | 64.7 | 14.8 | 20.5 |
| South | 77.6 | 10.9 | 11.5 |
| Midwest | 70.1 | 14.3 | 15.6 |
| Far West | 63.8 | 16.2 | 20.0 |
| IN SUMMER | | | |
| National total | 45.3% | 20.4% | 34.3% |
| IN SUMMER BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Greater New York | 12.0% | 22.7% | 65.3% |
| Remainder of the Northeast | 43.4 | 22.7 | 33.9 |
| South | 71.2 | 15.4 | 13.4 |
| Midwest | 58.5 | 18.5 | 23.0 |
| Far West | 59.8 | 11.8 | 28.4 |

## HOUSE DECORATION

**1.** (Denmark Oct 29 '44) How would you prefer to have your home furnished, in modern or old-fashioned design? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Old-fashioned | 31.6% |
| Modern | 32.2 |
| A mixture of both | 30.3 |
| Don't know | 5.9 |

**2.** (Denmark Oct 29 '44) If you could afford it and had the opportunity of doing so, would you scrap your furniture and get new things to suit your taste? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 25.2% |
| No | 49.0 |
| Don't know | 6.1 |
| Partly | 19.7 |

**3.** (Denmark Oct 29 '44) Which do you prefer, old-style—for example, Renaissance—or modern simple furniture? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Old style | 31.0% |
| Modern, simple furniture | 37.0 |
| Something in between | 22.1 |
| A little of each | 0.3 |
| Don't know | 9.6 |

**4.** (Denmark Oct 29 '44) Do you prefer your home to be furnished with a lot of furniture and many knick-knacks or with a few modern things? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| A lot of furniture | 9.7% |
| Few things | 7.6 |
| Few modern things | 36.5 |
| Few old-fashioned things | 4.9 |
| A little of each | 30.2 |
| Don't know | 11.1 |

**5.** (Denmark Oct 29 '44) Do you prefer light, strong colors in furniture and walls of your rooms, or do you prefer something darker and warmer? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Light, strong colors | 41.5% |
| Darker, warmer | 33.3 |
| Light, discreet colors | 1.8 |
| A mixture of both | 17.0 |
| Don't know | 6.4 |

## HOUSING

**1.** (US Oct '35) If you had to choose between these two houses for your home and they were the same except for style, which would you choose? (FOR)

Colonial 56.3% Modern 41.2% Don't know 2.5%

**2.** (US July 13 '38) Which is cheaper—to own or to rent? (AIPO)

Own 49% Rent 37% No opinion 14%

**3.** (Great Britain Nov '41) If you were free to choose would you rather live in a house or a flat? (BIPO)

House 71% Flat 19% Don't know 10%

**4.** (US May 30 '42) Would you say that housing conditions for defense workers around here are satisfactory, only fair, or poor? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Satisfactory | 27% |
| Only fair | 29 |
| Poor | 18 |
| No defense workers around here | 7 |
| Don't know | 19 |

**5.** (Great Britain May '42 and Mar '44) Do you think you will be looking for other accommodations after the war? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| May '42 | 42% | 47% | 11% |
| Mar '44 | 43 | 47 | 10 |

**6.** (Great Britain Mar '44) Do you think that you will be moving out of this district? Asked of 43% of the sample who thought they would be looking for other accommodations after the war. (BIPO)

Yes 24% No 12% Don't know 7% = 43%

**7.** (Sweden Dec '42) How large a dwelling do you think is the minimum needed for a family of two grown-ups and three children under ten? (SGI)

| | *1 room and kitchen* | *2 rooms and kitchen* | *3 rooms and kitchen* | *4 rooms and kitchen* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 1% | 61% | 34% | 4% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Towns | 1% | 56% | 38% | 5% |
| Country | 1 | 65 | 31 | 3 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 1% | 36% | 51% | 12% |
| Middle class | 1 | 55 | 39 | 5 |
| Workers | 2 | 68 | 28 | 2 |
| BY MARITAL STATUS | | | | |
| Unmarried | 1% | 58% | 37% | 4% |
| Married | 1 | 63 | 32 | 4 |
| Married with 3 children | 2 | 70 | 26 | 2 |

**8.** (Great Britain Jan 24 '43) Have you had any difficulty recently in finding housing or accommodation? 19% of the

sample who said they had had difficulty were asked: What difficulty? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Haven't tried to find anything or haven't had difficulty | 80% |
| Don't know whether or not have had difficulty | 1 |
| Have found no houses available | 12 |
| Rent too high | 3 |
| No rooms available | 2 |
| Have been bombed out and can't find accommodation | 1 |
| Miscellaneous difficulties | 1 |

**9.** (Canada Mar 20 '43) Do you happen to have any spare rooms in your home? (CIPO)

| | *Congested areas* | *Non-congested areas** |
|---|---|---|
| Have spare room | 14% | 20% |
| Have no spare room | 86 | 80 |

*Exclusive of farms.

**10.** (Sweden Oct '43) Would you care to live in a so-called cooperative house where, if necessary, you could have your food from a communal kitchen, have your clothes washed in the laundry of the house, have your children cared for in a communal nursery, etc.? Asked of a national cross-section of married women living in industrial towns. (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 15% | 80% | 5% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Towns | 16% | 78% | 6% |
| Villages | 11 | 87 | 2 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 20% | 78% | 2% |
| Middle class | 11 | 84 | 5 |
| Workers | 17 | 78 | 5 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Full-time workers (outside the home) | 25% | 65% | 10% |
| Part-time workers | 29 | 62 | 9 |
| Occasional workers | 11 | 78 | 11 |
| Housewives | 17 | 77 | 6 |

**11.** (Sweden Oct '43) What, in your opinion, would be the greatest advantage of living in a house of this type [cooperative house with communal kitchen, laundry, nursery, etc.]? Asked of a national cross-section of married women living in industrial towns. (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Housework easier | 53% |
| Children are cared for | 28 |
| Might be cheaper | 4 |
| Other replies | 6 |
| Don't know | 9 |

**12.** (Australia Dec '43) What should the government do about home building after the war, encourage private building or build houses itself? (Nov '45) Which would be the better policy for the government on housing, build homes itself or encourage private builders? (APOP)

| | *Encourage private building* | *Build houses itself* | *Both* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '43 | 41% | 34% | 25% | — |
| Nov '45 | 71 | 21 | — | 8% |

**13.** (Australia Dec '43) If the government does build homes after the war, should it let the houses or sell them? (APOP)

Sell them 56% Let them 12% Both 32%

**14.** (Great Britain Dec '43) In your district, do you think that the local council is doing all it can to meet the housing shortage? 32% of the sample who thought the local council was not doing all it could were asked: What more should it do? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Believe council is doing all it can | 37% |
| Don't know whether or not doing all it can | 31 |
| Could build new houses | 10 |
| Take over empty houses | 4 |
| Repair bomb-damaged houses | 2 |
| Fix rents | 1 |
| Can't do more without government assistance | 2 |
| Miscellaneous suggestions | 11 |
| Didn't say what it could do | 2 |

**15.** (Australia Feb 5 '44) What kind of home do you like best: single-storied, two-storied, or a flat? (APOP)

| | *Single-story houses* | *Two-story houses* | *Flats* | *No definite ideas* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| People now living in single-story houses | 90% | 7% | 3% | — |
| People now living in two-story houses | 64 | 30 | 6 | — |
| People now living in flats | 64 | 11 | 21 | 4% |

**16.** (Australia Feb 5 '44) You've probably heard how homes will be improved after the war. What would you want most in a new home? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Refrigerators | 21% |
| Electrical appliances | 21 |
| Hot water services | 14 |
| Modern kitchens and bathrooms | 11 |
| Modern conveniences; labor-saving devices, etc. | 20 |
| Other and no answer | 13 |

**17.** (Great Britain June '44) The government say they will erect temporary prefabricated houses to relieve the housing shortage. If you could get it, would you prefer one of these houses, or would you rather wait longer for a permanent house? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Temporary house | 27% |
| Wait | 31 |
| Won't move | 36 |
| Don't know | 6 |

**18.** (Canada July 26 '44) Have you put off making any repairs or improvements on your home because of the war, or have you kept it up as well as you ordinarily would? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Put off | 36% |
| Kept up | 47 |
| None needed | 14 |
| Undecided | 3 |

**19.** (Canada July 26 '44) Do you plan to build or buy your own home after the war, or do you prefer to continue renting? Asked of a national cross-section of people who rent their homes? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Plan to build | 24% |
| Plan to buy | 18 |
| Continue renting | 40 |
| No specific plans | 17 |
| Return to home already owned | 1 |

**20.** (Australia Dec '44 to Jan '45) Do you happen to rent or own the home you live in? 45% of the sample said they rented, 6% boarded, and 4% lived with their parents. These groups were asked: Do you plan to buy or build a home, or do you prefer renting? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Other plans | 2% |
| Already own home | 45 |
| Plan to buy | 16 |
| Plan to build | 18 |
| Expect to rent | 19 |

**21.** (Australia Dec '44 to Jan '45) Have you had to put off any large improvements or repairs because of the war? Asked of 45% of the sample who owned their homes. (APOP)

Yes 21% No 24% = 45%

**22.** (Australia Feb–Mar '45) Are you satisfied the government is doing all it can, under the circumstances, to relieve the housing shortage? (APOP) (Great Britain Mar '45) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the government's record in housing? (BIPO)

| | *Satisfied* | *Dis-satisfied* | *Don't know, undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Australia | 32% | 54% | 14% |
| Great Britain | 14 | 71 | 15 |

**23.** (US Mar 29 '45) A national cross-section of people were asked whether they had definite plans to build a new home, remodel an old one, or make substantial repairs to an old one within three years after the war ended. (NYHT) Results were:

| | |
|---|---|
| Build | 19% |
| Remodel | 11 |
| Repair | 5 |
| None of them | 55 |
| Don't know | 10 |

**24.** (Sweden June '45) Are you satisfied with your present dwelling place? (SGI)

| | *Not satisfied* | *Fairly satisfied* | *Completely satisfied* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 23% | 23% | 54% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 22% | 26% | 52% |
| Women | 24 | 21 | 55 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Farms | 25% | 26% | 49% |
| Others | 22 | 23 | 55 |
| Large towns | 24 | 25 | 51 |
| Other towns | 21 | 23 | 56 |
| Country | 23 | 24 | 53 |
| BY TYPE OF CURRENT HOUSING | | | |
| House owners, villa owners | 15% | 21% | 64% |
| Dwelling included in wages | 31 | 23 | 46 |
| Tenants' homes | 31 | 23 | 46 |
| Live in rooms, "digs," etc. | 21 | 20 | 59 |

**25.** (Sweden June '45) What is wrong with it [your present housing]? Asked of a national cross-section of people who were not completely satisfied with their present housing. 46% of the sample is represented. (SGI)

| | *Too small; too stuffy* | *Not modern; needs repairs* | *Lacks certain modern conveniences, water, drains* | *Cold, drafty* | *Dark, no sun* | *Too expensive* | *Other faults, general dissatisfaction* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| National total | 24 | 30 | 25 | 14 | 4 | 6 | 17 | = 120* |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | | |
| Men | 23 | 31 | 25 | 14 | 4 | 7 | 19 | = 123* |
| Women | 25 | 28 | 25 | 15 | 4 | 5 | 15 | = 117* |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | | | | |
| Farms | 13 | 34 | 41 | 19 | 1 | — | 17 | = 125* |
| Others | 29 | 28 | 18 | 12 | 5 | 9 | 17 | = 118* |
| Large towns | 33 | 19 | 4 | 11 | 11 | 12 | 23 | = 113* |
| Other towns | 29 | 27 | 15 | 10 | 5 | 13 | 16 | = 115* |
| Country | 20 | 32 | 34 | 23 | 1 | 2 | 15 | = 127* |
| BY TYPE OF CURRENT HOUSING | | | | | | | | |
| House owners, villa owners | 14 | 39 | 41 | 13 | — | 2 | 12 | = 121* |
| Dwelling included in wages | 15 | 25 | 32 | 24 | 2 | — | 20 | = 118* |
| Tenants' homes | 34 | 30 | 17 | 14 | 5 | 10 | 12 | = 122* |
| Live in rooms, "digs," etc. | 18 | 16 | 28 | 15 | 5 | 5 | 57 | = 144* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who were not completely satisfied with their present housing and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**26.** (Sweden June '45) Have you made any attempt to find another place to live? Asked of a national cross-section of tenants who were not completely satisfied with their present housing. (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41% | 59% | = 100% of the dissatisfied tenants |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 42% | 58% | |
| Women | 39 | 61 | |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Farms | 23% | 77% | |
| Others | 42 | 58 | |
| Large towns | 49 | 51 | |
| Other towns | 43 | 57 | |
| Country | 34 | 66 | |

**27.** (Sweden June '45) Why [have you] not [attempted to find another place to live]? Asked of a national cross-section of tenants who were not completely satisfied with their present housing but had not attempted to find another place to live. (SGI)

| | *Impossible to find* | *Cannot afford more* | *Certain advantages now* | *Nuisance to move* | *Hope for improvement* | *Thinking of buying* | *Other reasons or vague answers* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41% | 14% | 19% | 3% | 1% | 1% | 21% | = 100%* |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | | |
| Men | 45% | 18% | 13% | 3% | — | — | 21 | |
| Women | 38 | 12 | 25 | 3 | 2% | 2% | 18 | |

| | *Impossible to find* | *Cannot afford more* | *Certain advantages now* | *Nuisance to move* | *Hope for improvement* | *Thinking of buying* | *Other reasons or vague answers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | | | |
| Farms | 22% | 9% | 40% | 3% | 6% | — | 20% |
| Others | 44 | 16 | 15 | 3 | — | 1% | 21 |
| Large towns | 50 | 16 | 13 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 16 |
| Other towns | 34 | 26 | 20 | 4 | — | 1 | 15 |
| Country | 41 | 8 | 21 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 24 |

* 100% of the tenants were not completely satisfied with their present housing but had not attempted to find another place to live.

**28.** (Sweden June '45) Have you done anything to get a better place or improve your present one? Asked of a national cross-section of home owners and people whose housing was included in their wages, who were not completely satisfied with their current housing. (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Have tried | 4% |
| Have tried but not succeeded and not able to improve old dwelling | 40 |
| Have not tried | 56 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**29.** (Sweden June '45) Have you tried to get a government subsidy to improve your dwelling or have you tried to get other official help? Asked of a national cross-section of home owners and people whose housing was included in their wages, who were not completely satisfied with their current housing. (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Thought of applying for subsidy | 18% |
| Hope of other government help | 8 |
| No such plans | 68 |
| Have sought and received help | 6 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**30.** (Great Britain June 26 '45) Which do you think would handle the housing problem better, a Conservative, or Liberal, or Labor government? (BIPO)

| | *Conservative* | *Liberal* | *Labor* | *Same* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 25% | 13% | 42% | 11% | 9% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 24% | 12% | 46% | 12% | 6% |
| Women | 26 | 13 | 39 | 11 | 11 |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 18% | 12% | 49% | 11% | 10% |
| 30–49 years | 22 | 13 | 45 | 12 | 8 |
| 50 years and over | 27 | 12 | 39 | 11 | 11 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Higher | 60% | 10% | 16% | 13% | 1% |
| Middle | 42 | 16 | 22 | 13 | 7 |
| Lower | 18 | 12 | 49 | 11 | 10 |

**31.** (US Aug 8 '45) Do you plan to build (not buy already built) a new home of your own after the war? 23% of the sample who planned to build after the war were asked: About how much do you think you will spend on building the house (not for the land)? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't plan to build | 77% |
| Expect to spend under $2,000 | 1 |
| $2,000 and under $3,000 | 2 |
| $3,000 and under $4,000 | 3 |
| $4,000 and under $5,000 | 2 |
| $5,000 and under $6,000 | 5 |
| $6,000 and under $7,000 | 3 |
| $7,000 and under $8,000 | 1 |
| $8,000 and under $9,000 | 1 |
| $9,000 and under $10,000 | 2 |
| $10,000 and under $15,000 | 2 |
| $15,000 and over | 1 |

**32.** (Great Britain Sept 29 '45) Are you looking for fresh accommodation? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 32% | 68% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Higher | 16% | 84% |
| Middle | 26 | 74 |
| Lower | 35 | 65 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| England | 32% | 68% |
| Wales | 22 | 78 |
| Scotland | 38 | 62 |
| BY TYPE OF HOUSING | | |
| Owner-occupier | 12% | 88% |
| Renting | 34 | 66 |
| Not householder | 41 | 59 |

**33.** (Great Britain Sept 29 '45) What is your main reason for wanting to move? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Present accommodation too small; growing family | 6% |
| Present accommodation old-fashioned, slummy, verminous; want modern house with modern conveniences | 8 |
| Living in rooms, with in-laws or family; want home of my own | 6 |
| Living in furnished house/flat/room at moment, owner wants it back | 2 |
| Getting married; husband returning from the forces | 2 |
| Want a change of district | 2 |
| Want to live nearer own or husband's work; husband's firm no longer evacuated | 1 |
| In temporary lodgings; was bombed out | 1 |
| Want smaller house | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| No reply; don't know | 70 |

**34.** (Great Britain Nov 3 '45) Do you agree or disagree with Mr. Bevan's proposal to requisition any parts of houses which are not being used? (BIPO)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 64% | 26% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 64% | 28% | 8% |
| Women | 64 | 25 | 11 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 70% | 20% | 10% |
| 30–49 years | 65 | 26 | 9 |
| 50 years and over | 61 | 29 | 10 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 44% | 52% | 4% |
| Middle | 58 | 37 | 5 |
| Lower | 68 | 20 | 12 |

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY TYPE OF HOUSING | | | |
| Owner-occupier | 51% | 45% | 4% |
| Renting | 68 | 22 | 10 |
| Not householder | 68 | 20 | 12 |

**35.** (Canada Nov 17 '45) Are you planning to build a new house when labor and materials are plentiful again? Those who were not planning to build or were undecided were asked: Do you plan to buy a house? Results of the two questions were combined. (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Plan to build | 22% |
| Plan to buy house | 5 |
| Not planning to build or buy | 61 |
| Undecided | 12 |

**36.** (US Feb 27 '46) Are you or your immediate family now being directly affected by the housing shortage? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 73% |
| Veterans only | 42 | 58 |
| BY AGE | | |
| Under 35 years | 37% | 63% |
| Over 35 years | 21 | 79 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | |
| Cities and towns under 100,000 | 23% | 77% |
| Cities over 100,000 | 36 | 64 |

**37.** (US Feb 27 '46) In what way [were you directly affected by the housing shortage]? Asked of 27% of the sample who were directly affected. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Can't find a place to live myself | 6% |
| Need larger house or apartment | 3 |
| Living with family, in-laws | 4 |
| Family can't find place to live | 4 |
| Forced to live in inconvenient place | 4 |
| Being forced to move from place now in | 2 |
| Would like to build, no materials | 1 |
| Raising rent when houses aren't worth it | 1 |
| Prices too high to buy | * |
| Afraid to move to different location because of housing shortage | * |
| No opinion; don't know; no answer | 1 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 1 |
| | 27% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**38.** (Great Britain Mar '46) Have you put your name on a list for a house or flat? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No use* | *Not moving* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 20% | 10% | 70% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 13% | 5% | 82% |
| Middle | 16 | 8 | 76 |
| Lower | 23 | 11 | 66 |
| BY TYPE OF HOUSING | | | |
| Owner-occupiers | 4% | 2% | 94% |
| Renting | 20 | 12 | 68 |
| Not householders | 35 | 14 | 51 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| London and South England | 19% | 10% | 71% |
| North and Midlands | 21 | 10 | 69 |
| Wales | 21 | 6 | 73 |
| Scotland | 27 | 12 | 61 |

**39.** (Great Britain Mar '46) Is it [your name on a list for a house or flat] with the local authority or a house agent? Asked of 20% of the sample who had put their names on a list. (BIPO)

| | *Local authority* | *House agent* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 79% | 21% | = 100% of those questioned |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 38% | 62% | |
| Middle | 57 | 43 | |
| Lower | 86 | 14 | |
| BY TYPE OF HOUSING | | | |
| Owner-occupiers | 74% | 26% | |
| Renting | 77 | 23 | |
| Not householders | 82 | 18 | |

**40.** (US Mar 14 '46) Do you see the present housing shortage as a problem that industry, if left pretty much alone, would be able to work out itself, or as a problem that won't get straightened out until the government does a lot more than it has? (NYHT)

| | *Industry* | *Government* | *Don't know* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 38.5% | 46.7% | 13.4% | 1.4% |
| Veterans only | 36.3 | 57.1 | 6.6 | — |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–34 years | 31.9% | 52.4% | 15.5% | .2% |
| 35–49 years | 42.2 | 46.7 | 10.5 | .6 |
| 50 years and over | 40.8 | 41.7 | 14.4 | 3.1 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Urban | 38.0% | 48.2% | 12.6% | 1.2% |
| Rural | 40.7 | 40.7 | 16.6 | 2.0 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 35.0% | 50.5% | 12.3% | 2.2% |
| East North central | 43.0 | 45.8 | 10.9 | .3 |
| West North central | 42.3 | 43.6 | 13.5 | .6 |
| South Atlantic and East South central | 34.9 | 47.9 | 15.8 | 1.4 |
| West South central | 29.2 | 42.5 | 25.5 | 2.8 |
| Mountain and Pacific | 49.9 | 42.5 | 6.8 | .8 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Rich | 63.4% | 28.6% | 8.0% | |
| Upper middle | 55.5 | 34.6 | 9.9 | |
| Lower middle | 38.6 | 48.9 | 12.5 | |
| Poor | 19.0 | 57.2 | 23.8 | |

**41.** (US Mar 21 '46) Here are some steps the government might take in the housing shortage which have been favored by some people and not by others. Do you think the government should or should not start building houses on a large scale for sale or rent to the public? (NYHT)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total* | 48.1% | 42.1% | 9.8% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–34 years | 56.1% | 35.2% | 8.7% |
| 35–49 years | 45.7 | 47.6 | 6.7 |
| 50 years and over | 43.2 | 43.0 | 13.8 |
| BY VETERAN STATUS | | | |
| No veteran in household | 45.0% | 45.2% | 9.8% |
| Veteran in household | 54.9 | 33.9 | 11.2 |
| Respondent a veteran | 58.8 | 37.4 | 3.8 |
| Status unknown | 43.7 | 37.8 | 18.5 |

. . . take off ceiling prices on building materials?

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total* | 24.7% | 63.3% | 12.0% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–34 years | 17.4% | 72.2% | 10.4% |
| 35–49 years | 23.0 | 67.2 | 9.8 |
| 50 years and over | 32.7 | 51.8 | 15.5 |
| BY VETERAN STATUS | | | |
| No veteran in household | 26.0% | 61.6% | 12.4% |
| Veteran in household | 21.3 | 66.8 | 11.9 |
| Respondent a veteran | 19.7 | 74.8 | 5.5 |
| Status unknown | 32.0 | 48.5 | 19.5 |

. . . lend money at very low rates of interest to people who want to build medium-priced houses for their own use?

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total* | 80.0% | 12.5% | 7.5% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–34 years | 81.9% | 11.1% | 7.0% |
| 35–49 years | 82.2 | 13.5 | 4.3 |
| 50 years and over | 76.2 | 13.0 | 10.8 |
| BY VETERAN STATUS | | | |
| No veteran in household | 78.8% | 13.8% | 7.4% |
| Veteran in household | 83.0 | 8.8 | 8.2 |
| Respondent a veteran | 87.5 | 11.1 | 1.4 |
| Status unknown | 66.0 | 12.6 | 21.4 |

. . . see to it that building materials are used only for low and medium-priced houses until the shortage eases up?

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total* | 75.6% | 16.1% | 8.3% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–34 years | 77.2% | 16.1% | 6.7% |
| 35–49 years | 77.2 | 16.7 | 6.1 |
| 50 years and over | 72.8 | 15.3 | 11.9 |
| BY VETERAN STATUS | | | |
| No veteran in household | 75.2% | 16.5% | 8.3% |
| Veteran in household | 78.2 | 12.9 | 8.9 |
| Respondent a veteran | 77.9 | 19.0 | 3.1 |
| Status unknown | 63.1 | 17.5 | 19.4 |

. . . require people who have more rooms than they really need to rent them to people who cannot find homes?

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total* | 33.8% | 58.9% | 7.3% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–34 years | 37.6% | 55.0% | 7.4% |
| 35–49 years | 31.3 | 63.3 | 5.4 |
| 50 years and over | 32.7 | 58.1 | 9.2 |
| BY VETERAN STATUS | | | |
| No veteran in household | 32.0% | 60.8% | 7.2% |
| Veteran in household | 40.8 | 52.3 | 6.9 |
| Respondent a veteran | 35.6 | 58.5 | 5.9 |
| Status unknown | 22.3 | 59.2 | 18.5 |

* National totals from *Fortune* Apr '46.

**42.** (Germany Mar 22 '46) In your opinion, which of the following problems will have to remain unsolved for people in the American zone—lodging, supply of food, or employment? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 9% |
| Housing | 9 |
| Food | 14 |
| Work | 8% |
| Housing and food | 28 |
| Housing and work | 3 |
| Food and work | 5 |
| All three | 24 |

In case some one of these problems cannot be solved, what will the result be? Asked of 91% of the sample who mentioned an unsolved problem in the American zone.

| | |
|---|---|
| Unemployment | 7% |
| Hunger; starvation | 30 |
| Housing shortage; barracks | 4 |
| Sickness; epidemics or danger thereof | 17 |
| Suicide | 1 |
| Great need; poverty; utter misery | 17 |
| Stealing; robbery; looting; plundering | 6 |
| Unrest; confusion; chaos | 14 |
| Uprising; revolution; civil war | 5 |
| Communism | 2 |
| No answer; no opinion; don't know | 25 |
| | 128%* |

* Percentages add to more than 91 because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

**43.** (Australia Mar 23 '46) Would you favor or oppose building large blocks of flats in the cities to relieve the housing shortage? (APOP)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 46% | 5% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 43% | 53% | 4% |
| Women | 56 | 39 | 5 |

**44.** (US Apr '46) Of course, no one knows for sure, but do you think the chances are good or not very good that you actually will buy or build a house within the next five years? Those who said the chances were good were asked: Which will you probably do, buy or build? Results of both questions are tabulated below. (FOR)

| | *Total who say "good"* | | *Buy* | | *Build* | | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 26.1% | = | 9.7% | + | 15.3% | + | 1.1% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | |
| Rich | 23.2% | = | 4.0% | + | 18.3% | + | .9% |
| Upper middle | 26.5 | = | 6.6 | + | 18.8 | + | 1.1 |
| Lower middle | 29.3 | = | 11.4 | + | 16.4 | + | 1.5 |
| Poor | 21.8 | = | 11.0 | + | 10.2 | + | .6 |
| By veteran | 43.2 | = | 19.0 | + | 22.1 | + | 2.1 |

**45.** (US Apr '46) We'd like to know how you feel about the building industry as a whole—over the last twenty-five years or so, do you feel that the building industry has given people in America good, only fair, or poor value for their money when they built homes? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good | 45.6% |
| Only fair | 25.5 |
| Poor | 8.9 |
| Don't know | 20.0 |

**46.** (US Apr '46) What are the two or three things about your present home you wish you or the person who built it had planned differently? (FOR)

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Larger house, more rooms | 16.1% | 12.7% | 18.9% |
| Smaller house, fewer rooms | 1.7 | 1.3 | 2.1 |
| Larger rooms | 10.5 | 6.6 | 13.7 |
| Arrangement of space** | 30.9 | 23.0 | 37.5 |
| Smaller rooms | 1.6 | 2.0 | 1.3 |
| Better heating systems | 14.1 | 14.8 | 13.5 |
| Installation or improvement of plumbing | 7.3 | 5.7 | 8.7 |
| Additions and improvements (chiefly porch, basement) | 10.2 | 10.0 | 10.3 |
| All others | 9.1 | 8.7 | 9.5 |
| Nothing or don't know | 36.0 | 45.6 | 28.2 |
| | 137.5%* | 130.4%* | 143.7%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

** Specifically mentioned in connection with space were more closet space, better kitchen facilities, different arrangement of rooms, windows, height of ceilings, etc.

**47.** (US Apr '46) What don't you like about prefabricated houses? Asked of a national cross-section of those who said they would consider a prefabricated house only if they could get nothing else. 33% of a national sample is represented. 70% of the sample admitted they had heard of prefabricated houses. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Unsatisfactory construction | 67.4% |
| Lack of individuality | 13.4 |
| Too small | 4.6 |
| All others | 18.4 |
| Don't know | 9.6 |
| | 113.4%* |

* Some people gave more than one answer to this question. The first category includes statements like: "not substantial enough, not strong enough, not permanent, not warm enough."

**48.** (US Apr '46) Are you looking right now for some place else to live? Those who said "no" were asked: Would you be looking if there were no housing shortage? Results of both questions were combined. (FOR)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Looking for a place to live | 19.0% | 31.8% |
| Would be looking if no housing shortage | 12.8 | |
| Plan to stay in present home for time being | 65.4 | |
| No answer | 2.8 | |

**49.** (US Apr '46) What are you (or would you be) looking for, an apartment or a house? Those who said "house" were asked: Do you prefer to buy, build, or rent it? Asked of the 31.8% who said they were looking for a place to live or would be if there were no shortage. Results of both questions were combined. (FOR)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buy house | 7.6% | 14.6% |
| Build house | 7.0 | |
| Rent house | 6.3 | |
| Rent apartment | 7.8 | |
| Undecided | 3.1 | |
| | 31.8% | |

**50.** (US Apr '46) What is the most you would be willing to pay? Asked of 14.6% of the sample who said they were interested in buying or building a house. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $3,000 | 1.8% |
| $3,000 to $3,999 | 1.6 |
| $4,000 to $4,999 | 1.5 |
| $5,000 to $5,999 | 1.7 |
| $6,000 to $7,499 | 2.3 |
| $7,500 to $9,999 | 2.2% |
| $10,000 and over | 2.2 |
| Don't know | 1.3 |
| | 14.6% |

The same question was asked of 6.3% of the sample who said they were looking for a house to rent.

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $20 a month | 1.5% |
| $20 to $29.99 a month | 1.3 |
| $30 to $39.99 a month | 1.2 |
| $40 to $49.99 a month | .9 |
| $50 to $74.99 a month | .7 |
| $75 and over a month | .4 |
| Don't know | .3 |
| | 6.3% |

**51.** (US Apr '46) As things look to you now, do you think it is likely or unlikely that the housing shortage will be ended in a reasonable length of time? (FOR)

Likely 40.3% Unlikely 46.0% Don't know 13.7%

**52.** (US Apr 4 '46) Would you say there is a serious shortage of housing around here, that there is some shortage but it is not serious, or that there is no real shortage at all? (NYHT)

| | *Serious shortage* | *Some shortage* | *No real shortage* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 64.4% | 27.3% | 5.2% | 3.1% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 59.8% | 33.5% | 4.5% | 2.2% |
| Upper middle | 65.8 | 28.5 | 5.2 | .5 |
| Lower middle | 67.4 | 26.4 | 4.4 | 1.8 |
| Poor | 59.9 | 26.4 | 6.4 | 7.3 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 70.9% | 22.4% | 1.7% | 5.0% |
| East north central | 64.8 | 28.2 | 5.1 | 1.9 |
| West north central | 61.0 | 32.0 | 5.3 | 1.7 |
| South Atlantic and east south central | 51.5 | 34.0 | 11.2 | 3.3 |
| West south central | 59.0 | 32.6 | 4.7 | 3.7 |
| Mountain and Pacific | 77.5 | 17.7 | 4.1 | .7 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Urban | 70.1% | 24.5% | 2.3% | 3.1% |
| Rural | 41.8 | 38.4 | 16.7 | 3.1 |

**53.** (US Apr 4 '46) We're trying to find out how many people have had to double up because of the housing shortage. Have any doubled up in your home because of the housing shortage? (NYHT)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 18.7% | 79.5% | 1.8% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 12.2% | 86.0% | 1.8% |
| Upper middle | 12.7 | 87.3 | — |
| Lower middle | 23.2 | 76.0 | .8 |
| Poor | 18.3 | 76.9 | 4.8 |
| BY VETERAN STATUS | | | |
| No veteran in household | 10.5% | 88.0% | 1.5% |
| Veteran in household | 41.8 | 56.7 | 1.5 |
| Respondent a veteran | 30.1 | 69.9 | — |
| Status unknown | 26.2 | 59.2 | 14.6 |

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL STATUS | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 16.8% | 79.7% | 3.5% |
| East north central | 16.4 | 83.2 | .4 |
| West north central | 14.1 | 85.0 | .9 |
| South Atlantic and east south central | 25.2 | 73.4 | 1.4 |
| West south central | 12.5 | 84.5 | 3.0 |
| Mountain and Pacific | 25.6 | 73.7 | .7 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Urban | 19.7% | 78.6% | 1.7% |
| Rural | 14.7 | 83.0 | 2.3 |

**54.** (US Apr 4 '46) How many of those who have moved in would move out if there were no housing shortage? Asked of 18.7% of the sample who said they had doubled up in their home because of the housing shortage. (NYHT)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 person | 2.8% |
| 2 persons | 7.6 |
| 3 persons | 3.8 |
| 4 persons | 2.4 |
| 5 persons or more | 1.4 |
| None or don't know | 0.7 |
| | 18.7% |

**55.** (Great Britain Apr 27 '46) Are you personally affected in any way by the housing shortage? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 32% | 68% |
| Scotland only | 39 | 61 |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 30% | 70% |
| Women | 33 | 67 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 21–29 years | 41% | 59% |
| 30–49 years | 35 | 65 |
| 50 years and over | 23 | 77 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Higher | 24% | 76% |
| Middle | 31 | 69 |
| Lower | 33 | 67 |
| BY TYPE OF HOUSING | | |
| Owner-occupiers | 15% | 85% |
| Renting | 31 | 69 |
| Non-householders | 45 | 55 |

**56.** (Great Britain Apr 27 '46) How [have you been affected]? Asked of 32% of the sample who said they were personally affected by the housing shortage. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dissatisfied with present accommodation but unable to find other | 12% |
| Living with relatives | 8 |
| Living in furnished flat while looking for house or unfurnished flat | 4 |
| Not able to get married as nowhere to live together | 2 |
| Living with friends | 1 |
| Paying higher rent than can afford owing to lack of cheaper accommodation | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| | 32% |

**57.** (Great Britain May '46) During the next five years, would you prefer to rent or buy your home? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Rent | 48% |
| Buy | 25 |
| Not applicable | 21 |
| Don't know | 6 |

**58.** (Netherlands July '46 and Sept '46) Are you personally affected by the housing shortage? (NIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| July '46 | 36% | 63% | 1% |
| Sept '46 | 33 | 67% | |
| JULY RESULTS BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 34% | 65% | 1% |
| Women | 38 | 61 | 1 |
| JULY RESULTS BY AGE | | | |
| 23–34 years | 42% | 57% | 1% |
| 35–49 years | 35 | 64 | 1 |
| 50–65 years | 31 | 68 | 1 |
| 65 years and over | 27 | 72 | 1 |

**59.** (Netherlands July '46) What are your difficulties? Asked of 36% of the sample who were affected by the housing shortage. (NIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Cannot get a house, a room; cannot move into another house | 12% |
| Living in emergency dwelling; too small houses; etc. | 11 |
| Living with relatives, sharing house with evacuees; etc. | 9 |
| Don't know | 4 |
| | 36% |

**60.** (Netherlands Sept '46) As long as there are not enough new houses, what, in your opinion, can we do to help people who don't have or can't get a home? (NIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Billeting in, seizing of villas, big dwellings, etc. | 27% |
| Billeting in big buildings, hotels, schools, offices, etc. | 4 |
| Seize homes of Quislings and Germans | 2 |
| Billeting in homes of small families | 2 |
| Go and live with other families, with members of one's family | 31 |
| Better distribution of housing | 1 |
| Building of emergency dwellings | 17 |
| Mass building of new houses | 6 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| Don't know | 14 |
| | 108%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**61.** (Great Britain Oct '46) Do you feel that the authorities are or are not doing everything possible to relieve the housing shortage? (BIPO)

| | *Are* | *Are not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 36% | 52% | 12% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 41% | 50% | 9% |
| Women | 37 | 49 | 14 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 40% | 48% | 12% |
| 30–49 years | 39 | 50 | 11 |
| 50 years and over | 38 | 50 | 12 |

| | *Are* | *Are not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 22% | 71% | 7% |
| Middle | 33 | 59 | 8 |
| Lower | 43 | 44 | 13 |
| Very poor | 40 | 44 | 16 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative | 21% | 71% | 8% |
| Labor | 55 | 36 | 9 |
| Liberal | 28 | 57 | 15 |
| Other voters | 24 | 63 | 13 |
| Non-voters | 30 | 50 | 20 |

**62.** (Great Britain Oct '46) What are your chief grounds of complaint? Asked of 52% of the sample who thought the government was not doing everything possible to relieve the housing shortage. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Direct more labor into building; release operatives from forces; let men work overtime | 2% |
| Government is inefficient; supplies of materials held up; too much muddle; too much red tape | 14 |
| Too many controls; not enough scope for private enterprise | 12 |
| Have achieved nothing; too slow; not enough being done | 6 |
| Some local authorities too slack or indifferent; not cooperative with the government | 3 |
| Empty houses and rooms should be taken over | 3 |
| Too much non-essential building; too much scope for private enterprise; the black market | 3 |
| More permanent houses should be built instead of prefabs | 1 |
| Government has not kept election promises | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 |
| | 52% |

**63.** (Germany Oct 28 '46) In every town there are repairs and rebuilding being done. How is it here—do you think that the distribution of the necessary materials is being done fairly or unfairly? (OMGUS)

Fair 26% Unfair 39% No opinion 35% No answer *

* Less than 0.5%.

**64.** (Germany Oct 28 '46) What should be done first—should materials be given first to heavily bombed cities or for repairs of occupied houses which have suffered war damage? (OMGUS)

Cities 7% Houses 87% No opinion 6%

**65.** (Canada Nov 8 '46) If there were plenty of housing to be had now, would you stay where you are or move? (CIPO)

Would stay put 46% Would move 37% Undecided 17%

**66.** (Canada Nov 8 '46) Would you say your present housing is fully satisfactory, fairly satisfactory, or not satisfactory? (CIPO)

Fully satisfactory 42% Fairly satisfactory 38%
Not satisfactory 20%

**67.** (US Nov 27 '46) In your opinion, who do you think would handle the following problems better—Truman or Dewey? Among other problems was listed: Solving the housing problem? A cross-section comparable to the one used for the preceding question was asked the same question about Truman or Stassen. (AIPO)

TRUMAN AND DEWEY

Truman 18% Dewey 48% Don't know 34%

TRUMAN AND STASSEN

Truman 19% Stassen 34% Don't know 47%

**68.** (Hungary Dec '46) At present are you or are you not satisfied with your lodging? Asked of Budapest residents. (HIPOR)

| | *Satisfied* | *Fairly satisfied* | *Dissatisfied* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 45.0% | 30.0% | 25.0% |
| BY SEX AND SOCIAL STATUS | | | |
| *Men* | | | |
| Educated | 42.8% | 30.2% | 27.0% |
| Bourgeoisie | 44.0 | 26.5 | 29.5 |
| Worker | 46.1 | 21.2 | 32.7 |
| *Women* | | | |
| Educated | 48.4 | 26.2 | 25.4 |
| Bourgeoisie | 45.5 | 26.7 | 27.8 |
| Worker | 41.2 | 24.5 | 34.3 |

**69.** (Hungary Dec '46) What improvements [in your lodging] would you like? Asked of 45% of a sample of Budapest residents who were satisfied with their lodging. (HIPOR)

| | MEN | | | WOMEN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Educated* | *Bourgeoisie* | *Worker* | *Educated* | *Bourgeoisie* | *Worker* |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| More space | 8.4 | 12.3 | 11.8 | 13.6 | 7.0 | 6.7 |
| Repairs, painting | 2.3 | 8.8 | — | 5.1 | 3.9 | 1.1 |
| Replace missing windows | 2.3 | 3.4 | 3.9 | 6.8 | 9.4 | 4.4 |
| Perfect bathroom | 3.5 | 8.8 | 17.1 | 3.4 | 3.9 | 7.8 |
| Central heating | 2.3 | — | — | 5.1 | 1.6 | 1.1 |
| Live without fellow lodger | 8.4 | 1.8 | — | — | 2.3 | 4.4 |
| Lower rent | 7.2 | 5.3 | 6.6 | 6.8 | — | — |
| Roof repaired | — | — | — | 3.4 | 1.6 | 10.1 |
| No claim | 48.2 | 47.4 | 54.0 | 45.6 | 61.8 | 61.9 |
| Other; no answer | 17.4 | 12.2 | 6.6 | 10.2 | 8.5 | 2.5 |
| Percentages | 100.0* | 100.0* | 100.0* | 100.0* | 100.0* | 100.0* |

* 100% of those who were satisfied with their lodging.

**70.** (Hungary Dec '46) What are your objections [to your lodging]? Asked of 55% of a sample of Budapest residents who were fairly satisfied or dissatisfied with their lodging. (HIPOR)

| | MEN | | | WOMEN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Educated* | *Bourgeoisie* | *Worker* | *Educated* | *Bourgeoisie* | *Worker* |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Would like to live without fellow lodgers | 22.0 | 7.9 | 5.6 | 26.7 | 18.2 | 10.4 |
| Windows, doors are in bad condition | 10.2 | 21.1 | 10.2 | 3.0 | 9.4 | 7.3 |
| Devastated flat, would need repairs | 12.6 | 11.8 | 8.3 | 3.0 | 9.4 | 11.1 |
| Dark, cold | 4.7 | 1.3 | 5.6 | 1.5 | 3.3 | 2.7 |
| Would like to move to a better one | 2.3 | — | 1.9 | — | 2.2 | 2.0 |
| Bathroom | 0.8 | 1.3 | 7.4 | 4.5 | 4.4 | 4.8 |
| Has no flat; lives as visitor; subleaser | 3.1 | 6.6 | 11.1 | 3.0 | 8.3 | 13.2 |
| High rent | 4.7 | 5.3 | 12.9 | 4.5 | 4.4 | 6.2 |
| Needs more conveniences | 4.7 | 3.9 | 7.4 | 3.0 | 2.2 | 11.1 |

| | MEN | | | WOMEN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Educated* % | *Bourgeoisie* % | *Worker* % | *Educated* % | *Bourgeoisie* % | *Worker* % |
| Soaked ceiling; wet flat | 3.1 | 11.8 | 7.4 | 6.0 | 3.9 | 4.2 |
| Flat too small | 20.0 | 22.5 | 17.5 | 25.4 | 28.2 | 18.2 |
| No stove; no central heat | 3.9 | 2.6 | 1.9 | 6.0 | 2.2 | 2.0 |
| Other | 7.1 | 1.3 | 1.9 | 11.9 | 2.2 | 2.0 |
| No answer | 0.8 | 2.6 | 0.9 | 1.5 | 1.7 | 4.8 |
| Percentages | 100.0* | 100.0* | 100.0* | 100.0* | 100.0* | 100.0* |

* 100% of those who were only fairly satisfied or dissatisfied with their lodging.

# HUNGARY

## Defenses

**1.** (Hungary Mar '46 and Oct '46) What do you see as the task of the new Hungarian national defense? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | *Mar '46* | *Oct '46* |
|---|---|---|
| Defense of the country | 44% | 32% |
| Police measures | 22 | 35 |
| Antireactionist campaign | 13 | 4 |
| Reconstruction work | 6 | 17 |
| Unnecessary at all | 6 | 4 |
| No definite answer | 9 | 8 |

**2.** (Hungary Mar '46 and Oct '46) Should members of the [national defense] force enter political parties? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Other; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '46 | 41.6% | 54.8% | 3.6% |
| Oct '46 | 41.2 | 55.1 | 3.7 |

## Foreign Relations

**1.** (Hungary Dec '46) The public was asked to estimate the future relations between Hungary and Slovakia with the following results: (HIPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Will be friendly | 23% |
| Neutral | 33 |
| Unfriendly | 38 |
| No opinion | 6 |

**2.** (Hungary Dec '46) What change do you expect in Hungary's political relations with her neighbors after the signing of the peace treaty? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

| | *Closer connection* | *No change* | *Coolness* | *Other* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 66.8% | 22.5% | 4.7% | 6.0% |
| BY SOCIAL STATUS | | | | |
| Educated | 62.9% | 27.5% | 5.6% | 4.0% |
| Bourgeoisie | 63.3 | 23.3 | 5.6 | 7.8 |
| Worker | 70.4 | 20.2 | 3.9 | 5.5 |

## Politics and Government

**1.** (Hungary Jan '46) What form of government do you approve of for the future? (HIPOR)

| | *Republic* | *Kingdom* | *Other; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total Budapest | 76% | 20% | 4% |
| BY SEX AND SOCIAL STATUS IN BUDAPEST | | | |
| *Educated class* | | | |
| Men | 78.7% | 19.8% | 1.5% |
| Women | 72.9 | 23.0 | 4.1 |
| *Small bourgeoisie* | | | |
| Men | 82.2 | 13.8 | 4.0 |
| Women | 69.4 | 24.4 | 6.2 |
| *Working* | | | |
| Men | 83.1 | 13.8 | 3.1 |
| Women | 69.4 | 21.9 | 8.7 |
| COUNTRY, TOWNS, AND VILLAGES BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| | *Republic* | *Kingdom* | *Dictatorship* / *Other; no answer* |
| *Trans-Danubia* | | | |
| Small towns | 67.4% | 22.8% | 3.6% / 6.2% |
| Villages | 69.2 | 23.1 | 1.4 / 6.3 |
| *Area between Danube and Tisza* | | | |
| Towns | 78.0 | 12.1 | 2.7 / 7.2 |
| Villages | 65.5 | 23.2 | 2.7 / 8.6 |
| *North* | | | |
| Towns | 59.9 | 27.4 | 2.9 / 9.8 |
| Villages | 59.0 | 29.3 | 2.7 / 9.0 |

**2.** (Hungary Jan '46) Should the form of government be decided by the national assembly or by popular vote? (HIPOR)

| | *Plebiscite* | *National assembly* | *Other; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total Budapest | 52% | 47% | 1% |
| BY SEX AND SOCIAL STATUS IN BUDAPEST | | | |
| *Educated class* | | | |
| Men | 44.5% | 52.1% | 3.4% |
| Women | 51.8 | 47.6 | 0.6 |
| *Small bourgeoisie* | | | |
| Men | 51.8 | 47.4 | 0.8 |
| Women | 54.0 | 42.2 | 3.8 |
| *Working* | | | |
| Men | 51.1 | 47.6 | 1.3 |
| Women | 52.5 | 46.2 | 1.3 |
| COUNTRY, TOWNS, AND VILLAGES BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| *Trans-Danubia* | | | |
| Towns | 69.8% | 27.5% | 2.7% |
| Villages | 66.0 | 32.6 | 1.4 |
| *Area between Danube and Tisza* | | | |
| Towns | 52.0 | 47.1 | 0.9 |
| Villages | 56.9 | 39.9 | 3.2 |
| *North* | | | |
| Towns | 72.5 | 22.1 | 5.4 |
| Villages | 55.5 | 38.8 | 5.7 |

**3.** (Hungary Mar '46, Sept '46, Dec '46) A national cross-section of Hungarians were asked whether or not government by coalition should be continued. (HIPOR) Results follow.

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Uncertain* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '46 | 64% | 34% | 2% |
| Sept '46 | 48 | 50 | 2 |
| Dec '46 | 33 | 52 | 15 |

**4.** (Hungary Sept '46) The public was asked how the position of the government would be influenced by the definitive peace project. There is some doubt as to whether this was asked of a national cross-section or only in Budapest. (HIPOR) Results follow.

| | |
|---|---|
| Made impossible | 23% |
| Weakened | 40 |
| Unchanged | 26 |
| Other | 11 |

**5.** (Hungary Dec '46) A cross-section of Budapest residents were asked how the situation of the Hungarian coalition government would be influenced by the ratification of the peace. (HIPOR) Results follow:

| | |
|---|---|
| Strengthened | 18% |
| Weakened or will cease | 52 |
| Unchanged | 15 |
| Other answers | 15 |

## IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION

**1.** (US Apr '42) After the war is over, do you think we should or should not allow the people of the British Empire and the people of the United States to live and work in either country without immigration restrictions? (FOR)

| | *Should be* | *Should not be* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 23.0% | 62.8% | 14.2% |
| BY SELECTED GROUPS* | | | |
| Business leaders | 17.3% | 79.2% | 3.5% |
| Intellectual leaders | 36.4 | 57.8 | 5.8 |

* Breakdown from *Fortune* June '42.

**2.** (US Apr '42) After the war is over, do you think we should or should not allow the people of Canada and the people of the United States to live and work in either country without immigration restrictions? Asked of 62.8% of the sample who thought we should not allow the people of the British Empire and the people of the United States to live and work in either country without immigration restrictions and 14.2% who didn't know how they felt about the problem. (FOR)

| *National totals* | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| United States | 43.0% | 42.4% | 14.6% | = 100% of those questioned |
| Canada* | 72.9 | 21.5 | 5.6 | |
| BY AMERICAN SELECTED GROUPS | | | | |
| Business leaders* | | | | |
| United States | 66.3% | 26.5% | 7.2% | |
| Intellectual leaders* | | | | |
| United States | 80.6 | 10.6 | 8.8 | |

* From *Fortune* June '42.

**3.** (US Apr '42) After the war is over, do you think we should or should not allow the people of Australia and the people of the United States to live and work in either country without immigration restrictions? Asked of 62.8% of the sample who thought we should not allow the people of the British Empire and the people of the United States to live and work in either country without immigration restrictions and 14.2% who didn't know how they felt about the problem. (FOR)

Should 27.8% Should not 55.4%
Don't know 16.8% = 100.0% of those questioned

**4.** (US Jan 11 '43) Do you think it would be a good idea or a bad idea to let more immigrants come into this country after the war? (NORC)

Good idea 13% Bad idea 78% Don't know 9%

**5.** (Canada Jan 27 '43 and Jan 26 '44) After the war, do you think Canada should open its doors and permit people from all parts of the world to settle here, or do you think we should keep them out? (CIPO)

| | *Open door* | *Closed door* | *Selected immigration* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '43 | 14% | 21% | 59% | 6% |
| Jan '44 | 13 | 29 | 50 | 8 |
| 1943 RESULTS BY RACIAL ORIGIN | | | | |
| British | 15% | 13% | 68% | 4% |
| French | 6 | 46 | 36 | 12 |
| United States | 16 | 23 | 57 | 4 |
| Other | 36 | 7 | 50 | 7 |

**6.** (Australia Feb '43) After the war, should immigration of white people into Australia be restricted, limited, or stopped? 49% of the sample who thought it should be limited were then asked: What limitations would you suggest? (May '46) Do you think immigration of white people into Australia in the next ten years should be unrestricted, limited, or stopped altogether? (APOP)

1943 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Should be unrestricted | 42% |
| Should be stopped | 5 |
| Didn't answer the first question | 4 |
| Should be limited according to Australia's ability to absorb them | 9 |
| Best types only; according to health; finances, etc. | 9 |
| British only | 6 |
| English speaking only | 4 |
| Allies only; no enemies | 5 |
| No Italians; no Southern Europeans | 6 |
| Indefinite answers | 10 |

1946 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Favor unrestricted migration | 35% |
| Favor limited migration | 56 |
| Oppose any white migration | 6 |
| No opinion | 3 |

**7.** (Australia May '46) The May '46 sample was questioned further: If white people were allowed to come here, which of these nine races would you favor, in addition to British and Americans? A card was handed each respondent with the nine races on it. (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dutch | 71%* |
| Swedes | 68 |
| French | 42 |
| Poles | 28 |
| Germans | 28 |
| Greeks | 27 |
| Russians | 21 |
| Yugoslavs | 19 |
| Italians | 10 |

* Percentages add to considerably more than 100 because respondents were encouraged to check all favored races.

**8.** (Australia Apr '43) After the war, would you alter the White Australia policy to admit a limited number of colored people such as Chinese and Indians? (Feb 3 '44) After the war, should Australia admit a limited number of colored people such as Chinese and Indians? (APOP)

| | Favor | Oppose | Undecided |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '43 | 40% | 51% | 9% |
| Feb '44 | 35 | 53 | 12 |
| 1943 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Owners; managers; professional | 50% | 43% | 7% |
| Farm owners | 39 | 49 | 12 |
| White-collar | 38 | 54 | 8 |
| Skilled and semi-skilled workers | 39 | 56 | 5 |
| Unskilled | 30 | 62 | 8 |
| Farm workers | 23 | 69 | 8 |

**9.** (US Aug 24 '43) At present there is a law which forbids all Chinese from coming into this country to stay. After the war, would you like to see the law changed to permit a limited number of Chinese to come into the country each year to become citizens? A comparable cross-section was asked the following question: After the war, would you like to see the number of Chinese allowed to come into this country be figured on the same basis as for people from European countries, or should the Chinese be barred as at present? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 40% No 50% No opinion 10%

**10.** (Great Britain Sept '43) Is there any country you have thought of going to live in after the war? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| British Empire | 11% |
| United States | 4 |
| Russia | 1 |
| Other European countries | 2 |
| No desire to live elsewhere | 64 |
| No comment; don't know | 18 |

**11.** (US Oct 27 '43) Should the immigration laws be changed to permit one hundred and twenty-five Chinese to enter this country each year and become citizens? (AIPO)

Yes 42% No 40% No opinion 18%

**12.** (US Sept '44) Here is a list of different groups of people. Do you think we should let a certain number of each of these groups come to the United States to live after the war, or do you think we should stop some of the groups from coming at all? (NORC)

| | Let in | Stop | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| Germans | 36% | 59% | 5% |
| English | 68 | 25 | 7 |
| Japanese | 20 | 75 | 5 |
| Mexicans | 48 | 42 | 10 |
| Jews | 46 | 46 | 8 |
| Chinese | 56 | 36 | 8 |
| Swedes | 62 | 27 | 11 |
| Russians | 57 | 33 | 10 |

**13.** (US Dec 5 '45) Should we permit more persons from Europe to come to this country each year than we did before the war, should we keep the number about the same, or should we reduce the number? (AIPO)

| | More | Same | Fewer | None at all | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 5% | 32% | 37% | 14% | 12% |

| | More and same | Fewer and None at all | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 49% | 41% | 10% |
| High school | 40 | 52 | 8 |
| Grade school or less | 34 | 52 | 14 |
| BY SELECTED GROUPS | | | |
| Veterans of World War II | 34% | 56% | 10% |
| Union members | 38 | 53 | 9 |

**14.** (US Dec 5 '45) Would you or would you not like to see people come in from the following countries? (AIPO)

| | Would | Would not | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| Scandinavian countries | 57% | 28% | 15% |
| Holland | 55 | 30 | 15 |
| Belgium | 51 | 34 | 15 |
| England | 47 | 39 | 14 |
| France | 44 | 43 | 13 |
| Czechoslovakia | 41 | 40 | 19 |
| Poland | 39 | 45 | 16 |
| Greece | 36 | 50 | 14 |
| Russia | 33 | 56 | 11 |
| Germany | 27 | 62 | 11 |
| Spain | 26 | 58 | 16 |
| Italy | 25 | 60 | 15 |

**15.** (France Jan 16 '46 and Sept '46) If you had a choice, which would you prefer, to stay in France or to live in another country? 21% of the Jan sample who said they would like to live in another country were asked: In what country would you like to live? (FIPO)

| JAN '46 RESULTS | |
|---|---|
| Prefer to stay in France | 71% |
| Would like to go to French colonies, not another country | 5 |
| Didn't say whether or not they wanted to emigrate | 3 |
| Would like to emigrate to Switzerland | 3 |
| To Great Britain | 2 |
| To Russia | 2 |
| To other European countries | 2 |
| To America (unspecified) | 5 |
| To United States | 3 |
| To Canada | 2 |
| To South America | 2 |

| SEPT '46 RESULTS | Stay in France | Live in another country | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 80% | 16% | 4% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 77% | 18% | 5% |
| Women | 82 | 15 | 3 |

**16.** (Sweden Mar '46) Do you think that Sweden is the country where you can have the best time or do you think there is —or are—any other country—or countries—where you would have a better time? (SGI)

| | Better in Australia | Better in Russia | Better in South America | Better in USA | Better in some other country or all other countries | Best or as good in Sweden | Don't know | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| National total | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 85 | 5 | = 100* |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | | |
| Women | — | — | 1 | 2 | 1 | 91 | 5 | = 100* |
| Men | 2 | 1 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 80 | 5 | = 101* |

| | *Better in Australia* | *Better in Russia* | *Better in South America* | *Better in USA* | *Better in some other country or all other countries* | *Best or as good in Sweden* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Upper class | 1 | — | 4 | 5 | 4 | 80 | 7 | = 101* |
| Middle class | 1 | — | 2 | 4 | 2 | 87 | 4 | = 100* |
| Workers | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 85 | 6 | = 101* |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| North Sweden | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 85 | 8 | = 101* |
| Dalecarlia | 3 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 84 | 6 | = 101* |
| Mälar district | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | — | 90 | 4 | = 100* |
| Stockholm | 2 | 1 | 5 | 7 | 3 | 79 | 6 | = 103* |
| East Gotland | — | — | 2 | 5 | 3 | 88 | 3 | = 101* |
| Skåne | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 86 | 3 | = 102* |
| Bovä | 1 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 4 | 82 | 4 | = 100* |

* Some percentages add to more than 100 because respondents mentioned more than one country.

**17.** (Sweden Mar '46) Have you any serious plans to migrate as soon as the difficulties of travel and passport are over? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 4% | 93% | 3% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 5% | 92% | 3% |
| Women | 2 | 95 | 3 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 1% | 93% | 6% |
| Middle class | 4 | 93 | 3 |
| Workers | 3 | 94 | 3 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| North Sweden | 4% | 93% | 3% |
| Dalecarlia | 7 | 90 | 3 |
| Mälar district | 2 | 94 | 4 |
| Stockholm | 6 | 90 | 4 |
| East Gotland | 1 | 94 | 5 |
| Skåne | 3 | 96 | 1 |
| Bovä | 4 | 93 | 3 |

**18.** (Hungary Mar '46) Do you wish to emigrate? Asked of Budapest and suburban Jewish men and women and Christian men and women whose ancestors were of Jewish origin. (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Hesitating* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jews | 64% | 24% | 12% |
| Christians, descendants of Jews | 40 | 48 | 12 |

**19.** (Hungary Mar '46) Where do you wish to emigrate? Asked of Budapest and suburban Jewish men and women and Christian men and women whose ancestors were of Jewish origin. (HIPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| America | 30.0% |
| Palestine | 20.0 |
| Anywhere | 5.0 |
| Wish to stay | 45.0 |

**20.** (Italy Apr '46) If possible, would you emigrate? (DOXA)

| | *Yes, permanently* | *Yes, temporarily* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 26% | 23% | 44% | 7% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 30% | 25% | 39% | 6% |
| Women | 21 | 20 | 51 | 8 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| North Italy | 22% | 23% | 49% | 6% |
| Central Italy | 24 | 25 | 43 | 8 |
| South Italy | 39 | 21 | 35 | 5 |
| Islands | 31 | 22 | 39 | 8 |

| | *Yes permanently and Yes temporarily* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–25 years | 63% | 30% | 7% |
| 25–35 years | 59 | 33 | 8 |
| 35–45 years | 50 | 43 | 7 |
| Over 45 years | 36 | 58 | 6 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farmers | 44% | 48% | 8% |
| Farm hands | 64 | 29 | 7 |
| Workers | 56 | 38 | 6 |
| Clerks | 53 | 43 | 4 |
| Professional and executive | 57 | 38 | 5 |

**21.** (Italy Apr '46) To what country [would you emigrate]? Asked of 49% of the sample who said they would emigrate if possible. (DOXA)

| | |
|---|---|
| Argentina | 11% |
| Australia | 3 |
| Brazil | 8 |
| France | 7 |
| Switzerland | 8 |
| USA | 43 |
| Other European countries | 2 |
| Other South American countries | 2 |
| Other countries | 2 |
| Don't know | 14 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**22.** (Netherlands Apr 1 '46) Which would you prefer if you had the choice, to stay in the Netherlands or to go to live in another country? (NIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should like to emigrate | 22% |
| Prefer to stay home | 75 |
| Don't know | 3 |

**23.** (Netherlands Apr 1 '46) In which country [would you like to live]? Asked of 22% of the sample who said they would prefer to emigrate rather than to stay in the Netherlands. (NIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| South Africa | 14% |
| United States | 25 |
| South America | 5 |
| Canada | 12 |
| Netherlands East Indies | 10 |
| Australia | 9 |
| France | 4 |
| England | 2 |
| Other and don't know | 19 |
| | 100% of those who wanted to emigrate |

**24.** (Finland Apr 5 '46) Do you think that you today would have a better income and living conditions in some other country than Finland? (FGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Best at home | 60% |
| Better possibilities elsewhere | 28 |
| Don't know | 12 |

**25.** (Finland Apr 5 '46) Where [are income and living conditions better]? Asked of 28% of the sample who thought that today the income and living conditions would be better in some other country. (FGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sweden | 45% |
| America | 44 |
| Australia | 3 |
| Russia | 3 |
| Canada | 1 |
| Chile | 1 |
| Other countries | 1 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**26.** (Norway Apr 6 '46) Do you think that Norwegian citizens should have free access to migrate to Australia, or should the state forbid such migration entirely or partly? (NGI)

| | *Free access to migrate* | *State partly refuse* | *State entirely refuse* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 39% | 25% | 26% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 46% | 25% | 23% | 6% |
| Women | 32 | 25 | 28 | 15 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 18–25 years | 39% | 25% | 25% | 11% |
| 25–35 years | 40 | 26 | 24 | 10 |
| 35–50 years | 39 | 27 | 23 | 11 |
| 50 years and over | 37 | 22 | 31 | 10 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| High | 49% | 27% | 20% | 4% |
| Middle | 38 | 33 | 24 | 5 |
| Low | 38 | 23 | 27 | 12 |

**27.** (US Apr 10 '46) If you had your choice, which would you prefer—to remain in the United States or to move to a foreign country? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Remain in US | 97% |
| Foreign country | 2 |
| No opinion | 1 |

**28.** (Canada Apr 24 '46) Would you like to see a large number of people from the British Isles migrate to Canada in the next few years or not? (CIPO)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *Qualified* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 37% | 45% | 10% | 8% |
| BY PROVINCES | | | | |
| Maritimes | 38% | 44% | 9% | 9% |
| Quebec | 13 | 76 | 5 | 6 |
| Ontario | 43 | 37 | 13 | 7 |
| West* | 50 | 27 | 12 | 11 |

* Comprising Prairies and British Columbia.

**29.** (Canada Apr 24 '46) Would you like to see a large number of people from the European continent migrate to Canada or not? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Favor | 21% |
| Oppose | 61 |
| Qualified | 10 |
| Undecided | 8 |

**30.** (Denmark May 11 '46) Do you think that you have greater opportunities to have a better life in some country other than Denmark? Asked of people 18 to 35 years old. (DGI)

Yes 10% No 83% Don't know 7%

**31.** (Denmark May 11 '46) In what country do you think you would have the best chances? Asked of 10% of the sample of people 18 to 35 years old who thought they had greater opportunities to have a better life in some country other than Denmark. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| USA and Canada | 31% |
| Australia | 14 |
| Sweden | 9 |
| South America | 5 |
| Other countries | 14 |
| Don't know | 27 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**32.** (Brazil Sept '46) Should the government adopt measures to encourage the admission of new immigrants? (IBOPE)

Yes 80% No 19% No opinion 1%

**33.** (Canada Oct 30 '46) If Canada does allow more immigration, are there any of these nationalities which you would like to keep out? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Japanese | 60%* |
| Jewish | 49 |
| German | 34 |
| Russian | 33 |
| Negro | 31 |
| Italian | 25 |
| Chinese | 24 |
| Middle European | 16 |
| Ukrainian | 15 |
| Polish | 14 |
| Others | 3 |
| None | 18 |
| No answer | 7 |

* Percentages add to considerably more than 100 because respondents gave more than one answer.

**34.** (Australia Nov '46) If you had your choice, where would you like to live—in Australia or some other country? (APOP)

Australia 95% Elsewhere 5%

**35.** (Australia Nov '46) Which country [would you like to live in]? Asked of 5% of the sample who would like to live in a country other than Australia. (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| England | 37% |
| New Zealand | 21 |
| United States | 13 |
| "Utopia" | 7 |
| South America | 6 |
| Scotland | 5 |
| Ireland | 3 |
| Argentina | 1 |
| France | 1 |
| Orkneys | 1 |
| Sweden | 1 |
| Palestine | 1 |
| India | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Pacific island | 1% |
| No country mentioned | 1 |
| | 100% of those who would rather live elsewhere |

**36.** (Germany Nov 25 '46) Have you ever thought about emigrating? (OMGUS)

Yes 19% No 81%

**37.** (Netherlands Dec '46) If you could find a job similar to the one you now have here in a foreign country, which would you prefer—the job in Holland or the job abroad? Asked of a national cross-section of professional people. (NFS)

| | *In Holland* | *Abroad* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 66% | 22% | 12% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–29 years | 54% | 35% | 11% |
| 30–39 years | 63 | 25 | 12 |
| 40–49 years | 73 | 14 | 13 |
| 50 years and over | 81 | 7 | 12 |

**38.** (Netherlands Dec '46) [In] which country would you like most [to find a job]? Asked of 22% of a national sample of professional people who said they would prefer to emigrate if they could find a job similar to their current one. (NFS)

| | BY SEX | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Men* | *Women* |
| America | 28% | 19% |
| South Africa | 16 | 10 |
| England | 8 | 12 |
| France | 6 | 12 |
| Belgium | 5 | 6 |
| Russia | 5 | 2 |
| Australia | 4 | 1 |
| Other countries | 24 | 29 |
| Don't know | 4 | 9 |
| | 100% | 100% of those questioned |

**39.** (US Dec 11 '46) It has been suggested that we bring over to America one thousand German scientists who used to work for the Nazis and have them work with our scientists on scientific problems. Do you think this a good idea or a bad idea? (AIPO)

| | *Good idea* | *Bad idea* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 35% | 52% | 13% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 60% | 33% | 7% |
| High school | 43 | 48 | 9 |
| Elementary or less | 24 | 59 | 17 |

**40.** (US Dec 11 '46) Do you think these German scientists should be permitted to become citizens if they want to, or should they be sent back to Germany when we are through with them? Asked of 35% of the sample who thought it would be a good idea to bring German scientists over to America to work. (AIPO)

| | *Let them become citizens* | *Send them back* | *Undecided* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 73% | 19% | 8% | = 100% of those questioned |
| BY EDUCATION | | | | |
| College | 75% | 19% | 6% | |
| High school | 71 | 21 | 8 | |
| Elementary or less | 73 | 17 | 10 | |

**41.** (Canada Dec 14 '46) There has been a lot of talk recently about immigration. Do you think it would work best to have all immigration planned in the United Nations' meetings, or should each country decide by itself what people, and how many, it will take in? (CIPO)

Each country decide 79% United Nations decide 9%
Undecided 12%

## IMMORTALITY

**1.** (US May 16 '36, Great Britain Mar '39, US Nov 15 '44, Canada Feb 10 '45, Czechoslovakia July '46) Do you believe there is a life after death? (AIPO, BIPO, CIPO, CZIPO)

| | *Yes* | *Admit its existence* | *No* | *Undecided; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| US 1936 | 64% | — | 36% | — |
| Great Britain | 49 | — | 33 | 18% |
| US 1944 | 76 | — | 13 | 11 |
| Canada | 84 | — | 12 | 4 |
| Czechoslovakia | 38.4 | 20.7% | 28.4 | 12.5 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| *US 1944* | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 70% | — | 17% | 13% |
| 30–49 years | 76 | — | 13 | 11 |
| 50 years and over | 79 | — | 10 | 11 |
| *Czechoslovakia* | | | | |
| 18–29 years | 34.6% | 20.6% | 27.8% | 17.0% |
| 30–49 years | 35.0 | 21.2 | 31.2 | 12.6 |
| 50 years and over | 46.0 | 20.0 | 24.8 | 9.2 |
| US '44 RESULTS BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 73% | — | 14% | 13% |
| Women | 79 | — | 11 | 10 |
| US '44 RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Farms | 85% | — | 6% | 9% |
| Towns under 10,000 | 81 | — | 8 | 11 |
| 10,000–100,000 | 72 | — | 15 | 13 |
| 100,000 and over | 69 | — | 18 | 13 |
| US '44 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England | 68% | — | 16% | 16% |
| Middle Atlantic | 69 | — | 18 | 13 |
| East central | 77 | — | 14 | 9 |
| West central | 85 | — | 7 | 8 |
| South | 91 | — | 2 | 7 |
| Mountain | 87 | — | 9 | 4 |
| Pacific coast | 63 | — | 14 | 23 |
| CZECHOSLOVAKIAN RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Laborers | 36.3% | 17.6% | 31.5% | 14.6% |
| White-collar | 34.2 | 28.0 | 28.6 | 9.2 |
| Civil service | 32.3 | 17.6 | 33.8 | 16.3 |
| Farmers | 60.0 | 16.9 | 12.6 | 10.5 |
| Business | 33.5 | 25.5 | 30.8 | 10.2 |

**2.** (Great Britain Mar '40) Do you believe it is possible for the living to exchange messages with the dead? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, emphatically | 6% |
| Yes | 8 |
| No, emphatically | 49 |
| No | 17 |
| Don't know | 20 |

**3.** (US Dec '42) Do you think there is a God who rewards and punishes after death? Those who said no or don't know were asked: Do you personally think there is a life after death? Asked of a national cross-section of high school students. (FOR)

| | *Believe there is a God who rewards and punishes after death* | *Don't believe there is a God who rewards and punishes after death, but think there is a life after death* | *Don't believe in such a God and don't believe in a life after death* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 82.0% | 7.1% | 6.6% | 4.3% |
| BY CHURCH ATTENDANCE HABITS | | | | |
| Weekly or more | 89.9% | 5.2% | 2.5% | 2.4% |
| Less than monthly | 61.9 | 12.8 | 14.8 | 10.5 |
| Not at all | 45.5 | 13.0 | 32.5 | 9.0 |

## IMPERIALISM

**1.** (US Dec 11 '46) When a country is called "imperialistic," do you happen to know what that means? 48% of the sample who said they knew what the term meant were asked: Will you tell me what it means? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not familiar with the term | 50% |
| Didn't answer the first question | 2 |
| Imperialism means one man rule; absolute monarchy; emperor | 17 |
| Territorial expansion; building an empire; wants more land | 12 |
| Impose will or government on others | 6 |
| Economic gains or exploitation of others | 3 |
| Country governed by a small group or clique | 3 |
| Wants colonies | 3 |
| Military; wants war | 1 |
| Miscellaneous explanations | 2 |
| Didn't say what imperialism meant | 2 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (US Dec 11 '46) Which of these countries, if any, do you think are imperialistic today—United States, England, France, Russia? Asked of 48% of the sample who said they knew what was meant by an imperialistic country. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| United States | 6% |
| England | 26 |
| France | 7 |
| Russia | 30 |
| Don't know | 5 |
| | 74%* |

* Percentages add to more than 48 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## INCOME

**1.** (US Oct 4 '37) Compared with a year ago, is your family income now higher, lower, or about the same? (Mar 18 '42) On the average, is your family income higher now than it was a year ago, or is it lower? (AIPO)

| | *Higher* | *Same* | *Lower* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oct 4 '37 | 35% | 50% | 15% |
| Mar 18 '42 | 39 | 46 | 15 |
| 1937 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 26% | 23% | 51% |
| Middle Atlantic | 30 | 16 | 54 |
| East central | 44 | 11 | 45 |
| West central | 36 | 12 | 52 |
| South | 34 | 14 | 52 |
| Rocky Mountain | 41 | 18 | 41 |
| Pacific coast | 32 | 16 | 52 |
| 1942 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional | 40% | 46% | 14% |
| Business | 31 | 54 | 15 |
| White-collar | 41 | 45 | 14 |
| Skilled workers | 46 | 40 | 14 |
| Semi-skilled workers | 41 | 41 | 18 |
| Unskilled workers | 31 | 54 | 15 |
| Farmers | 45 | 45 | 10 |

**2.** (US Mar 30 '39) Do you think your total family income will be larger or smaller in the next twelve months than it has been in the last twelve months? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Larger | 32% |
| Smaller | 14 |
| Same | 36 |
| Don't know | 18 |

**3.** (US Feb '40) What do you really think would be perfectly satisfactory income for you? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| An hourly or daily wage | 3.1% |
| An annual income (in dollars) of under $500 | 2.0 |
| $500–$999 | 6.0 |
| $1,000–$1,499 | 12.5 |
| $1,500–$1,999 | 13.3 |
| $2,000–$2,499 | 13.0 |
| $2,500–$2,999 | 7.5 |
| $3,000–$3,499 | 6.9 |
| $3,500–$3,999 | 4.8 |
| $4,000–$4,999 | 3.1 |
| $5,000–$5,999 | 5.9 |
| $6,000–$9,999 | 3.9 |
| $10,000–$14,999 | 3.0 |
| $15,000–$49,999 | 1.9 |
| $50,000 and over | 0.3 |
| Don't know | 12.8 |

**4.** (US Apr 30 '42) The following series of questions was asked in order to discover the average family cash income per week: (1) What is your income per week at this time? Asked of people living alone. (2) What does the chief wage earner in your household make per week at this time? Asked where there were two or more people in the family. (3) How much income per week is received by other members of your immediate family? Asked where there were two or more people in the family. (4) Has any member of your immediate family received any extra income in the way of rents, bonuses, pensions, dividends, interest, or any other special income since Dec 1? Asked where there were two or more people in the family. (5) About how much would this [income] amount to? Asked of those who had received extra income from rent, bonuses, etc. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $10 a week | 7% |
| $10 to $14.99 a week | 7 |
| $15 to $19.99 a week | 8 |

| | |
|---|---|
| $20 to $29.99 a week | 19% |
| $30 to $39.99 a week | 17 |
| $40 to $59.99 a week | 22 |
| $60 to $99.99 a week | 13 |
| $100 a week or more | 7 |

Median average $35 a week or $1,800 a year

**5.** (US Oct 6 '42) Would you mind telling me roughly about what your family income is per month? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| $50 or less | 11% |
| $51–$75 | 5 |
| $75–$100 | 11 |
| $101–$150 | 15 |
| $151–$200 | 12 |
| $201–$250 | 7 |
| $251–$300 | 6 |
| $301–$350 | 2 |
| Over $350 | 6 |
| Refused to answer | 6 |
| Not ascertainable | 19 |

**6.** (US Dec 30 '42, May 22 '43, Jan 7 '44) Do you and your family have more money coming in now than you did before the war started or not as much? (NORC)

| | *More* | *About the same* | *Not as much* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '42 | 37% | 40% | 22% | 1% |
| May '43 | 40 | 36 | 23 | 1 |
| Jan '44 | 46 | 31 | 22 | 1 |

**7.** (US May 22 '43 and Jan 7 '44) Do you have more money left over after paying your living expenses or not as much? The 1943 and 1944 questions were asked of 40% and 46% of the samples who had more money coming in than before the war. (NORC)

| | *More* | *About the same* | *Not as much* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| May '43 | 13% | 13% | 14% | * = 40% |
| Jan '44 | 14 | 14 | 17 | 1% = 46 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**8.** (US May 22 '43) What are you doing with this extra money? Asked of 13% of the 1943 sample who had more money left over after paying their living expenses. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Buying bonds and stamps | 10% |
| Banking money | 3 |
| Paying debts | 2 |
| Buying home or property | 1 |
| Clothes; furniture; durable goods (inflationary answer) | 1 |
| Buying business or equipment | 1 |
| Improving property or home | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| | 19%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 13 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (US Jan 7 '44) Do you have more money coming in now before your income tax is paid? Asked of 53% of the sample who said they and their families had about the same money coming in now as they did before the war (31%) or who didn't have as much coming in now (22%). (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 6% |
| No | 40 |
| Doesn't apply | 3 |
| Don't know | 4 |
| | 53% |

**10.** (US Sept 9 '43) Has there been any change in your family income in the last six months? 29% of the sample who said there had been a change were asked: Do you have more money coming in now than six months ago or not as much? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Been no change in income | 70% |
| Don't know whether or not income has changed | 1 |
| Income higher than six months ago | 17 |
| Income lower than six months ago | 11 |
| Don't know what the change has amounted to | 1 |

**11.** (US Sept 9 '43) Why is that [that you have less money coming in now than six months ago]? Asked of 11% of the sample who had less money coming in. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Someone in family stopped working | 2% |
| Other income cuts (no reason mentioned) | 2 |
| Changed jobs | 2 |
| Someone in family in service | 1 |
| Higher taxes | 1 |
| Higher overhead | 1 |
| Other wartime restrictions | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 12%* |

* Percentages add to more than 11 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**12.** (Denmark May '44) Do you expect your income to increase or decrease after the war? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Increase | 15.9% |
| Decrease | 32.0 |
| The same | 24.2 |
| Don't know | 27.9 |

**13.** (US Feb 20 '45) During the first year or two after the war do you think the total amount of money taken in by your family will be greater, about the same, or less than it is now? (AIPO)

| | *Greater* | *About same* | *Less* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 10% | 49% | 36% | 5% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Professional and business | 15% | 51% | 31% | 3% |
| White-collar | 13 | 53 | 31 | 3 |
| Farmers | 7 | 51 | 37 | 5 |
| Skilled and semi-skilled labor | 9 | 47 | 39 | 5 |
| Unskilled | 8 | 46 | 40 | 6 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 10% | 47% | 37% | 6% |
| East central | 12 | 51 | 33 | 4 |
| West central | 8 | 52 | 36 | 4 |
| South | 9 | 50 | 35 | 6 |
| Far West | 13 | 45 | 37 | 5 |

**14.** (Great Britain May '45) Do you think that in a year's time your family income will be higher or lower than it is now? 16% of the sample who thought the family income would be higher in a year and 26% who thought it would be lower were then asked: By how much? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Expect income to be about the same | 45% |
| Don't know whether it will be higher or lower | 13 |
| Expect increase of 10 per cent | 6 |
| Increase of 20 per cent | 3 |
| Increase of 30 per cent | 3 |
| Increase of 40 per cent | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Increase of 50 per cent | 2% |
| Over 50 per cent increase | 1 |
| Decrease of 10 per cent | 7 |
| Decrease of 20 per cent | 5 |
| Decrease of 30 per cent | 7 |
| Decrease of 40 per cent | 1 |
| Decrease of 50 per cent | 3 |
| Decrease of over 50 per cent | 1 |
| Didn't say how much decrease | 2 |

**15.** (Great Britain Dec 14 '45) On the whole has your family income increased or decreased since the end of the war? 12% of the sample who said their family income had increased since the end of the war and 25% who said it had decreased were then asked: By how much? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Income has stayed the same | 61% |
| Don't know whether it has increased or decreased | 2 |
| Has increased up to 5 per cent | 3 |
| 6–10 per cent | 3 |
| 11–20 per cent | 2 |
| 21–30 per cent | 1 |
| 31–50 per cent | 1 |
| Over 50 per cent | 1 |
| Don't know how much it has increased | 1 |
| Has decreased up to 5 per cent | 5 |
| 6–10 per cent | 5 |
| 11–20 per cent | 5 |
| 21–30 per cent | 4 |
| 31–50 per cent | 3 |
| Over 50 per cent | 1 |
| Don't know how much it has decreased | 2 |

**16.** (Hungary Jan '46) What are you living on? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Salary; normal income | 46% |
| Salary; normal income; occasional business | 11 |
| Salary; normal income; occasional business; selling personal things | 23 |
| Being supported | 20 |

**17.** (Germany May 8 '46) What is the gross weekly income of your family? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 10 RM weekly | 3% |
| 10 RM to 19 RM weekly | 9 |
| 20 RM to 29 RM weekly | 13 |
| 30 RM to 35 RM weekly | 13 |
| 36 RM to 40 RM weekly | 9 |
| 41 RM to 49 RM weekly | 5 |
| 50 RM to 69 RM weekly | 13 |
| 70 RM to 99 RM weekly | 8 |
| 100 RM or more | 9 |
| Don't know; can't say | 2 |
| No income | 13 |
| No answer | 3 |

**18.** (US Aug 14 '46) It has been suggested that Senators and Congressmen in Washington be required to make public all the income they make besides their government salaries and tell how they earned it. Do you approve or disapprove of this? (AIPO)

Approve 61% Disapprove 25% No opinion 14%

## INCOME, AGRICULTURAL

**1.** (US Feb '43) On the whole, do you think that farmers at the present time are making about the right amount of money, or too much, or too little? Asked of a national cross-section of factory workers. (FOR)

| | *Too little* | *About right* | *Too much* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| All factory workers | 40.4% | 35.5% | 7.4% | 16.7% |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | | |
| Well-informed | 33.0% | 44.6% | 8.5% | 13.9% |
| Uninformed | 45.5 | 30.4 | 5.4 | 18.7 |

**2.** (US May 12 '43) Do you expect to make more money from your farm this year than you did last year? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 40%

**3.** (US Nov '43) As far as you know, are farmers getting as much money as they should for all the things they produce during the war? (NORC)

Yes 40% No 40% Don't know 20%

**4.** (US Nov 27 '46) In your opinion, who do you think would handle the following problems better—Truman or Dewey? Among other problems was listed: helping farmers to have good incomes. A cross-section comparable to the one used for the preceding question was asked the same question about Truman or Stassen. (AIPO)

TRUMAN AND DEWEY

Truman 40% Dewey 33% Don't know 27%

TRUMAN AND STASSEN

Truman 27% Stassen 31% Don't know 42%

## INCOME REGULATION

**1.** (US Feb '39) Do you believe there should be a top limit of income and that anyone getting over that limit should be compelled to turn the excess back to the government as taxes? 29.9% of the sample said they were in favor of limiting incomes. This group was asked: At what figure would you set the top limit? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Shouldn't be limited | 61.1% |
| Don't know whether or not there should be a limit | 9.0 |
| Would set limit at: | |
| Under $5,000 | 2.5 |
| Up to $10,000 | 2.7 |
| Up to $25,000 | 4.6 |
| Up to $50,000 | 4.6 |
| Up to $100,000 | 4.7 |
| Up to $500,000 | 1.5 |
| Up to $1,000,000 | 1.8 |
| Over $1,000,000 | .5 |
| Depends | .9 |
| Don't know what the limit should be | 6.1 |

**2.** (US May 30 '42) Do you think limiting incomes so no person can make more than $25,000 a year, after paying taxes, is a good idea or not? (NORC)

Good idea 64% Not a good idea 24% Don't know 12%

**3.** (US July '42) After the war, do you think there should be a law limiting the amount of money any individual is allowed to earn in a year? Do you think there will be such a law? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Should | 31.9% | 60.3% | 7.8% |
| Will | 28.6 | 48.3 | 23.1 |

**4.** (US Sept 24 '42) Would you be willing to have your own income fixed where it is now as long as the war lasts, or do you think it should be allowed to go a little higher? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Income fixed | 42% |
| Allowed to go higher | 41 |
| Depends | 13 |
| No answer | 4 |

**5.** (US Dec 15 '42) If a person has an income of $100,000 a year during war time, how much of this should he be able to keep after paying all taxes? The question was repeated with the income set at $200,000 instead of $100,000. (AIPO)

| | *$100,000 income* | *$200,000 income* |
|---|---|---|
| Under $25,000 | 13% | 11% |
| $25,000 | 31 | 25 |
| Between $25,000 and $50,000 | 4 | 3 |
| $50,000 | 17 | 8 |
| Between $50,000 and $100,000 | 6 | 4 |
| $100,000 | — | 12 |
| Over $100,000 | — | 5 |
| No limit | 3 | 3 |
| Don't know | 26 | 29 |
| | Median $25,000 | |

**6.** (US Dec 15 '42) Do you think there should be any limit on the amount of income (including wages and salary) that each person should be allowed to keep per year in wartime after paying all taxes? (AIPO)

Yes 47% No 38% No opinion 15%

**7.** (US Dec 15 '42) What do you think the limit should be? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who thought there should be a limit on the amount of income each person should be allowed to keep per year in wartime after paying all taxes. 47% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $25,000 | 26% |
| $25,000 | 37 |
| Between $25,000 and $50,000 | 2 |
| $50,000 | 3 |
| Between $50,000 and $100,000 | 1 |
| $100,000 or over | 1 |
| No answer | 30 |
| | 100% of those who favored limiting incomes |
| Median | $25,000 |

**8.** (US Feb '43 and Apr '43) When the war is over, do you think it would be a good idea or a bad idea for us to have a top limit on the amount of money any one person can get in a year? The February question was asked of a national cross-section of the working force. The April question was asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

| | *Good* | *Bad* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Factory workers | 47.0% | 42.1% | 10.9% |
| Mine workers | 51.3 | 30.9 | 17.8 |
| Farmers | 36.7 | 51.6 | 11.7 |
| FARMERS' OPINION BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| High | 31.4% | 63.2% | 5.4% |
| Medium | 38.5 | 53.2 | 8.3 |
| Low | 49.4 | 34.5 | 16.1 |

**9.** (US Feb '43 and Apr '43) Roughly, what would be the highest salary you would allow any one in the country to get? The February question was asked of 47% of the factory workers and the April question was asked of 36.7% of the sample of farmers who thought it a good idea to have a limit on incomes. (FOR)

| | *Factory workers* | *Farmers* |
|---|---|---|
| Under $10,000 | 23.2% | 15.9% |
| $10,000 to $24,999 | 10.9 | 11.7 |
| $25,000 to $49,999 | 25.4 | 29.1 |
| $50,000 to $74,999 | 10.2 | 7.0 |
| Over $75,000 | 5.1 | 3.5 |
| Don't know | 25.2 | 32.8 |
| | 100.0% | 100.0% of those questioned |

Approximate median for factory workers $32,750

**10.** (US May 22 '43, Sept 9 '43, Jan 7 '44) Would you be willing to have the government freeze your own income where it is now? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Frozen already and willing* | *Frozen already, willingness not ascertainable* | *Don't know and depends* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| May 22 '43 | 40% | 40% | — | — | 20% |
| Sept 9 '43 | 38 | 42 | 1% | 1% | 18 |
| Jan 7 '44 | 34 | 42 | 1 | — | 23 |

**11.** (US May 22 '43, Sept 9 '43, Jan 7 '44) Would you be willing to have it [your income] frozen after it went a little higher, or don't you think it should be limited at all? The May question was asked of 40% of the sample, the September and January questions of 42%, of the samples who were not willing to have the government freeze their income. (NORC)

| | *May '43* | *Sept '43* | *Jan '44* |
|---|---|---|---|
| A little higher | 20% | 18% | 16% |
| No limit | 15 | 18 | 17 |
| Frozen already; not willing | — | 1 | — |
| Depends or don't know | 5 | 5 | 9 |
| | 40% | 42% | 42% |

**12.** (US May 22 '43) If the government were successful in freezing all prices and wages, would you be willing to have your own income fixed where it is now? Asked of 60% of the sample who were not willing to have the government freeze their income, or didn't know, or gave qualified answers. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 21% |
| No | 14 |
| Depends | 4 |
| No answer | 1 |
| Don't know | 20 |
| | 60% |

# INCOME TAX

## U.S.

**1.** (US Oct '35) Should everyone who earns money be required to pay some income tax, no matter how small? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total.... | 22.1% | 71.9% | 6.0% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous..... | 33.8% | 65.1% | 1.1% |
| Upper middle..... | 26.1 | 68.8 | 5.1 |
| Lower middle..... | 17.6 | 77.3 | 5.1 |
| Poor..... | 17.3 | 75.3 | 7.4 |
| Negro..... | 28.4 | 55.2 | 16.4 |

**2.** (US Mar 29 '37) About how much do you think a married man earning $10,000 a year should pay in the form of income taxes [state and federal combined]? A married man earning $100,000? (AIPO)

| *$10,000 a year* | | *$100,000 a year* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| None..... | 2% | None..... | 1% |
| $50 and under..... | * | $1,499 and under..... | 6 |
| Over $50 to $149..... | 6 | $1,500 to $2,499..... | 3 |
| $150 to $249..... | 6 | $2,500 to $3,499..... | 3 |
| $250 to $349..... | 4 | $3,500 to $4,499..... | 1 |
| $350 to $449..... | 3 | $4,500 to $5,499..... | 6 |
| $450 to $549..... | 12 | $5,500 to $9,499..... | 3 |
| $550 to $649..... | 2 | $9,500 to $10,499..... | 11 |
| $650 to $749..... | 1 | $10,500 to $14,499..... | 1 |
| $750 to $949..... | 2 | $14,500 to $20,499..... | 8 |
| $950 to $1,049..... | 12 | $20,500 to $25,499..... | 5 |
| $1,050 to $2,049..... | 5 | $25,500 to $35,499..... | 3 |
| $2,050 to $3,349..... | 2 | $35,500 to $49,499..... | 2 |
| $3,350 and over..... | 2 | $49,500 to $50,499..... | 4 |
| Present rate..... | 1 | $50,500 and over..... | 2 |
| No opinion..... | 40 | Present rate..... | 1 |
| | | No opinion..... | 40 |
| Median $500 | | Median $10,000 | |

* Less than 0.5%.

**3.** (US Apr 5 '37) About how much do you think a married man earning $3,000 a year should pay in the form of income taxes (state and federal combined)? A man earning $5,000? A man earning $10,000? (AIPO)

| *$3,000 a year* | | *$5,000 a year* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| None..... | 23% | $40 and under..... | 4% |
| $20 and under..... | 4 | $50..... | 6 |
| $30..... | 7 | Over $50 to under $100.. | 3 |
| $40..... | 1 | $100..... | 11 |
| $50..... | 5 | Over $100 to under $150. | 1 |
| $60..... | 3 | $150..... | 4 |
| Over $60 to under $100. | 2 | Over $150 to $200..... | 6 |
| $100..... | 4 | Over $200 to $250..... | 4 |
| Over $100 to $150..... | 3 | Over $250 to $300..... | 2 |
| Over $150 to $200..... | 2 | Over $300 to $400..... | 1 |
| Over $200 to $300..... | 2 | Over $400 to $500..... | 5 |
| Over $300..... | 1 | Over $500..... | 3 |
| No opinion..... | 43 | None..... | 3 |
| | | No opinion..... | 47 |
| Median $30 | | Median $100 | |

*$10,000 a year*

| | |
|---|---|
| None..... | 1% |
| $50 and under..... | 2 |
| Over $50 to $100..... | 5 |
| Over $100 to $150..... | 2 |
| Over $150 to $200..... | 5 |
| Over $200 to $300..... | 6 |
| Over $300 to $500..... | 4 |
| $500..... | 9 |
| Over $500 to $700..... | 3 |
| Over $700 to $1,000..... | 9 |
| Over $1,000 to $2,000..... | 5% |
| Over $2,000..... | 2 |
| No opinion..... | 47 |
| Median $500 | |

**4.** (US Apr 5 '37) Should state and federal employees be exempt from income taxes? (AIPO)

| | *No* | *Yes* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 88% | 12% = 100% | 8% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England..... | 90% | 10% | |
| Middle Atlantic..... | 89 | 11 | |
| East central..... | 87 | 13 | |
| West central..... | 79 | 21 | |
| South..... | 91 | 9 | |
| Rocky Mountain..... | 88 | 12 | |
| Pacific coast..... | 92 | 8 | |

**5.** (US Apr 12 '37) Should income tax exemptions be lowered so that income taxes are paid by all single persons who earned $800 a year and by all married persons who earned $2,000 a year? (AIPO)

Yes 20% No 80% = 100% No opinion 15%

**6.** (US June 14 '37) Would you favor an amendment to the Constitution making the income from government bonds taxable? (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 39% = 100% No opinion 20%

**7.** (US June 28 '37 and Mar 23 '38) Should people who own federal, state, and municipal securities be required to pay taxes on the income from these securities? (Jan 20 '39) Should people who own United States government, or state, or municipal bonds have to pay federal income taxes on their incomes from these securities? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| June '37..... | 76% | 24% = 100% | 17% |
| Mar '38..... | 74 | 26 = 100 | 15 |
| Jan '39..... | 75 | 25 = 100 | 15 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| *1938* | | | |
| Upper income..... | 65% | 35% | |
| Middle income..... | 74 | 26 | |
| Lower income..... | 80 | 20 | |
| *1939* | | | |
| Upper income..... | 69 | 31 | |
| Middle income..... | 73 | 27 | |
| Lower income..... | 81 | 19 | |

**8.** (US Sept 3 '37) Should every family in the United States be required to report its income every year? (June 29 '39) Should every family be required to file a report of its yearly income with the federal government? (June 24 '41) Should every family not on relief be required to file a report of its yearly income with the federal government? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '37..... | 46% | 45% | 9% | — |
| June '39..... | 44 | 47 | 8 | 1% |
| June '41..... | 46 | 39 | 15 | — |

**9.** (US Sept 3 '37) Should more families be required to pay an income tax? (AIPO)

Yes 33% No 54% No opinion 13%

**10.** (US Sept 3 '37) Should those who are now paying income tax be required to pay more? (AIPO)

Yes 29% No 56% No opinion 15%

**11.** (US Jan 19 '38) Do you think persons who work for the [name of state] state government should be required to pay federal income taxes? (Apr 19 '38) Would you favor an amendment to the Constitution requiring employees of state and local governments to pay federal income taxes? (Jan 20 '39) Do you think people who work for the state and local governments should pay federal income taxes on their salaries? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '38 | 87% | 13% | = 100% | 7% |
| Apr '38 | 82 | 18 | = 100 | 12 |
| Jan '39 | 87 | 13 | = 100 | 6 |

**12.** (US Jan 19 '38) Do you think married men earning less than $2,500 a year should be required to pay a federal income tax? A comparable cross-section was asked the question in the following form: Do you think a married man earning less than $48 a week should be required to pay a federal income tax? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 20% | 80% | = 100% | 4% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England | 27% | 73% | | |
| Middle Atlantic | 23 | 77 | | |
| East central | 16 | 84 | | |
| West central | 21 | 79 | | |
| South | 20 | 80 | | |
| Rocky Mountain | 11 | 89 | | |
| Pacific coast | 21 | 79 | | |

**13.** (US Jan 19 '38) Do you think a single person earning less than $1,000 a year should be required to pay a federal income tax? A comparable cross-section was asked the question in the following form: Do you think a single person earning less than $20 a week should be required to pay a federal income tax? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 13% | 87% | = 100% | 3% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England | 9% | 91% | | |
| Middle Atlantic | 15 | 85 | | |
| East central | 9 | 91 | | |
| West central | 13 | 87 | | |
| South | 17 | 83 | | |
| Rocky Mountain | 8 | 92 | | |
| Pacific coast | 15 | 85 | | |

**14.** (US Apr 19 '38) Would you favor an amendment to the Constitution to permit this state to tax the income of federal government employees working in this state? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 40% |
| No | 7 |
| No opinion | 7 |
| No answer | 46 |

**15.** (US Apr 27 '38) Do you think the federal government should make public the income tax reports of individual citizens? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Strongly in favor | 23% |
| Favor | 15 |
| Against | 15 |
| Strongly against | 35 |
| No opinion and no answer | 12 |

**16.** (US Apr 27 '38) Do you think the federal government should make public the income tax reports of rich men? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Strongly in favor | 33% |
| Favor | 16 |
| Against | 25 |
| Strongly against | 15 |
| No opinion and no answer | 11 |

**17.** (US Jan 10 '39) About how much do you think a married man who earns $5,000 a year and has two children now pays in the form of federal and state income taxes combined? A man earning $10,000? A man earning $100,000? (AIPO)

| *$5,000 a year* | | *$10,000 a year* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| None | 1% | None | 1% |
| 1% to 2% | 19 | 1% to 2% | 11 |
| Over 2% to 5% | 11 | Over 2% to 5% | 13 |
| Over 5% to 10% | 6 | Over 5% to 10% | 7 |
| Over 10% to 20% | 3 | Over 10% to 20% | 4 |
| Over 20% | 1 | Over 20% | 2 |
| Don't know | 56 | Don't know | 60 |
| No answer | 3 | No answer | 2 |
| Median $100 | | Median $400 | |

*$100,000 a year*

| | |
|---|---|
| None | 1% |
| 1% to 2% | 8 |
| Over 2% to 5% | 5 |
| Over 5% to 10% | 5 |
| Over 10% to 20% | 4 |
| Over 20% to 30% | 5 |
| Over 30% to 40% | 3 |
| Over 40% | 4 |
| Don't know | 63 |
| No answer | 2 |
| Median $9,000 | |

**18.** (US Jan 10 '39) At the same time the preceding question was asked, a comparable cross-section was asked: About how much do you think a married man who earns $5,000 a year and has two children should pay in the form of federal and state income taxes combined? A man earning $10,000? A man earning $100,000? (AIPO)

| *$5,000 a year* | | *$10,000 a year* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| None | 1% | None | 1% |
| 1% | 8 | 1% to 2% | 13 |
| 2% | 12 | Over 2% to 5% | 18 |
| Over 2% to 5% | 16 | Over 5% to 8% | 6 |
| Over 5% to 8% | 4 | Over 8% to 10% | 10 |
| Over 8% to 10% | 10 | Over 10% to 20% | 8 |
| Over 10% to 20% | 4 | Over 20% to 30% | 2 |
| Over 20% | 1 | Over 30% | 2 |
| Don't know | 41 | Don't know | 39 |
| No answer | 3 | No answer | 1 |
| Median $150 | | Median $500 | |

*$100,000 a year*

| | |
|---|---|
| None | 1% |
| 1% to 2% | 11 |
| Over 2% to 5% | 9 |
| Over 5% to 10% | 13 |
| Over 10% to 20% | 8 |
| Over 20% to 30% | 8 |
| Over 30% to 50% | 7 |
| Over 50% | 2 |
| Don't know | 39 |
| No answer | 2 |
| Median $9,000 | |

**19.** (US Feb 16 '39) Do you think a single man earning $15 to $20 a week should be required to pay a federal income tax? (AIPO)

Yes 12% No 88% = 100% No opinion 3%

**20.** (US Feb 17 '39) Do you think a married man earning $40 to $50 a week should be required to pay a federal income tax? (AIPO)

Yes 36% No 64% = 100% No opinion 8%

**21.** (US Feb 17 '39) Are you (or is your husband) paying a federal income tax this year? Asked of a national cross-section excluding people on relief. (AIPO) (Jan 19 '40, Feb 27 '41, May 15 '45) Do you (or does your husband) pay a federal income tax this year? (AIPO) (May '42) Do you think you (or someone in your family) will pay an income tax for this year? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '39 | 24% | 71% | 5% |
| Jan '40 | 20 | 69 | 11 |
| Feb '41 | 27 | 67 | 6 |
| May '42 | 29 | 50 | 21 |
| May '45 | 74 | 24 | 2 |

**22.** (US May 2 '39) Do you think that conditions in this country would be improved if taxes on people with high incomes were reduced so that they could put this money into business? (AIPO)

Yes 42% No 46% No opinion 12%

**23.** (US June 29 '39) Do you think that heads of families, (without children) should pay income taxes to the federal government on their earnings over $1,200 a year instead of only over $2,500 as at present? (This would mean a tax of about $2 a year on a man earning $1,300 and about $12 a year on a man earning $1,800. Families with children would pay lower income taxes.) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 41% |
| No | 50 |
| No opinion | 8 |
| No answer | 1 |

**24.** (US Dec 16 '40 and July 29 '42) To pay the cost of defense, should every American family, not on relief, pay an income tax based on the family's earnings, no matter how little? This tax would amount to about $5 a year for the poorest families and larger amounts for families with larger incomes. Would you favor such an income tax on every family? In 1942 the question began: To help pay the cost of the war, should every American family, etc. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '40 | 51% | 41% | 8% |
| July '42 | 70 | 25 | 5 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| *1940* | | | |
| Upper and middle | 54% | 38% | 8% |
| Lower | 44 | 48 | 8 |
| *1942* | | | |
| Upper and middle | 73 | 23 | 4 |
| Lower | 66 | 27 | 7 |
| 1940 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| For Willkie | 52% | 48% = 100% | |
| For Roosevelt | 50 | 50 | |

**25.** (US Feb '41) Do you favor broadening the base for the income tax? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Yes 94.2% No 3.2% No answer 2.6%

**26.** (US Feb '41) If the base for the income tax is broadened should it be done primarily to get more revenue from middle-class families who are now exempt from this levy, or should its purpose be primarily to make more voters conscious of the fact that government expenditures have to be paid for? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| More revenue | 3.6% |
| More public consciousness | 23.5 |
| Both | 69.4 |
| No answer | 3.5 |

**27.** (US Feb '41) If tax exemption is withdrawn from future federal issues, should surtax rates in the top income brackets be reduced at the same time? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Yes 59.6% No 33.3% No answer 7.1%

**28.** (US Feb 27 '41) About how much do you think a married man who earns $3,000 a year ($60 per week) and has two children now pays in the form of federal and state income taxes combined? A married man earning $5,000 ($100 a week) with two children? One earning $10,000 a year? One earning $100,000? (AIPO)

| | *Median* |
|---|---|
| On $3,000 a year | $ 30 |
| On $5,000 a year | 100 |
| On $10,000 a year | 300 |
| On $100,000 a year | 5,000 |

**29.** (US Feb 27 '41) A cross-section comparable to that used for the preceding questions was asked: About how much do you think a married man who earns $3,000 a year ($60 a week) and has two children should pay in the form of federal and state income taxes combined? A married man earning $5,000 ($100 a week) with two children? One earning $10,000 a year? One earning $100,000? (AIPO)

| | *Median* |
|---|---|
| On $3,000 a year | $ 60 |
| On $5,000 a year | 200 |
| On $10,000 a year | 600 |
| On $100,000 a year | 10,000 |

**30.** (US Mar 7 '41) It has been suggested that income taxes be increased so that a married man with two children earning $50,000 a year would pay about $25,000 a year in federal and state income taxes. Do you think this is too much, about the right amount, or not enough? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too much | 56% |
| About the right amount | 34 |
| Not enough | 2 |
| No opinion | 8 |

**31.** (US Mar 8 '41) At the present time a married man with two children earning $50,000 a year pays about $17,000 in federal and state income taxes combined. Do you think this is too much, about the right amount, or not enough? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too much | 19% |
| About the right amount | 59 |
| Not enough | 12 |
| No opinion | 10 |

**32.** (US May 6 '41) In order to meet the increased cost of defense would you be willing to pay (or have your husband pay) a tax of about two weeks' salary or income per year, in addi-

tion to the taxes you have been paying? (Feb 10 '42) In order to help pay the cost of the war, would you be willing to pay a tax of about two weeks' salary per year in addition to other taxes that you pay? Asked of a national cross-section of employed people. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| May '41 | 59% | 33% | 8% |
| Feb '42 | 64 | 31 | 5 |
| 1942 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 69% | 27% | 4% |
| Lower income | 59 | 36 | 5 |

**33.** (US May 6 '41 and May 29 '41) It has been suggested that every family not on relief should pay an income tax which would amount to, say $10 for families with yearly incomes of $1,000 ($20 a week), and larger taxes for families with larger incomes. Would you favor such a tax? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| May 6 '41 | 58% | 31% | 11% |
| May 29 '41 | 56 | 36 | 8 |

**34.** (US May 29 '41) About how much in federal income taxes do you think the average business corporation, earning a profit of $1,000,000 a year, pays now? (AIPO)

33% and under 13% Over 33% 12% Don't know 75%

**35.** (US May 29 '41) About how much in federal income taxes do you think such a company should pay? (AIPO)

33% and under 19% Over 33% 16% Don't know 65%

**36.** (US June 24 '41) Do you think a family of four earning $1,000 a year ($20 a week) should pay some income tax to the federal government? 17% of the sample thought they should and 4% were undecided. These two groups were asked: Do you think an income tax of $10 a year for a family making $1,000 a year ($20 a week) is not enough or too much? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should pay no tax | 79% |
| $10 a year not enough | 1 |
| $10 about right | 14 |
| $10 too much | 3 |
| Didn't say whether it is enough or too much | 3 |

**37.** (US June 24 '41) Do you think an income tax of $50 a year for a family of four making $3,000 a year ($60 a week) is not enough or too much? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not enough | 15% |
| About right | 63 |
| Too much | 16 |
| No opinion | 6 |

**38.** (US June 24 '41) Do you think a family of four earning $1,500 a year ($30 a week) should pay some income tax to the federal government? 31% of the sample thought they should and 5% were undecided. These two groups were asked: Do you think an income tax of $15 a year for a family making $1,500 a year ($30 a week) is not enough or too much? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should pay no tax | 64% |
| $15 a year not enough | 3 |
| $15 about right | 25 |
| $15 too much | 3 |
| Undecided or didn't say | 5 |

**39.** (US June 24 '41) Do you think an income tax of $300 a year for a family of four making $5,000 a year ($100 a week) is not enough or too much? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not enough | 14% |
| About right | 56 |
| Too much | 21 |
| No opinion | 9 |

**40.** (US July 22 '41) In order to help pay for defense, the government will be forced to increase income taxes. If you were the one to decide, how much income tax, if any, would you ask a typical family of four with an income of $1,000 a year ($20 a week), $2,000 a year ($40 a week), $5,000 a year ($100 a week), and $50,000 a year ($1,000 a week) to pay? A separate but comparable cross-section was questioned about slightly different amounts: In order to help pay for defense, the government will be forced to increase income taxes. If you were the one to decide, how much income tax, if any, would you ask a typical family of four with an income of $1,500 a year ($30 a week), $3,000 a year ($60 a week), $10,000 a year ($200 a week), $100,000 a year ($2,000 a week) to pay? (AIPO)

| | *Median* |
|---|---|
| $1,000 a year | $ 6 |
| $1,500 a year | 17 |
| $2,000 a year | 55 |
| $3,000 a year | 140 |
| $5,000 a year | 386 |
| $10,000 a year | 1,123 |
| $50,000 a year | 10,000 |
| $100,000 a year | 24,000 |

**41.** (US Feb 4 '42) In order to help pay for the war the government will be forced to increase income taxes. If you were the one to decide, how much income tax, if any, would you ask a typical family of four with an income of $1,000 a year ($20 a week), $1,500 a year ($30 a week), $2,000 a year ($40 a week), $3,000 a year ($60 a week), $5,000 a year ($100 a week), $10,000 a year ($200 a week), $50,000 a year ($1,000 a week) and $100,000 a year ($2,000 a week) to pay? A comparable cross-section was asked the question in the following form: Suppose it was your job to decide income taxes for the coming year—how much would you have a man (married with 2 children) earning $2,000 a year ($40 a week), $1,500 a year ($30 a week), $3,000 a year ($60 a week), $5,000 a year ($100 a week), $10,000 a year ($200 a week), $50,000 a year ($1,000 a week) pay in federal income taxes next year? (AIPO)

| | *Median* |
|---|---|
| $1,000 a year | $ 7 |
| $1,500 a year | 24 |
| $2,000 a year | 54 |
| $3,000 a year | 201 |
| $5,000 a year | 470 |
| $10,000 a year | 1,640 |
| $50,000 a year | 13,700 |
| $100,000 a year | 33,700 |

**42.** (US Mar 31 '42) If a typical family of four with a yearly income of $1,000 ($20 a week) paid an income tax of $7 per year, would you consider this too much or too little? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too much | 33% |
| Too little | 11 |
| About right | 51 |
| No opinion | 5 |

**43.** (US Mar 31 '42) If a typical family of four with a yearly income of $1,500 ($30 a week) paid an income tax of $23 per year, would you consider this too much or too little? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too much | 24% |
| Too little | 13 |
| About right | 59 |
| No opinion | 4 |

**44.** (US Apr 15 '42) Should all income tax payers have the right to deduct all doctor, dentist, and hospital bills from their income before figuring out their income tax? (AIPO)

Yes 65% No 24% No opinion 11%

**45.** (US May 8 '42) In the case of income taxes, would you be in favor of reducing the amount of personal exemptions—that is, broadening the base—so that more people would have to pay income taxes? Asked of a national cross-section of civic and community leaders. (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 41% No opinion 2%

**46.** (US May 8 '42) At what income level do you think a typical family of four—a married man with two children—should start paying a federal income tax? Asked of a national cross-section of civic and community leaders. (AIPO)

Median $1,800

**47.** (US July 14 '42) Should a person be able to deduct on his income tax return all doctor and hospital bills for himself and any member of his family? (AIPO)

Yes 72% No 16% No opinion 12%

**48.** (US July 14 '42) Do you think you will have to pay an income tax for 1942? (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 33% No answer 3% Don't know 7%

**49.** (US Sept 24 '42) Did you (or your husband) pay an income tax this year? 46% of the sample who said they had paid income tax were asked: They say most people's income taxes will be at least two or three times as high next year. Would it be a real hardship for you to pay a tax this high? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't pay any tax | 53% |
| Don't know whether or not tax was paid | 1 |
| Would be a hardship (no reason given) | 22 |
| A hardship because of no increase in income | 3 |
| Because of reduced income | 1 |
| Not so much a hardship as an inconvenience | 4 |
| Feel resigned because of patriotism | 3 |
| Resigned to it (no patriotic motive) | 2 |
| If prices continue going up, it will be hard | 1 |
| If prices don't go up, it will be hard | * |
| Won't be a hardship (no reason given) | 8 |
| No hardship because income is good | 2 |
| Didn't say whether or not it would be a hardship | 1 |
| | 101%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**50.** (US Sept 24 '42) Do you expect to pay one [income tax] next year? Asked of 53% of the sample who said they (or their husband) had not paid an income tax in 1942. (NORC)

Yes 20% No 25% Don't know 8% = 53%

**51.** (US Sept 24 '42) Do you think people with your income should be required to pay an income tax? Asked of 53% of the sample who said they (or their husband) had not paid an income tax in 1942. (NORC)

Yes 16% No 31% Don't know 5% Depends 1% = 53%

**52.** (US Oct 27 '42) Do you think you will have to pay a federal income tax next March on your earnings for this year? The 74% who said they expected to have to pay income tax were asked: Do you know how much your tax will be? (Jan 27 '43) Do you think you will have to pay a federal income tax this coming March on your earnings for last year? 50% of the sample who expected to pay income tax were asked: Do you know how much your tax will be? (AIPO)

| | *Oct '42* | *Jan '43* |
|---|---|---|
| Know how much tax will be | 23% | 27% |
| Don't expect to have to pay | 26 | 41 |
| Don't know how much tax will be | 51 | 23 |
| Don't know whether or not will have to pay | — | 9 |

**53.** (US Oct 27 '42 and Jan 27 '43) Have you started saving up any money for the special purpose of paying your income tax? In 1942, 74% of the sample and in 1943, 50% of the sample who expected to pay a federal income tax in 1943 were questioned. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '42 | 25% | 75% | = 100% of those who expect to pay income tax |
| Jan '43 | 33 | 17 | = 50 |

**54.** (US Oct 27 '42) About how much do you think a married man with two children who earns $2,500 this year ($50 a week), $10,000 this year ($200 a week), and $100,000 this year ($2,000 a week) will have to pay in federal income taxes? (AIPO)

| | *Median* |
|---|---|
| On $2,500 a year | $ 165 |
| On $10,000 a year | 2,114 |
| On $100,000 a year | 60,266 |

**55.** (US Jan 7 '43) Have you heard of the new victory tax? (AIPO)

Yes 91% No 9%

**56.** (US Jan 7 '43) Will you have to pay a victory tax? Asked of a national cross-section of employed, employers, and farmers who had heard of the victory tax. 91% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Yes 72% No 17% Don't know 11% = 100% of those questioned

**57.** (US Jan 7 '43) At present the victory tax amounts to five cents out of every dollar on all wages and salaries over $12 a week. Would you approve or disapprove of increasing this tax to ten cents out of every dollar? (AIPO)

Approve 25% Disapprove 63% No opinion 12%

**58.** (US Jan 7 '43) At the same time that the preceding question was asked, a separate but comparable cross-section was asked: At present the victory tax amounts to five cents out of every dollar on all wages and salaries over $12 a week. Would you approve or disapprove of increasing this tax to ten cents out of every dollar in order to raise more money to help pay for the war? (AIPO)

Approve 35% Disapprove 55% No opinion 10%

**59.** (US Feb 23 '43) Do you think you (or your husband) will have to file a federal income tax report by March 15 on the money you made last year (1942)? (AIPO)

Yes 69% No 28% Don't know 3%

**60.** (US Feb 23 '43) Do you think you (or your husband) will have to pay a tax? 55% of the sample who expected to pay income tax were asked: Do you know how much your income tax will be on the money you made last year? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't expect to have to pay | 39% |
| Don't know whether or not will have to pay | 6 |
| Know how much the tax will be | 36 |
| Don't know how much tax will be | 19 |

**61.** (US Feb 23 '43) Will you be able to make a payment on your income tax by March 15? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who thought they (or their husbands) would have to pay an income tax. 55% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Yes 88% No 5% Already paid 7% = 100% of those questioned

**62.** (US Feb 23 '43) Will you have to borrow any money to meet your March 15 payment? Asked of a national cross-section

of persons who thought they (or their husbands) would have to pay a federal income tax. 55% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Yes 11% No 88% Already paid 1% = 100% of those questioned

**63.** (US Feb 23 '43) Will you have to cash in any war bonds or stamps [to meet your March 15 income tax payment]? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who thought they (or their husbands) would have to pay a federal income tax. 55% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Yes 5% No 94% Already paid 1% = 100% of those questioned

**64.** (US Feb 23 '43) Do you regard the income tax which you will have to pay this year as fair? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who thought they (or their husbands) would have to pay a federal income tax. 55% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| New income tax payers.... | 86% | 14%* | = 100% of those questioned |
| Persons who have paid income taxes before..... | 84 | 16* | |

* Those who had no opinion numbered less than 10% in each group.

**65.** (US Feb 23 '43) Have you (or your husband) ever filed a federal income tax report before? (AIPO)

Yes 56% No 42% Don't know 2%

**66.** (US Feb 23 '43) Do you happen to know how much money a single person had to make last year before he has to file an income tax report this March 15? Asked of a national cross-section of single persons earning more than $500 a year. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Gave correct figure ($500)..... | 54% |
| Named a higher figure..... | 31 |
| Don't know..... | 15 |

**67.** (US Feb 23 '43) Do you happen to know how much money a married person had to make last year before he has to file an income tax report this March 15? Asked of a national cross-section of married men earning more than $1,200 a year. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Gave correct figure ($1,200).... | 67% |
| Gave a higher figure..... | 21 |
| Don't know..... | 12 |

**68.** (US Feb 23 '43) What is there that you don't understand about the income tax? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Understand everything..... | 32% |
| Understand nothing..... | 23 |
| Don't understand most of it..... | 3 |
| Never file a report (includes housewives whose husbands file reports)..... | 11 |
| Someone else fills out report (accountants, lawyer)..... | 5 |
| Don't understand what are the allowable expenses, the items exempt from tax..... | 6 |
| Don't understand basis exemption, who must make return | 3 |
| Don't understand how to compute the actual tax..... | 3 |
| Don't understand how to fill out form; language too difficult..... | 1 |
| Don't understand other things..... | 1 |
| General question on whole tax problem..... | 4 |
| No answer..... | 8 |

**69.** (US Mar 24 '43) Did you (or your husband) file a federal income tax report by March 15? 68% of the sample who identified themselves as taxpayers were asked: Did you (or your husband) have to pay any income tax when you filed this report? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't file any report..... | 32% |
| Had to pay some tax..... | 49 |
| Didn't have to pay any tax | 19 |

**70.** (US Mar 24 '43) Did you (or your husband) pay the first installment (one quarter) of the tax, or did you pay more than that? Asked of 49% of the sample who filed an income tax return and had to pay some income tax when they filed this report. (AIPO)

First installment 38% More 11% = 49%

**71.** (US Apr 6 '43) If you were talking to your Congressman today about income taxes, what would you say? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Put through pay-as-you-go plan; should collect taxes from pay check..... | 15% |
| Favor Ruml plan..... | 4 |
| Favor pay-as-you-go plan, but not Ruml's..... | 2 |
| Taxes are O.K.; high but fair; high taxes are necessary.. | 12 |
| Taxes are too high; they should be lowered..... | 10 |
| Tax high incomes; increase tax on those who are most able to pay; it is unfair to tax the poor..... | 6 |
| Why doesn't Congress quit squabbling and get organized | 4 |
| Be sure that tax money is being used wisely; cut down waste and graft before raising taxes more..... | 2 |
| Taxes should be increased..... | 1 |
| Miscellaneous..... | 14 |
| Don't know..... | 29 |
| Tax everyone; tax more evenly..... | 2 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**72.** (US May 12 '43) From what you have heard or read, are income taxes in Canada higher or lower than they are here at present? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Higher..... | 26% |
| Lower..... | 10 |
| About same..... | 6 |
| Don't know..... | 58 |

**73.** (US May 22 '43, Sept 9 '43, Jan 7 '44) Did you (or your husband) pay an income tax this year? The Sept '43 and Jan '44 samples were asked the question "Are you paying?" instead of "Did you pay?" 59% of the May '43 sample, 68% of the Sept '43 sample, and 72% of the Jan '44 sample had paid or would have to pay income tax and 41% of the May '43 sample, 41% of the Sept '43 sample, and 27% of the Jan '44 sample had not paid. The taxpayers were asked: With things as they are now, do you think people with your income should be required to pay a higher income tax than you do (are) now? The non-taxpayers were asked: With things as they are now, do you think people with your income should be required to pay an income tax? (NORC)

| | *May '43* | *Sept '43* | *Jan '44* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Should be required to pay higher tax..... | 6% | 4% | 5% |
| Should not be required to pay higher tax..... | 48 | 61 | 63 |
| Qualified or miscellaneous answers regarding higher tax..... | 4 | 2 | 3 |
| Didn't say whether or not higher tax should be required..... | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Should be required to pay some tax | 6 | 2 | 2 |
| Should not be required to pay any tax..... | 32 | 26 | 23 |
| Qualified answers regarding the payment of any tax..... | 1 | 1 | 1 |

| | *May '43* | *Sept '43* | *Jan '44* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Don't know or didn't say whether or not should be required to pay some tax | 2% | 2% | 1% |
| Didn't say whether or not had paid income tax | — | 1 | 1 |

**74.** (US May 22 '43) Should people with your income pay one [income tax] only while the war lasts, or do you think you should continue to pay one after the war too? Asked of 6% of the sample who thought they (or their husbands) would be required to pay an income tax. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| While war lasts | 2% |
| After war | 2 |
| Depends | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 6% |

**75.** (US Oct 6 '43) Now suppose it were your job to raise more money to help pay for the war, and you had to decide the amount of income tax people should pay—how much would you have a married man with two children who earns $60 a week, that's $3,000 a year, pay in federal income taxes? How about a married man with two children who earns $200 a week, that's $10,000 a year? How about a married man with two children who earns $1,000 a week, that's $50,000 a year? (AIPO)

| | *Median* |
|---|---|
| $3,000 a year | $ 270 |
| $10,000 a year | 2,000 |
| $50,000 a year | 15,000 |

**76.** (US Feb 16 '44) Do you regard the amount you have to pay [in income tax] as fair? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who said they (or their husbands) would have to file a federal income tax report and had already figured out the amount they would have to pay. (Mar 7 '45) Do you regard the amount you (or your husband) have to pay on your 1944 income tax as fair? Asked of a national cross-section of taxpayers. (Feb 27 '46) Do you think the present [income tax] rate you (or your husband) have to pay is fair? Asked of a national cross-section of taxpayers. (Nov 13 '46) Do you regard the income tax which you will have to pay this year as fair? Asked of a national cross-section of taxpayers. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '44 | 90% | 10% | | — | = 100% |
| Mar '45 | 85 | 15 | | — | = 100 |
| Feb '46 | 62 | 38 | = 100% | 7% | |
| Nov '46 | 60 | 34 | | 6 | = 100 |

**77.** (US Apr 25 '44) Do you think there should be an increase in everyone's income tax to help pay a greater part of the cost of the war? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 59% Undecided 11%

**78.** (US Aug '44) Take the case of a married man earning $25,000 a year and having two children. Which of these six figures do you think comes closest to what he pays the United States government under the present income tax rates? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| $1,000 | 6.1% |
| $2,000 | 9.5 |
| $4,000 | 19.3 |
| $8,000 | 20.8 |
| $12,000 | 10.3 |
| $15,000 | 3.6 |
| Don't know | 30.4 |

**79.** (US Dec '44) Did you or your (wife) (husband) send in a federal income tax return last March? 73% of the sample who had filed a return were asked: Do you remember if you filled out the long form or the short form last March? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't file any return | 23% |
| Don't know or don't remember if filed return | 4 |
| Filed long form | 26 |
| Filed short form | 26 |
| Don't know or don't remember which form | 21 |

**80.** (US Dec '44) Do you happen to know if the present income tax law lets everybody deduct the same amount for contributions to charity whether they give anything or not, or to get the deduction do people actually have to say they made a contribution? Asked of 73% of the sample who said they (or their wife or husband) had sent in a federal income tax return in March. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Give or not | 13% |
| Must give | 34 |
| Neither | 1 |
| Don't know | 24 |
| Depends on form used | 1 |
| | 73% |

**81.** (US Dec '44) Have you or your (wife) (husband) made any contributions to churches or charities during this past year that you can remember? Asked of 73% of the sample who said they (or their wife or husband) had sent in a federal income tax return in March. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 69% |
| No | 3 |
| Don't know, don't remember | 1 |
| | 73% |

**82.** (US Dec '44) Which of these numbers comes closest to the amount you or your (wife) (husband) gave to churches and charities during this past year? Just your own best guess. Asked of 69% of the sample who had filed an income tax return in March, and who had made a contribution to a church or charity during the year. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| $10 or less | 9% |
| $11–$25 | 11 |
| $26–$35 | 7 |
| $36–$50 | 10 |
| $51–$75 | 9 |
| $76–$100 | 6 |
| Over $100 | 13 |
| Don't know | 4 |
| Refused | * |
| | 69% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**83.** (US Dec '44) If you got the same deduction on your income tax whether you gave anything or not, do you think this would make any difference to how much you would give? Asked of 69% of the sample who had filed an income tax return in March and had made a contribution to a church or charity during the year. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, difference | 4% |
| No difference | 63 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 69% |

**84.** (US Dec '44) Do you think the tax law should allow everybody the same deduction whether they actually give to

charity or not, or do you think only those people who give should get a deduction? Asked of 73% of the sample who said they (or their wife or husband) had sent in a federal income tax return in March. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Everybody | 12% |
| Only those who give | 57 |
| Don't know | 4 |
| | 73% |

**85.** (US Dec '44) Well, to do that [allow tax deductions only to those who give], the new simplified tax form to be used next year would need another couple of lines to fill our. Do you think it would be better to leave the new form alone and allow the same deduction for everybody or add a couple more lines to it and allow a deduction only for those people who actually give? Asked of 57% of the sample who had filed a federal income tax return in March and thought that only those people who gave to charities should be allowed deductions for their contributions. (NORC)

Everybody 9% Only those who give 44%
Don't know 4% = 57%

**86.** (US Mar 7 '45) Will (did) you (or your husband) make it [federal income tax report] out yourself, or will (did) someone help you? Asked of a national cross-section of taxpayers. (AIPO)

Self or husband 41% Help 57% Don't know 2%

**87.** (US Mar 7 '45) Will (did) you (or your husband) pay for this help? Asked of 57% of the sample of taxpayers who needed help to make out their income tax report. (AIPO)

Yes 54% No 41% Don't know 5% = 100% of those questioned

**88.** (US Mar 7 '45) About how much will (did) you have to pay for this help? Asked of 54% of the taxpayers who needed help to make out their report and had to pay for this help. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 15% |
| Under $1 | 3 |
| $1–$1.99 | 9 |
| $2–$2.99 | 17 |
| $3–$3.99 | 11 |
| $4–$4.99 | 2 |
| $5–$5.99 | 17 |
| $6–$6.99 | 2 |
| $7–$9.99 | 3 |
| $10 | 8 |
| Over $10 | 10 |
| Anyone mentioning monthly rate to auditor or accountant | 3 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

Mean average $7.50

**89.** (US May 15 '45) Do you think Congress should reduce income taxes this year, or should this wait until after Japan is defeated? (AIPO)

This year 18% Wait 77% No opinion 5%

**90.** (US Aug 8 '45) Abour how much do you think a married man with two children who earns $60 a week, that is, $3,000 a year now pays in federal income tax? How about a married man with two children who earns $200 a week, that is, $10,000 a year? How abour a married man with two children who earns $1,000 a week, that is, $50,000 a year? (AIPO)

*$3,000 a year*

| | |
|---|---|
| Nothing | 1% |
| Under $100 a year | 6 |
| $100 and under $150 a year | 10 |
| $150 and under $200 a year | 8 |
| $200 and under $250 a year | 12 |
| $250 and under $300 a year | 10 |
| $300 and under $350 a year | 10 |
| $350 and under $400 a year | 3 |
| $400 and under $450 a year | 4 |
| $450 and under $750 a year | 12 |
| $750 and over | 3 |
| Don't know | 21 |

Median $250 and under $300 a year

*$10,000 a year*

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $200 a year | 2% |
| $250 and under $500 a year | 7 |
| $500 and under $750 a year | 9 |
| $750 and under $950 a year | 6 |
| $1,000 and under $1,250 a year | 14 |
| $1,250 a year | 3 |
| $1,300 and under $2,000 a year | 11 |
| $2,000 a year | 9 |
| $2,500 a year | 6 |
| $3,000 a year | 5 |
| $3,500 a year and over | 3 |
| Don't know | 25 |

Median $1,000 and under $1,250 a year

*$50,000 a year*

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $2,500 a year | 10% |
| $2,500 and under $5,000 a year | 7 |
| $5,000 a year | 8 |
| $5,500 and under $10,000 a year | 6 |
| $10,000 a year | 11 |
| $12,500 a year | 2 |
| $15,000 and under $20,000 a year | 6 |
| $20,000 and under $25,000 a year | 7 |
| $25,000 and under $30,000 a year | 9 |
| $30,000 and under $35,000 a year | 4 |
| $35,000 a year and over | 2 |
| Don't know | 28 |

Median $10,000 a year

**91.** (US Aug 8 '45) A cross-section comparable to that used for the preceding question was asked simultaneously: After the war, about how much do you think a married man with two children who earns $60 a week, that is, $3,000 a year, should pay in federal income taxes? How about a married man with two children who earns $200 a week, that is, $10,000 a year? How about a married man with two children who earns $1,000 a week, that is, $50,000 a year? (AIPO)

*$3,000 a year*

| | |
|---|---|
| Nothing | 14% |
| Under $100 a year | 14 |
| $100 and under $150 a year | 13 |
| $150 and under $200 a year | 10 |
| $200 and under $250 a year | 6 |
| $250 and under $300 a year | 7 |
| $300 and under $350 a year | 13 |
| $350 and under $400 a year | * |
| $400 and under $450 a year | 1 |
| $450 and under $750 a year | 7 |
| $750 and over | 2 |
| Don't know | 13 |

*$10,000 a year*

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $200 a year | 4% |
| $250 and under $500 a year | 11 |
| $500 and under $750 a year | 14 |
| $750 and under $950 a year | 4 |
| $1,000 and under $1,250 a year | 19 |
| $1,250 a year | 4 |
| $1,300 and under $2,000 a year | 7 |
| $2,000 a year | 10 |
| $2,500 a year | 5 |
| $3,000 a year | 2 |
| $3,500 a year | 5 |
| Don't know | 15 |

| Median $150 and under $200 a year | Median $1,000 and under $1,250 a year |
|---|---|

*$50,000 a year*

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $2,500 a year | 12% |
| $2,500 and under $5,000 a year | 7 |
| $5,000 a year | 13 |
| $5,500 and under $10,000 a year | 5 |
| $10,000 a year | 14 |
| $12,500 a year | 4 |
| $15,000 and under $20,000 a year | 6 |
| $20,000 and under $25,000 a year | 5 |
| $25,000 and under $30,000 a year | 13 |
| $30,000 and under $35,000 a year | 2 |
| $35,000 a year and over | 2 |
| Don't know | 17 |

Median $12,500 a year

* Less than 0.5%.

**92.** (US Aug 16 '45) There have been all sorts of ideas suggested for things we should do in this country after the war, and we'd like to know how you feel about some of them. Do you think it is a good idea or not such a good idea to reduce taxes on personal income? (NYHT)

| | *Good idea* | *Not so good* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total* | 65.8% | 22.5% | 11.7% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 59.7% | 33.5% | 6.8% |
| Upper middle | 62.4 | 30.2 | 7.4 |
| Lower middle | 69.2 | 22.1 | 8.7 |
| Poor | 63.8 | 17.0 | 19.2 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| Grade school | 63.4% | 17.0% | 19.6% |
| High school | 70.6 | 22.1 | 7.3 |
| College | 60.5 | 33.4 | 6.1 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Urban | 68.2% | 21.0% | 10.8% |
| Rural | 56.2 | 28.5 | 15.3 |

* National total from *Fortune* Aug '45.

**93.** (US Sept 6 '45) Do you think that all income taxes owed by members of the armed forces on their service pay should be cancelled, or should these taxes be paid? (AIPO)

Cancelled 75% Paid 16% No opinion 9%

**94.** (US Sept 6 '45) When persons went into the armed forces, income tax payments on that year's earnings as civilians were postponed until after they are discharged. Do you think these income taxes should be cancelled, or should they be paid? (AIPO)

Cancelled 56% Paid 34% No opinion 10%

**95.** (US Oct 17 '45) Congress is considering cutting income taxes for next year. Under one plan, many families now paying a small tax would no longer have to pay any tax, and the rest would have their taxes cut by about ten per cent. Do you think these tax cuts would be enough for the present, or should they cut more? (AIPO)

| | *Would be enough* | *Taxes should be cut more* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 52% | 31% | 17% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional and business | 64% | 26% | 10% |
| White-collar | 57 | 32 | 11 |
| Farmers | 53 | 28 | 19 |
| Manual workers | 45 | 33 | 22 |

**96.** (US Jan 3 '46) At present some people with large incomes have to pay more than half of their income in income taxes. Do you think an income tax limit should be placed on large incomes so that no one would pay more than half of his income in federal income tax? (AIPO)

Yes 46% No 43% No opinion 11%

**97.** (US Feb 27 '46) Do you think your income tax rate this year should be higher, lower, or the same as it is now? Asked of a national cross-section of taxpayers. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Higher | 2% |
| Lower | 60 |
| Same | 32 |
| Don't know | 6 |

**98.** (US Oct 10 '46) Should the Congress to be elected this November reduce income taxes in 1947—or should this wait until some of the national debt has been paid off? (Nov 13 '46) Do you think the new Congress should reduce income taxes in 1947, or should this wait until some of the national debt has been paid off? (AIPO)

| | *Cut taxes; reduce* | *Wait* | *No opinion; undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '46 | 41% | 49% | 10% |
| Nov '46 | 48 | 44 | 8 |
| Nov '46 taxpayers only | 51 | 44 | 5 |
| NATIONAL RESULTS BY POLITICS IN OCT '46 | | | |
| Republican | 45% | 48% | 7% |
| Democratic | 38 | 50 | 12 |
| Independent | 41 | 50 | 9 |
| INCOME TAXPAYERS BY POLITICS IN NOV '46 | | | |
| Democratic | 50% | 46% | 4% |
| Republican | 54 | 42 | 4 |

**99.** (US Dec 31 '46) About how much do you think a married man with two children who earns $60 a week, that is $3,000 a year, now pays in federal income taxes? How about a married man with two children who earns $200 a week, that is $10,000 a year? How about a married man with two children who earns $1,000 a week, that is $50,000 a year? The same series of questions were put to a separate, but comparable, cross-section using "should pay" instead of "now pays." (AIPO)

| *On $3,000 a year* | *Now pays* | *Should pay* |
|---|---|---|
| Under $100 a year | 9% | 14% |
| $100 to under $150 a year | 10 | 12 |
| $150 to under $200 a year | 10 | 9 |
| $200 to under $250 a year | 12 | 4 |
| $250 to under $300 a year | 10 | 4 |
| $300 to under $350 a year | 8 | 4 |
| $350 to under $400 a year | 3 | * |
| $400 to under $450 a year | 4 | * |
| $450 to under $750 a year | 8 | 3 |
| $750 and over | 2 | * |
| No answer, don't know | 19 | 8 |
| None | 5 | 41 |
| | | * = 1 |
| | Median $200 | $50 |

| *On $10,000 a year* | *Now pays* | *Should pay* |
|---|---|---|
| Under $200 a year | 2% | 5% |
| $200 to under $500 a year | 7 | 16 |
| $500 to under $750 a year | 13 | 20 |
| $750 to under $1,000 a year | 7 | 5 |
| $1,000 to under $1,250 a year | 16 | 18 |
| $1,250 a year | 3 | 4 |
| $1,300 to under $2,000 a year | 10 | 6 |
| $2,000 to under $2,500 a year | 7 | 10 |

| *On $10,000 a year* | *Now pays* | *Should pay* |
|---|---|---|
| $2,500 to under $3,000 a year | 5% | 4% |
| $3,000 to under $3,500 a year | 2 | 2 |
| $3,500 a year | 3 | 2 |
| No answer, don't know | 25 | 8 |
| Median | $1,000 | $900 |

| *On $50,000 a year* | *Now pays* | *Should pay* |
|---|---|---|
| Under $2,500 a year | 10% | 18% |
| $2,500 to under $5,000 a year | 9 | 8 |
| $5,000 a year | 10 | 17 |
| $5,500 to under $10,000 a year | 6 | 3 |
| $10,000 to under $12,500 a year | 11 | 16 |
| $12,500 to under $15,000 a year | 3 | 3 |
| $15,000 to under $20,000 a year | 6 | 6 |
| $20,000 to under $25,000 a year | 7 | 6 |
| $25,000 to under $30,000 a year | 8 | 9 |
| $30,000 to under $35,000 a year | 2 | 2 |
| $35,000 and over | 2 | 2 |
| No answer, don't know | 26 | 10 |
| Median | $9,000 | $7,500 |

## U.S. (Ruml Plan)

**1.** (US Feb 3 '42) Will you have to pay a federal income tax this year? Asked of a national cross-section of regularly paid employed persons. (AIPO)

Yes 46% No 43% Don't know 11%

**2.** (US Feb 3 '42) Starting in April, would you like to have a regular amount deducted from each pay check to pay your federal income tax next year? Asked of a national cross-section of regularly paid employed persons who would either have to pay a federal income tax in 1942, or didn't know whether they would have to or not. (AIPO)

Yes 45% No 45% Undecided 10%

**3.** (US May '42) Here is another suggestion which some people say would help the war effort. Instead of people paying their income tax after the year is over, there should be a law so that part of their tax would be taken each pay day throughout the year. If at the end of the year a person had paid too much or too little, it would be settled then. (Do you think this would be a good idea or a bad idea?) (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good idea | 64% |
| Bad idea | 29 |
| Qualified answer | 1 |
| Don't know | 6 |

**4.** (US May '42) Supposing that you did have to pay an income tax for this year, what would you think of this suggestion which some people say would help the war effort? Instead of people paying their income tax after the year is over, there should be a law so that part of their tax would be taken each pay day throughout the year. If at the end of the year a person had paid too much or too little, it would be settled then. (Do you think this would be a good idea or a bad idea?) (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good idea | 72% |
| Bad idea | 14 |
| Qualified answer | 1 |
| Don't know | 13 |

**5.** (US May 30 '42) Would you like to have a regular amount deducted from each pay check to pay your federal income tax next year? Asked of a national cross-section of employed taxpayers. (AIPO)

Yes 50% No 43% Undecided 7%

**6.** (US Nov 12 '42, Dec 2 '42, Jan 7 '43) Next March 15 the government will collect an income tax on money that you earned throughout this year. Would you like to have that plan continued, or would you prefer to pay your taxes on the money as you earn it? The Nov '42 and Jan '43 samples were asked of a national cross-section of taxpayers. The Dec '42 sample was asked of a national cross-section of persons who said they would have to pay a federal income tax. (Apr 6 '43) Each year the federal government collects income taxes on money earned the previous year. Would you like to have that plan continued, or would you prefer to pay your taxes on the money as you earn it? Asked of a national cross-section of taxpayers. (AIPO)

| | *Continue* | *Pay as you earn* | | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '42 | 35% | 65% | | — | = 100% |
| Dec '42 | 29 | 71 | = 100% | 7% | |
| Jan '43 | 27 | 67 | | 6 | = 100 |
| Apr '43 | 21 | 79 | | — | = 100 |

**7.** (US Nov 12 '42 to May 12 '43 dates listed below) Are you familiar with the Ruml Plan, a proposal for paying taxes on current income rather than on the previous year's income? Asked of a national cross-section of taxpayers. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Nov 12 '42 | 22% | 78% |
| Dec 12 '42* | 44 | 56 |
| Jan 7 '43** | 81 | 19 |
| Feb 23 '43† | 82 | 18 |
| Apr 6 '43† | 74 | 26 |
| May 13 '43‡ | 82 | 18 |

* The question was: Have you heard of the Ruml pay-as-you-go plan for income taxes? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who said they would have to pay income taxes.

** Have you heard of the Ruml pay-as-you-go income tax plan? Asked of a national cross-section of taxpayers.

† Have you heard of the Ruml income tax plan? The Feb '43 question was asked of a national cross-section of taxpayers. The Apr '43 question was asked of everyone.

‡ Have you ever heard of the Ruml-Carlson income tax plan? Asked of everyone.

**8.** (US Dec 2 '42, Jan 7 '43, Feb 23 '43, Apr 6 '43, May 12 '43) Do you favor or oppose the Ruml Plan? Asked of a national cross-section of taxpayers familiar with the Ruml Plan. (AIPO)

| | *Yes, favor* | *No, oppose* | | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '42 | 76% | 24% | = 100% | 23% | |
| Jan '43 | 90 | 10 | = 100 | 17 | |
| Feb '43 | 85 | 15 | = 100 | 15 | |
| Apr '43 | 54 | 27 | | 19 | = 100% |
| May '43 | 52 | 25 | | 23 | = 100 |

FEB '43 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Democratic taxpayers | 83% | 17% |
| Republican taxpayers | 87 | 13 |

FEB '43 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Taxpayers in upper half | 83% | 17% |
| Taxpayers in lower half | 86 | 14 |

FEB '43 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 87% | 13% |
| East central | 85 | 15 |
| West central | 81 | 19 |
| South | 85 | 15 |
| Mountain and Far West | 86 | 14 |

**9.** (US Feb 3 '43) Would you like to pay your federal income tax by having your employer deduct a regular amount from

your wage or salary each time you are paid? Asked of a national cross-section of employed taxpayers. (AIPO)

Yes 76% No 19% Undecided 5%

**10.** (US Feb 23 '43) Under the Ruml Plan what would be done about 1942 income taxes? Asked of a national cross-section of taxpayers familiar with the Ruml Plan. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Gave correct answer | 64% |
| Gave incorrect or no answer | 36 |

**11.** (US Feb 23 '43) How would the 1943 taxes be handled [under the Ruml Plan]? Asked of a national cross-section of taxpayers familiar with the Ruml Plan. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Gave correct answer | 87% |
| Gave incorrect answer or no answer | 13 |

**12.** (US Feb 24 '43) If the Ruml Plan is passed, does it mean that persons will or will not have to file an income tax report by March 15? Asked of a national cross-section of taxpayers familiar with the Ruml Plan. (AIPO)

Will 77% Will not 8% Don't know 15%

**13.** (US Feb 24 '43) Does it [the Ruml Plan] mean that persons will or will not have to pay a tax on their incomes for last year? Asked of a national cross-section of taxpayers familiar with the Ruml Plan. (AIPO)

Will 38% Will not 42% Don't know 20%

**14.** (US Aug 17 '43) Do you favor the present pay-as-you-go plan for income taxes, or would you prefer to go back to the system of paying each year's income tax the following year? Asked of a national cross-section of withholding-tax payers. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Pay-as-you-go | 82% |
| Pay following year | 12 |
| No opinion | 6 |

**15.** (US Mar 15 '44) Did you, yourself, pay a federal income tax by March 15 of this year? 47% of the sample who said they had not paid income tax were asked: Did your employer deduct anything from your salary or wages during 1943 for federal income tax? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Paid tax personally | 53% |
| Tax deducted by employer | 11 |
| Tax not deducted by employer and none paid personally | 11 |
| Not employed, but no tax paid personally | 16 |
| Didn't say whether or not tax was deducted | 9 |

**16.** (US Mar 15 '44) Did your wife (husband) pay a federal income tax by March 15 of this year? 65% of the sample who said they had not paid income tax were asked: Did her (his) employer deduct anything from her (his) salary or wages during 1943 for federal income tax? Only married persons were questioned. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Paid tax March 15 | 35% |
| Tax deducted by employer | 7 |
| Didn't pay tax and none deducted | 13 |
| Not employed and no tax paid | 35 |
| Didn't say whether or not tax was deducted | 10 |

## INCOME TAX VS. SALES TAX: U.S.

**1.** (US Nov 19 '37) If the federal government decides to raise more money, which method of taxation would you prefer: increase present income tax rates, have a national sales tax, or make more people pay income taxes? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Increase present rates | 24% |
| Sales tax | 27 |
| Make more people pay | 27 |
| No opinion | 22 |

**2.** (US Aug '38) Which of the following taxes is the most unfair? (FOR)

| | *National total* | *Prosperous* | *Poor* |
|---|---|---|---|
| General sales tax | 33.2% | 25.5% | 37.8% |
| Tax on real estate | 16.4 | 21.3 | 14.1 |
| The taxes on gasoline | 12.7 | 6.9 | 13.2 |
| Social-security and unemployment tax | 11.1 | 17.6 | 8.2 |
| The income taxes | 7.7 | 14.2 | 4.5 |
| The taxes on cigarettes | 3.9 | 1.7 | 3.8 |
| Tax on beer and liquor | 1.8 | .2 | 2.9 |
| Tax on such items as jewelry, perfume, theaters | 1.7 | .6 | .9 |
| None | 8.3 | 9.2 | 9.6 |
| Don't know | 3.2 | 2.8 | 5.0 |

**3.** (US Apr '40) Suppose it became necessary to increase taxes, which one or two of these methods would you prefer? (FOR)

| | *National total* % | *Prosperous* % | *Upper middle* % | *Lower middle* % | *Poor* % | *Negro* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Increase taxes on tobacco, luxuries, and liquor | 40.5 | 42.6 | 45.6 | 41.7 | 36.4 | 31.3 |
| Increase taxes on corporation profits | 20.9 | 10.7 | 18.0 | 22.3 | 25.6 | 17.8 |
| Increase the number of people paying an income tax by having people with lower incomes pay at least a small income tax | 17.1 | 35.3 | 23.0 | 15.8 | 11.8 | 8.7 |
| Place a federal sales tax on all retail sales | 14.2 | 23.7 | 16.9 | 15.5 | 9.6 | 6.6 |
| Increase taxes on those now paying income taxes | 14.0 | 7.9 | 11.5 | 14.6 | 18.4 | 8.7 |
| Don't know | 12.5 | 6.3 | 6.5 | 10.3 | 15.4 | 33.7 |
| Percentages | 119.2* | 126.5* | 121.5* | 120.2* | 117.2* | 106.8* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**4.** (US Dec 16 '40) Which kind of tax would you prefer to raise money for defense: a national sales tax on everything you buy, or an income tax based upon the amount of income you receive and collected from every family except those on relief? The question was asked of one cross-section in this form, of another cross-section omitting "and collected from every family," etc. Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sales tax | 30% |
| Income tax | 54 |
| Both | 8 |
| Other | 3 |
| Don't know | 5 |

**5.** (US Mar 18 '42) In order to raise money to pay for the war, which of these two plans would you prefer to have Congress pass: get much more money from persons who now pay income taxes, and also have persons with small incomes start paying income tax; or increase income taxes somewhat, and add a national sales tax of five per cent on all the things you buy? Each respondent was handed a card with the two alternatives. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Increase taxes | 49% |
| Increase taxes and add sales tax | 39 |
| No opinion | 12 |

**6.** (US Mar 31 '42) To help pay the huge costs of the war, the government will be forced to raise more money in taxes than it ever has in its history. In your opinion, what kind of taxes should we have to raise this money? (AIPO)

| *The money should be raised by* | |
|---|---|
| Income tax | 27% |
| Increased tax on high incomes | 8 |
| Salary-deduction system | 2 |
| Sales tax | 23 |
| Luxury tax | 17 |
| Liquor and smoking tax | 4 |
| Amusement tax | 3 |
| Property tax | 2 |
| Excess-profits tax | 3 |
| Gasoline tax | 1 |
| Corporation tax | 2 |
| Other taxes (poll tax, food tax, automobile tax, inheritance tax, transaction tax, etc.) | 4 |
| Increasing all existing taxes | 4 |
| No additional taxes, no other means suggested | 2 |
| By lotteries | 1 |
| By sale of defense bonds | 1 |
| No opinion | 18 |
| Vague and non-specific answers | 2 |
| | 124%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**7.** (US Mar 24 '43) If more money has to be raised from taxes would you rather the government increased income taxes or tried to get the same amount by having a national sales tax of five to ten per cent on everything you buy? (AIPO)

Increase income taxes 44% National sales tax 42%
No opinion 14%

**8.** (US Apr 27 '43) If taxes have to be increased would you favor paying more by way of income tax, or would you favor a retail sales tax of five per cent on everything you buy? (AIPO)

More income tax 47% Sales tax 42% Undecided 11%

**9.** (US Oct 6 '43) If the government decides to raise taxes, which would you prefer: that the extra amount be raised by a national sales tax on everything people buy, or that the extra amount be raised by increasing everybody's income tax? (AIPO)

| | *National sales tax* | *Increasing income tax* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 53% | 34% | 13% |
| Income taxpayers only | 57 | 31 | 12 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional and businessmen | 61% | 30% | 9% |
| White-collar workers | 57 | 31 | 12 |
| Skilled workers | 55 | 32 | 13 |
| Other labor | 46 | 37 | 17 |
| Farmers | 53 | 37 | 10 |

**10.** (US Nov '43) If the government needs to increase taxes, which would you personally prefer: to increase the withholding tax on your salary; to put sales taxes on all things you buy? (FOR)

| | *Increase withholding tax* | *Sales tax* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33.0% | 52.3% | 14.7% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| High | 25.1% | 66.7% | 8.2% |
| Upper middle | 34.3 | 57.7 | 8.0 |
| Lower middle | 34.4 | 52.6 | 13.0 |
| Low | 34.5 | 43.6 | 21.9 |

**11.** (US Jan 18 '44) If the government decides to raise taxes, which would you prefer: that the extra amount be raised by a national sales tax on everything people buy, or that the extra amount be raised by increasing everybody's income tax? (AIPO)

National sales tax 56% Increasing income tax 34%
No opinion 10%

**12.** (US Feb 16 '44) If larger taxes are voted by Congress which would you prefer: a national sales tax on everything people buy or an increase in everyone's income tax? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with income tax listed before sales tax. Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Sales tax* | *Increase income tax* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 34% | 11% |
| Those willing to pay higher taxes only | 55 | 39 | 6 |

**13.** (US Oct '44) Ruml believes that sales taxes are more harmful to business activity than raising the same amount through individual income taxes. Do you believe he is right or wrong? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Right 35.8% Wrong 64.2%

**14.** (US Oct '44) If the United States had to accept one of these tax-reform plans, which do you believe would do more to maintain a high level of postwar business activity: the new Ruml Plan, which holds that the United States government should abolish practically all corporate-profit taxes, excise taxes, and federal sales taxes, relying for 72% of its revenue on individual income taxes (at rates lower than the present); the Twin Cities Plan, which places greater importance on the reduction of individual income taxes, but would retain a 40% corporate tax and impose a 5% federal sales tax? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Ruml Plan 58.1% Twin Cities Plan 41.9%

**15.** (US Oct '44) More specifically, which do you think is a greater deterrent to a high rate of business activity: corporate income taxes; individual income taxes? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Corporate income taxes 73.5% Individual income taxes 26.5%

# INDIA

## British Occupation

**1.** (Great Britain Nov '39 and Jan 16 '42, Canada Apr 6 '42) Should India's demand for self-government be granted during

the war, or should it wait until after the war? The Canadian question began: "In your opinion, should India's demand, etc." (BIPO, CIPO)

| | *During the war* | *After the war* | *Don't know; undecided* | *Never* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '39 | 26% | 51% | 23% | — |
| Jan '42 | 31 | 41 | 28 | — |
| Apr '42 | 31 | 41 | 26 | 2% |

**2.** (US Mar 31 '42) Have you heard or read about the plan to give India self-government? 78% of the sample who were familiar with the situation were asked: Should England give India dominion status now or after the war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dominion status now | 41% |
| After the war | 24 |
| Never | 2 |
| Didn't say when | 11 |
| Unfamiliar with the subject | 22 |

**3.** (US Mar 31 '42) A cross-section comparable to the one used for the previous question was: Have you heard or read about the plan to give India dominion status? 70% of the sample who were familiar with the subject were asked: Should England give India dominion status now or after the war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dominion status now | 37% |
| After the war | 19 |
| Never | 2 |
| Didn't say when | 12 |
| Unfamiliar with the subject | 30 |

**4.** (US July 29 '42 and Aug 13 '42) Have you heard or read about plans to give India a greater amount of freedom from England? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| July '42 | 69% | 31% |
| Aug '42 | 74 | 26 |

**5.** (US July 29 '42 and Aug 13 '42) Should England grant India complete independence? A comparable cross-section was asked the question in the following form: What do you think England should do about India's demand for complete independence? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *July '42* | *Aug '42* |
|---|---|---|
| Give them complete independence | 43% | 43% |
| Give them partial independence | 5 | 2 |
| Give them dominion status | — | 1 |
| Make them a protectorate | — | 1 |
| Give them independence when they are capable of governing themselves | — | 1 |
| Don't give them independence | 17 | 23 |
| No opinion | 34 | 29 |
| Other answers | 1 | — |

**6.** (US July 29 '42 and Aug 13 '42) Should India be granted its independence now or after the war? Asked of 43% of both samples who thought India should be granted complete independence. (AIPO)

| | *Now* | *After the war* | *Undecided* | *Other* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| July '42 | 55% | 39% | 5% | 1% | = 100% of those |
| Aug '42 | 46 | 47 | 6 | 1 | = 100 questioned |

**7.** (Great Britain Sept 20 '42) The British government will not negotiate with Gandhi and Congress until they stop their disobedience campaign. Is this the best course for our government in the circumstances, or should they make a new approach to Gandhi and Congress immediately? (BIPO)

Don't negotiate 66% Make new approach 26%
Don't know 8%

**8.** (Great Britain Nov '42, Apr '43, Sept '44) Concerning the Indian situation, do you think that the British government should take steps now to reopen negotiations with the Indian political leaders? The word "political" was omitted from the 1944 question. (BIPO) (US Nov 17 '42) Do you think the British government should take steps now to discuss again with India's political leaders the question of India's freedom? (AIPO)

| | *Yes, should* | *No, should not* | *Don't know, no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Britain Nov '42 | 38% | 31% | 31% |
| US Nov 17 '42 | 45 | 29 | 26 |
| Britain Apr '43 | 39 | 35 | 26 |
| Britain Sept '44 | 52 | 13 | 35 |

**9.** (Canada Dec 16 '42) Do you think that Britain has been wise or unwise in her recent handling of the situation in India? (CIPO)

| | *British wise* | *British unwise* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 51% | 21% | 28% |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION ABOUT GANDHI | | | |
| Right on Gandhi | 62% | 28% | 10% |
| Fair on Gandhi | 59 | 21 | 20 |
| Vague on Gandhi | 51 | 22 | 27 |
| Never heard of Gandhi | 21 | 10 | 69 |
| Wrong on Gandhi | 41 | 20 | 39 |

**10.** (US Apr 6 '43) Do you think Britain should give the people of India their independence? 62% of the sample who were in favor of Indian independence were asked: Now or after the war? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't give them independence | 19% |
| Don't know whether or not they should be independent | 19 |
| Give them independence now | 19 |
| After the war | 40 |
| Don't know when they should be independent | 3 |

**11.** (US Apr 6 '43) Should India get her independence after the war? Asked of 19% of the sample who did not think Britain should give India independence. (NORC)

Yes 7% No 9% Don't know 3% = 19%

**12.** (US Apr 6 '43) Do you think we ought to help see that India gets her independence, or should we leave that up to the British? Asked of the 62% who favored Indian independence and the additional 7% who favored it after the war. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| We should help | 22% |
| Leave up to British | 43 |
| Don't know | 4 |
| | 69% |

**13.** (US Apr 6 '43) In what way [should we help]? Asked of 22% of sample who thought we should help see that India gets her independence. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Make constructive suggestions; convince England | 2% |
| Include in the postwar peace settlement | 3 |
| By conference or arbitration | 3 |
| Specific ways of influencing England | 3 |
| Non-specified use of influence or pressure on England | 3 |
| Dealing directly with India | 2 |
| Should not go to war over India, do it peacefully | 1 |
| Redundant or irrelevant | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 3 |
| | 22% |

**14.** (Canada Aug 22 '45) Do you think that India is ready yet for the same amount of self-government as Canada has or not? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided; no opinion* | *Qualified* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 18% | 46% | 33% | 3% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Progressive-Conservative | 9% | 64% | 24% | 3% |
| Liberal | 19 | 44 | 35 | 2 |
| CCF | 20 | 42 | 34 | 4 |

**15.** (Great Btitain Jan 12 '46) Concerning India, should Britain get out now, leaving Indians to work out their own constitution, or should we stay until a new constitution has been agreed upon? (BIPO) (US Mar 13 '46) One cross-section of the United States was asked: (1) In respect to India, should Britain get out now, leaving India to work out its own constitution, or should England stay until a new constitution has been agreed upon? A comparable United States cross-section was asked: (2) Should Great Britain give India its independence now, or wait until a new Indian constitution has been agreed upon? (AIPO)

| | *Get out now* | *Stay till new constitution* | *No opinion; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Great Britain | 23% | 59% | 18% |
| First US cross-section | 33 | 45 | 22 |
| Second US cross-section | 29 | 42 | 29 |
| BRITISH RESULTS BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 24% | 66% | 10% |
| Women | 23 | 51 | 26 |
| BRITISH RESULTS BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 23% | 57% | 20% |
| 30–49 years | 23 | 61 | 16 |
| 50 years and over | 24 | 56 | 20 |
| BRITISH RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 13% | 82% | 5% |
| Middle | 23 | 66 | 11 |
| Lower | 25 | 53 | 22 |
| BRITISH RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative | 14% | 74% | 12% |
| Labor | 30 | 50 | 20 |
| Liberal | 22 | 64 | 14 |
| National Liberal | 4 | 78 | 18 |
| Others | 30 | 43 | 27 |
| Didn't say | 23 | 52 | 25 |

**16.** (US Mar 13 '46) Have you followed the discussions about the problem between Great Britain and India? 48% of the sample who said they had followed the discussions were asked: What do you think Great Britain should do about India? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Haven't followed the discussions | 52% |
| India should be free; give her independence | 32 |
| Train her for self-government; give her a trial freedom | 4 |
| Educate the poor; improve conditions | 1 |
| Give her dominion status | 2 |
| Wait until she can govern herself | 2 |
| Britain should continue to control India | 2 |
| India should be allowed to choose | 1 |
| Give them freedom but close supervision | 1 |
| Other miscellaneous answers | * |
| Don't know or didn't say what should be done | 3 |

* Less than 0.5%.

## INDIANS OF SOUTH AMERICA

**1.** (Brazil Nov '46) In your opinion, should the Chavante Indians be civilized or left to their own way of living? (IBOPE)

Civilized 65% Left alone 27% No opinion 8%

**2.** (Brazil Nov '46) Do you think the Chavante Indians are happier now or less happy than we are? (IBOPE)

Happier 58% Less happy 17% No opinion 25%

**3.** (Brazil Nov '46) Do you think that the savage Indians have more or less morality than the civilized ones? (IBOPE)

| | *More* | *Less* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 32% | 35% | 33% |
| BY CITIES | | | |
| Rio de Janeiro | 38% | 27% | 35% |
| São Paulo | 26 | 42 | 32 |

**4.** (Brazil Nov '46) If you were to be born again, how would you like to live—as a Chavante Indian or a civilized man? (IBOPE)

A Chavante 17% A civilized man 65% No opinion 18%

## INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

**1.** (US Feb 22 '37) Do you think that big business concerns are usually fair to their employees? (AIPO)

Yes 64% No 36% = 100% No opinion 17%

**2.** (US Oct '37) Which, if any, of the following should intervene in case a dispute between employers and employees becomes difficult to settle? (FOR)

| | *Federal government* | *State government* | *Committee of local citizens* | *Committee of employers and employees* | **Combinations of some of these* | *Depends on individual cases* | *None* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| National total | 22.1 | 9.9 | 5.4 | 44.2 | 4.5 | .4 | 1.0 | 12.5 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Executives | 17.4 | 11.6 | 10.4 | 48.6 | 6.2 | .8 | .8 | 4.2 |
| Factory labor | 28.2 | 10.3 | 4.0 | 48.3 | 2.3 | — | — | 6.9 |
| Minor salaried workers | 21.2 | 9.6 | 4.8 | 47.6 | 6.6 | .7 | .5 | 9.0 |

* Mentioned as combinations: federal and state; federal and local committee; federal and committee of employers and employees; state government and local committee of citizens; state government and committee of employers and employees; local committee and committee of employers and employees; combinations of three or more groups.

**3.** (US Oct 28 '37) It has been suggested that the federal government reduce taxes on companies which distribute profits to their workers. Do you favor this plan? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 65% | 35% | = 100% | 16% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England | 69% | 31% | | |
| Middle Atlantic | 74 | 26 | | |
| East central | 73 | 27 | | |
| West central | 54 | 46 | | |
| South | 58 | 42 | | |
| Rocky Mountain | 51 | 49 | | |
| Pacific coast | 54 | 46 | | |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Farmers | 48% | 52% | | |
| Professional | 62 | 38 | | |
| Business | 67 | 33 | | |
| Skilled workers | 71 | 29 | | |
| Unskilled workers | 71 | 29 | | |
| Unemployed | 74 | 26 | | |

**4.** (US Mar 30 '38) If an employer has labor trouble in this community, do you think he is justified in moving his plant to another community? (AIPO)

Yes 47% No 41% No opinion 12%

**5.** (US Mar 30 '38) Do you think an employer here is justified in moving his plant to another community to get cheaper labor? (AIPO)

Yes 28% No 62% No opinion 10%

**6.** (US Mar 30 '38) If an employer has trouble in this community, would you blame him if he moved his plant to another community? (AIPO)

Yes 31% No 55% No opinion 14%

**7.** (US Mar 30 '38) Do you think an employer here is to be blamed if he moves his plant to another community to get cheaper labor? (AIPO)

Yes 49% No 39% No opinion 12%

**8.** (US June 9 '38) Do you think companies should report their earnings to their employees just as they do to their stockholders? A comparable cross-section was asked about "the amount of money they make." Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 41% No 48% No opinion 11%

**9.** (US Feb '39) On the whole, which do you think are generally the fairer to their employees—large corporations or small businesses? (FOR)

Large corporations 43.2% Small businesses 41.0%
Don't know 15.8%

**10.** (US Feb '39) Do you think it is wise or foolish for the management of businesses to try to keep unions from organizing in their plants? (FOR)

| | *Wise* | *Foolish* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 28.2% | 55.1% | 16.7% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 29.8% | 58.0% | 12.2% |
| Poor | 25.8 | 56.0 | 18.2 |
| Executives | 21.9 | 68.4 | 9.7 |
| Factory labor | 25.3 | 61.1 | 13.6 |

**11.** (US May 18 '39 and Nov 15 '39) Do you think workers should have the right to join together in a union in order to bargain with their employers? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| May '39 | 79% | 13% | 8% |
| Nov '39 | 82 | 12 | 6 |

**12.** (US Oct '39) What industry has made the most progress in its handling and treatment of labor? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives? (FOR)

| | *National total* | *Manufacturers* | *Retailers* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Automobile | 37.6% | 32.2% | 41.1% |
| Steel | 9.6 | 16.1 | 5.4 |
| Railroad | 4.2 | 4.3 | 4.0 |
| Electrical | 3.5 | 4.3 | 3.0 |
| Clothing, needle trades | 3.1 | .9 | 4.4 |
| Other | 15.9 | 16.1 | 15.8 |
| None | 1.6 | 1.2 | 1.8 |
| Don't know | 26.5 | 27.2 | 26.0 |
| | 102.0%* | 102.3%* | 101.5%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**13.** (US Oct '39) What company would you say was outstanding in this respect [progress in handling labor]? Asked of 71.9% of the cross-section of business executives who named a definite industry as making progress in its labor relations. (FOR)

| | *National total* | *Manufacturers* | *Retailers* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ford | 25.8% | 23.8% | 27.1% |
| General Motors | 19.5 | 15.3 | 22.2 |
| US Steel (Carnegie, etc.) | 7.0 | 11.5 | 4.1 |
| General Electric | 4.0 | 4.3 | 3.8 |
| Chrysler | 3.7 | 2.6 | 4.4 |
| Other | 28.0 | 28.1 | 27.7 |
| None | 1.3 | 2.1 | .8 |
| Don't know | 16.7 | 19.6 | 14.8 |
| | 106.0%* | 107.3%* | 104.9%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who named a definite industry as making progress in its labor relations and add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**14.** (US Oct '39) What industry would you say was the most backward in its handling of labor? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *National total* | *Manufacturers* | *Retailers* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mining (mostly coal mining) | 24.6% | 22.2% | 26.3% |
| Cotton and other textiles | 15.3 | 20.3 | 12.0 |
| Steel | 4.1 | 4.1 | 4.1 |
| Agriculture | 3.3 | 2.5 | 3.9 |
| Clothing | 3.1 | 3.5 | 2.9 |
| Automobile | 2.4 | 2.2 | 2.4 |
| Retailers (except chain stores) | 2.2 | 1.3 | 2.9 |
| Other | 11.1 | 11.2 | 10.9 |
| None | .4 | .3 | .4 |
| Don't know | 36.2 | 36.2 | 36.3 |
| | 102.7%* | 103.8%* | 102.1%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**15.** (US Dec 14 '39) Should an employer have the right to ask people applying for a job whether or not they belong to a union? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, emphatically | 30% |
| Yes | 40 |
| No | 12 |
| No, emphatically | 10 |
| Don't know | 8 |

**16.** (US Dec 14 '39) Should an employer have the right to refuse to hire anyone because of union membership or union

activities? (Mar 7 '41) Should an employer have the right to refuse to hire anyone because of union membership? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with "activities" substituted for "membership." Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Yes, emphatically* | *Yes* | *No* | *No, emphatically* | *No opinion or no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '39.... | 20% | 23% | 23% | 21% | 13% |
| Mar '41... | 46 | | 44 | | 10 |

**17.** (US Dec 14 '39) In hiring people, should an employer give first call to people who are not union members? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, emphatically | 6% |
| Yes | 12 |
| No | 36 |
| No, emphatically | 23 |
| Don't know | 20 |
| No answer | 3 |

**18.** (US Feb '40) Do you think that the interests of employers and employees are, by their very nature, opposed or are they basically the same? (FOR)

| | *The same* | *Opposed* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56.2% | 24.8% | 19.0% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 73.9% | 17.8% | 8.3% |
| Lower middle class | 58.8 | 25.4 | 15.8 |
| Poor | 44.4 | 29.0 | 26.6 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Executives | 80.2% | 15.3% | 4.5% |
| White-collar | 69.8 | 23.1 | 7.1 |
| Factory labor | 41.3 | 37.3 | 21.4 |
| Unemployed | 45.1 | 29.2 | 25.7 |

**19.** (US June '40) A national cross-section of all working classes, including those who were unemployed, were asked: How many employers—all, most, about half, some, or none—would you say are fair to employees concerning hours? are fair to employees concerning working conditions? are fair to employees concerning wages and salaries? are fair to employees concerning promotions? are fair to employees concerning collective bargaining? (FOR)

| | *All* | *Most* | *About half* | *Some* | *None* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Hours | 6.6 | 41.7 | 21.3 | 22.3 | 3.4 | 4.7 |
| Working conditions | 3.0 | 41.2 | 23.6 | 22.0 | 2.9 | 7.3 |
| Wages and salaries | 1.9 | 34.8 | 27.6 | 26.5 | 3.9 | 5.3 |
| Promotions | 1.9 | 24.4 | 19.5 | 33.7 | 6.9 | 13.6 |
| Collective bargaining | 2.1 | 22.6 | 15.3 | 24.0 | 4.3 | 31.7 |

**20.** (US June '40) Do you regard picketing as a good or bad method of protest? Asked of a national cross-section of all working classes, including those workers who were unemployed. (FOR)

| | *Good* | *Depends* | *Bad* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| All labor | 21.9% | 15.1% | 55.5% | 7.5% |
| CIO | 46.7 | 19.8 | 32.2 | 1.3 |
| AFL | 39.4 | 20.1 | 38.4 | 2.1 |
| Independent union | 24.1 | 17.4 | 55.3 | 3.2 |
| Non-union workers | 15.8 | 13.5 | 61.4 | 9.3 |

**21.** (US June '41) On the whole, do you approve or disapprove of the part played by President Roosevelt in relations between labor and industry? By Henry Ford? By John L. Lewis? By General Motors? By Bethlehem Steel? Asked of a national cross-section of labor. (FOR)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| President Roosevelt | 59.9% | 23.2% | 16.9% |
| Henry Ford | 53.2 | 16.0 | 30.8 |
| General Motors | 30.0 | 8.2 | 61.8 |
| Bethlehem Steel | 20.1 | 11.3 | 68.6 |
| John L. Lewis | 8.2 | 58.6 | 33.2 |
| FACTORY LABOR ONLY | | | |
| President Roosevelt | 73.7% | 15.2% | 11.1% |
| Henry Ford | 48.7 | 31.5 | 19.8 |
| General Motors | 38.0 | 14.9 | 47.1 |
| Bethlehem Steel | 24.3 | 20.7 | 55.0 |
| John L. Lewis | 13.2 | 64.7 | 22.1 |

**22.** (US May 30 '42) Do you think the newspapers as a whole try to give a fair picture of both sides of the story when there is a disagreement between labor and management? 25% of the sample who thought the newspapers didn't try to be fair were asked: Which side do they usually favor, labor or management? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Try to be fair to both sides | 54% |
| Don't know whether or not they try | 21 |
| Favor labor | 3 |
| Favor management | 17 |
| Don't know which side they favor | 5 |

**23.** (Great Britain June '42) Boards are to be set up for encouraging better production. Should they include only government officials or employers and workmen as well? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Government officials | 5% |
| Employers and workmen | 82 |
| Don't know | 13 |

**24.** (Great Britain Aug 22 '42) Do you think that it makes for better feeling in factories when such problems as labor and welfare are handled by joint committees of management and workmen? (BIPO)

Yes 77% No 4% Don't know 19%

**25.** (US Jan '43) How many employers—all, most, about half, few, or none—would you say want to be fair to workers concerning working conditions? wages? promotions? collective bargaining? Asked of a national cross-section of factory and personal service workers. (FOR)

| | *All or most* | *Half* | *Few or none* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Working conditions* | | | | |
| Factory workers | 62.1% | 18.4% | 11.7% | 7.8% |
| Personal service | 55.0 | 19.2 | 12.2 | 13.6 |
| *Wages* | | | | |
| Factory workers | 48.9 | 24.0 | 18.1 | 9.0 |
| Personal service | 45.0 | 22.8 | 19.0 | 13.2 |
| *Promotions* | | | | |
| Factory workers | 46.8 | 20.6 | 20.0 | 12.6 |
| Personal service | 41.4 | 15.3 | 20.6 | 22.7 |
| *Collective bargaining* | | | | |
| Factory workers | 31.2 | 18.3 | 20.3 | 30.2 |
| Personal service | 21.3 | 11.1 | 14.5 | 53.1 |

**26.** (Canada Apr 10 '43) When the majority of the workers in an industry belong to a union, should the employer be compelled to deal with that union? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Union | 82% | 11% | 7% |
| Non-union | 53 | 30 | 17 |

**27.** (Canada Apr 10 '43) Should the remaining workers (the minority) be able to join their own union and have it recognized as well? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Union | 42% | 47% | 11% |
| Non-union | 52 | 27 | 21 |

**28.** (Great Britain Feb '45) Have you had any personal experience of labor exchanges? (BIPO)

Yes 56% No 44%

**29.** (Great Britain Feb '45) What is your opinion of the way the [labor-exchange] officials treat the public? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Disgusting | 12% |
| Dictatorial | 11 |
| Indifferent | 4 |
| Some good | 5 |
| All right | 15 |
| Considerate | 8 |
| No experience | 7 |
| Miscellaneous favorable | 1 |
| Miscellaneous unfavorable | 6 |
| Don't know | 31 |

**30.** (US Nov 15 '45) People were asked whether, generally speaking, they would expect a big company or a small company to give the worker greater security in his job. (NYHT)

| | |
|---|---|
| Big company | 50.6% |
| Small company | 24.9 |
| No difference | 14.8 |
| Don't know | 9.7 |

**31.** (US Nov 15 '45) Generally speaking, would you expect a big company or a small company to give a man starting at the bottom the best chance to advance? (NYHT)

| | |
|---|---|
| Big company | 39.5% |
| Small company | 38.6 |
| No difference | 14.1 |
| Don't know | 7.8 |

**32.** (Sweden Dec '45) Do you know what work-studies in a place of work mean, and do you think that they are more to the advantage or disadvantage of the employees? (SGI)

| | *Disadvantage* | *Advantage* | *Don't know* | *Don't know what it is* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 20% | 30% | 12% | 38% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Government employees | 23% | 48% | 7% | 22% |
| Local government employees | 20 | 47 | 12 | 21 |
| Other employees | 32 | 31 | 11 | 26 |
| Others | 9 | 19 | 13 | 59 |
| Managers | 15 | 41 | 13 | 31 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Right party | 10% | 41% | 11% | 38% |
| Liberal | 16 | 33 | 15 | 36 |
| Agrarian | 10 | 28 | 14 | 48 |
| Social Democrat | 24 | 31 | 11 | 34 |
| Communist | 37 | 20 | 11 | 32 |

**33.** (US Jan '46, June 20 '46, Nov '46) Suppose you had been acting as a referee in labor-management disputes during the past three months. Do you think your decisions would probably have been more often in favor of labor's side or more often in favor of management's side? (FOR, NYHT)

| | *Labor* | *Management* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| FOR Jan '46 | 25.7% | 44.7% | 29.6% |
| NYHT June '46 | 37.1 | 36.6 | 26.3 |
| FOR Nov '46 | 36.8 | 34.5 | 28.7 |
| JAN '46 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Executives | 18.2% | 62.2% | 19.6% |
| Farmers | 24.3 | 50.2 | 25.5 |
| Workers | 38.9 | 30.8 | 30.3 |
| JUNE '46 RESULTS BY AGE | | | |
| 21–34 years | 42.3% | 36.1% | 21.6% |
| 35–49 years | 37.9 | 36.6 | 25.5 |
| 50 years and over | 32.4 | 36.9 | 30.7 |
| JUNE '46 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional and executive | 28.8% | 56.8% | 14.4% |
| Farm (proprietor and wages) | 33.1 | 37.0 | 29.9 |
| Proprietor, except farm | 30.4 | 49.1 | 20.5 |
| Housekeeper | 31.0 | 35.0 | 34.0 |
| Salaried-minor | 44.3 | 37.0 | 18.7 |
| Wages except farm | 54.1 | 23.2 | 22.7 |
| Other | 43.2 | 34.5 | 22.3 |
| JUNE '46 RESULTS BY VETERAN STATUS | | | |
| No veteran in household | 35.7% | 36.8% | 27.5% |
| Veteran in household | 39.0 | 35.1 | 25.9 |
| Respondent a veteran | 43.2 | 40.5 | 16.3 |

**34.** (Great Britain Feb 16 '46) Do you approve or disapprove of the government's proposal to repeal the Trade Disputes Act? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 34% | 23% | 43% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 44% | 29% | 27% |
| Women | 24 | 18 | 58 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 31% | 20% | 49% |
| 30–49 years | 37 | 22 | 41 |
| 50 years and over | 32 | 27 | 41 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 26% | 55% | 19% |
| Middle | 31 | 34 | 35 |
| Lower | 36 | 17 | 47 |
| Very poor | 29 | 14 | 57 |
| BY LABOR STATUS | | | |
| Union members | 56% | 17% | 27% |
| Non-union | 25 | 26 | 49 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional; salaried-executive | 30% | 47% | 23% |
| Salaried-clerical | 36 | 36 | 28 |
| Proprietor, shop or business; farmers | 33 | 42 | 25 |
| Weekly wages; factory, heavy industry, transport, miner | 50 | 14 | 36 |
| Agricultural workers (excluding farmers) | 23 | 19 | 58 |
| Weekly wages, all others | 38 | 19 | 43 |
| Housewives | 23 | 19 | 58 |
| Retired; unoccupied | 25 | 29 | 46 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| London and Southern England | 34% | 27% | 39% |
| Midlands and Northern England | 35 | 23 | 42 |
| Wales | 33 | 18 | 49 |
| Scotland | 30 | 18 | 52 |

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative or National Liberal | 12% | 46% | 42% |
| Labor | 52 | 10 | 38 |
| Liberal | 28 | 33 | 39 |
| Other | 51 | 21 | 28 |
| Did not vote | 22 | 19 | 59 |
| No answer | 30 | 43 | 27 |

**35.** (US July 24 '46) Do you think it would be a good idea for President Truman to call a meeting of labor leaders and employers to discuss ways of their getting along with each other better? (AIPO)

Yes 73% No 20% No opinion 7%

**36.** (Canada July 27 '46) Some people say that management is too selfish and unreasonable. Others say most of them are sincerely trying to cooperate with labor. What are your views on this? (CIPO)

| | *Unreasonable, etc.* | *Sincere* | *Other* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 34% | 38% | 7% | 21% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Employers | 10% | 68% | 10% | 12% |
| Labor | 51 | 25 | 5 | 19 |

**37.** (Netherlands Oct '46) Have you ever heard or read about the Foundation of Labor? (NIPO)

| | *Have heard* | *Have not heard* |
|---|---|---|
| Men | 70% | 30% |
| Women | 41 | 59 |

**38.** (Netherlands Oct '46) What is your impression, does the Foundation of Labor do a good job or not? Asked of a national cross-section of people who had heard of the Foundation of Labor. (NIPO)

| | *Good job* | *Not a good job* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24% | 8% | 68% |
| BY TRADE UNIONS | | | |
| Labor trade union | 50% | 8% | 42% |
| Catholic trade union | 34 | — | 66 |
| Protestant trade union | 34 | 3 | 63 |

**39.** (Netherlands Oct '46) What is your impression, does the Foundation of Labor serve the interests of labor, of the employer, or of both? Asked of a national cross-section of people who had heard of the Foundation of Labor. (NIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Both labor and employer | 20% |
| Labor | 5 |
| Employer | 5 |
| No opinion | 70 |

**40.** (US Nov '46) Some people say there are labor-union leaders who are trying to take over the duties belonging to management and run American industry themselves. Do you think most labor-union leaders are trying to do this, a few of them are, or practically none of them are? (FOR)

| | *Most* | *A few* | *Practically none* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24.9% | 44.9% | 15.6% | 14.6% |
| Salaried-executives | 37.9 | 51.6 | 9.8 | .7 |
| Union members | 9.6 | 44.3 | 39.7 | 6.4 |

**41.** (US Nov '46) Some people say there are men in the management of American industry today who are trying to make labor unions completely powerless. Do you think that most men in management are trying to do this, a few of them are, or practically none of them are? (FOR)

| | *Most* | *A few* | *Practically none* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 12.6% | 50.3% | 18.3% | 18.8% |
| Salaried-executives | 9.2 | 55.5 | 30.7 | 4.6 |
| Union members | 27.6 | 50.7 | 13.3 | 8.4 |

**42.** (US Nov '46) Where a strike vote is being taken at a union meeting, do you think the union should or should not be required to let a management representative state the company's side of the dispute? (FOR)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 75.8% | 10.7% | 13.5% |
| BY UNION AFFILIATION | | | |
| All union members | 64.6% | 26.3% | 9.1% |
| AFL | 67.4 | 25.1 | 7.5 |
| CIO | 57.3 | 34.3 | 8.4 |

**43.** (US Nov '46) In a case where a corporation claims that it is unable to give a pay raise because it doesn't have the money, do you think the corporation's books should be opened to labor-union representatives, or do you feel that this is the private business of the corporation? (FOR)

| | *Should be opened* | *Private business* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46.8% | 39.5% | 13.7% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Roosevelt voters | 54.2% | 32.6% | 13.2% |
| Dewey voters | 37.0 | 54.2 | 8.8 |

# INDUSTRY

## Canada

**1.** (Canada Nov 8 '46) If you were asked to criticize the management of industry, what would your main criticism be? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Lack of human understanding, etc. | 20% |
| Pay workers too little, etc. | 19 |
| Other faults | 3 |
| Not familiar enough with the subject to form an opinion | 37 |
| No criticism to offer | 21 |

## Germany

**1.** (Germany Dec 6 '45) Did you hear that certain German war industries have been liquidated by order of the American authorities? (OMGUS)

Yes 77% No 23%

**2.** (Germany Dec 6 '45) What do you think of this action [of liquidating certain German war industries]? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't destroy; reconstruct to peaceful purposes; put to better use | 15% |
| Good move; OK | 26 |
| To avoid war; don't want any more war | 15 |
| Don't need them any more | 11 |

| | |
|---|---|
| No good; will cause unemployment | 4% |
| Great wealth will be lost | * |
| Use the buildings for dwellings, etc | 2 |
| OK if they were really war plants | 10 |
| Others | 1 |
| No answer | 8 |
| Don't know; no opinion | 12 |
| | 104%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (Germany Dec 6 '45 and Feb 14 '46) Certain German industries are being dismantled and their machinery and other materials are being sent to various Allied countries whose industries suffered large damage during German occupation. Do you think this action is justified? (OMGUS)

| | *Justified* | *Un-justified* | *No opinion or no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '45 | 50% | 29% | 21% |
| Feb '46 | 53 | 32 | 15 |

**4.** (Germany Feb 14 '46) Have you heard that, by order of the American authorities, certain German industrial plants will be done away with? (OMGUS)

Yes 71% No 29%

**5.** (Germany Feb 14 '46) What do you think of this measure [that certain German industrial plants will be done away with]? Is it good or bad? (OMGUS)

Bad 32% Good 47% No opinion 21%

**6.** (Germany Feb 14 '46) Do you know how many such industries have already been done away with? (OMGUS)

Yes 8% No 92%

**7.** (Germany Feb 14 '46) Do you know how many such plants are scheduled for destruction? (OMGUS)

Yes 3% No 97%

**8.** (Germany June 7 '46) What do you think is the chief reason why the four Allies have put certain limits on the amount and types of industry Germany may have in the future? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| For reparations purposes; so that reparations can be paid | 2% |
| To prevent another war or threat of another war; to prevent rearmament; so that Germany can't start another war | 63 |
| To get rid of industries; war industries must be done away with | 8 |
| To help other countries that have suffered much destruction | * |
| To punish Germans; to lower German standard of living | 3 |
| So that Germany will have to buy from America; to cut down Germany's influence in international trade; cut Germany out of world trade | 4 |
| Don't know; can't say, no opinion | 19 |
| No answer | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**9.** (Germany June 7 '46) In your opinion, are these limits [on German industry] more severe or less severe than they should be?

| | |
|---|---|
| More severe | 49% |
| Less severe | 7 |
| Cannot judge | 43 |
| No answer | 1 |

The 49% who said the limits were more severe and the 50% who said they were less severe or thought they were not in a position to judge were asked: Why? (OMGUS)

*Reasons of those who thought limit too severe*

| | |
|---|---|
| We want more freedom; it is too strict | 6% |
| Can't get manufactured goods; must be able to get a minimum amount of industrial products, consumer goods | 8 |
| Workers have no jobs or will not be able to get jobs; workers can't earn any money, can't eat | 8 |
| The conqueror has a right to do it; we lost the war | 1 |
| To ensure peace production; to stop possibility of war production; for production of peacetime goods we need exports | 6 |
| They want to capture world markets | 1 |
| We don't deserve to be treated this way | 2 |
| Too strong; we cannot pay reparations | 1 |
| Germany is not an agricultural country; it will change our economy | 1 |
| The only result will be poverty and misery; we can't get along; we won't be able to get along; people have got to be able to live; Allies should be happy if we can live alone | 17 |
| Other | * |
| Don't know; can't say; no opinion; depends | * |
| | 51%** |

*Reasons of those who thought limits less severe or didn't feel competent to judge*

| | |
|---|---|
| To prevent war | 2% |
| Would have been justified in being stronger | 1 |
| The restrictions are good | 3 |
| Gives a chance to get along | 1 |
| Partly good | 1 |
| Can't tell yet | * |
| The Americans will be just, will do a good job | * |
| Don't know; can't say; no opinion | 11 |
| No answer | 31 |
| | 50% |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 49 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**10.** (Germany June 7 '46) Are the Allies justified or not justified in imposing these limits on German industry?

| | |
|---|---|
| Justified | 29% |
| Unjustified | 44 |
| No opinion | 27 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

The 29% who thought the Allies justified and the 44% who thought them unjustified were asked: Why? What makes you think so? (OMGUS)

*Reasons of those who thought the Allies justified*

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany won't be able to start another war; will do away with rearmament fears; will establish order | 9% |
| It will pay reparations, cost of the war | 1 |
| We lost the war; it is the right of the conqueror to do it; it's the result of a lost war | 14 |
| To stop war industry | 3 |
| We still have enough to get along | * |
| Can't say; don't know; hope so | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 29% |

*Reasons of those who thought the Allies unjustified*

| | |
|---|---|
| Restrictions go too far; should apply only to war industries | 8% |

| | |
|---|---|
| Hurts innocent people; not all Germans are guilty for the war; women and children are not guilty (but they, too, will suffer); many Germans are not responsible and should not be punished | 5% |
| Germany (the nation) can't live without its industry; is necessary for reconstruction; hurts the general economic situation; how can we rebuild with no coal and no production; industry is the backbone of Germany | 11 |
| Germany (the people) can't live without its industry; people can't get along; the result will be a low and/or intolerable standard of living; we should at least be allowed to produce for a minimum living standard | 10 |
| Produces unemployment; workers will be jobless; will starve; no way of earning any money | 8 |
| Occupation powers can or should be able to control industry without destroying any money | 1 |
| It is what you would expect of conquerors; it is typical | 1 |
| Will not be able to pay reparations | 1 |
| Other | * |
| Can't say; don't know | * |
| Undemocratic | * |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 46%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 44 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**11.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Is it just or unjust that the four Allies limit the number and type of industries in Germany in the future? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Just | 11% |
| Unjust | 75 |
| Qualified answers | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |
| No opinion | 12 |

## Great Britain

**1.** (Great Britain Mar '46) What do you think should be done to persuade people in this country to step up production of all kinds of goods? (Nov '46) What do you think is the best way of producing more goods in this country? (BIPO)

MARCH RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Reduce income tax; exempt overtime; raise wages | 15% |
| Raise standard of living; introduce more goods into the shops | 12 |
| Give workers extra food and clothing | 10 |
| Piecework; bonus for reaching target | 6 |
| Improve working and living conditions | 11 |
| Shorter hours; holidays with pay | 3 |
| Less restriction; more freedom to choose work | 3 |
| Profit-sharing; more cooperation between workers and employers | 2 |
| Let government take people more into their confidence; awaken their sense of responsibility | 8 |
| Nationalize key industries; more government control | 2 |
| Encourage private enterprise | 1 |
| Do nothing; things will improve gradually | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 10 |
| No reply; don't know | 14 |

NOVEMBER RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Higher wages; better working conditions | 18% |
| Longer hours should be worked; people should work harder | 11 |
| More piecework and output bonuses | 3 |
| Anti-strike legislation | 1 |
| Restore competition; free enterprise | 3% |
| Remove controls | 3 |
| Nationalize more industries | 2 |
| Introduce better and more modern machinery into factories | 5 |
| Build more factories | 5 |
| Increase agricultural production; make better use of the land | 1 |
| Increase supply of raw materials | 3 |
| Better distribution of manpower | 3 |
| Train more skilled labor | 1 |
| Full employment | 5 |
| Increase rations | 1 |
| Better living conditions | 1 |
| Release more consumer goods; lower the price of consumer goods | 3 |
| Reduce the level of taxation | 2 |
| Abolish pay-as-you-earn | 1 |
| More government propaganda needed | 1 |
| Cut down exports | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 11 |
| No comment | 15 |

**2.** (Great Britain Nov '46) Do you think it is important that Great Britain should produce more goods? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 92% | 2% | 6% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 95% | 2% | 3% |
| Women | 90 | 1 | 9 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 93% | 2% | 5% |
| 30–49 years | 94 | 2 | 4 |
| 50 years and over | 90 | 2 | 8 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher income | 99% | 1% | — |
| Middle income | 98 | 1 | 1% |
| Lower income | 90 | 2 | 8 |
| Very poor | 85 | 2 | 13 |
| BY LABOR STATUS | | | |
| Union members | 94% | 2% | 4% |
| Non-union | 93 | 1 | 6 |

**3.** (Great Britain Nov '46) Why [is it important that Great Britain produce more goods]? Asked of 92% of the sample who thought that Great Britain should produce more goods. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Exports; to build up foreign trade; restore trade balance | 19% |
| For home market; to fill the shops; for all to buy | 11 |
| For export and home markets | 4 |
| For the benefit of everybody; for the people | 7 |
| More exports mean more imports | 11 |
| To pay our debts | 3 |
| To hold our own with other countries | 3 |
| More goods may mean more food | 7 |
| Because of the shortage | 10 |
| To give employment to all | 2 |
| To raise the standard of living | 7 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| No reason given | 6 |
| | 92% |

**4.** (Great Britain Nov '46) Do you think that all of us will benefit when more goods are produced, or will it be only a section of the population? (BIPO)

| | All | Section | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 79% | 14% | 7% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 82% | 13% | 5% |
| Women | 75 | 15 | 10 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 78% | 15% | 7% |
| 30–49 years | 79 | 15 | 6 |
| 50 years and over | 79 | 13 | 8 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher income | 86% | 9% | 5% |
| Middle income | 86 | 10 | 4 |
| Lower income | 75 | 16 | 9 |
| Very poor | 70 | 18 | 12 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional; salaried-executive | 85% | 11% | 4% |
| Salaried-clerical | 83 | 13 | 4 |
| Proprietor of shop, business; farmers | 89 | 8 | 3 |
| Weekly wages: factory, transport, heavy industry, miners | 77 | 17 | 6 |
| Agricultural workers (excluding farmers) | 70 | 18 | 12 |
| Weekly wages, all others | 80 | 12 | 8 |
| Housewives | 75 | 16 | 9 |
| Unoccupied and retired | 76 | 14 | 10 |
| Unemployed | 80 | 10 | 10 |

**5.** (Great Britain Nov '46) Which [section]? Asked of 14% of the sample who thought that only a section of the population would benefit when more goods were produced. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| The rich; well-to-do; upper classes | 6% |
| Middle and upper classes | 1 |
| Those who can afford them | 5 |
| Others, e.g. black marketers | 1 |
| Working class | 1 |
| | 14% |

## Hungary

**1.** (Hungary Feb 19 '46) Is it possible to do without small business? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

BY SOCIAL STATUS AND INCOME

| | Yes | No | Other; nothing |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Educated class* | | | |
| Fixed income | 10% | 88% | 2% |
| Variable income | 8 | 89 | 3 |
| *Small bourgeoisie* | | | |
| Fixed income | 12 | 87 | 1 |
| Variable income | 6 | 93 | 1 |
| *Workers* | | | |
| Fixed income | 17 | 80 | 3 |
| Variable income | 21 | 71 | 8 |

## Netherlands

**1.** (Netherlands July '46) What do you think should be done in our country to make the people produce more goods of all kinds? (NIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Raise wages | 10% |
| Reduce prices | 2 |
| Raise wages and reduce prices | 3 |
| Supply more textiles, tires, shoes, etc. | 3 |
| Better social laws and conditions | 4% |
| More free trade | 9 |
| More raw materials; import more machinery and tools | 7 |
| Fair profits for everybody; prices that satisfy both producer and consumer | 1 |
| Work harder | 5 |
| No strikes; take measures against strikes; etc. | 2 |
| Propaganda | 4 |
| More unity | 3.5 |
| Other replies | 13.5 |
| Don't know | 33 |

## U.S.

**1.** (US May 24 '37) Do you think big business concerns are a good thing or a bad thing for a country? (AIPO)

Good thing 75% Bad thing 25% = 100% No opinion 15%

**2.** (US July 19 '37) Would the country be better off if many small concerns took the place of the few large ones? (Jan 11 '38) In your opinion would the country be better off if many small concerns took the place of the large corporations in the same fields? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | No opinion | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| July '37 | 54% | 46% = 100% | 21% | |
| Jan '38 | 45 | 36 | 19 | = 100% |

**3.** (US Oct '37) Some great corporations are supposed to be popular, some are not. Can you think of one you like? of one you don't like? (FOR)

| | Yes | No or don't know |
|---|---|---|
| Like | 34.8% | 65.2% |
| Dislike | 15.0 | 85.0 |

**4.** (US Oct '37) 34.8% of the sample who said they liked some corporation and the 15% who said they did not like some corporation were asked which one. Results follow: (FOR)

| | Like | | Don't like |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ford Motor | 20.4% | Ford Motor | 14.5% |
| General Motors | 14.5 | General Motors | 8.1 |
| American Telephone and Telegraph | 7.6 | Standard Oil | 6.7 |
| Standard Oil | 4.0 | Du Pont | 5.2 |
| General Electric | 3.8 | Republic Steel | 3.1 |
| Chrysler Corporation | 3.6 | Bethlehem Steel | 2.4 |
| Du Pont | 3.1 | Atlantic & Pacific Tea | 2.2 |
| US Steel | 2.2 | Aluminum Co. of America | 1.9 |
| Edison | 2.2 | Safeway Stores | 1.3 |
| Sears, Roebuck | 1.4 | Local public utility (named) | 6.6 |
| Proctor & Gamble | 1.4 | Some specific industry as a whole | 9.7 |
| Endicott Johnson | 1.2 | All | 1.7 |
| International Harvester | .8 | All other local | 10.6 |
| Republic Steel | .7 | All other non-local | 26.0 |
| All | .9 | | |
| All local | 10.8 | | |
| All other non-local | 21.4 | | |
| (of those who said they liked a large corporation) | 100.0% | (of those who said they did not like a large corporation) | 100.0% |

**5.** (US Aug '38) Which of these four industries has gone ahead the fastest in giving the public what it wants? (We are not referring to mechanical improvements.) Automobiles? Air transport? Radio broadcasting? Moving pictures? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Automobiles | 43.1% |
| Radio broadcasting | 29.2 |
| Air transport | 9.8 |
| Moving pictures | 9.5 |
| Don't know | 8.4 |

**6.** (US Nov '38) Some people think the nation would be better off if very large corporations were broken up into smaller competitive units. Others feel that the large corporations create employment and improve the standards of living. With which do you agree? (FOR)

| | *Large corporations best* | *Smaller competitive units best* | *Some broken up, others not* | *Neither* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42.1% | 25.9% | 13.0% | 1.7% | 17.3% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Executives | 53.7% | 18.2% | 19.8% | 2.4% | 5.9% |
| Proprietors of business | 41.9 | 36.1 | 12.3 | 2.0 | 7.7 |
| White-collar | 48.8 | 28.1 | 12.9 | 2.4 | 7.8 |
| Factory labor | 31.1 | 32.4 | 21.6 | 1.4 | 13.5 |
| Unemployed | 33.7 | 38.0 | 13.6 | 1.6 | 13.1 |

**7.** (US Feb '39) Do you think that private business would be better run if there were people like Secretary Wallace, Hopkins, and Ickes in charge of it? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 13.6% | 53.1% | 33.3% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 6.0% | 74.0% | 20.0% |
| Upper middle class | 10.4 | 63.4 | 26.2 |
| Lower middle class | 13.7 | 53.1 | 33.2 |
| Poor | 16.8 | 41.5 | 41.7 |
| Negroes | 23.1 | 27.2 | 49.7 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Executives | 10.8% | 74.9% | 14.3% |
| Factory labor | 15.6 | 50.6 | 33.8 |
| Farm labor | 21.7 | 35.4 | 42.9 |
| BY OPINIONS OF ROOSEVELT | | | |
| Approving Roosevelt | 29.3% | 70.7% | |
| Disapproving Roosevelt | 9.1 | 90.9 | |

**8.** (US May 2 '39) In general, do you think a war in Europe would help or hurt business conditions in the United States? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Help | 44% |
| Hurt | 35 |
| Neither | 11 |
| No opinion | 10 |

**9.** (US May 2 '39) A cross-section comparable to the one used for the preceding question was asked: In general, do you think a war in Europe would help or hurt conditions in the United States? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Help | 35% |
| Hurt | 48 |
| Neither | 10 |
| No opinion | 7 |

**10.** (US Oct '39) What particular industry in recent years has, in your opinion, made the greatest technological progress? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *National total* | *Manufacturers* | *Retailers* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chemical | 23.0% | 34.7% | 15.6% |
| Automobile | 21.8 | 18.0 | 24.2 |
| Aviation (air transport, etc.) | 15.7 | 12.2 | 17.9 |
| Radio and television | 13.7 | 11.5 | 15.2 |
| Electrical and appliances | 7.6 | 6.1 | 8.5 |
| Other | 16.8 | 18.5 | 15.7 |
| Don't know | 8.4 | 6.7 | 9.4 |
| | 107.0%* | 107.7%* | 106.5%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**11.** (US Oct '39) What company in that industry [mentioned in answer to preceding question] would you select as outstanding in this respect [technological progress]? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *National total* | *Manufacturers* | *Retailers* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Du Pont | 23.1% | 33.6% | 16.3% |
| General Motors | 15.5 | 13.3 | 16.9 |
| Radio Corporation of America | 8.1 | 6.3 | 9.2 |
| General Electric | 7.8 | 3.7 | 10.5 |
| Ford | 6.5 | 7.3 | 5.9 |
| Chrysler | 6.1 | 7.0 | 5.5 |
| Other | 30.7 | 36.3 | 26.9 |
| Don't know | 19.2 | 17.3 | 20.4 |
| | 117.0%* | 124.8%* | 111.6%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**12.** (US Oct '39) What industry would you say has done the most to meet or go beyond the standards of performance that the general public expects of it in order to win and deserve public approval? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *National total* | *Manufacturers* | *Retailers* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Automobile | 40.3% | 49.2% | 34.5% |
| Radio | 5.2 | 3.1 | 6.5 |
| Railroad | 4.5 | 3.7 | 5.0 |
| Public utilities; power, light | 4.2 | 4.3 | 4.2 |
| Retailing | 4.1 | .9 | 6.1 |
| Electrical and electrical appliances | 4.0 | 3.3 | 4.4 |
| Aviation | 3.9 | 3.7 | 4.0 |
| Telephone | 2.8 | 2.8 | 2.8 |
| Other | 19.3 | 19.0 | 19.5 |
| None | .6 | .3 | .8 |
| Don't know | 14.2 | 13.5 | 14.7 |
| | 103.1%* | 103.8%* | 102.5%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**13.** (US Oct '39) What company in that industry (the one named by the businessman interviewed) would you say had done the best job [of meeting or going beyond public expectations]? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| General Motors (and subsidiaries) | 23.8% |
| Ford | 15.4 |
| Chrysler (and subsidiaries) | 8.6 |
| American Telephone and Telegraph | 4.1 |
| General Electric | 3.7 |
| Radio Corporation of America | 3.0 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Du Pont | 2.9% |
| Other | 26.2 |
| None | .6 |
| Don't know | 21.5 |
| | 109.8%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**14.** (US Nov '39) Do you believe that the great age of economic opportunity and expansion in the United States is over or that American industry can create a comparable expansion and opportunity in the future? (FOR)

| | *Opportunity over* | *Expansion ahead* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 13.1% | 71.7% | 15.2% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Executives | 13.2% | 82.8% | 4.0% |
| Factory labor | 16.7 | 69.6 | 13.7 |
| Unemployed | 15.5 | 66.0 | 18.5 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 11.4% | 83.4% | 5.2% |
| Poor | 15.9 | 63.1 | 21.0 |

**15.** (US Oct '40) If you were required to increase your production by one-third within the next six months, would you find any of the following steps necessary or probably desirable? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Necessary* | *Desirable* | *No answer; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hire more men | 59.3% | 8.1% | 32.6% |
| A longet work week | 33.9 | 22.8 | 43.3 |
| A curb on labor unions | 28.5 | 19.2 | 52.3 |
| Emergency training of men in certain skills | 26.7 | 12.1 | 61.2 |
| A speeding up of production at your sources of supply | 22.0 | 9.2 | 68.8 |
| New financing for plant expansion | 18.1 | 8.9 | 73.0 |
| OPINIONS OF MANUFACTURERS | | | |
| Hire more men | 71.1% | 8.2% | 20.7% |
| A longer work week | 38.3 | 27.4 | 34.3 |
| A curb on labor unions | 29.5 | 23.0 | 47.5 |
| Training skilled labor | 30.6 | 14.0 | 55.4 |
| Increase production of supplies | 26.0 | 9.9 | 64.1 |
| New financing | 19.9 | 9.9 | 70.2 |

**16.** (US Dec '40) Do you think that present conditions are such that business as a whole is now justified in making constructive commitments for expansion? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Yes 13% No 26% Only in war industries 61%

**17.** (US Dec '40) A national cross-section of business executives were asked: Which of the following statements most nearly corresponds with your opinion of the present prospects for United States business? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Irrespective of the current rearmament activity, business is staging a normal recovery on which stable prosperity can be built | 7.7% |
| The current improvement of business is mainly due to a rearmament boom, but it is possible that we may go on from there with healthy activity on all normal economic fronts | 24.9 |
| Any temporary prosperity induced by the national defense program will leave us with our economic problems worse than ever because we failed to set our house in order before the boom started | 67.4% |

**18.** (US Dec '40) Do you believe that the building industry can stage a healthy recovery—exclusive of defense contracts—without first getting its costs and its prices down much lower? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 18.2% | 81.8% |
| Utility and railroad executives | 14.8 | 85.2 |

**19.** (US Dec '40) Do you believe that a lasting recovery of general business (as distinct from a rearmament boom) is possible until the building industry takes steps to encourage more building? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 27.4% | 72.6% |
| Utility and railroad executives | 26.3 | 73.7 |

**20.** (US May '41) By what per cent could you increase your output if there were additional demand for your product at present prices and with present costs? Asked of a national cross-section of manufacturers. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| At maximum now | 17.0% |
| 5% | 2.8 |
| 10% to 30% | 24.9 |
| 40% or over | 16.0 |
| Question does not apply to my business | 30.7 |
| No answer | 8.6 |

**21.** (US May '41) Assuming that your plant were producing all it could at existing prices and costs (as estimated in the preceding question), by what percentage could you increase your output if changes in cost and selling price were no consideration? Asked of a national cross-section of manufacturers. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| None | 17.0% |
| 5% | 1.9 |
| 10% to 30% | 13.8 |
| 40% or over | 11.6 |
| Question does not apply to my business | 33.7 |
| No answer | 22.0 |

**22.** (US Sept '41) As it looks now, how do you think the gross dollar volume of your company's business for 1941 will compare with that for the average of the past three years or so? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Above* | *Same* | *Below* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 81.7% | 10.9% | 7.4% |
| BY TYPE OF INDUSTRY | | | |
| Manufacturing | 86.4% | 7.8% | 5.8% |
| Finance | 69.1 | 22.9 | 8.0 |
| Commerce and retailing | 80.0 | 9.7 | 10.3 |
| Railroads and utilities | 88.2 | 6.6 | 5.2 |

**23.** (US Sept '41) Are there any important items of merchandise handled in your business, the supply of which has been restricted by defense activity? Asked of a national cross-section of commerce and retailing executives. (FOR)

Yes 65.2% No 34.8%

**24.** (US Sept '41) What proportion of your normal business do these items represent? Asked of 65.2% of a sample of commerce and retailing executives who said they had merchandise items which had been restricted by defense activity. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 5%... | 29.0% |
| 5% to 10%..... | 19.7 |
| 10% to 25%..... | 13.1 |
| More than 25%.. | 38.2 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned |

**25.** (US Sept '41) What are the principal items of merchandise handled in your business, the supply of which has been restricted by defense activity? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Iron and steel..... | 30.3% |
| Aluminum..... | 29.9 |
| Other metals..... | 43.8 |
| Textiles ..... | 17.5 |
| Household equipment.... | 14.2 |
| Rubber..... | 7.7 |
| Automobiles..... | 6.2 |
| Paper..... | 5.8 |
| Drugs and chemicals..... | 5.1 |
| Petroleum products..... | 3.6 |
| Miscellaneous..... | 23.4 |
| | 187.5%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**26.** (US Sept '41) A national cross-section of business executives were asked: Which of the following would you say most nearly applies to you? (FOR)

| | *National total* % | *Manufacturing* % | *Finance* % | *Commerce and retailing* % | *Railroads and utilities* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| In a business in which government orders now play an important part..... | 26.4 | 37.7 | 7.2 | 11.3 | 13.9 |
| Not directly concerned with war orders, but in a business that does, or will, markedly feel the effects of them..... | 48.5 | 45.7 | 46.7 | 54.0 | 66.8 |
| Not directly or indirectly concerned with defense industries, but in close touch with executives or officials who are concerned..... | 9.5 | 5.0 | 23.0 | 10.4 | 13.1 |
| Unaffected directly or indirectly by defense effort, except in so far as all enterprises are touched by it, in terms of taxes, prices, credit, and other factors that react to war economy..... | 30.6 | 24.8 | 44.2 | 41.5 | 18.0 |
| Percentages... | 115.0* | 113.2* | 121.1* | 117.2* | 111.8* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because of multiple answers.

**27.** (US Sept '41) Have you felt need for any additional working or fixed capital in your business? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Yes 15.8% No 75.5% Not yet, but soon 8.7%

**28.** (US Sept '41) Has your own occupation with war work allowed your competitors to take any business that would normally have been yours? Asked of a national cross-section of manufacturers. (FOR)

Yes 11.4% No 58.5% Not occupied with war work 30.1%

**29.** (US Sept '41) What percentage of your normal business would this represent? Asked of 11.4% of the sample of manufacturers who said that their war work had allowed competitors to get some of their business. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 5%..... | 10.9% |
| 5% to 10%..... | 37.1 |
| 10% to 25%..... | 39.4 |
| More than 25%..... | 12.6 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned |

**30.** (US Nov '41) Are your inventories higher or lower in relation to volume than they were about this time last year? Asked of a national cross-section of manufacturers, retailers, and wholesalers. (FOR)

| | *Higher* | *Some higher, some lower* | *About the same* | *Lower* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Manufacturers..... | 23.1% | 17.4% | 28.3% | 31.2% |
| Retailers and wholesalers..... | 45.8 | 19.1 | 22.0 | 13.1 |

**31.** (US Nov '41) A national cross-section of manufacturers were asked: Is anyone connected with your concern working on estimates of the following considerations that relate to your lines of production? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| The problems of shifting back eventually from production of war materials under government supervision to production for civilian needs..... | 45.6% |
| Comparisons of present productive capacity of your industry with 1929 and pre-war capacity..... | 27.9 |
| Probable consumer demands in terms of: | |
| Consumption..... | 44.7 |
| Postwar standards of living..... | 22.0 |
| Price levels..... | 37.0 |
| Substitution of materials..... | 53.4 |
| New technical devices..... | 51.0 |
| | 281.6%* |

* Only 58.3% of the manufacturers answered the question. Percentages are based on the number answering and add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**32.** (US Dec 18 '41) Could the company for which you work turn out more work with its present group of employees? 9% of the sample who thought their companies could turn out more work were asked: How? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Couldn't increase production..... | 77% |
| Didn't say whether or not production could be increased. | 14 |
| Could increase production by working longer hours..... | 3 |
| By getting more material with which to work..... | 1 |
| By speeding up system..... | 1 |
| By increasing efficiency..... | 1 |
| By other means..... | 1 |
| Didn't say how..... | 2 |

**33.** (US Mar '42) What is the most important problem facing your business in the war years ahead? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Primary problem* | *Secondary problem* | *Total mentions* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Shortage of materials, effects of priorities and allocations | 37.4% | 3.8% | 41.2% |
| Government: red tape, interference, indecision, war inefficiency, ultimate aims | 17.3 | 4.6 | 21.9 |
| Shortage of necessary personnel | 13.0 | 4.4 | 17.4 |
| Plant conversion or readaptation of organization to war needs | 10.6 | 1.8 | 12.4 |
| Finance: reserves, investments, solvency | 10.2 | 2.4 | 12.6 |
| Reduced need for product or services | 5.3 | 1.1 | 6.4 |
| Labor problems other than shortages, including wage rates, unions | 5.2 | 2.6 | 7.8 |
| Taxes | 4.8 | 2.7 | 7.5 |
| Research and postwar adjustments | 3.5 | 3.7 | 7.2 |
| Inflation | 2.2 | 1.8 | 4.0 |
| Transportation | 1.9 | 1.5 | 3.4 |
| Rising costs versus stabilized prices | 1.5 | 0.1 | 1.6 |
| Import and export stoppages | 1.4 | 0.2 | 1.6 |
| Other answers | 5.2 | 0.3 | 5.5 |
| | 119.5% | 31.0% | 150.5%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**34.** (US Sept '42) Have you developed or are you now developing substitutes for materials you cannot get or for articles you cannot sell? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *Some* | *No* | *Does not concern my business* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 25.6% | 25.6% | 12.5% | 36.3% |
| BY TYPE OF INDUSTRY | | | | |
| Manufacturing men | 33.7% | 29.4% | 14.6% | 22.3% |
| Commerce and retailing men | 18.2 | 29.7 | 10.5 | 41.6 |

**35.** (US Sept '42) A national cross-section of business executives were asked: Is anyone in your organization studying your postwar production and market in terms of the following: (FOR)

| | *Manufacturing* | *Finance* | *Utilities* | *Commerce and retailing* | *Other lines* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Consumption | 36.9% | 10.4% | 35.5% | 29.5% | 22.8% |
| Price levels | 20.1 | 7.5 | 13.4 | 18.5 | 18.2 |
| Standard of living | 15.9 | 12.2 | 16.1 | 23.7 | 14.8 |
| Substitutes | 22.9 | 2.8 | 9.1 | 12.1 | 14.8 |
| New products | 58.2 | 7.5 | 15.1 | 27.2 | 35.8 |
| New methods | 49.4 | 15.7 | 26.3 | 28.4 | 30.2 |
| New technical devices | 38.6 | 6.3 | 28.5 | 8.8 | 22.0 |
| Others | 4.8 | 3.5 | 2.7 | 2.0 | 3.6 |
| Does not apply to my business | 17.0 | 70.9 | 44.1 | 45.0 | 35.6 |
| | 263.8%* | 136.8%* | 190.8%* | 195.2%* | 197.8%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**36.** (US Sept '42) If you already have, or could be sure of building up, adequate reserves under the present scale of taxes, which of the following or combinations of the following would you use the reserves for after the war? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Conversions to peacetime production | 28.1% |
| Maintaining employment during change-over | 33.6 |
| Sales promotion | 28.5 |
| Write off excess plant | 8.7 |
| Buy government-owned plant | 3.9 |
| Other | 6.1 |
| Do not have adequate reserves | 8.7 |
| Do nor see possibility of building up adequate reserves | 27.0 |
| Does not apply to my business | 23.4 |
| | 168.1%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**37.** (US Feb '43) A national cross-section of manufacturers were asked: Which one of the following headings, if any, covers the most serious problem facing your business in the war period ahead? Which are of no importance to you? (FOR)

| | *First importance* % | *Second importance* % | *No importance* % | *Does not apply to our business* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Materials shortages (other than import-export stoppages): due to priorities, allocation, etc. | 54.4 | 36.0 | 6.8 | 2.8 |
| Manpower: shortages of personnel, whether skilled, unskilled, or managerial | 53.9 | 37.9 | 6.5 | 1.7 |
| Government: red tape, interference, indecision, war inefficiency, New Deal's ultimate aims | 48.4 | 38.7 | 9.4 | 3.5 |
| Rising costs of production vs. stabilized prices | 32.4 | 35.3 | 23.4 | 8.9 |
| Finances: investments, adequate reserves, postwar solvency, results of taxes | 22.9 | 25.2 | 39.4 | 12.5 |
| Labor troubles: problems other than shortages, including wages, unions, strikes | 19.5 | 38.1 | 34.5 | 7.9 |
| Transportation: for outgoing deliveries of goods | 18.2 | 28.5 | 40.2 | 13.1 |
| Transportation: for personnel in reaching place of business | 15.6 | 34.2 | 38.2 | 12.0 |
| Research and other adjustments for postwar conditions | 13.8 | 31.1 | 34.5 | 20.6 |
| Import and export stoppages | 10.4 | 22.8 | 26.1 | 40.7 |
| Reduced need for services or products | 9.3 | 18.5 | 41.3 | 30.9 |
| Plant conversion: readaptation of business to war needs | 8.4 | 17.3 | 36.9 | 37.4 |
| Housing for personnel | 4.5 | 17.3 | 53.9 | 24.3 |
| Percentages | 311.7* | 380.9* | 391.1* | 216.3* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because manufacturers mentioned more than one problem.

**38.** (US Oct '43) After the war, do you believe that small manufacturers will have about the same opportunity, less

opportunity, more opportunity? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *About the same* | *Less* | *More* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total executives | 45.1% | 31.8% | 23.1% |
| Manufacturers only | 46.1 | 31.8 | 22.1 |

**39.** (US May '44) A national cross-section of business executives were asked: Which of the following steps do you think Congress should take to prepare for reconversion? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Let the present war agencies handle the job under supervision of a new coordinating agency | 21.4% |
| Let the present agencies handle the job | 16.7 |
| Create a new agency to handle the job by itself | 14.5 |
| Simply remove all wartime controls as of a certain date after the fighting stops | 38.8 |
| Don't know | 8.6 |

**40.** (US May '44) A national cross-section of business executives were asked: To promote reconversion of industry to peacetime operation, in what order of importance would you rank the following steps to be taken by the government? (FOR)

| | *First choice* | *Second choice* |
|---|---|---|
| Provide a uniform system for the prompt settlement of government war contracts | 47.0% | 25.6% |
| Announce a plan to be followed in easing or removing the wartime controls over materials and prices | 41.8 | 29.1 |
| Specify substantially with order in which industries producing for war will be released | 8.2 | 23.4 |
| Announce a plan for the sale of war surpluses | 6.5 | 23.0 |
| | 103.5%* | 101.1%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**41.** (US May '44) A national cross-section of business executives were asked: If you had to choose from among the following, whose activities would you say were most helpful to the business community in preparing for the reconversion period? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| National Association of Manufacturers | 29.5% |
| A local community committee | 18.1 |
| Your industry association | 16.1 |
| United States Chamber of Commerce | 15.7 |
| Committee for Economic Development | 13.5 |
| Your banker | 9.3 |
| National Industrial Conference Board | 5.7 |
| United States Department of Commerce | 3.4 |
| Some other federal agency | 1.8 |
| | 113.1%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**42.** (US Aug '44) What proportion of any government-owned plants you are personally familiar with (through business or other connections) would you say can be profitably put to use by business after the war, if only operating and conversion costs can be made? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Between 0% and 25% | 32.6% |
| Between 25% and 50% | 42.6 |
| Between 50% and 75% | 20.8 |
| Between 75% and 100% | 4.0 |

**43.** (US Jan '45 and Jan '46) American business up to now has had a history of growth and expansion. Do you now expect that American business will continue to grow during the next twenty-five years or so, that it will stay at about its present level, or that it will slide back? The 1946 question read: Do you expect that American business will continue, etc. (FOR)

| | *Continue to grow* | *Stay at present level* | *Slide back* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '45 | 63.8% | 14.5% | 15.0% | 6.7% |
| Jan '46 | 65.7 | 9.4 | 11.3 | 13.6 |
| **1946 RESULTS BY AGE*** | | | | |
| 21–34 years | 68.5% | 10.4% | 10.3% | 10.8% |
| 35–49 years | 67.5 | 8.5 | 12.3 | 11.7 |
| Over 50 years | 61.6 | 9.3 | 11.3 | 17.8 |
| **1946 RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY*** | | | | |
| Urban | 69.2% | 8.0% | 10.5% | 12.3% |
| Rural | 52.1 | 14.8 | 14.3 | 18.8 |
| **1946 RESULTS BY EDUCATION*** | | | | |
| Grade school | 49.9% | 11.9% | 15.6% | 22.6% |
| High school | 72.4 | 8.8 | 9.2 | 9.6 |
| College | 78.5 | 6.0 | 8.5 | 7.0 |
| **1946 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION*** | | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 69.9% | 8.2% | 8.6% | 13.3% |
| East North central | 71.3 | 5.5 | 11.1 | 12.1 |
| West North central | 65.9 | 14.0 | 7.6 | 12.5 |
| South Atlantic and East South central | 55.5 | 11.1 | 17.2 | 16.2 |
| West South central | 53.1 | 18.8 | 12.1 | 16.0 |
| Mountain and Pacific | 72.8 | 4.3 | 11.2 | 11.7 |

* Breakdowns from *New York Herald Tribune* Dec 27 '45.

**44.** (US Jan 4 '45) Do you think of Canada as producing mainly food and raw materials or mainly manufactured articles? (NYHT)

| | |
|---|---|
| Food and raw materials | 56.0% |
| Manufactured articles | 16.5 |
| Don't know | 27.5 |

**45.** (US Feb '45) Do you think that after the war the West will do better industrially than any other part of the United States or not as well as some parts? Asked of a cross-section of eastern business executives. (FOR)

Better 26.6% Not as well 73.4%

**46.** (US Feb '45) Which parts [of the country] do you think might do better [than the West]? Asked of 73.4% of the sample of eastern business executives who thought that the West would not do as well industrially as other parts of the United States after the war. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Midwest | 53.2% |
| South | 46.3 |
| Northeast | 17.3 |
| | 116.8%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who did not think the West would do as well industrially as other parts of the United States and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**47.** (US Feb '45) About what proportions of your sales did the West account for before the war? Asked of a cross-section of eastern business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| None | 31.4% |
| 0–5 per cent | 23.8 |
| 5–10 per cent | 18.2 |
| 10–15 per cent | 13.7 |
| 15–20 per cent | 7.2 |
| Over 20 per cent | 5.7 |

**48.** (US Feb '45) Do you think that after the war this proportion [of sales in the West] will be greater, less, or about the same? Asked of 68.6% of the sample of business executives who had sales in the West before the war. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Greater | 36.3% |
| Less | 2.8 |
| About the same | 49.2 |
| No answer | 11.7 |
| | 100.0% of the business executives questioned |

**49.** (US Feb '45) In your experience has your business suffered from discriminatory attitudes and practices of eastern industrial and financial interests; government favoritism for eastern industry or neglect of western? Asked of a cross-section of western business executives. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Eastern industrial and financial interests | 10.0% | 75.8% | 14.2% |
| Government favoritism for eastern industry or neglect of western | 9.6 | 66.9 | 23.5 |

**50.** (US Feb '45) Is your company considering plans to establish new branches or to expand old branches in these [western] areas? Asked of a cross-section of eastern business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sales | 21.8% |
| Service | 10.6 |
| Procurement | 2.3 |
| Manufacturing plants | 7.8 |
| None | 63.4 |
| No answer | 7.3 |
| | 113.2%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**51.** (US Feb '45) A cross-section of western business executives were asked: Over the next ten years, which of the following industrial forecasts for the West do you think is most likely to come true? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Expansion will be primarily in branches of eastern industry producing for western market | 34.2% |
| Expansion will be primarily in western industries producing for a national and overseas market | 64.2 |
| The West will revert to approximately the shape of its pre-war economy | 15.5 |
| Industry in the West will decline as compared to pre-war | 2.1 |
| | 116.0%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**52.** (US Mar 21 '45) Is your attitude toward owners and managers of business concerns today more favorable or less favorable than it was before the war? 31% of the sample said their attitude was more favorable and 19% felt less favorably. These two groups were asked: Why? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No opinion as to whether or not attitude has changed | 14% |
| Attitude same as before the war | 36 |
| Attitude more favorable because: | |
| Making the best of a bad situation; hands are tied; aren't given a chance | 12 |
| Cooperation with labor better; attitude toward labor better; more considerate of employees | 8 |
| Furthering the war effort; keeping production up, supplies moving | 4 |
| Better wages paid | 1 |
| More work since the war | 1 |
| Too many government controls, taxes | 1 |
| Labor unions dictate too much | 1 |
| Small business needs more encouragement; need private ownership | 1 |
| Didn't say why attitude was more favorable | 3 |
| Attitude less favorable because: | |
| Making profits on war; unfair prices; out for all they can get; take advantage of the public | 8 |
| Indifferent toward customers; independent; discourteous | 4 |
| Unfair to labor; rob the laboring class | 2 |
| Partiality toward certain customers | 1 |
| Large business gaining more than small business | 1 |
| Other reasons for a less favorable attitude | 2 |
| Didn't say why attitude was less favorable | 1 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**53.** (US Nov 15 '45) Generally speaking, would you expect a big company or a small company to develop the best inventions? (NYHT)

| | |
|---|---|
| Big company | 70.4% |
| Small company | 10.6 |
| No difference | 9.5 |
| Don't know | 9.5 |

**54.** (US Nov 15 '45) Which would you expect to give you the best radio set (gasoline) for your money [a big company or a small company]? (NYHT)

| | *Big company* | *Small company* | *No difference* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Radio set | 69.0% | 9.7% | 10.1% | 11.2% |
| Gasoline | 66.8 | 7.6 | 12.2 | 13.4 |

# INDUSTRY AND STATE

## Australia

**1.** (Australia May '42) Should the Commonwealth government take over more industries, or should private enterprise be left in charge? (APOP)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Government* | 41% | Private enterprise | 41% |
| | | Undecided or no answer | 18% |

* Respondents frequently added "for the war only."

**2.** (Australia Apr '43) After the war, should the government own and operate more factories than at present, or do you prefer private ownership? (APOP)

| | *Prefer private enterprise* | *Government* | *Undecided or no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 33% | 11% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Owners, managers, and professional | 75% | 16% | 9% |
| Farm owners | 62 | 24 | 14 |
| White-collar | 59 | 31 | 10 |
| Skilled and semi-skilled workers | 46 | 44 | 10 |
| Unskilled workers | 39 | 44 | 17 |
| Farm hands | 35 | 48 | 17 |

**3.** (Australia Apr '43) Which factories in particular? Asked of the 33% of the sample who favored the government taking over more factories after the war. (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| All factories | 12% |
| Heavy industries and steel engineering | 6 |
| Those making essentials | 5 |
| Textiles | 3 |
| Munitions | 3 |
| Monopolies | 2 |
| Food factories | 2 |
| | 33% |

**4.** (Australia Oct '43) Would you favor or oppose more government factories after the war than at present? Those who favored government ownership of factories were asked: Would you like the government to own all the factories or only some? Results of both questions follow: (APOP)

| | *Favor socialization* | *Some* | *Oppose* | *Undecided or no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 18% | 23% | 48% | 11% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Labor | 29% | 29% | 32% | 10% |
| Liberal-country | 7 | 16 | 64 | 13 |

**5.** (Australia Dec '43) At present the Commonwealth government does nor have power to make or sell civilian goods. Do you think it should be allowed to run factories making civilian goods? (APOP)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 47% | 10% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Labor | 56% | 34% | 10% |
| Non-labor | 27 | 63 | 10 |

**6.** (Australia Sept–Oct '45) Some of the government's munition factories are being sold or let to manufacturers and others are being closed down. Do you think the government should or should not run some of those factories itself, making civilian goods for everyday use? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Favor government running factories | 60% |
| Oppose it | 36 |
| No opinion | 4 |

**7.** (Australia June 15 '46) If all industries in Australia were owned and run by the government, do you think wage earners would be better off or worse off? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Worse | 57% |
| Better | 25 |
| No difference | 7 |
| No opinion | 11 |

## Canada

**1.** (Canada Aug 15 '42 and Oct 2 '43) Since the war started, the government has taken a bigger and bigger share of business, industry, and agriculture. Some people say this control should continue after the war. Do you agree or disagree? Asked in July '42. In Oct '43 "agriculture" was omitted from the question. (CIPO)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '42 | 45% | 44% | 11% |
| Oct '43 | 43 | 45 | 12 |
| 1942 RESULTS BY NATIONAL ORIGIN | | | |
| English-Canadians | 48% | 41% | 11% |
| French-Canadians | 37 | 51 | 12 |

**2.** (Canada Oct 2 '43) Do you think the government should have complete control over business, industry, and agriculture after the war? Asked of 45% of the July '42 sample and 43% of the Oct '43 sample who agreed that government control of business and industry should continue after the war. (CIPO)

| | *Yes, approve* | *No, disapprove* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| July '42 sample | 22% | 19% | 4% = 45% |
| Oct '43 | 18 | 22 | 3 = 43 |

**3.** (Canada Feb 27 '43) Do you think that, after the war, it would be a good idea for the government to run all industries that handle and distribute certain necessities of life—like milk, bread, meat, and fuel—and sell them to the public without profit? (CIPO)

| | *Yes, favor* | *No, oppose* | *Undecided; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 44% | 45% | 11% |
| BY SELECTED PROVINCES | | | |
| Quebec | 31% | 54% | 15% |
| Ontario | 48 | 43 | 9 |

**4.** (Canada May 12 '43) Would you approve or disapprove if the Canadian government took over complete control of the manufacture and sale of all alcoholic beverages including wine and beer? (CIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion; undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 59% | 29% | 12% |
| BY EXTREME IN SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Cities over 100,000 | 52% | 35% | 13% |
| Farm | 62 | 24 | 14 |

**5.** (Canada Dec 18 '43 and Oct 31 '45) After the war, do you think workers would be better off if all the industries in Canada were owned and run by the government, or do you think that workers would be better off if these industries were left under private management? In 1945 the phrase "after the war" was omitted from the question. (CIPO)

| | *Dec '43* | *Oct '45* |
|---|---|---|
| Government ownership | 33% | 18% |
| Government ownership under other party | 6 | 3 |
| Private management | 47 | 64 |
| Undecided | 14 | 15 |

1945 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | *Prog-Cons* | *Liberal* | *CCF* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Government ownership | 8% | 15% | 42% |
| Government, if other party | 2 | 1 | 15 |
| Private ownership | 80 | 70 | 30 |
| Undecided | 10 | 14 | 13 |

## France

**1.** (France Feb 16 '46) Do you consider that things will be better if the state owns and operates all industries? (FIPO)

| | *Worse* | *Better* | *No change* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 38% | 25% | 14% | 23% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| | | | *No change and No opinion* | |
| Workers | 26% | 42% | 32% | |
| White-collar | 40 | 26 | 34 | |
| Business | 60 | 17 | 23 | |
| Professional | 63 | 13 | 24 | |

## Great Britain

**1.** (Great Britain Mar 1 '43) The bill [to regulate wages and working conditions in cafes, hotels, and restaurants] gives the government the right to check the efficiency of individual catering firms. Do you approve or disapprove of the government's having such powers? (BIPO)

Yes 66% No 17% Don't know 17%

**2.** (Great Britain June '44) During the change-over from war to peace, should the change be done mainly under government control, or should it be left mainly to private business? (BIPO)

Government control 68% Private control 14%
Don't know 18%

**3.** (Great Britain June '45) In getting new houses built, should the government give assistance mainly to local authorities or to private builders? (BIPO)

| | *Local authorities* | *Private builders* | *Equally* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 44% | 19% | 29% | 8% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 48% | 22% | 26% | 4% |
| Women | 40 | 17 | 30 | 13 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 49% | 14% | 26% | 11% |
| 30–49 years | 46 | 19 | 27 | 8 |
| 50 years and over | 41 | 22 | 28 | 9 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 25% | 42% | 30% | 3% |
| Middle | 45 | 21 | 29 | 5 |
| Lower | 46 | 17 | 27 | 10 |

**4.** (Great Britain June '45) Some people say that the best way to provide jobs is by private enterprise and removing all government controls. Do you agree or disagree? (BIPO)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 35% | 48% | 17% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 36% | 54% | 10% |
| Women | 34 | 43 | 23 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 29% | 56% | 15% |
| 30–49 years | 32 | 52 | 16 |
| 50 years and over | 40 | 42 | 18 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 54% | 40% | 6% |
| Middle | 39 | 48 | 13 |
| Lower | 32 | 49 | 19 |

**5.** (Great Britain Dec 14 '45) Have you heard about the government's idea of nationalizing coal, transport, electricity, and so on? 95% of the sample who had heard of the plan were asked: Do you approve of their plans? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* | *Total* | *Unfamiliar with plan* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 59% | 25% | 11% | 95% | 5% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 62% | 28% | 7% | 97% | 3% |
| Women | 55 | 22 | 15 | 92 | 8 |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 61% | 19% | 12% | 92% | 8% |
| 30–49 years | 61 | 24 | 11 | 96 | 4 |
| 50 years and over | 56 | 28 | 10 | 94 | 6 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Higher | 33% | 59% | 7% | 99% | 1% |
| Middle | 56 | 32 | 9 | 97 | 3 |
| Lower | 62 | 19 | 12 | 93 | 7 |

## Hungary

**1.** (Hungary Apr '46) Is there a hope of industrial production being raised at the end of state control of manufacturing industry? (HIPOR)

BUDAPEST RESIDENTS BY TYPE OF SOCIAL STATUS AND INCOME

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Other; undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Fixed income* | | | |
| Educated class | 64.2% | 33.7% | 2.1% |
| Bourgeoisie | 72.9 | 24.9 | 2.2 |
| Workers | 69.5 | 27.1 | 3.4 |
| *Variable income* | | | |
| Educated class | 41.5 | 58.5 | — |
| Bourgeoisie | 61.5 | 38.5 | — |
| Workers | 47.5 | 48.8 | 3.7% |
| COUNTRY TOWNS AND VILLAGES BY SEX | | | |
| *Town* | | | |
| Men | 66.7% | 28.6% | 4.7% |
| Women | 76.1 | 19.3 | 4.6 |
| *Village* | | | |
| Men | 85.8 | 14.0 | 0.2 |
| Women | 71.5 | 19.8 | 8.7 |

## Netherlands

**1.** (Netherlands Mar '46) It is often stated that free competition and less state control of economic life will be best for commerce and industry and for the prosperity of the country as a whole. Do you agree or disagree? (NIPO)

Agree 54% Don't agree 35% Don't know 11%

**2.** (Netherlands Mar '46) It is often stated that economic freedom and less state control of industry is the best way to insure jobs for everybody. Do you agree in this respect with those in favor of state-controlled economy? (NIPO)

Pro freedom 42% Pro state control 41% Don't know 17%

**3.** (Netherlands Oct '46) Do you think we will get more free or more planned economy in our country compared with before the war? (NIPO)

More planned economy 59% More free economy 12%
Don't know 29%

## Sweden

**1.** (Sweden Aug '42) What do you think should be done after the war about the government control of the labor market, the food question, and the social relief question introduced during the war? (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Upper class* | *Middle class* | *Workers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| This control should be further developed after the war | 4% | 3% | 3% | 4% |
| This control should continue but adapted to peace conditions | 19 | 24 | 19 | 18 |
| We should return to prewar conditions | 47 | 41 | 48 | 47 |
| All state interference with trade should be limited as before the war | 5 | 14 | 7 | 4 |
| Don't know | 25 | 18 | 23 | 27 |

**2.** (Sweden Dec '45) Do you think the government now in office gives the nation sufficiently clear information as to the extent to which government control of trade is planned, or do you think the government should give the public more information on this matter? (SGI)

| | *Give sufficiently clear information* | *Ought to state its intentions more clearly* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 18% | 46% | 36% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 22% | 60% | 18% |
| Women | 15 | 32 | 53 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Right party | 12% | 56% | 32% |
| Liberal party | 14 | 61 | 25 |
| Agrarian | 15 | 51 | 34 |
| Social Democratic | 27 | 39 | 34 |
| Communist | 22 | 53 | 25 |

**3.** (Sweden Dec '45) Do you think that there are special spheres of trade, which, in the first place, should be nationalized or subjected to more effective state control? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *Yes, but everything equally important* | *No, more state control undesirable* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 20% | 7% | 37% | 36% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 29% | 8% | 44% | 19% |
| Women | 11 | 6 | 30 | 53 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Right party | 10% | 1% | 64% | 25% |
| Liberal party | 13 | 4 | 57 | 26 |
| Agarian | 15 | 3 | 50 | 32 |
| Social Democratic | 26 | 10 | 24 | 40 |
| Communist | 39 | 15 | 18 | 28 |

## U.S.

**1.** (US Sept 16 '35) Do you think government regulation of business and industry should be increased? (AIPO)

Yes 41% No 59% = 100% No opinion 10%

**2.** (US Jan 18 '36) Would you favor an amendment to the Constitution transferring to the federal government power to regulate agriculture and industry? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 57% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic | 69% | 31% |
| Republican | 12 | 88 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 28% | 72% |
| Middle Atlantic | 39 | 61 |
| East central | 39 | 61 |
| West central | 41 | 59 |
| South | 55 | 45 |
| Mountain | 40 | 60 |
| Pacific coast | 47 | 53 |

**3.** (US Apr 11 '36) Should the NRA in legal form, be revived? (Aug 29 '36) Would you like to see the NRA revived? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '36 | 49% | 51% = 100% | 6% |
| Aug '36 | 44 | 56 = 100 | 7 |

**4.** (US June 27 '36) Which presents the greater danger to America—too much power lodged in Washington officials or too much power lodged with business and industrial leaders? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Washington officials | 47% |
| Business and industrial leaders | 53 |
| | 100% |
| No opinion | 16% |

**5.** (US Nov 4 '36 and Feb 15 '37) Do you think the President and the Congress should seek to enact a second NRA? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '36 | 51% | 49% = 100% | 5% |
| Feb '37 | 53 | 47 = 100 | — |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| *Nov '36* | | | |
| New England | 58% | 42% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 65 | 35 | |
| East central | 45 | 55 | |
| West central | 45 | 55 | |
| South | 50 | 50 | |
| Mountain | 48 | 52 | |
| Pacific | 42 | 58 | |
| *Feb '37* | | | |
| New England | 49 | 51 | |
| Middle Atlantic | 57 | 43 | |
| East central | 53 | 47 | |
| West central | 44 | 56 | |
| South | 51 | 49 | |
| Mountain | 46 | 54 | |
| Pacific coast | 55 | 45 | |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| *Nov '36* | | | |
| Democratic | 69% | 31% | |
| Republican | 18 | 82 | |
| Socialist | 64 | 36 | |
| Lemke voters | 65 | 35 | |
| *Feb '37* | | | |
| Democratic | 72 | 28 | |
| Republican | 20 | 80 | |
| Others | 56 | 44 | |

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| 1937 RESULTS BY SELECTED GROUPS | | |
| Urban | 56% | 44% |
| Small towns | 44 | 56 |
| Farmers | 37 | 63 |
| Reliefers | 76 | 24 |
| Young persons | 56 | 44 |

**6.** (US Dec 14 '36) Would you favor an amendment to the Constitution giving Congress the power to regulate agriculture, commerce, industry, and labor? (AIPO)

Yes 45% No 55% = 100% No opinion 7%

**7.** (US Jan 5 '37 and Oct 3 '39) Do you think that in wartime the federal government should take over all business and industry? In Oct '39 a cross-section comparable to that used for the preceding question was asked: Do you think that, if the United States is at war, the federal government should take over all business and industry? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know; no opinion* | *Qualified answers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '37 | 51% | 49% = 100% | 17% | — |
| First '39 cross-section | 43 | 40 | 15 | 2% = 100% |
| Second '39 cross-section | 48 | 36 | 14 | 2 = 100 |

**8.** (US Mar 1 '37) Would you favor an amendment to the Constitution giving Congress greater power to regulate industry and agriculture? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 58% | 42% = 100% | 13% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 57% | 43% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 60 | 40 | |
| East central | 57 | 43 | |
| West central | 48 | 52 | |
| South | 69 | 31 | |
| Mountain | 54 | 46 | |
| Pacific coast | 57 | 43 | |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 75% | 25% | |
| Republican | 27 | 73 | |
| Others | 62 | 38 | |

**9.** (US July 19 '37) Should the government attempt to break up large business organizations? (AIPO)

Yes 31% No 69% = 100% No opinion 10%

**10.** (US Aug 9 '37 and Aug 23 '37) During recent years the trend has been to give the federal government greater power to regulate business, industry, and agriculture. Are you in favor of this trend toward centralizing power in Washington? The Aug 23 question read "business, labor, and agriculture" instead of "business, industry, and agriculture." (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug 9 '37 | 47% | 53% = 100% | 16% |
| Aug 23 '37 | 43 | 46 | 11 = 100% |

**11.** (US Oct 28 '37) Do you think the attitude of the Roosevelt administration toward big business is too friendly or not friendly enough? (Mar 15 '38) Do you think the attitude of the Roosevelt administration toward business is too friendly or not friendly enough? (Mar 2 '39) Do you think that the general attitude of the Roosevelt administration toward businessmen is too friendly or not friendly enough? (May 10 '39) Do you think the general attitude of the Roosevelt administration toward business is too friendly or not friendly enough? (AIPO)

| | *Too friendly* | *Not friendly enough* | *About right* | *No answer; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '37 | 19% | 34% | 47% = 100% | 10% |
| Mar '38 | 15 | 45 | 40 = 100 | 15 |
| Mar '39 | 9 | 52 | 39 | — = 100% |
| May '39 | 11 | 54 | 35 = 100 | 16 |

**12.** (US May 10 '39) Do you think the general attitude of business toward the Roosevelt administration is too friendly or not friendly enough? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too friendly | 11% |
| Not friendly enough | 65 |
| About right | 24 |
| | 100% |
| No opinion | 16% |

**13.** (US May 18 '39) Do you think that ten years from now there will be more government control of business than there is now or less government control of business? (AIPO)

More 56% Less 22% Same 8% Don't know 14%

**14.** (US June '39) Do you think the government should own and operate all, some, or none of the country's natural resources like mines, forests, waterpower, etc.? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| All | 21.3% |
| Some | 33.5 |
| None | 32.9 |
| Don't know or depends | 12.3 |

**15.** (US June '39) On the following things we have found that people differ as to the degree to which government should function. Do you think that the government should operate all, some, or none of the postal and parcel-post services? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| All | 86.9% |
| Some | 5.3 |
| None | 3.8 |
| Don't know or depends | 4.0 |

**16.** (US June '39) Do you think the government should own and operate all, some, or none of the factories producing the essentials of life, like clothes, food, etc? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| All | 7.3% |
| Some | 14.3 |
| None | 70.0 |
| Don't know or depends | 8.4 |

**17.** (US Feb '40) Would you prefer the government or private business as an employer? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Private business | 50.0% |
| Government | 39.5 |
| Don't know | 10.5 |

**18.** (US May 3 '40) During the next four years do you think business should be regulated to a greater extent by the federal government? (AIPO)

Yes 33% No 67%

**19.** (US May 3 '40, Oct 9 '40, Oct 24 '40) During the next four years, do you think there should be more regulation or

less regulation of business by the federal government than at present? (AIPO)

| | *More regulation* | *About the same* | *Less regulation* | | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| May '40 | 27% | 19% | 54% | = 100% | 15% | |
| Oct 9 '40 | 27 | 20 | 53 | = 100 | 20 | |
| Oct 24 '40 | 27 | 22 | 51 | | — | = 100% |

**20.** (US July 20 '40 and Dec 16 '40) In connection with our national defense program, do you favor increasing or decreasing government regulation and control of industry? (OPOR, AIPO)

| | *Increase* | *Decrease* | *No change* | | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| OPOR July '40 | 63% | 20% | 17% | = 100% | 16% | |
| AIPO Dec '40 | 51 | 12 | 24 | | 13 | = 100% |
| JULY '40 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Upper | 52% | 28% | 20% | | | |
| Middle | 63 | 19 | 18 | | | |
| Lower | 73 | 12 | 15 | | | |

**21.** (US Sept '40) Do you know what the government expects your business to do on mobilization day? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 6.6% |
| Yes, in certain respects | 18.8 |
| No | 35.6 |
| Don't believe it has got around to expecting anything of us | 36.9 |
| No answer | 2.1 |

**22.** (US Sept '40) Do you think the government should expedite rearmament by placing orders on a cost-plus basis? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 59.9% |
| No | 38.0 |
| Don't know | 0.2 |
| No answer | 1.9 |

**23.** (US Oct '40) Do you feel that businessmen of your acquaintance have any reservations about rearmament work? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 58.8% |
| No | 37.3 |
| Don't know or no answer | 3.9 |

**24.** (US Oct '40) 58.8% of the sample of business executives who felt that some businessmen had reservations about rearmament work were asked: Do you attribute their reservations to: (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Belief that the present administration in Washington is strongly antibusiness and a consequent discouragement over the practicability of cooperation with this administration on rearmament? | 77.3% |
| The government delay over letting them charge off the cost of their new plants for rearmament within five years for tax purposes? | 64.4 |
| The fear that acceptance of rearmament orders will subject their plants to added interference with their labor policies? | 45.2 |
| The belief that profits allowed on rearmament contracts are too small to justify the investment of the risks involved? | 38.4 |
| The fear that an excess-profits tax will wipe out most of their profits on rearmament orders? | 36.6 |
| Feeling that the emergency is not so acute as the President should have them feel? | 35.0 |
| Public sentiment against war profits, as a result of which businessmen would rather not handle war orders? | 20.1% |
| No answer | 0.3 |
| | 317.3%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of executives who thought that some businessmen had reservations about rearmament work and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**25.** (US Dec '40) Do you believe the NRA trade-agreement programs should be revived now? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 15.5% | 84.5% |
| Utility and railroad executives | 7.3 | 92.7 |

**26.** (US Dec 16 '40) If a factory refuses to make defense materials for the government at a price considered reasonable by the Defense Commission should the government take over that factory? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 71% | 22% | 7% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| For Willkie | 64% | 31% | 5% |
| For Roosevelt | 79 | 15 | 6 |

**27.** (US Feb '41) Which do you think has been most to blame for the unfriendly feeling that has existed between business and government—business leaders or the administration? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Business leaders | 33.8% |
| Administration | 28.0 |
| Both | 14.1 |
| Neither | 1.8 |
| Don't know | 22.3 |

**28.** (US Feb '41) Regardless of who is to blame [for the unfriendly feeling that has existed between business and government] what do you think Roosevelt's attitude should be now? Asked of 47.9% of the sample who thought that either the business leaders, or both business leaders and the administration, were responsible for the unfriendly feeling existing between business and government. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| He should continue to treat business in the same way he has | 42.1% |
| He should give in a little and let business have its way a little more | 47.4 |
| Don't know | 10.5 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned |

**29.** (US Feb '41) Regardless of who is to blame [for the unfriendly feeling between business and government] what do you think the attitude of business leaders should be now? Asked of 42.1% of the sample who thought that either the administration, or both business leaders and the administration, were responsible for the unfriendly attitude existing between business and government. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| They should continue their present attitude toward Roosevelt | 31.6% |
| They should give in a little and oppose fewer of Roosevelt's ideas | 59.4 |
| Don't know | 9.0 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned |

**30.** (US May '41) In the case of those industrial units that have, on impartial hearing, proved not to be making a maximum effort for national defense, do you think that a stronger threat of government control would in general be effective, have no effect, do more harm than good? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Effective* | *No effect* | *More harm than good* | *Other answers* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42.7% | 3.3% | 35.9% | 1.1% | 17.0% |
| Manufacturing executives | 41.9 | 3.6 | 37.6 | 1.5 | 15.4 |

**31.** (US May '41) If you consider lack of mutual confidence between government and business a major or secondary factor, do you feel that the government is more to blame, business is more to blame, both equally to blame? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Government | 77.8% |
| Business | 1.9 |
| Both | 14.3 |
| Other | 0.6 |
| No answer | 5.4 |

**32.** (US May '41) A national cross-section of business executives were asked: If you consider methods of placing government orders a major or secondary factor, which of the following do you think plays a part? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Interference of labor laws not suited to war economy | 21.3% |
| Too much red tape and paper work | 15.4 |
| Too much bickering over unimportant specifications | 13.6 |
| Divided authority in the Office of Production Management | 12.6 |
| Government orders are not sufficiently widely distributed among companies equipped to handle them to realize our full production potential | 8.4 |
| Mr. Hillman | 7.4 |
| There should be more negotiated contracts | 7.1 |
| Priorities are not properly worked out | 5.7 |
| We should go over to the cost-plus basis used in the last war | 2.9 |
| More competitive bidding would get best results | 2.5 |
| Mr. Knudsen | 1.1 |
| Other | 0.9 |
| No answer | 1.1 |

**33.** (US May '41) A national cross-section of business executives were asked: If you are critical of defense progress, how would you rate the following factors as contributing to the trouble? (FOR)

| | *Major causes* % | *Secondary* % | *Unimportant* % | *Don't know* % | *No answer** % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Methods of placing government orders, red tape, delays | 43.5 | 20.7 | 2.4 | 6.3 | 27.1 |
| Long-standing lack of mutual confidence between government and business | 41.8 | 21.1 | 7.7 | 0.9 | 28.5 |
| Attempts on the part of labor organizations to exploit defense needs | 41.5 | 24.8 | 5.8 | 1.1 | 26.8 |
| Shortages of certain specialized production equipment, like machine tools | 33.3 | 23.0 | 3.2 | 4.2 | 36.3 |
| Lack of reasonable adequate military planning | 29.3 | 22.7 | 3.6 | 11.0 | 33.4 |
| Shortage of labor in certain key skills | 22.0 | 31.2 | 6.6 | 4.1 | 36.1 |
| Expansion may be imprudent in view of the long-range hazards to solvency | 18.6 | 30.0 | 11.4 | 2.1 | 37.9 |
| Inadequate incentives for business | 12.9 | 19.2 | 23.9 | 1.9 | 42.1 |
| Inadequate foundation of industrial research in defense technologies | 9.2 | 16.6 | 15.9 | 13.8 | 44.5 |
| Shortages of certain raw materials | 6.9 | 23.9 | 16.5 | 8.3 | 44.4 |
| Attempts on the part of business to "make a killing" out of war situation | 2.2 | 7.5 | 41.9 | 4.3 | 44.1 |
| Other | 5.4 | 1.5 | 2.0 | 4.4 | 86.7 |

* The "no answer" percentages cover those who regard progress as satisfactory as well as those who are critical.

**34.** (US May 20 '41) Do you think you would be better off if your concern (employer) were taken over and operated by the federal government, or would you prefer to leave it under the present business management? Asked of a national cross-section of business employees. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Prefer business operation | 81% |
| Prefer government operation | 7 |
| No opinion and no choice | 12 |

**35.** (US May 29 '41) Do you think business should be regulated to a greater extent by the federal government? (AIPO)

Yes 44% No 44% No opinion 12%

**36.** (US Sept '41) Which of the following forms of organization of defense industry would you favor—a war industries board under one-man control like the one we had in the last war; representative industries' committees working under federal coordination; the present setup in Washington with minor changes required for greater efficiency? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| War industries board | 72.8% |
| Committees | 20.1 |
| Present setup | 9.1 |
| | 102.0%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**37.** (US Sept '41) In general, which do you think would be the better national policy for the duration of the emergency—attempts at curtailing consumer demands for goods in which shortages are likely to develop; rapid expansion of facilities, such as pipe lines, to meet both emergency and full normal civilian demands? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Curtail demands | 59.1% |
| Expand facilities | 39.2 |
| Both | 1.7 |

**38.** (US Nov '41) Do you think the businessmen whom the President has chosen to head up the defense effort have been the very ablest men that industry and business could supply? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Ablest possible | 13.7% |
| Some good, some inadequate | 77.1 |
| Most badly chosen for the job in hand | 9.2 |

The managers were asked to comment on the men chosen. About a quarter of them felt strongly enough to set down their ideas as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Not enough authority | 31.2% |
| Too much politics | 17.6 |
| Administration hampers these men; too many New Dealers | 12.7 |
| The men chosen are not businessmen, lack experience | 12.2 |
| Administration has not selected best men | 10.2 |
| Red tape hinders these men | 5.1 |
| Other reasons | 11.0 |
| | 100.0% |

of those who expressed an opinion

**39.** (US Nov '41) Do you think that the several hundred dollar-a-year men who work under these [defense] heads are, for the most part, the most effective that could have been obtained to fill their specific jobs; second raters or worse; some good, some bad? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Most effective | 53.2% |
| Second raters | 33.0 |
| Some good, some bad | 13.8 |

**40.** (US Nov '41) If you consider a large percentage of these businessmen in government service either unsatisfactory or ill chosen, what do you consider the principal reason for the condition? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Unwillingness of government to call the ablest men | 93.1% | 6.9% |
| Ignorance on the part of the administration of what constitutes management ability | 84.1 | 15.9 |
| Unwillingness of ablest men to serve | 67.4 | 32.6 |

**41.** (US Nov '41) The 67.4% who said they considered unwillingness of ablest men to serve the principal reason for the condition were asked to designate one or more of several reasons why. Results follow: (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Because the present defense setup does not give sufficient authority to the positions they are invited to fill | 74.2% |
| Because of being out of sympathy with the administration | 33.8 |
| Because they feel more useful at their own jobs | 27.4 |
| Because of compensation reasons | 18.0 |
| Other reasons | 3.7 |
| | 157.1%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents replying to the question and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**42.** (US Nov '41) The 93.1% who said they considered unwillingness of the government to call the ablest men the principal reason for the condition were also asked to designate one or more of several reasons why. Results follow: (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Because of hostility toward successful business | 62.8% |
| Because of fear of placing power in such hands | 47.7 |
| Because of possible disfavor of certain groups of voters | 29.4 |
| Other reasons | 5.6 |
| | 145.5%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents replying to the question and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**43.** (US Nov '41) Do you think that businessmen in government have tended to practice wise self-restraint about criticism of the government in the interest of harmony and national unity; have been at fault in not more openly insisting on more efficient organization of government effort, even if it meant creation of dissension in Washington? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Practice self-restraint | 44.5% |
| Been at fault | 55.5 |

**44.** (US Dec '41) After the war is over, do you think there will be more, the same, or less government regulation of the steel business? (FOR)

More 34.9% Same 18.9% Less 13.0% Don't know 33.2%

**45.** (US Dec '41) Those with opinions were asked whether they thought this would be a good or bad thing. (FOR)

| | *More* (34.9%) | *Same* (18.9%) | *Less* (13.0%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Good | 58.5% | 73.1% | 66.2% |
| Bad | 31.8 | 14.4 | 18.9 |
| Don't know | 9.7 | 12.5 | 14.9 |
| | 100.0%* | 100.0%* | 100.0%* |

* 100.0% of those questioned.

**46.** (US Dec '41) After the war is over, do you think there will be more, the same, or less government regulation of the oil business? (FOR)

More 37.8% Same 20.5% Less 10.0% Don't know 31.7%

**47.** (US Dec '41) Those with opinions were asked whether they thought this would be a good or bad thing. (FOR)

| | *More* (37.8%) | *Same* (20.5%) | *Less* (10.0%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Good | 60.2% | 73.9% | 70.3% |
| Bad | 30.8 | 13.0 | 16.2 |
| Don't know | 9.0 | 13.1 | 13.5 |
| | 100.0%* | 100.0%* | 100.0%* |

* 100% of those questioned.

**48.** (US Dec '41) After the war is over, do you think there will be more, the same, or less government regulation of auto manufacturing? (FOR)

More 30.6% Same 22.5% Less 20.2% Don't know 26.7%

**49.** (US Dec '41) Those with opinions were asked whether they thought this would be a good or bad thing. (FOR)

| | *More* (30.6%) | *Same* (22.5%) | *Less* (20.2%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Good | 56.2% | 74.8% | 79.3% |
| Bad | 32.9 | 11.9 | 11.3 |
| Don't know | 10.9 | 13.3 | 9.4 |
| | 100.0%* | 100.0%* | 100.0%* |

* 100% of those questioned.

**50.** (US Dec 19 '41) In time of war, should the government have the right to tell factory owners and businessmen what products they can make and what prices they can charge? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Qualified answers* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 78% | 12% | 4% | 6% |
| Businessmen only | 81 | 11 | 4 | 4 |

**51.** (US Feb 3 '42) Who do you think can do the best job of straightening things out here in the United States after the

war—business leaders, the government in Washington, or labor leaders? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Business leaders | 17% |
| Government leaders in Washington | 35 |
| Labor leaders | 5 |
| All three together | 32 |
| Any two can do best job | 2 |
| No opinion | 8 |
| Other | 1 |

**52.** (US May '42) Which of these things do you think the government should do now, and which do you think would be going too far? (FOR)

| | *Do now* | *Going too far* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Take over and run any factories that can make war materials if the owners refuse to do it themselves | 87.9% | 6.4% | 5.7% |
| Register all men not in the army and navy for work in defense industries wherever they are needed | 79.3 | 14.1 | 6.6 |
| Strictly ration all foods or materials that might become scarce | 77.3 | 16.1 | 6.6 |
| Make all women without jobs give three or four hours a week to war work activities according to their abilities (unless they have young children) | 74.8 | 18.8 | 6.4 |
| Make men who strike on defense work join either the army or navy | 73.3 | 17.1 | 9.6 |
| Require everyone to be fingerprinted and carry identification papers at all times | 72.1 | 20.5 | 7.4 |
| Register all able-bodied women for possible full-time jobs in war work according to their abilities (unless they have young children) | 68.4 | 24.4 | 7.2 |
| Require everyone who makes overtime pay or gets an increase in salary to buy defense bonds with it | 46.0 | 46.1 | 7.9 |

**53.** (US July '42, Feb '43, Apr '43) After the war is over, do you think the government should own and operate all automobile companies, only regulate them, or leave them entirely alone? The Feb '43 and Apr '43 question read "would you like to see?" instead of "do you think?" Feb '43 results are the opinions of factory workers only and Apr '43 the opinions of farmers. (FOR)

| | *Leave alone* | *Regulate* | *Own and operate* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| July '42 | 58.8% | 24.2% | 2.9% | 14.1% |
| Feb '43 | 56.1 | 22.7 | 10.4 | 10.8 |
| Apr '43 | 56.5 | 18.0 | 8.5 | 17.0 |
| FEB '43 RESULTS BY FACTORY WORKERS' OPINION AS TO HOW THE GOVERNMENT WORKS | | | | |
| Works well | 54.1% | 25.4% | 9.2% | 11.3% |
| Needs revision | 49.5 | 27.3 | 15.4 | 7.8 |
| Should have a new form | 49.0 | 18.6 | 22.1 | 10.3 |

**54.** (US July '42) After the war is over, do you think the government should own and operate all grocery stores, only regulate them, or leave them entirely alone? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Leave them alone | 61.5% |
| Regulate | 25.2 |
| Own and operate | 2.2 |
| Don't know | 11.1 |

**55.** (US Aug 21 '42) At the present time, do you think the government has too much control or not enough control over our way of doing business in this country? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too much | 19% |
| About right | 34 |
| Not enough | 33 |
| Don't know | 14 |

**56.** (US Aug 21 '42, Nov 27 '42, Jan 11 '43, June 18 '43) Right after the war, do you think the government will have more control or less control over our way of doing business than it has now? 55% of the August sample, 52% of the November sample, and 46% of the June sample who thought there would be more government control were asked: Do you think this will be true only right after the war, or do you think it will continue for a long time? The second question was not asked of the Jan '43 sample. (NORC)

| | *Aug '42* | *Nov '42* | *Jan '43* | *June '43* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Government will have less control | 17% | 22% | 16% | 25% |
| Will have same amount of control | 12 | 11 | 16 | 14 |
| Don't know whether more or less control | 16 | 15 | 6 | 15 |
| More control only right after the war | 12 | 16 | — | 13 |
| Control will continue a long time | 38 | 31 | 62 | 29 |
| Don't know how long control will continue | 5 | 5 | — | 4 |

**57.** (US Nov 27 '42 and June 18 '43) At the present time, do you think the government has too much control or not enough control over our way of doing business in this country? (NORC)

| | *Too much* | *About right* | *Not enough* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '42 | 27% | 36% | 25% | 12% |
| June '43 | 29 | 35 | 23 | 13 |

**58.** (US Jan 11 '43) Do you think the government should have more control or less control over our way of doing business than it has now? (NORC)

More 32% Same 16% Less 41% Don't know 11%

**59.** (US Apr '43) After the war is over, would you like to see the government own and operate meat-packing companies, only regulate them, or leave them alone? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Leave alone | 45.5% |
| Regulate | 29.7 |
| Own and operate | 9.1 |
| Don't know | 15.7 |

**60.** (US Apr '43) When we do get back to peacetime conditions do you think the American people will be better off if the government has more control or less control of business than it had before the war? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 35% |
| Less | 38 |
| Same | 12 |
| No opinion | 12 |
| Qualified answers | 3 |

**61.** (US June 18 '43) How about the government's attitude toward business? Is it too strict, about right, or not strict enough? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too strict | 23% |
| About right | 45 |
| Not strict enough | 15 |
| Don't know | 17 |

**62.** (US Oct '43) After the war, do you think business will have less freedom than in 1939, about the same, more freedom than in 1939? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Less freedom 63.4% About the same 23.0% More freedom 13.6%

**63.** (US Oct 6 '43) Will you tell me in your own words what you understand by the term "free enterprise"? (May 2 '45) Will you tell me briefly what is meant by these terms? Among others was listed "free enterprise." (AIPO)

| | *Correct* | *Incorrect* | *Vague* | *Don't know; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '43 | 26% | 17% | 8% | 49% |
| June '45 | 18 | 14 | 19 | 49 |

**64.** (US Aug '44) Here are three policies the government must consider in determining what to do with its war plants. Should the government avoid a postwar unemployment crisis by getting the plants converted as soon as possible to peacetime production; reduce the national debt and lower the taxes by getting back as much of the government's investment as possible; make sure the plants go to companies who will use them to keep competition alive and vigorous? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Convert plants as soon as possible | 43.3% |
| Get back investment as soon as possible | 25.7 |
| Keep competition alive and vigorous | 28.5 |
| Don't know or no answer | 2.5 |

**65.** (US Aug '44) When the government has a choice either to sell a plant at a fair price to a big company or lease it at a fair rental to a smaller competitor, should the government as a matter of policy favor selling or leasing? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Selling 72.1% Leasing 27.9%

**66.** (US Feb '45) A national cross-section of business executives were asked: How would you like to see western steel and light-metal plants now owned by the government handled after the war? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sold to the highest bidders with no strings attached | 24.7% |
| Sold only to buyers who could reasonably assure their operation if given favorable terms but no subsidy | 68.1 |
| Operated by the government if no buyers could assure their operation without a subsidy | 2.4 |
| Closed down if no buyer could assure their operation without a subsidy | 21.1 |
| Let out to private companies to operate with a subsidy | 3.0 |
| | 119.3%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**67.** (US May 2 '45) Will you tell me briefly what is meant by these terms? Among others was listed "planned economy"? (AIPO)

Correct 14% Incorrect 10% Vague 26% No answer 50%

**68.** (US Aug 23 '45) There have been all sorts of ideas suggested for things we should do in this country after the war, and we'd like to know how you feel about some of them. Do you think it is a good idea or not such a good idea to have less government regulation of business? (NYHT)

| | *Good idea* | *Not so good* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total* | 54.3% | 26.0% | 19.7% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 75.7% | 19.1% | 5.2% |
| Upper middle | 69.9 | 21.2 | 8.9 |
| Lower middle | 55.1 | 29.7 | 15.2 |
| Poor | 40.8 | 24.9 | 34.3 |

* National total from *Fortune* Aug '45.

**69.** (US Sept '45) During the next year or two, how much control do you think the government should have over business—do you think it should have more control than it had before Pearl Harbor, or should it have less? (NORC)

More 42% Same 22% Less 20% Don't know 16%

**70.** (US Sept '45) What controls do you think the government should have now that it didn't have before Pearl Harbor? Asked of 42% of the sample who thought the government should have more control over business than it had before Pearl Harbor. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better working conditions; shorter hours; minimum wage; higher wages | 2% |
| Control prices, ceilings; enlarge the OPA; control rents, commodities | 12 |
| Control both wages and prices; wages equal to the cost of living | 5 |
| Control excess profits | 3 |
| Guarantee employment; enlarge Social Security | 1 |
| Control strikes and labor unions | 7 |
| Control monopolies, public utilities | 4 |
| Have more preparedness | 1 |
| Everything | 2 |
| Other answers | 2 |
| Don't know | 11 |
| | 50%* |

* Percentages add to more than 42 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**71.** (US Sept '45) What controls did the government have before Pearl Harbor that you think it should give up now? Asked of 20% of the sample who thought that the government should have less control over business than it had before Pearl Harbor. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should allow business to run itself | 4% |
| Release control of commodities, food, rent; no more OPA | 1 |
| Release control over agriculture | 3 |
| Government should stop financing housing, business, farm; stop compering with capital | * |
| Should stop Social Security, unemployment compensation; stop job guarantee | 1 |
| Should stop sending troops to break strikes; should let strike; should give labor free rein | 1 |
| Should release monopolies, stop controlling big business, stop control of public utilities | 1 |
| Should get rid of alphabet agencies | 1 |
| Cut excess profits, corporation taxes | * |
| Other answers | 1 |
| Don't know | 8 |
| | 21%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 20 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**72.** (US Sept '45) Suppose the government has no control over how businesses are run in this country. Whom do you think this would help the most—the people as a whole, or those who run big businesses, or those who run small businesses? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| People as a whole | 11% |
| Big business | 74 |
| Small businesses | 6 |
| Don't know | 11 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**73.** (US Dec '46) On the whole, which do you think would be likely to give the best value to the taxpayer in making airplanes for the army and navy, a privately owned and operated plant or one that was owned and operated by the government? Asked of a national cross-section of World War II veterans. (FOR)

| | *Private plant* | *Government plant* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 50.5% | 36.9% | 12.6% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 70.9% | 20.4% | 8.7% |
| Upper middle | 67.5 | 25.4 | 7.1 |
| Lower middle | 49.5 | 38.2 | 12.3 |
| Poor | 22.2 | 54.1 | 23.7 |

Leading reasons given by those who favored private ownership; 50.5% of sample is represented.

| | |
|---|---|
| More economical production (less waste, lower cost) | 27.9% |
| Believe in the American system of free enterprise and competition | 20.7 |
| More efficient in general | 19.5 |
| Less "red tape"; fewer regulations | 10.2 |
| More incentive for good production | 8.8 |
| More industrious employees | 6.1 |
| Less graft and politics | 6.1 |
| Better-qualified personnel | 4.3 |
| | 103.6%* |

Leading reasons given by those in favor government operation; 36.9% of the sample is represented.

| | |
|---|---|
| Cheaper production; less profit | 36.4% |
| Less labor trouble | 15.2 |
| Greater knowledge of needs; better equipment; etc. | 13.2 |
| Less graft | 12.1 |
| Better product | 6.7 |
| Easier to obtain men and materials | 6.5 |
| More efficient in general | 4.1 |
| | 94.2%* |

* Percentages add to more than the specified quota of the sample because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## INFANTILE PARALYSIS

**1.** (US Oct 3 '45) Can you tell me another name for poliomyelitis, or polio? (AIPO)

Correct 57% Incorrect or don't know 43%

**2.** (US Oct 3 '45) Do you think infantile paralysis is contagious (catching)? (AIPO)

Yes 49% No 29% Don't know 22%

**3.** (US Oct 3 '45) Can you tell me any of the signs or symptoms which tell whether people are coming down with infantile? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Fever | 21% |
| Aches; pains; cramped muscles | 21 |
| Sore throat | 8 |
| Vomiting | 8 |
| Tiredness; fatigue | 4 |
| Cold | 8 |
| Headache | 9 |
| Stiff neck | 7 |
| Backache | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Don't know | 56 |
| | 146%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**4.** (US Oct 3 '45) What do you think causes infantile paralysis? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germ; virus | 25% |
| Insects; flies | 8 |
| Improper diet; lack of vitamins | 3 |
| Improper care; don't live right; overexertion; weakening of system | 4 |
| Inherited; born that way | 1 |
| Unsanitary conditions; water; filthy water | 6 |
| Poor circulation; blood condition | 1 |
| Nerve defect; fright | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 |
| Cause not yet discovered | 2 |
| Don't know | 48 |
| | 107%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**5.** (US Oct 3 '45) Do you happen to know what any of the treatments for infantile are? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Exercise | 4% |
| Georgia Warm Springs | 1 |
| Massage | 13 |
| Water bathing; hot water bath; spring baths; etc. | 12 |
| Sister Kenny treatments | 15 |
| Heat; hot packs | 10 |
| Iron lung | 3 |
| Rest | 3 |
| Sunshine | 1 |
| Injection of drugs | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| Don't know | 54 |
| | 122%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (US Oct 3 '45) Does infantile paralysis leave all people who have had it crippled or paralyzed? (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 56% No opinion 14%

**7.** (US Oct 3 '45) Have you ever heard or read about Sister Kenny or the Kenny method of treating infantile? 52% of the sample who had heard of the treatment were asked: From what you have heard or read, do you think it is a good way or a bad way to treat the disease? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Never heard of Kenny method | 48% |
| Good way to treat infantile | 38 |
| Fair way | 4 |
| Uncertain about its merits | 10 |

## INFLATION (FINANCE)

**1.** (US Nov 20 '36 and Mar 15 '37) Do you think we will have inflation? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Nov '36 | 47% | 53% |
| Mar '37 | 53 | 47 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| *Nov '36* | | |
| New England | 47% | 53% |
| Middle Atlantic | 43 | 57 |
| East central | 50 | 50 |
| West central | 45 | 55 |
| South | 38 | 62 |
| Mountain | 57 | 43 |
| Pacific coast | 63 | 37 |
| *Mar '37* | | |
| New England | 54 | 46 |
| Middle Atlantic | 53 | 47 |
| East central | 50− | 50+ |
| West central | 53 | 47 |
| South | 53 | 47 |
| Mountain | 59 | 41 |
| Pacific | 55 | 45 |
| 1937 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic | 46% | 54% |
| Republican | 68 | 32 |
| Others | 48 | 52 |
| 1937 RESULTS BY SELECTED GROUPS | | |
| Women | 51% | 49% |
| Urban | 53 | 47 |
| Farmers | 53 | 47 |
| Small towns | 47 | 53 |
| Reliefers | 40 | 60 |
| Young people | 48 | 52 |

**2.** (US Nov 20 '36 and Mar 15 '37) Do you think it [inflation] would be a good thing? The 1937 question read "will be a good thing?" instead of "would be a good thing?" (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '36 | 21% | 79% = 100% | 20% |
| Mar '37 | 20 | 80 = 100 | 54 |
| 1937 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 26% | 74% | |
| Republican | 10 | 90 | |
| Others | 19 | 81 | |
| 1937 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 14% | 86% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 18 | 82 | |
| East central | 17 | 83 | |
| West central | 24 | 76 | |
| South | 27 | 73 | |
| Mountain | 20 | 80 | |
| Pacific | 17 | 83 | |
| 1937 RESULTS BY SELECTED GROUPS | | | |
| Women | 18% | 82% | |
| Urban | 19 | 81 | |
| Farmers | 25 | 75 | |
| Small towns | 17 | 83 | |
| Reliefers | 26 | 74 | |
| Young people | 18 | 82 | |

**3.** (US Sept 3 '42) Do you approve or disapprove of the government's policy with respect to inflation? (AIPO)

Approve 51% Disapprove 34% No opinion 15%

**4.** (US Sept 9 '42) Do you think there is a real danger of the cost of living going so high during the war that we'll have a very serious inflation? 33% of the sample who thought there was no danger of the cost of living going high enough to cause inflation were asked: Why not? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Think there is real danger of cost of living rising high enough to cause inflation | 53% |
| Don't know whether or not cost of living will go high enough | 14 |
| Government control will prevent | 27 |
| Miscellaneous reasons why cost of living will not go high enough | 4 |
| Didn't give any reason | 2 |

**5.** (US Jan 21 '43) Do you favor or oppose government action to control inflation? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Favor 71% Oppose 8% No opinion 21%

**6.** (US May 22 '43) There's been a lot of talk about the possibility of inflation in this country. What does inflation mean to you—that is, what do you think would happen in this country if we had inflation? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Value of money would decrease and/or price would increase | 28% |
| Prices would go up | 13 |
| Depressions or financial collapse (no mention of mechanism) | 13 |
| Prices and wages would go up and/or value of money would decrease | 3 |
| Scarcity of goods | 2 |
| Value of property, investments, and insurance would decrease | 1 |
| Inflation would mean revolution, rioting, dissatisfaction | 5 |
| Poor people would suffer | 3 |
| People with fixed incomes would suffer | 1 |
| Middle class would suffer | * |
| Only the rich would suffer | * |
| General expressions of disaster | 8 |
| Same as inflation in other countries | 1 |
| Our standard of living would be lower | 1 |
| Inflation would mean starvation | 1 |
| We have inflation now | 1 |
| Miscellaneous answers showing no definite misunderstanding | 1 |
| Miscellaneous specifically indicating misunderstanding | 1 |
| Nothing would happen | 1 |
| Don't know, but it is bad | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 16 |
| | 102%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**7.** (US May 22 '43) If you thought there would be serious inflation within the next few months, what do you think you would do? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Economize, refrain from buying, save | 9% |
| Buy bonds or not cash in bonds | 3 |
| Move to a farm and raise own food | 2 |
| Raise own food (general) | 1 |
| Educate the public or protest | 2 |
| Pay debts | 1 |
| Other anti-inflationary answers | 2 |
| Buy real estate | 5 |
| Buy goods (no mention of necessities) | 5 |
| Buy necessities | 3 |
| Liquidate investments | 2 |
| Buy stocks and insurance | 1 |
| Demand higher wages | * |
| Other inflationary answers | * |
| Be resigned | 10 |
| Do nothing | 9 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 3 |
| Not ascertainable | 46 |
| | 104%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**8.** (US Aug 17 '43) What do you understand by the term inflation? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct answers | 53% |
| Answered in terms of cause of inflation | 9 |
| Answered in terms of remedy for inflation | 1 |
| Vague idea of inflation | 7 |
| Incorrect answers | 2 |
| Don't know and no answer | 28 |

**9.** (US Aug 17 '43) Do you happen to know what steps are being proposed to stop inflation? 51% of the sample who said they did know what steps were being proposed were asked: What are some of them? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know what steps are proposed | 42% |
| Didn't answer the first question | 7 |
| Price ceilings; price control; rollback of prices | 32 |
| Curbing food prices, rent, and other cost of living items | 3 |
| Selling war bonds | 12 |
| Wage ceilings; freezing salaries; hold the line order on wages | 8 |
| Taxation; taxes paid as you go | 8 |
| Subsidies; helping farmers | 4 |
| Rationing | 7 |
| OPA was created for this work | 5 |
| Cutting out installment buying; larger down payments on installment buying | * |
| Others | 4 |
| No opinion | 2 |
| Ceilings | 1 |
| | 135%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**10.** (US Jan 7 '44 and June 23 '44) There's been a lot of talk about the possibility of inflation in this country. If we did have inflation, what do you think it would do to you? (NORC)

| | *Jan '44* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Inflation is bad; would result in complete ruin | 20% | 19% |
| Inflation is bad; would result in depression or hard times | 12 | 18 |
| Inflation is bad; explanations in terms of rising prices and depreciated value of dollar | 24% | 17% |
| Inflation wouldn't affect me or bother me | 10 | 11 |
| Inflation's bad, but at least we'd all be in the same boat | 2 | 4 |
| We have inflation now | 3 | 3 |
| Don't understand it but know it's bad | 2 | 2 |
| It would be partly good and partly bad | 1 | 1 |
| Have to get a job | * | * |
| I would gain from inflation | 2 | 2 |
| Miscellaneous bad effects of inflation | 1 | * |
| Don't know | 26 | 26 |
| | 103%** | 103%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**11.** (Canada June 28 '44) We hear a great deal of talk about preventing inflation in Canada. Will you tell me in your own words what you think the word "inflation" means? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good answers | 14% |
| Fair answers | 20 |
| Inadequate | 30 |
| Wrong or don't know | 36 |

**12.** (US Oct 17 '45) Will you tell me what the term "inflation" means to you? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Swollen; bubble bursting | 1% |
| High prices; scarce goods | 1 |
| High prices | 37 |
| Lowered value of dollar | 26 |
| No gold backing of dollar | 1 |
| Depression; scarcity of money | 3 |
| Scarcity of goods | * |
| Plenty of money but no goods | 2 |
| Race between wages and cost of living | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| Don't know | 20 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**13.** (US Oct 17 '45) At the present time, do you think we are having a little, a lot, or no inflation in this country? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Little | 50% |
| Lot | 22 |
| No inflation | 5 |
| Don't know | 23* |

* Includes those who didn't understand the term.

**14.** (US Oct 17 '45) Do you think we will have serious inflation in this country in the next few years? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, unless they do something | 2% |
| Yes | 27 |
| Yes, if things go as they are | 1 |
| Yes, if like after the first war | * |
| Yes, unless government controls price levels | 4 |
| Yes, if they keep raising wages | 1 |
| Yes, unless capital and labor agree to fair wage and price levels | 1 |
| No | 28 |
| No, if economic controls are kept up | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| No opinion | 11 |
| Those who didn't understand the term | 20 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**15.** (Germany June 7 '46) We should like to find out what people think causes inflation. Here are three statements which are frequently made to describe the cause of inflation. In your opinion, which one of them most nearly explains the cause of inflation? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| The higher prices go, the scarcer goods become | 18% |
| People have more money to buy with and there are fewer goods on the market | 27 |
| Money in circulation loses its value because it is not supported in gold | 32 |
| Combinations of first and second or second and third statements | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |
| No opinion | 21 |

**16.** (Germany June 7 '46) Do you think that there is a possibility of inflation in Germany today? 36% of the sample thought there was a possibility and 19% didn't know. These two groups were asked: What makes you think there will be inflation? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't think there will be inflation or didn't answer first question | 45% |
| Will be inflation because reparations are too high | 1 |
| Because of black market | 6 |
| Prices are too high | 6 |
| Bad economic situation; nothing to buy; can't get anything you need even though you can pay for it | 6 |
| No backing for currency | 7 |
| Too much money in circulation | 7 |
| It's up to the Allies, they can allow or prevent inflation | 5 |
| It happened after the last war; it cannot be prevented; it has already started | 3 |
| Because of the zones; other answers | 1 |
| Just think so; don't know; can't say | 6 |
| Irrelevant answers | * |
| Didn't give any reason | 12 |
| | 105%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**17.** (Germany June 7 '46) Do you think that the American and German authorities really want to prevent inflation? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 85% |
| No | 3 |
| No opinion | 12 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**18.** (Germany June 7 '46) Do you think that they [American and German authorities] are capable of doing so [preventing inflation]? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 79% |
| No | 3 |
| Don't know | 18 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

## INFLUENZA AND COLDS

**1.** (US Jan 5 '37 and Mar 19 '41) What have you found to be the most effective way to treat a cold? (Dec 12 '44) What have you found to be the best way to treat a cold? Asked of a national cross-section of people who said that they, or someone in their home, had a cold. (AIPO)

1937 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Call a doctor and go to bed | 6% |
| Take medicine, go to bed | 26 |
| Aspirin | 4 |
| Plenty of rest and fruit juices | 4 |
| Drink plenty of water and go to bed | 4 |
| Just go to bed | 13 |
| Hot lemonade and rest | 6 |
| Ignore it completely | 3 |
| Hot bath and go to bed | 4 |
| All others | 30 |

1941 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Bed or rest | 15% |
| Laxative and bed | 11 |
| Fruit juices | 6 |
| Aspirin | 2 |
| Medicine and bed | 2 |
| Liquor and bed | 2 |
| Medical care; call doctor | 6 |
| Hot lemonade; hot drinks and bed | 4 |
| Let them take their course | 4 |
| Home medical remedies | 6 |
| Stay indoors | 2 |
| Quinine | 2 |
| All others | 33 |
| No answer | 5 |

1944 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Bed; rest; stay in bed; plenty of rest; sleep | 38% |
| Liquor; take a drink; hot tea and whiskey | 3 |
| Aspirin; cold tablets; quinine; nose drops | 13 |
| Laxative | 7 |
| Mustard plasters; Vicks; camphorated oil | 5 |
| Doctor; medical attention | 9 |
| Stay indoors; keep warm; warmth | 10 |
| Fruit juices; fruit | 7 |
| Light diet; liquid diet; quit eating | 8 |
| Patent medicines; Pinex; cough drops; white pine and tar medicine; pills | 14 |
| Nothing, let it cure itself | 7 |
| Plenty of fresh air; go outdoors; sunshine | 1 |
| Water | 3 |
| Gargle | 1 |
| Sweat it out | 1 |
| Lemonade; hot water and lemonade; lemonade and honey | 5 |
| Exercise; work it off | 1 |
| Hot milk and honey at night; cream and olives | 1 |
| Soda | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| No answer; don't know; haven't found any cure; no way | 7 |
| | 145%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who had a cold and add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (US Mar 19 '41) Have you had any colds this winter—that is, since last October? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 64% | 36% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 63% | 37% |
| Women | 65 | 35 |

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper income | 61% | 39% |
| Middle income | 63 | 37 |
| Lower income | 67 | 33 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | |
| Farm | 65% | 35% |
| Towns | 66 | 34 |
| Small cities | 63 | 37 |
| Cities | 61 | 39 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 64% | 36% |
| East central | 63 | 37 |
| West central | 64 | 36 |
| South | 72 | 28 |
| West | 58 | 42 |

**3.** (US Mar 19 '41 and Apr 15 '42) How many [colds have you had since October]? The 1941 question was asked of a national cross-section of persons who had had colds since October. 64% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

1941 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 cold | 38% |
| 2 colds | 17 |
| 3 or more colds | 9 |
| Escaped colds | 36 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

1942 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 cold | 33% |
| 2 or more colds | 27 |
| No colds | 40 |

**4.** (US Mar 19 '41) Have you had the flu or grippe (a heavy cold with fever) since October? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 25% | 75% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 24% | 76% |
| Women | 27 | 73 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper income | 25% | 75% |
| Middle income | 23 | 77 |
| Lower income | 27 | 73 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | |
| Farms | 27% | 73% |
| Towns | 27 | 73 |
| Small cities | 24 | 76 |
| Cities | 21 | 79 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 23% | 77% |
| East central | 22 | 78 |
| West central | 26 | 74 |
| South | 29 | 71 |
| West | 26 | 74 |

**5.** (US Mar 19 '41) How many times [have you had the flu or grippe this winter]? (AIPO)

Once 22% More than once 3% Escaped flu 75%

**6.** (US Mar 19 '41) Were there any of those times [when you had flu or grippe] when you did not call a doctor? Those who said there were such times were asked: Would you mind telling me why you did not call a doctor that (those) time(s)? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who had flu or grippe since October. 25% of the sample is represented. Results of both questions are combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Able to treat it myself | 17% |
| Illness wasn't serious enough | 27 |
| Can't afford a doctor | 10 |
| Doesn't believe in doctors | 1 |
| Had a nurse | 1 |
| Scarcity of physicians | * |
| Called a doctor | 40 |
| No answer | 4 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

* Less than 0.5%.

**7.** (US Mar 19 '41) Did you lose any time from work this winter because of a cold or the flu or grippe? About how many days? Asked of a national cross-section of employees, employers, and WPA workers. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 day | 3% |
| 2 days | 5 |
| 3 days | 3 |
| 4 days | 2 |
| 5 days | 1 |
| 6 days | 1 |
| 7 days | 3 |
| 8 days to 2 weeks | 2 |
| 2 weeks or more | 3 |
| Yes, had a cold but didn't designate time missed from work | 1 |
| No, didn't have cold, flu, or grippe | 68 |
| No answer | 8 |

**8.** (US Mar 19 '41) Is the work that you do chiefly indoor or outdoor work? Asked of a national cross-section of employees, employers and WPA workers in connection with a series of questions about colds and grippe. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Indoors | 46% |
| Outdoors | 32 |
| Both | 14 |
| No answer | 8 |

**9.** (US Oct 1 '41, Nov 5 '41, Dec 18 '41, Feb 10 '42, Apr 15 '42, June 30 '42, Nov 10 '42, Feb 3 '43, Dec 15 '43, Dec 12 '44) Do any of the people in your home (including yourself) have a cold at the present time? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Oct '41 | 10% | 90% |
| Nov '41 | 14 | 86 |
| Dec '41 | 15 | 85 |
| Feb '42 | 18 | 82 |
| Apr '42 | 12 | 88 |
| June '42 | 16 | 84 |
| Nov '42 | 15 | 85 |
| Feb '43 | 16 | 84 |
| Dec '43 | 25 | 75 |
| Dec '44 | 16 | 84 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| *Oct '41* | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 8% | 92% |
| East central | 12 | 88 |
| West central | 12 | 88 |
| South | 8 | 92 |
| West | 12 | 88 |

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| *Nov '41* | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 12% | 88% |
| East central | 16 | 84 |
| West central | 17 | 83 |
| South | 14 | 86 |
| West | 13 | 87 |
| *Dec '41* | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 12 | 88 |
| East central | 17 | 83 |
| West central | 16 | 84 |
| South | 16 | 84 |
| West | 12 | 88 |
| *Feb '42* | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 15 | 85 |
| East central | 17 | 83 |
| West central | 19 | 81 |
| South | 20 | 80 |
| Far West | 18 | 82 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| *Nov '41* | | |
| Upper and middle income | 11% | 89% |
| Lower income | 16 | 84 |
| *Dec '41* | | |
| Upper and middle income | 13 | 87 |
| Lower income | 15 | 85 |

**10.** (US June 30 '42 and Dec 12 '44) All those of the June '42 and Dec '44 samples who said they or someone in their homes had a cold were asked: How many? (AIPO)

| | *June '42* | *Dec '44* |
|---|---|---|
| One person | 68% | 59% |
| Two people | 13 | 23 |
| Three or more people | 6 | 15 |
| No answer | 13 | 3 |
| | 100%* | 100%* |

* 100% of those with a cold in the family.

**11.** (US Dec 18 '41, Feb 10 '42, June 30 '42, Nov 10 '42, Feb 3 '43, Dec 12 '44) What are the ages of those with colds? Asked of those with colds in the family in all samples except the Oct '41, Nov '41, Apr '42, and Dec '43. (AIPO)

DEC '41 AND FEB '42 RESULTS

| *Yes* | *Under 10 years* | *10–19 years* | *20–29 years* | *30–49 years* | *50 years and over* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '41 | 22% | 13% | 12% | 13% | 13% |
| Feb '42 | 28 | 18 | 13 | 16 | 14 |
| *No* | | | | | |
| Dec '41 | 78 | 87 | 88 | 87 | 87 |
| Feb '42 | 72 | 82 | 87 | 84 | 86 |
| LATER RESULTS | | | | | |
| June '42 | 24.0% | 15.5% | 16.5% | 26.0% | 18.0% |
| Nov '42 | 27 | 17 | 12 | 25 | 19 |
| Feb '43 | 24 | 17 | 12 | 25 | 22 |
| Dec '44 | 27 | 16 | 12 | 25 | 20 |

**12.** (US Dec 18 '41) Was a doctor consulted about the cold (or colds)? 26% of the sample who said a doctor had been consulted were asked: Did the doctor come to your house, or did the person with the cold go to see the doctor? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Doctor was not consulted | 74% |
| Doctor came to the house | 9 |
| Patient went to the doctor | 16 |
| Didn't say whether or not doctor came to the house | 1 |

**13.** (US Dec 18 '41) About how many colds do you normally have each year? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| None | 16% |
| 1 cold | 31 |
| 2 colds | 26 |
| 3 or more colds | 20 |
| No answer | 7 |

Median 1 cold

**14.** (Sweden Apr '42) How many times have you had a cold this winter? (SGI)

| | *Once* | *2–3 times* | *Several times* | *None* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 32% | 16% | 9% | 43% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Towns | 31% | 16% | 8% | 45% |
| Country | 32 | 16 | 10 | 42 |
| BY SEX AND AGE | | | | |
| Older men | 30% | 16% | 10% | 44% |
| Younger men | 34 | 20 | 8 | 38 |
| Older women | 30 | 14 | 9 | 47 |
| Younger women | 36 | 15 | 9 | 40 |

**15.** (Sweden Apr '42) How many days altogether have you spent in bed or been away from your work [because of colds]? (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1–2 days | 7% |
| 3–7 days | 7 |
| Over a week | 5 |
| Not at all | 81 |

**16.** (US Apr 15 '42) Have you had any cold shots (injections to prevent colds) since October? (AIPO)

Yes 5% No 94% No answer 1%

**17.** (US Dec 15 '43) How many of the people in your home, including yourself, have had colds since September first? (AIPO)

None 47% Have had colds 53%

**18.** (US Dec 15 '43 and Dec 19 '45) How many of the people in your home, including yourself, have had the flu or grippe since September first? (AIPO)

| | *Dec '43* | *Dec '45* |
|---|---|---|
| None have had flu or grippe | 87% | 58% |
| Have had flu or grippe | 13 | 42 |

**19.** (Great Britain Jan 18 '44) How many people in your family (living together) have been in bed with flu this winter? Those who had one or more members of the family in bed with flu were asked: How many have had complications (bronchitis, pneumonia) following flu? (BIPO)

| | *Had complications* | *Had no complications* | *Total in bed with flu* | *No one with flu* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 5% | 22% | 27% | 73% |
| BY SIZE OF FAMILY | | | | |
| One | 9% | 19% | 28% | 72% |
| Two | 5 | 22 | 27 | 73 |
| Three | 5 | 18 | 23 | 77 |
| Four | 4 | 22 | 26 | 74 |
| Five | 5 | 21 | 26 | 74 |
| Six | 5 | 22 | 27 | 73 |
| Seven | 6 | 23 | 29 | 71 |
| Eight and over | 9 | 22 | 31 | 69 |

**20.** (Australia Aug–Sept '44) Has anyone in your house had a bad attack of flu this winter? (APOP)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 23% | 77% |
| BY STATES | | |
| West Australia | 30% | 70% |
| New South Wales | 27 | 73 |
| Queensland | 23 | 77 |
| South Australia | 20 | 80 |
| Tasmania | 20 | 80 |
| Victoria | 15 | 85 |
| BY OCCUPATION OF BREADWINNER | | |
| Professional, owners, and managers | 16% | 84% |
| Farm owners | 22 | 78 |
| Clerks, shop hand | 25 | 75 |
| Skilled and semi-skilled | 25 | 75 |
| Unskilled labor | 23 | 77 |
| Farm laborers | 30 | 70 |

23% of the sample who had had flu in the family were asked: Did any of them (or did he) have to stay in bed for a few days? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Had more than 2 people (adults or children) in bed* | 3% |
| Two in bed | 4 |
| One adult or child in bed | 11 |
| None confined to bed | 5 |
| | 23% |

* Not necessarily in bed at the same time.

**21.** (US Dec 19 '45) Do any of the people in your home, including yourself, have a cold, not flu or grippe, at the present time? (AIPO)

Yes 44% No 55% No answer 1%

**22.** (US Dec 19 '45) What are the ages of those with colds? Asked of a national cross-section of those who said that they, or someone in their home, had colds. (AIPO)

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF PEOPLE WITH COLDS BY AGE

| | |
|---|---|
| Aged under 10 | 22% |
| 10–19 years | 15 |
| 20–29 years | 14 |
| 30–49 years | 24 |
| 50 years and over | 25 |
| | 100% of those with colds |

**23.** (US Dec 19 '45) Do any of the people in your home, including yourself, have the flu or grippe (heavy cold with fever) at the present time? 9% of the sample who said someone in their home had flu or grippe were asked: How many including yourself? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| None has flu or grippe | 90% |
| Didn't say whether or not there was anyone | 1 |
| 1 person | 6 |
| 2 persons | 1 |
| 3 or more persons | 1 |
| Didn't say how many | 1 |

**24.** (France May 1 '46) Did you have grippe during the winter? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 34% | 66% |
| Women | 47 | 53 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 20–34 years | 37% | 63% |
| 35–49 years | 40 | 60 |
| 50–64 years | 33 | 67 |
| 65 years and over | 46 | 54 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | |
| Farmers | 40% | 60% |
| Professional | 26 | 74 |
| Workers | 35 | 65 |
| White-collar | 35 | 65 |
| Business | 43 | 57 |

**25.** (France May 1 '46) In what month [did you have grippe]? Asked of 34% of the men and 47% of the women who said they had had grippe. (FIPO)

| | *Oct* | *Nov* | *Dec* | *Jan* | *Feb* | *No answer* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 3% | 7% | 34% | 49% | 4% | 3% | = 100%* |
| Women | 2 | 7 | 31 | 50 | 6 | 4 | = 100* |

* 100% of those who said they had had grippe during the winter.

**26.** (France May 1 '46) How many days did you stay home [with the grippe]? Asked of the same sample as the preceding question. (FIPO)

| | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| Did not | 22% | 15% |
| 1–2 days | 9 | 6 |
| 3–4 days | 17 | 16 |
| 5–6 days | 12 | 13 |
| 7–8 days | 19 | 22 |
| 9–15 days | 18 | 24 |
| 16–20 days | 1 | 1 |
| More than 20 days | 2 | 3 |
| | 100%* | 100%* |

* 100% of those who said they had had grippe during the winter.

**27.** (France May 1 '46) Did you call a doctor [when you had grippe]? Asked of the same sample as the two preceding questions. (FIPO)

Yes 39% No 61% = 100% of those who said they had had grippe during the winter

**28.** (France May 1 '46) How many persons in your family were afflicted with the grippe? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| None | 43% |
| 1 person | 25 |
| 2 persons | 20 |
| 3 persons | 9 |
| 4 persons | 3 |
| 5 persons | 1 |
| | 101%* |

* No explanation is given as to why percentages add to 101 rather than 100.

**29.** (France May 1 '46) What is the best treatment for grippe, in your opinion? (FIPO)

| | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | |
| Heat and perspiring | 5% | 8% |
| Hot drinks; hot milk | 6 | 4 |
| Alcoholic drinks | 30 | 18 |
| Patent medicines | 2 | 2 |
| Prescriptions | 25 | 47 |
| Nothing or no opinion | 32 | 21 |

**30.** (Germany May 8 '46) Did you catch cold last month? 30% of the sample who had caught cold were asked: Did you lose any work-time because of it? How often? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't have a cold | 70% |
| Had a cold, didn't specify work-time lost | * |
| Away from work: | |
| Once | 18 |
| Twice | 6 |
| 3 times | 2 |
| 4-9 times | * |
| 10 times or more | 4 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**31.** (Australia Nov '46) Has anyone in your house had a bad attack of flu this winter? 31% of the sample who said anyone had had a bad attack were asked: How many (adults and children in your home) have had attacks which kept them in bed? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| None have had attacks | 69% |
| None have been in bed | 3 |
| One in bed | 14 |
| Two in bed | 7 |
| Three in bed | 4 |
| More than three* | 3 |

* Not necessarily in bed at the same time.

## INSTALLMENT PLAN

**1.** (US Aug 5 '41) As one way to help defense production, it has been suggested that the government forbid anyone buying anything more on the installment plan until the war in Europe is over. Do you approve or disapprove of this suggestion? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Dis-approve* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 49% | 8% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 48% | 48% | 4% |
| Middle income | 43 | 50 | 7 |
| Lower income | 41 | 49 | 10 |

**2.** (US Aug 5 '41) Are you now paying for anything on the installment plan? (AIPO)

Yes 36% No 64%

**3.** (US May '42) The government has been putting limits on installment buying. For instance, one of the new rules is that if a person buys something on time, he must pay for it within twelve months. Do you think this is a good idea or a bad idea? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good idea | 83% |
| Bad idea | 9 |
| Qualified answer | 3 |
| Don't know | 5 |

**4.** (US Sept 24 '42) Do you think the government should be making it harder for people to buy on the installment plan? (NORC)

Yes 59% No 29% Don't know 12%

**5.** (US Sept 24 '42) Do you think buying on the installment plan affects prices in general, or doesn't it make any difference to prices? 48% of the sample who thought prices were affected were asked: Does it make them go up or down? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Installment buying makes no difference to prices | 30% |
| No opinion as to whether or not installment buying affects prices | 10 |
| Installment buying makes prices go up | 43 |
| Makes prices go down | 3 |
| Installment buying stabilizes prices or keeps them the same | 1 |
| Didn't say whether installment buying makes prices go up or down | 1 |
| Not questioned because no opinion offered as to whether the government should be making it harder for people to buy on the installment plan | 12 |

**6.** (US Sept 24 '42) How does this make prices go up? Go down? Stay same? Asked of 47% of the sample who thought buying on the installment plan would affect prices in some way. (NORC)

*Installment buying affects prices because*

| | |
|---|---|
| Installment buying involves interest, carrying charges, risk, etc. | 63% |
| Installment buying increases buying, demand, money in circulation | 29 |
| People lose customary judgment when allowed to buy on installment | 6 |
| Volume of sales affects manufacturing cost per unit | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 5 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who thought buying on the installment plan would affect prices in some way and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**7.** (US Sept 24 '42) In the last year, have you bought anything on the installment plan? 30% of the sample who had bought something on the installment plan in the last year were asked: Would you be willing to stop buying on the installment plan for the duration of the war? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Haven't bought anything on the installment plan in the last year | 70% |
| Would be willing to stop for the duration | 25 |
| Wouldn't be willing to stop | 4 |
| Don't know whether or not would be willing | 1 |

**8.** (Denmark Apr 11 '43) Are you buying on the installment plan? Asked of a national cross-section of people 18 to 25 years old. (DGI)

Yes 16.1% No 83.9%

**9.** (Netherlands Apr 27 '46) Would you like to buy clothing and linen on an installment plan? (NIPO)

Yes 69% No 25% Don't know 6%

**10.** (Hungary Nov '46) In peacetime, did you buy anything on the installment plan? (HIPOR)

| BY SEX AND SOCIAL STATUS | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| *Men* | | |
| Educated | 59.8% | 40.2% |
| Bourgeois | 36.8 | 63.2 |
| Workers | 37.6 | 62.4 |
| *Women* | | |
| Educated | 33.9 | 66.1 |
| Bourgeoise | 39.5 | 60.5 |
| Workers | 38.9 | 61.1 |

**11.** (Hungary Nov '46) After the liberation did you buy anything on the installment plan? (HIPOR)

BY SEX AND SOCIAL STATUS

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| *Men* | | |
| Educated | 7.9% | 92.1% |
| Bourgeois | 4.0 | 96.0 |
| Workers | 2.4 | 97.6 |
| *Women* | | |
| Educated | 8.5 | 91.5 |
| Bourgeoise | 2.9 | 97.1 |
| Workers | 1.8 | 98.2 |

**12.** (Hungary Nov '46) What is the first thing you would like to buy on the installment plan? (HIPOR)

BY SEX AND SOCIAL STATUS

| | MEN | | | WOMEN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Educated* | *Bourgois* | *Worker* | *Educated* | *Bourgeoise* | *Worker* |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Textiles; clothing | 36.9 | 42.5 | 32.7 | 38.7 | 37.4 | 41.5 |
| Shoes | 7.9 | 11.5 | 10.8 | 16.7 | 10.5 | 13.5 |
| Bed linen; linen | 0.9 | 0.7 | 2.3 | 2.0 | 3.8 | 7.2 |
| Underwear | 1.3 | 2.0 | 6.6 | 3.3 | 4.4 | 6.9 |
| Warm winter things | — | — | 0.5 | — | 1.7 | 0.3 |
| Food | — | — | 1.4 | — | 1.2 | 1.1 |
| Household articles | — | — | 0.9 | — | 0.9 | 0.3 |
| Bicycle; motorcycle | 0.4 | 0.7 | 1.9 | 0.6 | 0.3 | — |
| Furniture | 9.7 | 6.1 | 11.2 | 4.0 | 7.0 | 6.9 |
| Book | 1.7 | 2.0 | 0.9 | 4.8 | 1.7 | — |
| Radio; sewing machine | 2.6 | 2.0 | 0.9 | 2.0 | 1.5 | 1.4 |
| Fuel | — | 0.7 | 0.9 | 0.6 | 1.2 | 0.7 |
| Window glass | 0.4 | — | 0.5 | — | 0.3 | — |
| Fur coat | — | — | — | 2.0 | 1.5 | 0.7 |
| Picture; carpet | 0.4 | — | — | — | 0.9 | 0.3 |
| Other; no answet | 8.3 | 4.7 | 4.2 | 6.7 | 4.1 | 3.3 |
| Nothing | 29.5 | 27.1 | 24.3 | 18.6 | 21.6 | 15.9 |

## INSURANCE, AUTOMOBILE

**1.** (US Apr 19 '38) Do you own an automobile? 54% of the sample who identified themselves as car owners were asked: Do you carry automobile accident insurance? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Carry insurance | 35% |
| No insurance | 18 |
| Didn't say whether or not insured | 1 |
| Don't own a car | 46 |

**2.** (US Apr 19 '38) Should every automobile owner be required by law to carry accident insurance? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 84% | 16% = 100% | 12% |
| BY CAR OWNERSHIP | | | |
| Car owners | 81% | 19% | |
| Non-car owners | 89 | 11 | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 85% | 15% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 88 | 12 | |
| East central | 88 | 12 | |
| West central | 77 | 23 | |
| South | 77 | 23 | |
| West | 81 | 19 | |

**3.** (US Apr 19 '38) Should this [automobile] accident insurance be handled entirely by the state government or by insurance companies as at present? (AIPO)

State government 37% Insurance companies 63% = 100%
No opinion 23%

**4.** (Canada Aug 28 '43 and May 11 '46) Do you think car owners should be free to decide whether or not to carry insurance to pay for damages or injuries they may cause, or should they be forced to carry such insurance? The 1946 question was asked about injuries only. (CIPO)

| | *Voluntary* | *Compulsory* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '43 | 21% | 75% | 4% |
| May '46 | 18 | 77 | 5 |
| BY CAR OWNERSHIP | | | |
| *Aug '43* | | | |
| Car owners | 22% | 75% | 3% |
| Non-car owners | 20 | 76 | 4 |
| *May '46* | | | |
| Car owners | 19 | 77 | 4 |
| Non-car owners | 18 | 76 | 6 |
| 1943 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper | 11% | 87% | 2% |
| Middle | 19 | 78 | 3 |
| Lower | 24 | 72 | 4 |

## INSURANCE, LIFE

**1.** (US Mar 22 '37) Do you think life insurance companies are serving the public well or badly? (AIPO)

Well 68% Badly 9% No opinion 23%

**2.** (US Mar 22 '37) Do you think life insurance companies should be regulated to a greater extent by the government? (AIPO)

Yes 34% No 36% No opinion 30%

**3.** (US Mar 29 '37) Would you prefer to have a life insurance policy with one of the present life insurance companies or with the government? (AIPO)

Present companies 45% Government 36% No opinion 19%

**4.** (US June '39) Do you think the government should own and operate all, some, or none of the insurance companies? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| All | 13.1% |
| Some | 14.4 |
| None | 61.1 |
| Don't know or depends | 11.4 |

**5.** (Canada Apr 29 '44) Have you heard or read of the idea of having all life insurance companies taken over and run by the government? Do you approve or disapprove of this idea? (CIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 28% | 46% | 26% |
| BY INSURANCE GROUPS | | | |
| Insured | 35% | 65% | |
| Not insured | 43 | 57 | |

**6.** (Germany July 1 '46) Do you have a life insurance policy? Are the premiums paid up? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, premiums paid | 33% |
| Yes, premiums not paid | 5 |
| No | 60 |
| Yes, no information on premium | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |

**7.** (Germany July 1 '46) For how much are you insured? Asked of 34% who had life insurance on which the premiums were definitely or possibly paid. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 500 RM | 4% |
| 500–1,000 RM | 4 |
| 1,000–1,500 RM | 5 |
| 1,500–2,000 RM | 2 |
| 2,000–3,000 RM | 4 |
| 3,000–4,000 RM | 5 |
| 4,000–5,000 RM | 1 |
| 5,000–7,000 RM | 5 |
| 7,000–10,000 RM | 1 |
| 10,000–20,000 RM | 3 |
| Over 20,000 RM | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 39%* |

* Percentages add to more than 34 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**8.** (Hungary Nov '46) Have you ever been insured? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| *Men* | | |
| Well off | 63.2% | 36.8% |
| Medium | 44.0 | 56.0 |
| Badly off | 35.3 | 64.7 |
| *Women* | | |
| Well off | 48.4 | 51.6 |
| Medium | 37.5 | 62.5 |
| Badly off | 32.7 | 67.3 |

**9.** (Hungary Nov '46) For what reason did you choose your insurance company? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STATUS

| | MEN | | | WOMEN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Well off* | *Medium* | *Badly off* | *Well off* | *Medium* | *Badly off* |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Information; well known firm | 29.3 | 16.1 | 5.5 | 13.3 | 21.6 | 6.3 |
| Friend or relative worked in it | 16.6 | 8.9 | 5.5 | 13.3 | 7.7 | 5.1 |
| Friend or relative suggested it | 25.0 | 34.0 | 37.8 | 26.7 | 30.8 | 50.0 |
| Close to my neighborhood | — | 1.7 | 5.5 | 6.7 | 1.5 | 3.4 |
| Business connection | 8.3 | 12.5 | 6.7 | 13.3 | 13.8 | 1.7 |
| Confidence | 16.6 | 7.1 | 11.2 | 6.7 | 9.2 | 14.6 |
| Other; no answer | 4.2 | 19.7 | 27.8 | 20.0 | 15.4 | 18.9 |

**10.** (Hungary Nov '46) Are you now insured? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| *Men* | | |
| Well off | 23.7% | 76.3% |
| Medium | 14.0 | 86.0 |
| Badly off | 11.5 | 88.5 |
| *Women* | | |
| Well off | 19.4 | 80.6 |
| Medium | 9.8 | 90.2 |
| Badly off | 11.5 | 88.5 |

**11.** (Hungary Nov '46) Why [are you] not insured? Asked of a Budapest cross-section who said they were not insured at the time. (HIPOR)

BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STATUS

| | MEN | | | WOMEN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Well off* | *Medium* | *Badly off* | *Well off* | *Medium* | *Badly off* |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Lack of money | 17.2 | 50.0 | 53.8 | 32.0 | 62.9 | 63.9 |
| Not necessary, not worth while | 48.3 | 22.7 | 24.2 | 60.0 | 16.8 | 18.5 |
| No confidence | 24.2 | 22.7 | 8.8 | 8.0 | 11.6 | 6.7 |
| Other; no answer | 10.3 | 4.6 | 13.2 | — | 8.7 | 10.9 |
| Percentages | 100.0* | 100.0* | 100.0* | 100.0* | 100.0* | 100.0* |

* 100% of those not currently insured.

**12.** (Hungary Nov '46) If you had money enough which kind of insurance would you favor? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STATUS

| | MEN | | | WOMEN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Well off* | *Medium* | *Badly off* | *Well off* | *Medium* | *Badly off* |
| Life | 12.8% | 28.3% | 33.9% | 27.5% | 31.3% | 36.7% |
| Accident | 6.4 | 6.4 | 10.5 | 10.0 | 4.5 | 4.8 |
| Burglary | 14.9 | 15.3 | 6.6 | 10.0 | 16.7 | 9.4 |
| Fire | 12.9 | 12.7 | 7.0 | 10.0 | 9.0 | 7.1 |
| Automobile | 2.1 | — | 0.4 | — | — | 0.2 |
| Other | 4.3 | 3.1 | 7.7 | 5.0 | 3.9 | 0.2 |
| None | 46.6 | 34.2 | 33.9 | 37.5 | 34.6 | 41.6 |

## INSURANCE, STATE AND COMPULSORY

**1.** (US Dec 28 '37) Do you pay a Social Security tax out of your wages? (AIPO)

Yes 39% No 61% = 100% No opinion 2%

**2.** (US Dec 28 '37) Do you approve of this [Social Security] tax? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 73% | 27% = 100% | 5% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 74% | 26% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 79 | 21 | |
| East central | 69 | 31 | |
| West central | 65 | 35 | |
| South | 74 | 26 | |
| Rocky Mountain | 74 | 26 | |
| Pacific coast | 76 | 24 | |
| BY SELECTED GROUPS | | | |
| Wage-earners | 77% | 23% | |
| Employers | 64 | 36 | |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 83% | 17% | |
| Republican | 55 | 45 | |

**3.** (US Dec 28 '37) Do you think the Social Security law should be changed to make the employer pay the whole amount of the security tax? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 15% | 85% = 100% | 13% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 15% | 85% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 18 | 82 | |
| East central | 14 | 86 | |
| West central | 20 | 80 | |
| South | 10 | 90 | |
| Mountain | 12 | 88 | |
| Pacific coast | 12 | 88 | |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 17% | 83% | |
| Republican | 9 | 91 | |

**4.** (US Dec 28 '37) The present Old-Age Pension and Unemployment Insurance Act does not cover household help, sailors, farmhands, and employees in small shops. Do you think the law should be extended to include these workers? (Jan 20 '39) The present Old-Age Pension and Unemployment Insurance Act does not cover household help, bank workers, sailors, farmhands, and employees of charitable institutions. Do you think the law should be extended to include these workers? (July 28 '43) At present farmers, domestic servants, government employees, and professional persons are not included under Social Security. Do you think the Social Security program should be changed to include these groups? (Dec 12 '44) At present some groups are not included under Social Security. Do you think the Social Security program should be changed to include the following groups [listed below]? (May 29 '45) At present farmers, domestic servants, government workers, seamen, and professional persons are not included under Social Security. Do you think the Social Security program should be changed to include these groups? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '37 | 74% | 26% = 100% | 11% | |
| Jan '39 | 73 | 18 | 9 | = 100% |
| July '43 | 64 | 19 | 17 | = 100 |
| May '45 | 66 | 19 | 15 | = 100 |
| 1937 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democratic | 78% | 22% | — | |
| Republican | 66 | 34 | — | |
| 1937 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England | 74% | 26% | — | |
| Middle Atlantic | 80 | 20 | — | |
| East central | 75 | 25 | — | |
| West central | 72 | 28 | — | |
| South | 65 | 35 | — | |
| Rocky Mountain | 78 | 22 | — | |
| Pacific coast | 76 | 24 | — | |
| 1944 RESULTS CONCERNING SELECTED GROUPS | | | | |
| Farmers | 60% | 23% | 17% | |
| Government employees | 61 | 21 | 18 | |
| Professional and self-employed persons | 57 | 25 | 18 | |
| Domestic servants | 69 | 15 | 16 | |

**5.** (US July 2 '38) Do you approve of the present Social Security laws which provide old-age pensions and unemployment insurance? (AIPO)

Yes 89% No 11%

**6.** (US July 9 '41) Are you employed at the present time? 47% of the sample who said they were employed were asked: Is there a deduction from your wages or salary for Social Security? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, Social Security deductions | 27% |
| No Social Security deductions | 18 |
| Didn't say whether or not deductions were made | 2 |
| Not applicable because unemployed or employer | 53 |

**7.** (US July 9 '41) Do you happen to know what the [Social Security] deduction is for? Asked of 27% of the sample who had Social Security payments deducted from their wages or salary. (AIPO)

Yes 24% No 2% No answer 1% = 27%

**8.** (US July 9 '41) What is it [Social Security deductions] for? Asked of 27% of the sample who had Social Security payments deducted from their wages or salary. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Unemployment insurance | 3% |
| A fund for old-age benefits | 11 |
| Old-age benefits, social security, and unemployment | 5 |
| Social security (in old age) | 3 |
| Old-age insurance | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Retirement fund | 1 |
| No answer | 2 |
| | 27% |

**9.** (US July '42) To provide which of the following things do you think the federal government should and should not collect enough taxes after the war? (FOR)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Medical care for everyone who needs it | 74.3% | 21.0% | 4.7% |
| An old-age pension for every citizen over sixty-five | 73.8 | 21.7 | 4.5 |
| Jobs for everyone who is able and willing to work but cannot get a job in private employment | 67.7 | 25.2 | 7.1 |
| Compensation for everyone unable to find work until he can find work | 57.8 | 34.4 | 7.8 |

**10.** (Great Britain Nov '42) Even if it would mean your paying more insurance than you pay now, would you favor a government insurance scheme which would give every unmarried adult, or every married couple £2 a week—or its equal in food, clothes, and housing—in the event of sickness or unemployment? (BIPO)

Yes 70% No 16% Don't know 14%

**11.** (Canada Feb 6 '43) Do you happen to have heard or read of the Beveridge report? (CIPO)

Yes 43% No 57%

**12.** (Canada Feb 6 '43) Would you like to see a similar plan put into effect in Canada? Asked of a national cross-section of those who had heard or read of the Beveridge report. 43% of the sample is represented. (CIPO)

Yes 83% No 7% No opinion 10% = 100% of those familiar with the Beveridge report

**13.** (Great Britain Mar 1 '43) On the Beveridge report, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the government's attitude as explained by the government ministers in Parliament? (BIPO)

Satisfied 29% Dissatisfied 47% Don't know 24%

**14.** (US Mar 24 '43) Have you ever heard or read about the Beveridge plan? (AIPO)

Yes 32% No 68%

**15.** (US Mar 24 '43) Can you tell me briefly what it [the Beveridge plan] is about? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct answer | 16% |
| Incorrect answer and never heard of plan | 84 |

**16.** (US Mar 24 '43) Have you heard or read about the National Resources Board plan for the post-war period? (AIPO)

Yes 34% No 66%

**17.** (US Mar 24 '43) Can you tell me briefly what it [the National Resources Board plan] is about? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct answer | 13% |
| Incorrect answer and never heard of plan | 87 |

**18.** (US Mar 24 '43) What is your general opinion of this plan, favorable or unfavorable? Asked only of those who knew what the National Resources Board plan was. (AIPO)

Favorable 69% Unfavorable 18% No opinion 13% = 100% of those who understood what the plan was

**19.** (US Apr 6 '43) Do you think our system of Social Security, such as unemployment and old-age insurance, is better than Britain's or not as good? (NORC)

Better 23% Not as good 8% About the same 8% Don't know 61%

**20.** (Canada May 19 '43) What do you understand by the phrase "Social Security"? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Fairly correct | 34% |
| Don't know | 32 |
| Vague | 19 |
| Wrong | 7 |
| No unemployment | 5 |
| Antagonistic | 1 |
| Socialism | 1 |
| Distribution | 1 |

**21.** (Australia May–June '43) Do you favor or oppose compulsory insurance of all classes against unemployment and sickness? Those who said they favored it were then asked: Should it be financed entirely by taxes or partly by everyone making weekly contributions? (APOP)

| | *Favor insurance with contributions* | *Non-contributions* | *Other favoring* | *Oppose insurance* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 62% | 15% | 7% | 11% | 5% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Labor | 58% | 17% | 8% | 12% | 5% |
| Liberal-Country | 67 | 12 | 6 | 10 | 5 |

**22.** (Australia Aug–Sept '43) How should the government finance unemployment and sickness insurance, entirely by taxes or should everyone make a compulsory contribution each week? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Favored contributions | 64% |
| Entirely taxes | 22 |
| Said "Seem the same" | 6 |
| No opinion | 8 |

**23.** (US Oct '43) Do you think a "cradle-to-the-grave" program of minimum security for all in the United States is impossible and undesirable, economically possible but undesirable, desirable but impossible, economically possible and desirable? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Impossible and undesirable | 44.0% |
| Economically possible but undesirable | 15.2 |
| Desirable but impossible | 21.0 |
| Economically possible and desirable | 19.8 |

**24.** (Great Britain Oct '44) Do you know about the government's social insurance scheme? (BIPO)

Yes 76% No 24%

**25.** (Great Britain Oct '44) Are there any points [in the government's social insurance scheme] you would like to see altered? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Scheme is all right | 12% |
| Old-age pensions should be still higher | 6 |
| Benefits should be higher all round | 4 |
| Subscription lowered | 3 |
| Children's allowances should be larger | 3 |
| Should be allowance paid for first child as well as others | 2 |
| Benefits should be based on present cost of living | 1 |
| Spinsters pension should be higher | 1 |
| Unemployment benefits should be higher | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 12 |
| No reply; don't know | 55 |

**26.** (Great Britain Oct '44) Do you think the government will try to bring the [social insurance] scheme into operation as soon as possible? (BIPO)

Yes 44% No 22% Don't know 34%

**27.** (US Dec 12 '44) Are you familiar with the reasons for and against increasing the tax for Social Security benefits? (AIPO)

Yes 38% No 62%

**28.** (US Dec 12 '44) Should the [Social Security] tax be left at the present rate where workers and employers each pay 1 per cent, or should it be increased so that each pay 1½ per cent or 2 per cent? Asked of 38% of the sample who were familiar with the reasons for and against increasing the tax for Social Security benefits. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Left at 1 per cent | 59% |
| Increased to 1½ per cent | 16 |
| Increased to 2 per cent | 21 |
| Don't know | 4 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**29.** (Australia May '45) It seems that the government's plan for improved social services after the war will mean keeping taxes at about the present level. Would you favor or oppose that? (APOP)

Opposed 53% In favor 36% Undecided 11%

**30.** (US May 29 '45) Have you heard or read about the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill now up in Congress which would increase the Social Security tax to 4% for both employers and employees, in order to provide more Social Security benefits? 44% of the sample who had heard or read about the bill were asked: Do you approve or disapprove of this bill? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Haven't heard of the bill | 56% |
| Approve of it | 21 |
| Disapprove of it | 15 |
| No opinion about it | 8 |

**31.** (US May 29 '45) What are all the benefits that would be included under this [Wagner-Murray-Dingell] Bill if the tax

is raised to 4 per cent? Asked of 44% of the sample who had heard or read about the bill. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Unemployment insurance; $25 a week while unemployed | 5% |
| Medical care and services; hospitalization insurance; disability insurance | 6 |
| Old-age insurance increases; more help for the aged | 6 |
| More benefits; more money; more Social Security | 5 |
| More people included, i.e. farmers, domestic service, employers | 2 |
| None; no benefits | 1 |
| Other answers | 1 |
| Didn't say | 25 |
| | 51%* |

* Percentages add to more than 44 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**32.** (US May 29 '45) Do you (or your husband) now pay a Social Security tax? 49% of the sample who said they paid no tax were asked: Would you be willing to pay this 4 per cent tax in order to receive these Social Security benefits? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Pay tax now | 48% |
| Don't know whether or not pay tax now | 3 |
| Would be willing to pay tax | 24 |
| Would not be willing | 15 |
| Don't know whether or not would be willing | 10 |

**33.** (US Aug '45) There have been all sorts of ideas suggested for things we should do in this country after the war, and we'd like to know how you feel about some of them. Do you think it is a good idea or not such a good idea to extend Social Security to cover everyone who has a job? (FOR)

Good 76.7% Not so good 9.6% Don't know 13.7%

**34.** (Australia Nov '45) The government is setting aside 1s/6d out of every £1 of income tax to pay for pensions, child endowment, and other social services. Do you favor or oppose that contributory scheme? (APOP)

Favor 76% Oppose 14% Undecided 10%

**35.** (Sweden Dec '45) Introducing compulsory health insurance for all citizens is contemplated, the premiums being paid with income tax and the state carrying a considerable part of the expense. Do you think that this is a desirable reform? (SGI)

| | *Desirable* | *Not desirable* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 81% | 10% | 9% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 85% | 11% | 4% |
| Women | 79 | 9 | 12 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 74% | 17% | 9% |
| Middle class | 80 | 11 | 9 |
| Workers | 83 | 9 | 8 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Right party | 79% | 13% | 8% |
| Liberal | 79 | 15 | 6 |
| Agrarian | 74 | 16 | 10 |
| Social democratic | 86 | 7 | 7 |
| Communist | 91 | 4 | 5 |

**36.** (Sweden Dec '45) Do you think that everybody should get the same sick leave money (3.50 kr.* a day is proposed) or should this money—the premiums too—be proportionate to the daily income? (SGI)

| | *Same for all* | *Different sums depending on premiums* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 41% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 51% | 40% | 9% |
| Women | 46 | 40 | 14 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 25% | 61% | 14% |
| Middle class | 45 | 44 | 11 |
| Workers | 54 | 35 | 11 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Right party | 34% | 60% | 6% |
| Liberal | 39 | 49 | 12 |
| Agrarian | 44 | 41 | 15 |
| Social democratic | 54 | 36 | 10 |
| Communist | 68 | 27 | 5 |

* The krona was currently about 26 cents in American money.

**37.** (Great Britain Feb 16 '46) On the whole, do you approve or disapprove of the government's plan for Social Security? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 71% | 19% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 72% | 21% | 7% |
| Women | 69 | 17 | 14 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 67% | 17% | 16% |
| 30–49 years | 71 | 20 | 9 |
| 50 years and over | 72 | 19 | 9 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 58% | 37% | 5% |
| Middle | 68 | 25 | 7 |
| Lower | 73 | 15 | 12 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional; salaried-executives | 64% | 31% | 5% |
| Salaried-clerical | 74 | 19 | 7 |
| Proprietor, shop or business; farmers | 51 | 40 | 9 |
| Weekly wages: factory, heavy industry; transport; miner | 79 | 14 | 7 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Agricultural workers (excluding farmers) | 70% | 20% | 10% |
| Weekly wages, all others | 72 | 17 | 11 |
| Housewives | 67 | 19 | 14 |
| Retired; unoccupied | 72 | 16 | 12 |

## INSURANCE, UNEMPLOYMENT

**1.** (US July 26 '37 and Dec 28 '37) Should workers who go on strike receive payments from state unemployment insurance funds while they are on strike? (Nov 15 '39) Do you think workers on strike should receive unemployment insurance payments during the strike? (May 15 '46) Generally speaking, do you think men on strike should be given unemployment compensation? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| July '37 | 20% | 80% = 100% | 12% |
| Dec '37 | 17 | 83 = 100 | 8 |
| Nov '39 | 27 | 73 = 100 | 9 |
| May '46 | 30 | 70 = 100 | 8 |

**2.** (US July 26 '37) Should workers who go on strike and have no money of their own, receive payments from relief funds while they are on strike? (AIPO)

Yes 23% No 77% = 100% No opinion 10%

**3.** (Great Britain Jan '39) Should the Means Test be abolished? (BIPO)

Yes 54% No 31% No opinion 15%

**4.** (US Nov 15 '39) Do you think workers on strike should be given relief assistance during the strike? (AIPO)

Yes 35% No 65% = 100% No opinion 9%

**5.** (US Apr '43) The Social Security law also requires some workers to save money so they will get money from the government in case they lose their jobs. Do you think this a good idea or a bad idea? 84% of the sample who thought it a good idea were asked: Do you think this plan should cover all workers in all occupations or not? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Saving requirement a bad idea | 8% |
| Qualified answers regarding saving requirement | 4 |
| Don't know whether or not saving requirement a good idea | 4 |
| Plan should be extended to cover all workers | 74 |
| Should not be extended | 7 |
| Don't know whether or not it should be extended | 3 |

**6.** (Canada July 17 '43) If, after the war, income taxes are cut in half, would you be willing to pay five cents in every dollar of your (or your family's) income in addition to these income taxes, so that the government could guarantee every Canadian enough to live on if he were out of a job? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 65% | 20% | 15% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 68% | 20% | 12% |
| Middle class | 68 | 21 | 11 |
| Lower class | 60 | 20 | 20 |

**7.** (Canada July 15 '44) Have you any idea about how much money you would get each week if you became unemployed? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Know the benefits they will receive if thrown out of a job | 31% |
| Think they know but gave very inaccurate figures | 4 |
| Couldn't even hazard a guess as to what they would receive | 65 |

**8.** (Canada July 15 '44) Do you believe that this unemployment insurance plan, by itself, will provide you and your family with enough money to tide you over any period of depression in which you might be unemployed after this war? (CIPO)

Yes 9% No 69% Don't know 22%

**9.** (US Aug 16 '44) Should the government give war workers money if they find themselves out of work when the war is over or nearly over? (AIPO)

Yes 21% No 71% Don't know 8%

**10.** (US Aug 16 '44) How much money should the government give per week to a married war worker with two children while he is unemployed? Asked of 21% of the sample who thought the government should give unemployed war workers money. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $10 | * |
| $10 | 6% |
| $15 | 5 |
| $20 | 14 |
| $25 | 25 |
| $30 | 10 |
| $35 | 7 |
| $40 | 5 |
| $45 | * |
| $50 | 4 |
| Over $50 | 1 |
| Qualified answers | 9 |
| No answer | 14 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

* Less than 0.5%.

**11.** (US Aug 16 '44) Should the unemployment benefit payments be handled by each state government or by the federal government in Washington? (AIPO)

State 52% Federal 48%

**12.** (US Feb '45) If need should arise, do you favor federal assistance for unemployment? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Federal assistance for relief | 14.6% |
| For regular public works | 43.0 |
| For projects, such as power irrigation developments | 46.3 |
| No federal unemployment assistance of any kind | 20.4 |
| | 124.3%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**13.** (US May 12 '45) Should the government do anything about workers who lose their jobs and are unable to find work because there are not enough jobs? (AIPO)

Yes 76% No 15% No opinion 9%

**14.** (US May 12 '45) Do you think the government should give money to workers who are unemployed for a limited length of time until they can find another job? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 63% | 32% | 5% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Business and professional | 58% | 38% | 4% |
| White-collar | 56 | 40 | 4 |
| Farmers | 50 | 42 | 8 |
| Skilled and unskilled labor | 72 | 23 | 5 |

**15.** (US May 12 '45) If the government gives unemployed persons money, how much per week should be given to an unemployed man with a wife and two children? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Depends on section of country | * |
| None; I'm against it | 2% |
| Less than $15 | 7 |
| $15 | 10 |
| More than $15 to less than $20 | 2 |
| $20 | 15 |
| More than $20 to less than $25 | 1 |
| $25 | 27 |
| More than $25 to $30 | 10 |
| More than $30 to $35 | 5 |
| More than $35 | 6 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Miscellaneous | 1% |
| No answer | 14 |
| Median | $35 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**16.** (US May 29 '45) It has been proposed that unemployed workers with dependents be given twenty-five dollars per week by the government for as many as twenty-six weeks during one year, while they are out of work and looking for a job. Do you favor or oppose this plan? (AIPO)

Favor 46% Oppose 42% No opinion 12%

**17.** (US Sept 6 '45) Would you be willing to pay higher taxes to give unemployed persons up to twenty-five dollars a week for twenty-six weeks if they fail to find satisfactory jobs? (AIPO)

Yes 34% No 54% Don't know 12%

**18.** (US Sept 6 '45) Congress is now considering a law which would give more unemployment compensation to persons without jobs so that some would get as much as twenty-five dollars a week for twenty-six weeks. Would you like to have your Congressman vote for or against this bill? (AIPO)

| | *For* | *Against* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46% | 40% | 14% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farmers | 28% | 55% | 17% |
| Business and professional | 34 | 57 | 9 |
| White-collar | 42 | 45 | 13 |
| Manual workers | 61 | 25 | 14 |

**19.** (US Oct 3 '45) Have you heard or read about President Truman's proposal to pay more money to unemployed workers so that some of them would get as much as twenty-five dollars a week for twenty-six weeks? 82% of the sample who said they had heard of the proposal were asked: Do you favor or oppose President Truman's proposal? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Haven't heard of the proposal | 18% |
| Favor the proposal | 30 |
| Oppose the proposal | 36 |
| Favor if they can't find work | 2 |
| Favor if less than $25 | 1 |
| Favor if people are honest | 1 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 3 |
| Undecided | 9 |

**20.** (US Oct 3 '45) Congress is now considering a law which would give more unemployment compensation to persons without jobs so that some would get as much as $25 a week for twenty-six weeks. Would you like to have your Congressman vote for or against this bill? Asked of a cross-section comparable to the one used for the preceding questions. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| For | 37% |
| Against | 44 |
| If less than $25 | 2 |
| If people are honest | 1 |
| If they can't find work | 2 |
| Depends on each case | * |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| No opinion | 10 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**21.** (Canada Nov 10 '45) When a war worker with a family gets laid off because the plant closes, he is entitled to get unemployment insurance which in some cases would go up to about fifteen dollars a week. Do you think this is fair, or do you think he should get an additional amount until he gets another job? (CIPO)

| | *Adequate* | *Inadequate* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 44% | 7% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Business and professional | 64% | 32% | 4% |
| Small business | 53 | 41 | 6 |
| White-collar | 52 | 42 | 6 |
| Labor | 37 | 57 | 6 |
| Farm | 57 | 33 | 10 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 63% | 32% | 5% |
| Middle | 51 | 43 | 6 |
| Lower | 43 | 49 | 8 |

## INTEREST AND USURY

**1.** (US Nov 19 '42) Do you have any idea what per cent interest the government is now paying the banks for the money it borrows from them? (NORC)

Yes 18% No 82%

**2.** (US Nov 19 '42) What per cent [interest is the government paying]? Asked of 18% of the sample who had some idea of what per cent interest the government was paying the banks for the money it borrowed from them. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| ½ of 1% or less | 10% |
| 1% | 7 |
| 1–1½% | 15 |
| 1–1¾% | 5 |
| 2% | 27 |
| 2¼% | 5 |
| 2½% | 7 |
| 3% | 8 |
| 3–4% | 5 |
| 4–5% | 3 |
| Over 5% | 8 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**3.** (US Nov 19 '42) There is some question about how much interest the government should pay the banks in the future. Do you think the government should pay 2% interest, 2¼%, or do you think they should pay more than that for the money they borrow? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| 2% | 37% |
| 2¼% | 8 |
| More | 10 |
| Less | 9 |
| Other | 3 |
| Depends | 1 |
| Don't know | 32 |

## INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

**1.** (Great Britain Apr '39) Is the British government right in following a policy of giving military guarantees to preserve the independence of small European nations? (BIPO)

Yes 72% No 14% No opinion 14%

**2.** (Great Britain Apr '39 and June '39) Are you in favor of a military alliance between Great Britain, France, and Russia? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '39 | 87% | 7% | 6% |
| June '39 | 84 | 9 | 7 |

**3.** (Great Britain Nov '39) If Finland or Sweden, Norway or Denmark becomes involved in war with Russia, should Great Britain give them military assistance? (BIPO)

Yes 42% No 38% Don't know 20%

**4.** (France July '39) Do you think that a specific alliance between France and England and Russia would contribute appreciably to the maintenance of peace in Europe? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 81% | 16% | 3% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 85% | 13% | 2% |
| 30–39 years | 77 | 17 | 6 |
| 40–49 years | 84 | 14 | 2 |
| 50–59 years | 82 | 15 | 3 |
| 60 years and over | 71 | 29 | — |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farmers | 81% | 16% | 3% |
| Industry and transportation | 84 | 14 | 2 |
| Business | 70 | 25 | 5 |
| Professional | 85 | 12 | 3 |

**5.** (US Jan 5 '42) If Russia wins the war against Germany, do you think she is more apt to cooperate with the democratic nations after the war to keep peace or turn against them and try to overthrow their governments? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Cooperate with the democratic nations | 53% |
| Turn against them | 31 |
| Don't know | 16 |

**6.** (US Jan 16 '42 and Canada Aug 1 '42) If Russia should defeat Germany, which of these things do you think Russia would then try to do—try to spread Communism all through Europe or work with Britain and the United States in making it possible for the countries of Europe to choose their own form of government? (OPOR, CIPO)

| | *Spread Communism* | *Work with Britain and United States* | *No answer; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| United States | 40% | 39% | 21% |
| Canada | 27 | 57 | 16 |

**7.** (Great Britain Jan 16 '42) Do you think it possible that Great Britain, United States, and Russia will, all three, continue to work together after the war? (Aug '44) Do you think that Great Britain, Russia, and the United States will work together after the war? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '42 | 60% | 17% | 23% |
| Aug '44 | 51 | 23 | 26 |

**8.** (Sweden Apr '42) Do you think that Sweden should take the initiative toward organized, closer cooperation between the free northern countries after the war? (SGI)

Yes 49% No 10% No answer 41%

**9.** (Great Britain Jan '42, Canada Jan 13 '43, Great Britain Mar 1 '43, June 10 '43) Should Britain, America, Russia, and China form a supreme war council to plan and direct the war on all fronts? (BIPO, CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '42 | 65% | 9% | 26% |
| Jan '43 | 77 | 9 | 14 |
| Mar '43 | 76 | 9 | 15 |
| June '43 | 76 | 8 | 16 |

**10.** (Great Britain Oct '42 and Canada Jan 13 '43) Should a supreme commander of all the armed forces of the United Nations be appointed? (Great Britain Mar 1 '43) Should a supreme commander of all the Allied forces be appointed? (BIPO, CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Britain Oct '42 | 33% | 37% | 30% |
| Canada Jan '43 | 43 | 43 | 14 |
| Britain Mar '43 | 37 | 40 | 23 |

**11.** (US Oct 6 '42) Do you think that the three big countries fighting Germany—that is, Russia, England, United States—are working together as closely as they should? 40% of the sample who didn't think the countries were working together as closely as they might were asked: In what way do you think they should work together more closely? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Working together closely now | 41% |
| Don't know whether or not they are working together now | 19 |
| They should help Russia more | 10 |
| General need for more copper | 8 |
| Get together on second front | 6 |
| Should be unified command | 6 |
| England should do more | 4 |
| Russia should cooperate more | 2 |
| United States doing too much, and Russia and England depending on us too much | 1 |
| Approve United States sending men and supplies overseas | 1 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 2 |
| Didn't say in what way they should work more closely together | 4 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**12.** (Great Britain Dec 27 '42) If after this war you had to choose between an alliance with Russia or with America which would you choose? (BIPO)

America 46% Russia 32% Don't know 22%

**13.** (Great Britain Mar 1 '43) Do you think that the western democracies (United States and Britain) are or are not doing everything possible to help the Red army? (BIPO)

Are 61% Are not 26% Don't know 13%

**14.** (Great Britain Apr 4 '43) Do you think that Britain, United States, Russia, and China will work together when the war is over? 22% of the sample who thought they would not were asked: Why not? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Think they will work together | 55% |
| Don't know whether or not they will work together | 23 |
| Too many conflicting interests; they differ so much | 11 |
| Tories, capitalists, won't work with Russia; fear of Communism on part of Britain and United States | 5 |
| Russia may be a problem | 4 |
| United States won't work with Russia; United States may be isolationist | 2 |

**15.** (US June 18 '43) Do you think that the three big countries, fighting Germany—that is, Russia, England, United States—are working together as closely as they should? 25% of

the sample who thought they were not working together as closely as they should were asked: Whose fault is this? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Are working together | 64% |
| Don't know whether or not they are working together | 11 |
| Russia's fault | 12 |
| England's fault | 4 |
| United States' fault | 2 |
| England's and United States' fault | 2 |
| The leaders' fault | 1 |
| Nobody's or everybody's fault | 3 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 1 |
| Didn't say whose fault | 2 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**16.** (Sweden Oct '43) Do you think it would be desirable to form a union between the four Scandinavian countries after the war with joint defenses and joint foreign politics? Those who said "No" were then asked: If such a union were possible within the frame of an international organization for the protection of peace, would you then be for or against such a union? Those who said they would be against such a union were then asked: Do you wholly object to the thought of a joint Scandinavian defense in any form after the war? Those who said they objected wholly were then asked: Why do you object? Complete results follow: (SGI)

| | *Joint defense wanted without reservation* | *Desirable as a link in an international organization* | *Desirable subject to certain conditions* | *Not desirable under any circumstances* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 36% | 35% | 4% | 8% | 17% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Upper | 41% | 32% | 5% | 9% | 13% |
| Middle | 33 | 39 | 4 | 8 | 16 |
| Workers | 37 | 32 | 4 | 8 | 19 |
| Working parties | 43 | 33 | 4 | 8 | 12 |
| Wealthy | 34 | 39 | 4 | 8 | 15 |

**17.** (US Nov 15 '43) Do you think that the three big countries fighting Germany—that is, Russia, England, United States—are working together as closely as they should? (NORC)

Yes 55% No 28% Don't know 17%

**18.** (Great Britain Nov 20 '43) At the Moscow Conference the Allies have agreed to continue during peace the cooperation they have established during the war. Do you expect that they will or will not be able to work together after the war? (BIPO)

Will 55% Will not 21% Don't know 24%

**19.** (Great Britain Apr '44) After the war, should Britain and United States concern themselves with Western Europe while Russia concerns herself with Eastern Europe, or should Britain, Russia, and United States cooperate together concerning all Europe? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia East, Allies West | 9% |
| Cooperate | 76 |
| Don't know | 15 |

**20.** (US Apr 25 '44) Can you tell me what an isolationist is? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct | 54% |
| Vague | 1 |
| Incorrect | 5 |
| No definition | 40 |

**21.** (US Apr 25 '44) Can you tell me what an internationalist is? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct | 46% |
| Vague | 4 |
| Incorrect | 5 |
| No definition | 45 |

**22.** (US Apr 25 '44) Do you regard yourself as an isolationist or an internationalist? Asked of a national cross-section of persons informed on the definitions of the two terms. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Isolationist | 13% |
| Internationalist | 64 |
| No opinion | 23 |

**23.** (Sweden Aug '44) With which one(s) of the European states do you think that Sweden should unite, supposing a peace conference after the war decided to divide Europe into blocks of states? (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Upper* | *Middle* | *Workers* | *20–29* | *30–49* | *50–64* | *65 and over* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Sweden should be alone | 27 | 24 | 28 | 28 | 31 | 28 | 28 | 27 |
| Norway | 29 | 49 | 33 | 24 | 31 | 30 | 32 | 22 |
| Denmark | 26 | 45 | 30 | 21 | 27 | 26 | 29 | 21 |
| Finland | 20 | 37 | 24 | 16 | 20 | 21 | 24 | 16 |
| Iceland | 7 | 18 | 9 | 6 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 5 |
| Russia | 3 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 |
| England | 12 | 8 | 11 | 13 | 10 | 12 | 15 | 11 |
| Germany | 1 | 2 | 1 | — | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Other states | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| Don't know | 43 | 22 | 34 | 36 | 30 | 31 | 39 | 43 |
| Percentages | 171* | 208* | 175* | 150* | 163* | 163* | 183* | 149* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**24.** (Great Britain Oct '44) Would you like to see the Allies cooperating together after the war? (BIPO)

Yes 90% No 3% Don't know 7%

**25.** (Great Britain Oct '44) What do you think are likely to be the main obstacles to cooperation [among the Allies]? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Economic difficulties; trade rivalry; cartels | 14% |
| Nationalism of all countries; conflicting foreign policies; greed | 11 |
| Differing forms of government | 8 |
| None, so long as we all try | 6 |
| Big business wants wars; armament firms; capitalism | 6 |
| Antagonism of powerful forces toward Russia; fear of Communism | 5 |
| Securing cooperation of Russia | 4 |
| Fixing of frontiers | 4 |
| Difference of views upon treatment of Germany | 3 |
| Polish question | 3 |
| Prewar differences; prejudices | 2 |
| United States will not cooperate | 1 |
| Governments will not be sufficiently interested in cooperating | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 10 |
| No reply; don't know | 22 |

**26.** (Canada Nov 8 '44) If Canada sends some of her fighting men to take part in the war against Japan, would you rather see them fight alongside the British in Burma and Singapore or alongside the Americans in the Philippines? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| With British | 27% |
| With Americans | 26 |
| With both | 39 |
| Undecided | 8 |

**27.** (France Dec 16 '44) After the war, which of the following four lines of international policy do you think we should pursue—French-Anglo-American bloc; fusion into a single state of England, France, and their empires; French-Anglo-Italian alliance; or a French-Soviet alliance? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| French-Anglo-American bloc | 58% |
| French-Soviet alliance | 18 |
| Fusion of France and England | 11 |
| French-Anglo-Italian alliance | 5 |
| No answer | 8 |

**28.** (Great Britain Mar '45) At the Crimea Conference the Allies said that they would continue to cooperate during peace, as they have during war. Do you think that they will or will not be able to work together after the war? (BIPO)

Will 58% Will not 21% Don't know 21%

**29.** (Sweden Apr '45) Do you think that Russia sincerely wants peaceful cooperation with England and the United States after the war? And with Finland? (SGI)

WITH UNITED STATES AND ENGLAND

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 34% | 40% | 26% |
| OPINION ABOUT US AND ENGLAND BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 43% | 39% | 18% |
| Women | 26 | 40 | 34 |
| OPINION ABOUT US AND ENGLAND BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper | 48% | 33% | 19% |
| Middle | 30 | 43 | 27 |
| Workers | 36 | 38 | 26 |
| OPINION ABOUT US AND ENGLAND BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| East Gotland | 28% | 46% | 26% |
| North Sweden | 37 | 31 | 32 |
| Dalecarlia | 31 | 38 | 31 |
| Mälar district | 34 | 40 | 26 |
| Stockholm | 44 | 37 | 19 |
| Skåne | 33 | 44 | 23 |
| Bovä | 35 | 41 | 24 |

WITH FINLAND

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 32% | 26% |
| OPINION ABOUT FINLAND BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 52% | 30% | 18% |
| Women | 31 | 34 | 35 |
| OPINION ABOUT FINLAND BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper | 49% | 36% | 15% |
| Middle | 37 | 37 | 26 |
| Workers | 45 | 28 | 27 |
| OPINION ABOUT FINLAND BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| North Sweden | 48% | 23% | 29% |
| Dalecarlia | 37 | 31 | 32 |
| Mälar district | 40 | 33 | 27 |
| Stockholm | 50 | 28 | 22 |
| East Gotland | 35 | 41 | 24 |
| Skåne | 42 | 34 | 24 |
| Bovä | 42 | 34 | 24 |

**30.** (Hungary Dec '45, Jan '46, Feb '46, Dec '46) Do you consider a federation of the Danube nations within the range of possibility? (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *Yes, politically* | *Yes, economically* | *No* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '45 | 14% | — | — | 86% |
| Jan '46 | 20 | — | — | 80 |
| Feb '46 | — | 24% | 40% | 36 |
| Dec '46 | — | — | 89 | 11 |

**31.** (Denmark Jan 12 '46) The meeting in London of the great powers' foreign ministers was a failure. Do you think, all the same, there is hope of these great nations finding peaceful cooperation? 27% of the sample who thought there was no hope were asked: Why not? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hope for cooperation | 43% |
| Don't know whether or not there is hope | 30 |
| No hope because they cannot agree | 9 |
| Doubtful about Russia | 4 |
| Not the same ideas | 4 |
| America too interested in money | 2 |
| Capitalism cannot agree with Russia | 2 |
| Russia wants too much | 1 |
| Russia unlike the others | 1 |
| Afraid of one another | 1 |
| Other replies | 3 |

**32.** (Belgium Apr–June '46) Are you in favor of a union of the western nations? (INSOC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 69% | 8% | 23% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 74% | 9% | 17% |
| Women | 62 | 6 | 32 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–34 years | 70% | 8% | 22% |
| 35–49 years | 68 | 9 | 23 |
| 50–64 years | 69 | 7 | 24 |
| 65 years and over | 69 | 6 | 25 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Urban | 69% | 9% | 22% |
| Rural | 69 | 5 | 26 |
| Industrial | 67 | 11 | 22 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farm and farm labor | 67% | 5% | 28% |
| Workers and artisans | 64 | 9 | 27 |
| White-collar | 77 | 11 | 12 |
| Business and foremen | 80 | 6 | 14 |
| Professional | 83 | 14 | 3 |
| Living on income | 77 | 6 | 17 |
| Housewives | 62 | 7 | 31 |

**33.** (Netherlands July '46) Do you think the Netherlands should cooperate as closely as possible with other European states, or should our country go its own way? (NIPO)

Cooperate 76% Own way 11% Don't know 13%

**34.** (Hungary Dec '46) Do you approve or disapprove of economic unity of the Danubian states? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

BY SOCIAL STATUS

| | *Approve* | *Neutral* | *Disapprove* | *Other; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Educated | 91.0% | 6.1% | 1.1% | 1.8% |
| Bourgeoisie | 91.0 | 2.3 | 2.1 | 4.6 |
| Workers | 89.0 | 4.2 | 1.6 | 5.2 |

## Canada—Russia

**1.** (Canada June 12 '43) Do you think Russia can be trusted to cooperate with us when the war is over? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 51% | 27% | 22% |
| BY PROVINCES | | | |
| Ontario | 62% | 17% | 21% |
| Quebec | 30 | 44 | 26 |

## France—Russia

**1.** (France Nov 1 '44) Do you think General De Gaulle has received adequate political support from the Soviet government? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

Yes 45% No 21% No opinion 34%

**2.** (France Mar 1 '45) Are you in favor of the French-Soviet alliance? (FIPO)

Yes 83% No 7% No opinion 10%

## Great Britain—Czechoslovakia

**1.** (Great Britain Mar '38) Should Great Britain promise assistance to Czechoslovakia if Germany also acts toward her as she did toward Austria? (BIPO)

Yes 33% No 43% No opinion 24%

## Great Britain—France

**1.** (France Nov 1 '44) Do you think that General De Gaulle has received adequate political support from the British government? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

Yes 38% No 35% No opinion 27%

**2.** (France Dec 16 '44) Should we allow British military planes to use French airfields after the war? (FIPO)

Yes 41% No 45% No opinion 14%

**3.** (France Apr 16 '45) Would you favor a political and military alliance with Great Britain? (FIPO)

Yes 79% No 11% No opinion 10%

## Great Britain—Poland

**1.** (Great Britain July '39) If Germany and Poland go to war over Danzig should we fulfill our pledge to fight on Poland's side? (BIPO)

Yes 76% No 13% Don't know 11%

## Great Britain—Russia

**1.** (Great Britain Aug 30 '41) Are you satisfied with the amount of military help Britain is giving Russia? (BIPO)

Satisfied 37% Dissatisfied 30% No opinion 33%

**2.** (Great Britain Jan 16 '42) Would you like to see Great Britain and Russia continuing to work together after the war? (BIPO)

Yes 86% No 6% Don't know 8%

**3.** (Great Britain Jan 16 '42) Do you think they [Great Britain and Russia] will [work together after the war]? (BIPO)

Yes 53% No 18% Don't know 29%

**4.** (Great Britain Mar '42) Do you think there is anything more which Britain and Russia can do to help each other? (BIPO)

Yes 37% No 35% Don't know 28%

## Great Britain—Spain

**1.** (Great Britain Apr '43) Are there any circumstances in which you would favor collaboration in this war between Britain and the Franco government in Spain?

Yes 19% No 47% Don't know 34%

## Italy—Germany

**1.** (France Nov 16 '44) In case of another Franco-German war, do you think Italy would fight for Germany? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '38 | 50% | 32% | 18% |
| Oct '38 | 31 | 51 | 18 |

## U.S.—Canada

**1.** (US Nov '40) The United States and Canada have set up a joint defense board to organize defense on this continent and to cooperate closely together. Do you approve or disapprove of this? (FOR)

Approve 83.8% Disapprove 5.2% Don't know 11.0%

## U.S.—China

**1.** (US Feb 14 '42, May 6 '42, July 1 '42, July 18 '42, Aug 21 '42, Nov 27 '42) Do you think that China can be depended upon to cooperate with us after the war? The Feb and Aug samples omitted "after the war." (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '42 | 80% | 7% | 13% |
| May '42 | 83 | 4 | 13 |
| July 1 '42 | 85 | 4 | 11 |
| July 18 '42 | 85 | 4 | 11 |
| Aug '42 | 86 | 4 | 10 |
| Nov '42 | 85 | 5 | 10 |

## U.S.—FRANCE

**1.** (France Nov 1 '44) Do you think that General De Gaulle has received adequate political support from the United States government? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

Yes 27% No 44% No opinion 29%

## U.S.—Great Britain

**1.** (US Feb 14 '42, May 6 '42, June 3 '42, July 1 '42, July 18 '42, Aug 21 '42, Nov 19 '42, Nov 27 '42, June 18 '43, Nov 15 '43, Apr 8 '44) Do you think that England can be depended upon to cooperate with us after the war? The NORC question in Feb '42 omitted "after the war"; the OPOR question (June 3 '42) read: Do you think the British can be trusted to cooperate with us when the war is over? (NORC, OPOR) (June 3 '42) 61% of OPOR's June '42 sample who thought the British could be trusted to cooperate and the 31% who thought they could not be trusted were asked: Why? (OPOR) (Apr 8 '44) 13% of NORC's Apr '44 sample who thought England could not be depended upon to cooperate and 15% who didn't know were asked: Why do you feel this way? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| NORC Feb '42 | 76% | 14% | 10% |
| NORC May '42 | 77 | 9 | 14 |
| OPOR June '42 | 61 | 31 | 8 |
| NORC July 1 '42 | 72 | 13 | 15 |
| NORC July 18 '42 | 68 | 17 | 15 |
| NORC Aug '42 | 72 | 15 | 13 |

| | Yes | No | No answer; don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| NORC Nov 19 '42 | 76% | 13% | 11% |
| NORC Nov 27 '42 | 70 | 17 | 13 |
| NORC June '43 | 75 | 13 | 12 |
| NORC Nov '43 | 69 | 13 | 18 |
| NORC Apr '44 | 72 | 13 | 15 |

REASONS OF OPOR'S 1942 SAMPLE

*Can be trusted because*

| | |
|---|---|
| British both need and appreciate our friendship and the bonds between us | 16% |
| Their statesmen can be trusted | 3 |
| They feel dependent on us for survival | 8 |
| British people can be trusted | 6 |
| They will have learned a lesson from this war | 4 |
| Instinctive feeling that they will | 3 |
| They always have cooperated | 6 |
| The Churchill-Roosevelt programs of war aims assures it | 1 |
| British dominions are closely linked to United States | 1 |
| United States will be prominent world power after war | 6 |
| Increase democracy in England | 1 |
| No answer | 6 |
| | 61% |

*Can't be trusted because*

| | |
|---|---|
| Instinctive feeling they won't | 1% |
| Historical proof; non-payment of war debts and lack of cooperation after last war | 16 |
| They will outwit us in peace conference and take all spoils | 4 |
| They will only passively cooperate with us; too egotistic for cooperation | 6 |
| They are too proud and snobbish | 1 |
| Present commitments indicate this | 1 |
| No answer | 2 |
| | 31% |

REASONS OF NORC'S 1944 SAMPLE

| | |
|---|---|
| England out for selfish interests | 8% |
| Past experience is proof of English unreliability | 6 |
| Not to be trusted | 3 |
| Wants territories and possessions for herself | 1 |
| England feels superior to United States | 1 |
| Doesn't need to cooperate | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 9 |
| | 29%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 28 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (US Nov 19 '42) Do you think the United States will continue to cooperate with England after the war? (NORC)

Yes 91% No 3% Don't know 6%

**3.** (US Nov 19 '42 and Apr 6 '43) Do you think we should continue to cooperate with England after the war? The '43 sample used the word "Britain" instead of "England." (NORC)

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '42 | 89% | 5% | 6% |
| Apr '43 | 88 | 7 | 5 |

**4.** (US Apr 6 '43, June '43, Nov 15 '43, Apr 8 '44) If Germany is knocked out of the war first, do you think Britain will continue fighting and help us beat Japan? In the Nov '43 and Apr '44 question the word "England" was used instead of "Britain." In June '43 question the phrase "or not" was used on the end of the question. (NORC)

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '43 | 83% | 8% | 9% |
| June '43 | 83 | 8 | 9 |
| Nov '43 | 78 | 8 | 14 |
| Apr '44 | 79 | 8 | 13 |

8% of the Apr '44 sample who thought England would not continue fighting after the defeat of Germany and 13% who didn't know were asked: Why do you feel this way?

| | |
|---|---|
| Because England is selfish; guided by self-interest | 4% |
| Not trustworthy, undependable; are tricky | 2 |
| Past record | 2 |
| Will let us do all the fighting | 1 |
| Be too exhausted to fight any more | 1 |
| She'll have what she wants and quit | 1 |
| Doesn't have same interest in Japanese war as war with Germany | 1 |
| Is already decreasing size of army | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 9 |
| | 22%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 21 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**5.** (US May 15 '46) England has suggested that we send troops to Palestine to help keep order there if the Arabs oppose letting one hundred thousand Jews enter Palestine. Do you approve or disapprove of our sending troops to Palestine to help England keep order there? Asked of a national cross-section of people who had been following the discussions on Palestine. (AIPO)

Approve 21% Disapprove 74% No opinion 5%

## U.S.—Russia

**1.** (US Feb 14 '42 to Dec 11 '46, dates and organization as listed below) Do you think Russia can be trusted to cooperate with us after the war is over?

| | Yes | No | Undecided; no opinion; don't know; no answer |
|---|---|---|---|
| NORC Feb 14 '42 | 38% | 37% | 25% |
| OPOR Mar 26 '42 | 39 | 39 | 22 |
| *NORC May 6 '42 | 45 | 25 | 30 |
| OPOR June 17 '42 | 41 | 33 | 26 |
| *NORC July 1 '42 | 45 | 26 | 29 |
| OPOR July 15 '42 | 50 | 30 | 20 |
| *NORC July 18 '42 | 43 | 27 | 30 |
| *NORC Aug 21 '42 | 51 | 25 | 24 |
| *NORC Nov 19 '42 | 51 | 24 | 25 |
| *NORC Nov 27 '42 | 52 | 26 | 22 |
| AIPO Jan 7 '43 | 46 | 29 | 25 |
| AIPO Apr 6 '43 | 44 | 34 | 22 |
| *NORC June 18 '43 | 48 | 27 | 25 |
| AIPO Nov 10 '43 | 47 | 27 | 26 |
| *NORC Nov 15 '43 | 48 | 20 | 32 |
| AIPO Dec 15 '43 | 51 | 27 | 22 |
| AIPO Jan 18 '44 | 40 | 37 | 23 |
| *NORC Apr 8 '44 | 50 | 22 | 28 |
| AIPO June 7 '44 | 47 | 36 | 17 |
| **AIPO Nov 15 '44 | 47 | 35 | 18 |
| **AIPO Feb 20 '45 | 55 | 31 | 14 |

| | Yes | No | Undecided; no opinion; don't know; no answer |
|---|---|---|---|
| **AIPO May 15 '45 | 45% | 38% | 17% |
| **AIPO Aug 8 '45 | 54 | 30 | 16 |
| **AIPO Oct 17 '45: first cross-section | 38 | 45 | 17 |
| †AIPO Oct 17 '45: Second cross-section | 44 | 40 | 16 |
| †AIPO Feb 27 '46 | 35 | 52 | 13 |
| †AIPO Apr 10 '46 | 45 | 38 | 17 |
| †AIPO Sept 25 '46 | 32 | 53 | 15 |
| †AIPO Dec 11 '46 | 43 | 40 | 17 |

* The question was: Do you think Russia can be depended upon to cooperate with us after the war?

** Do you think Russia can be trusted to cooperate with us after the war?

† Do you think Russia will cooperate with us in world affairs?

FEB '46 RESULTS BY AGE

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 21–29 years | 38% | 49% | 13% |
| 30–49 years | 35 | 52 | 13 |
| 50 years and over | 33 | 54 | 13 |

BY EDUCATION

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *June '44* | | | |
| College | 58% | 32% | 10% |
| High school | 51 | 33 | 16 |
| Grade school or less | 41 | 39 | 20 |
| *Feb '45* | | | |
| College | 62 | 30 | 8 |
| High school | 60 | 29 | 11 |
| Grade school or less | 51 | 31 | 18 |
| *Aug '45* | | | |
| College | 71 | 23 | 6 |
| High school | 58 | 31 | 11 |
| Grade school or less | 47 | 32 | 21 |
| *Feb '46* | | | |
| College | 54 | 38 | 8 |
| High school | 37 | 51 | 12 |
| Grade school or less | 29 | 56 | 15 |
| *Dec '46* | | | |
| College | 60 | 33 | 7 |
| High school | 49 | 40 | 11 |
| Grade school or less | 35 | 42 | 23 |

APR '43 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Upper | 53% | 31% | 16% |
| Middle | 45 | 38 | 17 |
| Lower | 41 | 33 | 26 |

APR '43 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 45% | 33% | 22% |
| East central | 41 | 37 | 22 |
| West central | 48 | 34 | 18 |
| South | 39 | 33 | 28 |
| Far West | 45 | 37 | 18 |

AUG '45 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Professional and business | 64% | 25% | 11% |
| White-collar | 62 | 30 | 8 |
| Farmers | 48 | 32 | 20 |
| Manual workers | 48 | 33 | 19 |

BY POLITICS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Nov 10 '43* | | | |
| Republican | 43% | 34% | 23% |
| Democratic | 50 | 21 | 29 |
| *Feb '45* | | | |
| Roosevelt voters | 62 | 25 | 13 |
| Dewey voters | 51 | 38 | 11 |
| *Feb '46* | | | |
| Democratic | 37% | 49% | 14% |
| Republican | 33 | 57 | 10 |

VETERANS' OPINION IN FEB '46

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Veterans only | 45% | 43% | 12% |
| *Nov 10 '43* | | | |
| Persons who say they have either heard or read of the Moscow Conference | 57 | 27 | 16 |

29% of AIPO's Jan '43 sample, 34% of the Apr '43 sample and 27% of the Nov 10 '43 sample who thought Russia could not be trusted were asked: Why do you think Russia will not cooperate with us when the war is over?

| | Jan '43 | Apr '43 | Nov '43 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Too great a difference in form of government; political and social systems too different; can't understand them; too much "red" element | 23% | 21% | 22% |
| They are unreliable; can't be trusted; our Allies of necessity and not choice; haven't told their people about lend-lease; they are treacherous by nature | 19 | 32 | 32 |
| Russia's out for all she can get; Russia's territorial ambitions, desire for more power; she's out for herself | 19 | 17 | 18 |
| Because of past records; haven't been friendly before the war | 19 | 12 | 9 |
| They are independent; self-sufficient; not interested outside own country | 3 | 6 | 5 |
| She's not satisfied with help from us; grudge about second front | — | — | 2 |
| Because they haven't been represented in the conferences; not cooperating with our military men; not exchanging strategies; not cooperating now | — | — | 9 |
| You can't trust Stalin; you can't trust their leader | 2 | — | 2 |
| May cooperate to a limited extent | — | — | 1 |
| They are irreligious | 2 | — | — |
| No specific reason but think they won't cooperate | — | 6 | — |
| Miscellaneous | 9 | 6 | 4 |
| No answer | 4 | — | — |
| | 100%* | 100%* | 104%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who thought Russia could not be trusted to cooperate with us after the war and add to more than 100 for the Nov question because some gave more than one answer.

22% of NORC's Apr '44 sample who thought Russia could not be depended upon and 28% who didn't know were asked: Why do you feel this way?

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia is independent; out for selfish interests; strong | 13% |
| Not trustworthy; undependable; false | 9 |
| All different kinds of people; race; different ideology | 4 |
| Present behavior proof of Russian unreliability | 4 |
| Is an unknown quantity; enigma hard to understand | 3 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Will turn against United States | 2% |
| May cooperate under certain circumstances | 2 |
| Past conduct indicates Russia's unreliability | 2 |
| Doesn't need to cooperate | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Don't know | 11 |
| | 53%* |

* Percentages add to more than 50 because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (US Nov 19 '42) Do you think the United States will continue to cooperate with Russia after the war? (NORC)

Yes 78% No 7% Don't know 15%

**3.** (US Nov 19 '42) Do you think we should continue to cooperate with Russia after the war? (NORC)

Yes 80% No 8% Don't know 12%

**4.** (US June '43) Do you think we should or should not try to work with Russia as an equal partner in fighting the war? as an equal partner in working out the peace? (FOR)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *In fighting the war* | | | |
| National total | 80.7% | 9.4% | 9.9% |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | |
| Well-informed | 88.5% | 8.3% | 3.2% |
| Poorly informed | 84.2 | 10.1 | 5.7 |
| Uninformed | 70.9 | 9.9 | 19.2 |
| *In working out the peace* | | | |
| National total | 80.9 | 9.2 | 9.9 |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | |
| Well-informed | 87.7% | 9.1% | 3.2% |
| Poorly informed | 84.0 | 9.5 | 6.5 |
| Uninformed | 72.4 | 9.0 | 18.6 |

**5.** (US Nov 15 '43 and Apr 8 '44) If Germany is knocked out of the war first, do you think Russia will continue fighting and help us beat Japan? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '43 | 45% | 26% | 29% |
| Apr '44 | 43 | 28 | 29 |

Why do you feel this way? Asked of 57% of the Apr '44 sample who thought if Germany was knocked out of the war first, Russia would not continue to fight and help us beat Japan, or who didn't know what Russia would do.

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia not to be trusted; tricky; uncertain | 11% |
| Will be guided by own self-interests | 7 |
| Won't want and/or be able to fight another war when through with Germany | 7 |
| Hasn't declared war on Japan yet | 7 |
| Russia has treaty with Japan | 6 |
| Has nothing to gain by war with Japan | 4 |
| Not cooperating now | 3 |
| Russia will turn against us | 2 |
| Past record | 2 |
| All different kinds of people; race; have different ideology | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Don't know | 11 |
| | 63%* |

* Percentages add to more than 57 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (France Nov 16 '44) Do you think that once Germany is beaten Russia will join the Anglo-Americans in fighting Japan? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

Yes 40% No 34% No opinion 26%

**7.** (US Dec 29 '44 and Sept '45) Thinking back for a moment to our relations with Russia a few years before the war, do you think that we shall get along better with Russia in the future than we did in the past, not so well, or about the same? In '45 the word "that" was omitted from the question, and the word "will" was used in the '45 question instead of "shall." (FOR)

| | *Better* | *Not so well* | *About the same* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '44 | 48.3% | 22.0% | 20.1% | 9.6% |
| Sept '45 | 42.4 | 19.1 | 23.5 | 15.0 |

**8.** (US Mar '45) Do you think Russia owes it to the United States to continue fighting and help us beat Japan? (NORC)

Yes 85% No 11% Don't know 4%

## INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

**1.** (US May 16 '36) To insure world peace, which do you think will work better, a league of nations or military alliances between strong nations? (AIPO)

League of nations 37% Military alliances 63%

**2.** (US Aug 29 '36) Should President Roosevelt call a general conference of European rulers in the interest of peace? (AIPO)

Yes 34% No 66% = 100% No opinion 20%

**3.** (US Feb 1 '37) Do you think it would do any good to have President Roosevelt bring together the heads of European nations in the interest of peace? (AIPO)

Yes 37% No 63% = 100% No opinion 13%

**4.** (US Feb 1 '37) Should the President take this step [to bring together the heads of European nations in the interest of peace]? (AIPO)

Yes 37% No 63% = 100% No opinion 23%

**5.** (US Mar 21 '39) Would you like to see the heads of the leading nations of the world meet in a new peace conference at this time to settle the claims of Germany and Italy? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 73% | 27% = 100% | 6% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 76% | 24% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 69 | 31 | |
| East central | 74 | 26 | |
| West central | 76 | 24 | |
| South | 77 | 23 | |
| West | 69 | 31 | |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 74% | 26% | |
| Republican | 68 | 32 | |
| Others | 75 | 25 | |

**6.** (US Mar 21 '39) Should President Roosevelt call such a [peace] conference? (AIPO)

Yes 32% No 68% = 100% No opinion 11%

**7.** (US Sept '39) Should we continue our present policy of using our influence to preserve peace, without necessarily stating what we would do if war should start? (FOR)

Yes 83.1% No 6.8% Don't know or depends 10.1%

**8.** (US Oct 10 '39) Would you favor a conference of the leading nations of the world to try to end the present war and settle Europe's problems? (AIPO)

Yes 69% No 31% = 100% No opinion 8%

**9.** (US Oct 10 '39) If such a conference [of leading nations of the world] is called, should the United States take part in it? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 50% | 50% = 100% | 9% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 52% | 48% | |
| Republican | 45 | 55 | |
| Others | 54 | 46 | |

**10.** (US Feb 20 '40) Do you think now is the right time for the leading nations of the world to have a conference to try to settle Europe's problems and end the war between Germany, and England and France? (AIPO)

Yes 58% No 42%

**11.** (US Feb 20 '40) If such a conference [to try to settle Europe's problems and end war] is held, should the United States take part in it? (AIPO)

Yes 55% No 45%

**12.** (US May 20 '41) Would you like to see the United States join a league of nations after this war is over? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 51% = 100% | 23% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper | 53% | 47% | |
| Middle | 48 | 52 | |
| Lower | 49 | 51 | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 52% | 48% | |
| East central | 46 | 54 | |
| West central | 48 | 52 | |
| South | 52 | 48 | |
| West | 51 | 49 | |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republican | 43% | 57% | |
| Democratic | 53 | 47 | |
| Others | 55 | 45 | |

## INTERNATIONAL POLICE

**1.** (US Aug 17 '39) Do you think the time will come when a strong international army or police force will maintain world peace? (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 70% = 100% No opinion 20%

**2.** (US Aug 17 '39) How soon [do you think the time will come when an international army or police force will maintain world peace]? Asked of a national cross-section of those who thought such a time would come. 30% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

In 25 years or less 60% More than 25 years 40% = 100% of those questioned

**3.** (US Aug 17 '39) Would you like to see the United States join in a movement to establish an international police force to maintain world peace? (AIPO)

Yes 46% No 39% No opinion 15%

**4.** (US Feb 14 '42) When the war is over, do you think the United States should or should not take a full and active part along with other nations in maintaining a world police force to guarantee against future wars? (NORC)

Should 86% Should not 8% Don't know 6%

**5.** (US Apr '42) Some people think the only way to prevent some countries from picking on others is to have one or two strong nations police the world. After the war is over, do you think the United States should take on this responsibility alone or take it on with some other nations, or do you think it just isn't our job at all? (FOR)

| | *Alone* | *With someone* | *Not our job* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 5.9% | 43.6% | 37.6% | 12.9% |
| BY SELECTED GROUPS* | | | | |
| Business leaders | 2.4% | 60.3% | 28.0% | 9.3% |
| Intellectual leaders | 1.5 | 70.4 | 15.5 | 12.6 |

* Breakdown from *Fortune* June '42.

**6.** (US Apr '42) Who should be the other nation to do it [take on world policing responsibility] with us? Asked of a national cross-section of those who thought we should take on this responsibility with some other nation. 43.6% of the sample is represented. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Great Britain | 73.8% |
| Canada | 5.0 |
| Other | 8.8 |
| Don't know | 20.7 |
| | 108.3%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who thought we should take the responsibility of policing the world with some other nation and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**7.** (US June '42) Some people think the only way to prevent some countries from picking on others is to have one or two strong nations police the world. Do you agree or disagree with this opinion? Asked in Canada. (FOR)

Agree 39.7% Disagree 51.8% Don't know 8.5%

**8.** (US July 29 '42 and Apr 8 '43) Should the countries fighting the Axis set up an international police force after the war is over to try to keep peace throughout the world? In 1943 two comparable cross-sections were used. The second was asked: Should the countries fighting the Axis set up an international police force after the war is over to try to keep peace throughout the world, or should we refuse to mix in other nations' affairs? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| July '42 | 73% | 16% | 11% |
| Apr '43 | 74 | 14 | 12 |
| 1943 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 78% | 22% | |
| Republican | 72 | 28 | |

**9.** (US Jan 11 '43) After this war, do you think we should join with other countries in setting up a permanent world police force to keep the peace? (NORC)

Yes 76% No 14% Don't know 10%

**10.** (Great Britain Apr 4 '43) After the war, would you like to see Britain joining with other countries to form an international police force? (BIPO)

Yes 74% No 10% Don't know 16%

**11.** (US Aug 24 '43) Can you tell me what is meant by an international police force? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Policing of the world; seeing that countries live up to treaties; etc. | 19% |
| Policing of the world by all countries | 16 |
| Policing of the world by allied countries | 7 |
| Policing of Axis countries by allied countries | 6 |
| Incorrect answers (such as army of occupation, US policing of world alone, etc.) | 8 |
| Couldn't say | 44 |

**12.** (US Aug 24 '43) What would you say are the chief arguments in favor of an international police force? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Bring about union of all countries | 1% |
| Keep nations informed on conditions | 1 |
| To maintain peace; keep countries from rearming and starting wars; keep countries in line | 32 |
| To protect the smaller countries from aggressors; make the countries equal and see that large countries do not pick on the small ones | 3 |
| To help keep down international uprisings and revolutions | 1 |
| To settle international grievances and problems | 3 |
| To police Germany and Hitler; to control and police the Axis | 2 |
| Couldn't say what was meant by international police force; no answer; don't need one | 53 |
| Enforce international agreements and treaties | 1 |
| Others | 1 |
| None | 3 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**13.** (US Aug 24 '43) What would you say are some of the chief arguments against an international police force? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Won't work | 2% |
| Resentment on the part of the countries being policed | 8 |
| Might be misused; a strong power could use it for a wrong purpose politically; might turn to "might is right" | 4 |
| Expense | 3 |
| Administration; problem of unity and purpose; jealousies may arise | 8 |
| Should not interfere in another nation's business | 3 |
| Isn't democratic; violates four freedoms | 2 |
| Would keep boys away from home; keep men from returning to civilian activities | 2 |
| Others | 1 |
| No argument against it | 14 |
| Couldn't say what was meant by international police force; no answer; don't need police force | 54 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**14.** (US Aug 24 '43) Taking into account the arguments for and those against, how do you, yourself, stand—are you for or against an international police force? Asked of a national cross-section of persons informed about the workings of an international police force and the arguments for and against having one. (AIPO)

| | *For* | *Against* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 75% | 17% | 8% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republican | 73% | 27% | |
| Democratic | 78 | 22 | |

**15.** (Canada Nov 20 '43) Would you like to see Canada take an active part in maintaining world peace after the war, even if that meant sending Canadian soldiers, sailors, or airmen to help keep peace in other parts of the world? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 78% | 15% | 7% |
| BY PROVINCES | | | |
| Quebec | 56% | 34% | 10% |
| All others | 85 | 9 | 6 |

**16.** (Australia Dec '44 to Jan '45) What is your opinion about the League of Nations having an armed force after the war? (APOP)

IN COMPARISON WITH BRITISH OPINION

| | *Favor* | *Opposed* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Australia | 67% | 15% | 18% |
| Britain* | 77 | 10 | 13 |

* In Britain the question was: After the war, should the Allies adopt the principle of using armed force against an aggressor?

**17.** (Canada Jan 10 '45) One suggestion is that an armed force made up of men from all nations in this world organization should be maintained at all times in order to keep the peace. Would you approve of Canada sending her share of men to such an international armed force? 76% of the sample who said they approved of Canada sending her share of men were asked: Under present plans, small nations like Canada will take turns to sit in with larger nations to decide when to declare war and send this force to fight. Would you approve of Canada sending men to be part of this armed force even though they might be sent to fight at a time when it was not Canada's turn to be on the committee which declared war? (CIPO)

| | *Disapprove armed force* | *Undecided about armed force* | *Approve sending men at any time* | *Disapprove* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 16% | 8% | 52% | 14% | 10% |
| BY PROVINCES | | | | | |
| Quebec | 39% | 10% | 25% | 20% | 6% |
| Rest of Canada | 8 | 7 | 62 | 12 | 11 |

**18.** (Australia June–July '45) One suggestion for preventing wars is to have an armed force of men from all the United Nations. Do you think Australia should or should not send her share of men to such an international force? (APOP)

Yes 76% No 18% No opinion 6%

**19.** (US Aug 1 '45) If every other country in the world would give up its armies and navies and instead just contribute its share of men and materials to an international police force, would you be willing for the United States to go along on this? (NYHT)

Yes 52.2% No 32.7% Don't know 15.1%

**20.** (Canada Mar 6 '46) As you know, the Security Council of the United Nations will have a police force to prevent wars. The Council has eleven members including the Big Five. How many members do you think should have to agree before the Council can use the police force against an aggressor nation

—all eleven, the Big Five and two others, or a straight majority? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| All eleven | 11% |
| The Big Five and two others | 17 |
| A straight majority | 48 |
| Other suggestions | 7 |
| Undecided | 17 |

## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**1.** (France July 21 '39) What foreign country do you like best? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| USA | 26% |
| England | 23 |
| Switzerland | 15 |
| Belgium | 9 |
| Russia | 7 |
| Italy | 5 |
| Sweden | 2 |
| Spain | 1 |
| Others | 7 |
| No opinion | 5 |

**2.** (France July 21 '39) What foreign country do you like least? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany | 70.0% |
| Italy | 9.5 |
| Russia | 5.0 |
| Other and no answer | 15.5 |

**3.** (Denmark June 27 '43) No matter how the war ends, are you for or against Denmark working together with the other Scandinavian countries more after the war than she did before the war? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| For | 57.0% |
| Against | 4.1 |
| No answer | 37.1 |
| Don't know | 1.8 |

**4.** (Denmark June 27 '43) Should Denmark enter into a northern union of some kind? Asked of 57% of the sample who were for Denmark's working together with the other Scandinavian countries more after the war than before. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 52.0% |
| No | 13.3 |
| Don't know | 34.1 |
| No answer | 0.6 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned |

**5.** (Denmark May 6 '45) When you say "the northern countries," which ones do you mean? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland | 35.2% |
| Denmark, Sweden, Norway | 33.8 |
| Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Finland | 22.0 |
| Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland | 3.4 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 2.9 |
| Don't know | 2.2 |
| No answer | 0.5 |

**6.** (Denmark May 6 '45) Do you think that the northern peoples should have equal rights to live and work in each other's countries, i.e. under the same conditions as the natives of that country? (DGI) (Norway May 10 '46) Do you think that the Scandinavian people ought to have equal rights to live and work in each other's countries, i.e. have the same rights as the citizens of the respective countries? (NGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know; or no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Denmark | 66.7% | 14.4% | 18.9% |
| Norway | 61 | 28 | 11 |
| NORWEGIAN RESULTS BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 68% | 26% | 6% |
| Women | 55 | 30 | 15 |
| NORWEGIAN RESULTS BY AGE | | | |
| 18–25 years | 62% | 31% | 7% |
| 25–35 years | 57 | 33 | 10 |
| 35–50 years | 62 | 27 | 11 |
| 50 years and over | 64 | 24 | 12 |
| NORWEGIAN RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| High income | 58% | 33% | 9% |
| Middle income | 54 | 33 | 13 |
| Low income | 63 | 27 | 10 |

**7.** (Denmark May 6 '45) Do you think that the northern countries should aim at greater and greater unity, for instance, by abolishing customs barriers and having the same currency? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 60.9% |
| No | 8.8 |
| Don't know | 26.5 |
| As now | 3.6 |
| No answer | 0.2 |

**8.** (Denmark May 6 '45) Do you think that the northern countries should have the same foreign politics? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 42.0% |
| No | 17.2 |
| Don't know | 40.6 |
| No answer | 0.2 |

**9.** (Netherlands July '45) For which great power do you feel the greatest sympathy? Asked in the three western provinces. (NFS)

| | |
|---|---|
| America | 48% |
| England | 22 |
| Russia | 9 |
| Canada | 4 |
| Other countries | 4 |
| No preference | 13 |

**10.** (Netherlands July '46) Do you think we should cooperate closely with England, Belgium, and France in a so-called western alliance, or do you think we should not do that? 52% of the sample were for close cooperation and 23% were against it. These two groups were asked: Why? (NIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't know whether or not close cooperation was desirable | 25% |
| Should cooperate closely because: | |
| Nations will be stronger together | 13 |
| Stronger against Russia and Communism | 13 |
| Security (especially against Germany) | 12 |
| Economic reasons | 4 |
| Other reasons or no reason given | 10 |
| Should not cooperate closely because: | |
| Should stay neutral | 6.5 |
| No western alliance, but also none with other nations (Russia, United States, etc.) | 5.5 |
| Leads to war | 4 |
| Fear difficulties with Russia | 4 |
| Other reasons or no reason given | 3 |

**11.** (US Aug 14 '46) Do you think countries under the capitalistic system and countries under the Communistic system can get along peacefully? (AIPO)

Yes 35% No 49% No opinion 16%

**12.** (Great Britain Sept 14 '46) Would you say that Great Britain, United States, and Russia are still allies as they were during the war, or has that friendship disappeared? (BIPO)

| | *Still allies* | *Disappeared or disappearing* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24% | 61% | 15% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 27% | 65% | 8% |
| Women | 22 | 55 | 23 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 22% | 61% | 17% |
| 30–49 years | 25 | 61 | 14 |
| 50 years and over | 24 | 59 | 17 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 17% | 73% | 10% |
| Middle | 22 | 69 | 9 |
| Lower | 26 | 55 | 19 |
| Very poor | 25 | 50 | 25 |

**13.** (Great Britain Sept 14 '46) What do you think is the main cause [for the friendship disappearing]? Asked of 61% of the sample who felt that the friendship among Great Britain, United States, and Russia had disappeared. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia suspects our motives | 3% |
| Mistrust | 10 |
| Each country out for itself | 8 |
| Russia unwilling to cooperate | 7 |
| They have very little in common | 4 |
| Never were real friends; only brought together through common enemy | 3 |
| Russian imperialism | 3 |
| Russia too domineering | 2 |
| Western Allies refusing to share atom bomb | 2 |
| Anglo-American bloc | 1 |
| Peace Conference has made matters worse | 1 |
| Bad statesmanship | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 8 |
| No comment | 8 |
| | 61% |

**14.** (Italy Oct '46) Which of the four big nations (France, Great Britain, Russia, United States) disappointed you most in regard to its attitude toward Italy at the Peace Conference? (DOXA)

| | *France* | *Great Britain* | *Russia* | *United States* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National toral | 21.1% | 27.2% | 32.2% | 6.2% | 13.3% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| North Italy | 22.1% | 25.1% | 36.7% | 3.6% | 12.5% |
| Central Italy | 20.8 | 34.2 | 25.2 | 6 3 | 13.5 |
| South Italy | 22.0 | 26.4 | 25.9 | 9.7 | 16.0 |
| Islands | 17.2 | 25.5 | 36.5 | 9.8 | 11.0 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Employers | 20.6% | 35.5% | 32.3% | 7.7% | 3.9% |
| Farmers | 20.8 | 25.9 | 33.2 | 4.9 | 15.2 |
| Farm hands | 16.6 | 33.1 | 25.2 | 4.6 | 20.5 |
| Craftsmen | 22.0 | 28.0 | 39.0 | 3.4 | 7.6 |
| Workers | 21.3 | 27.8 | 29.6 | 5.7 | 15.6 |
| Clerks | 26.2 | 32.3 | 29.9 | 9.8 | 1.8 |
| Executive and professional | 17.1 | 31.4 | 28.7 | 17.1 | 5.7 |
| Housewives, etc. | 21.4 | 23.6 | 33.9 | 6.4 | 14.7 |
| BY POLITICS AS INDICATED BY NEWSPAPERS READ | | | | | |
| Christian Democratic | 26.3% | 27.1% | 37.0% | 4.1% | 5.5% |
| Socialist | 24.4 | 34.3 | 29.1 | 4.1 | 8.1 |
| Communist | 17.9 | 50.3 | 11.9 | 8.0 | 11.9 |
| Others | 24.3 | 26.4 | 34.9 | 7.4 | 7.0 |
| Independent | 22.1 | 27.3 | 37.4 | 5.2 | 8.0 |

**15.** (US Dec '46) On the whole, which did you come to like the least, the civilians in England, France, Germany, or Italy? Asked of a national cross-section of World War II veterans. (FOR)

| *Place of service* | *English* | *French* | *Germans* | *Italians* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| England and France | 35.7% | 54.2% | — | — | 10.1% |
| France and Germany | — | 48.5 | 36.9% | — | 14.6 |
| England, France, and Germany | 16.5 | 36.3 | 35.8 | — | 11.4 |
| France, Germany, and Italy | — | 23.7 | 23.7 | 39.3% | 13.3 |
| England, France, Germany, and Italy | 17.4 | 17.4 | 38.3 | 18.2 | 8.7 |

**16.** (US Dec '46) On the whole, which did you come to like the best, the civilians in England, France, Germany, or Italy? Asked of a national cross-section of World War II veterans. (FOR)

| *Place of service* | *English* | *French* | *Germans* | *Italians* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| England and France | 54.2% | 35.7% | — | — | 10.1% |
| France and Germany | — | 36.9 | 48.5% | — | 14.6 |
| England, France, and Germany | 44.7 | 16.4 | 29.1 | — | 9.8 |
| France, Germany, and Italy | — | 31.9 | 43.0 | 2.2% | 22.9 |
| England, France, Germany, and Italy | 35.7 | 27.8 | 15.6 | 9.6 | 11.3 |

## INTERSTATE COMMERCE

**1.** (US Apr 27 '38 and Jan 25 '39) Do you think all companies doing business in more than one state should be required to get a license (permit) from the federal government? In Jan '39 two comparable cross-sections were used. The first was asked: To give the United States government greater control of business, do you think all companies doing business in more than one state should be required to get a license (permit) from the federal government? The second was asked: Do you think all companies doing business in more than one state should be required to get a license (permit) from the United States government? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '38 | 57% | 43% | = 100% | 23% |
| Jan '39: | | | | |
| First cross-section | 53 | 47 | = 100 | 22 |
| Second cross-section | 57 | 43 | = 100 | 20 |
| SECOND '39 CROSS-SECTION RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper | 38% | 62% | | |
| Middle | 55 | 45 | | |
| Lower | 69 | 31 | | |

**2.** (US Apr 27 '38) Do you think this [requiring companies doing business in more than one state to get a license from the federal government] would give the federal government too much power over business? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 15% |
| Yes, emphatically | 16 |
| No | 23 |
| No, emphatically | 21 |
| No opinion and no answer | 25 |

## INVESTMENTS

**1.** (US Oct '35) Do you plan to buy any securities with your next surplus money? (FOR)

Yes 17.1% No 73.8% Don't know 9.1%

**2.** (US Oct '35) Do you plan to put your next surplus money in savings banks, insurance, real estate? Asked of a national cross-section of those who definitely planned to invest their next surplus in things other than securities. 73.8% of the sample is represented. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Savings banks | 36.6% |
| Insurance | 17.5 |
| Real estate | 24.4 |
| Don't know | 21.5 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned |

**3.** (US Oct '35) Do you own any securities? (FOR)

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 21.5% | 78.5% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Prosperous | 68.7% | 31.3% |
| Upper middle | 33.5 | 66.5 |
| Lower middle | 14.9 | 85.1 |
| Poor | 2.9 | 97.1 |
| Negro | 3.9 | 96.1 |

**4.** (US June 7 '37 and Sept 11 '46) Do you happen to own any stocks or bonds listed on any stock exchange? In the 1946 question, the words "or bonds" were omitted. (AIPO)

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| June '37 | 15% | 85% |
| Sept '46 | 10 | 90 |

**5.** (US Sept 27 '37, Jan 25 '38, July 2 '38, July 13 '38) Do you happen to own any stocks or bonds at the present time? The two July '38 questions substituted "this time" for "the present time." (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | No answer; no opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '37 | 35% | 59% | 6% |
| Jan '38 | 20 | 80 | — |
| July 2 '38 | 20 | 78 | 2 |
| July 13 '38 | 22 | 75 | 3 |

**6.** (US Jan 25 '38) Do you think the utility industry is a good investment today? (AIPO)

Yes 33% No 28% No opinion 39%

**7.** (US June 21 '38) If you had a thousand dollars to invest, how would you invest it? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Real estate | 24% |
| Government bonds | 12 |
| Stocks | 10 |
| Save it; savings bank | 8 |
| In a small business | 8 |
| Buy a farm or farm land | 7 |
| Pay debts | 5 |
| Education | 4 |
| Home repairs | 4 |
| Insurance | 3 |
| New car | 3 |
| No opinion | 13 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**8.** (US July 13 '38) Do you own any other* real estate? (AIPO)

Yes 23% No 71% No opinion 6%

* Everyone was questioned. Other than what is not explained.

**9.** (US Mar 13 '40) Do you own or rent your home? Those who did not own their home were asked: Do you own any real estate or stocks or bonds? Results for the two questions were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Own home or real estate or stocks and bonds | 53% |
| Rent | 47 |
| | 100% |
| No answer | 6% |

**10.** (US Mar 13 '40) Do you own any real estate or stocks and bonds? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Real estate | 31% |
| Stocks or bonds | 5 |
| Both | 11 |
| Neither | 53 |

**11.** (US Aug '45) Sometimes it is interesting to think of what we might be able to do under different circumstances. For instance, suppose your whole income suddenly stopped for a while. Could you live for six months just the way you are now living if you used your savings, war bonds, investments, and ready cash? (FOR)

Yes 49.2% No 45.5% Don't know 5.3%

## IRELAND

### Neutrality

**1.** (US Dec 31 '40) Would you like to see the Irish give up their neutrality and let the English use war bases along the Irish coast? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 63% | 16% | 21% |
| Irish-Americans only | 40 | 52 | 8 |

**2.** (Great Britain Jan '41) Do you think that Eire, in her own interests, is right in refusing the use of naval ports to Great Britain? (BIPO)

Yes 14% No 62% No opinion 24%

**3.** (US Mar 2 '42) Do you happen to know whether or not the Irish Free State (Eire) has gone to war against Germany? (AIPO)

It has 2% It has not 48% Don't know 50%

**4.** (US Mar 2 '42) Would you like to see the Irish Free State let the Allies use war bases along the Irish coast? Asked of a national cross-section of those who knew that the Irish Free State (Eire) had not gone to war with Germany. 48% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 90% | 5% | 5% = 100% of those questioned |
| Irish-Americans only | 72 | 21 | 7 |

**5.** (US Mar 2 '42) Should the Irish Free State join the Allies in declaring war on Germany? Asked of a national cross-section of those who knew that the Irish Free State (Eire) had not gone to war with Germany. 48% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 71% | 16% | 13% = 100% of those questioned |
| Irish-Americans only | 56 | 32 | 12 |

**6.** (Canada Mar 11 '42) Would you like to see the Irish Free State (Eire) turn over naval bases to the Allies? (CIPO)

Yes 82% No 6% No opinion 12%

**7.** (Canada Mar 11 '42) In refusing to turn over these [naval] bases to the Allies do you think she (Eire) is acting in the best interests of her people or against their interests? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| In best interests | 13% |
| Against best interests | 70 |
| No opinion | 17 |

**8.** (US Dec 15 '42) Do you happen to know whether or not the Irish Free State (Eire) has gone to war against Germany? (AIPO)

Yes, it has 3% No, it has not 50% Don't know 47%

**9.** (US Dec 15 '42) Do you think we should make every effort to get the Irish Free State to declare war on Germany? Asked of a national cross-section of those who knew the Irish Free State had not gone to war against Germany or were not sure whether they had or not. 97% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Yes 46% No 31% No opinion 23% = 100% of those questioned

**10.** (US Dec 15 '42) Do you think we should make every effort to get the Irish Free State to send all representatives of the German government who are now in Ireland back to Germany? Asked of a national cross-section of those who knew the Irish Free State had not gone to war against Germany or were not sure whether they had or not. 97% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Yes 56% No 18% No opinion 26% = 100% of those questioned

**11.** (US Mar 15 '44) Have you heard or read about the United States request to the Irish Free State to send German and Japanese representatives home? (AIPO)

Yes 71% No 29%

**12.** (US Mar 15 '44) Ireland has said that because she is neutral in this war she will not send the German and Japanese representatives home. Do you think the United States should do anything further about this? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who had heard or read about the United States request to the Irish Free State to send home German and Japanese representatives. 71% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|
| 66% | 30% | 4% = 100% of those questioned |
| 47 | 21 | 3 = 71 |

**13.** (US Mar 15 '44) What [do you think the United States should do to get Ireland to remove German and Japanese representatives]? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who had heard or read about the United States request to the Irish Free State to send Axis representatives home and thought the United States should do something further about it. 47% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Use force; force Ireland to get rid of the German and Japanese representatives; force Ireland to join us as an ally | 35% |
| Put trade limitations on Ireland; economic blockade; isolate them | 38 |
| Try peaceably to get Ireland to send German and Japanese representatives home | 9 |
| Declare war on Ireland | 4 |
| Go as far as the situation requires | 5 |
| Break off relations with Ireland | 3 |
| Others | 6 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**14.** (US Mar 29 '44) Have you heard or read about the United States request to the Irish Free State to send German and Japanese representatives home? (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 40%

**15.** (US Mar 29 '44) Do you think we should stop all trade with Ireland if she doesn't send home the German and Japanese representatives? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who had heard or read about the United States request to the Irish Free State to send home German and Japanese representatives. 60% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Yes 69% No 19% No opinion 12% = 100% of those questioned

## IRISH QUESTION

**1.** (Great Britain Feb '38) Would you like to see northern and southern Ireland under one Constitution? (BIPO)

Yes 28% No 26% No opinion 46%

# ITALY

## Politics and Government

**1.** (Great Britain June 10 '43) If Italy goes out of the war, what should the Allies do—leave a Fascist government in temporary power, as the Germans did with Pétain; set up a government of anti-Fascists; administer the country themselves under military occupation? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Leave a Fascist government in charge | 3% |
| Set up anti-Fascist government | 28 |
| Administer the country themselves | 69 |

**2.** (Great Britain Sept '43) Do you think that the Italian King with Badoglio should be allowed to continue to govern Italy after we have driven out the Germans? (BIPO)

Yes 23% No 55% Don't know 22%

**3.** (Italy May '46) Here are four sentences on the monarchy-republican issue. Which comes closest to expressing your opinion? (DOXA)

| | |
|---|---|
| The problem is unimportant | 9% |
| Of secondary importance compared with other problems | 18 |
| Important only at this moment | 12 |
| Always of fundamental importance | 44 |
| Don't know | 17 |

**4.** (Italy May '46) Which of the following statements comes closest to expressing your opinion regarding the choice between monarchy and republic? (DOXA)

| | |
|---|---|
| The charges against the dynasty are unjust | 5% |
| The King may have erred, but the monarchy must remain | 27 |
| The monarchy is obsolete, but this is not the time for changing the form of the state | 16 |
| Although the republic is a risk, the monarchy must be abolished | 16 |
| Only the republic will permit Italy's resurrection | 24 |
| Don't know | 12 |

**5.** (Italy May '46) When did you begin to be in favor of a republic in Italy? (DOXA)

| | |
|---|---|
| Always in favor | 19% |
| Since 1919, or 1922, or 1925* | 2 |
| Since June 10, 1940** | 3 |
| Since September 8, 1943† | 17 |
| Since 1945 or 1946 | 3 |
| Other | 4 |
| Not favorable; don't know | 52 |

* Three important dates in the rise of Fascism.
** Italy's declaration of war.
† Italy's surrender.

**6.** (Italy May '46) Independent of your wishes, what is your forecast about the outcome of the referendum [on the monarchy]? (DOXA)

| | |
|---|---|
| Certainly in favor of monarchy | 9% |
| Probably in favor of monarchy | 16 |
| Doubtful | 15 |
| Probably in favor of republic* | 26 |
| Certainly in favor of republic | 25 |
| Don't know | 9 |

* The republic won by a rather narrow margin 54.3 to 45.7.

# JAPAN

## Army and Navy (Officers)

**1.** (US Apr '45) Do you think that most of the people living in Japan would like to get rid of their military leaders now or not? (NORC)

Yes 27% No 45% Don't know 28% Qualified *

* Less than 0.5%.

## Politics and Government

**1.** (US Apr '45) After the war, do you think we should let the people in Japan vote in a free election to choose the kind of government they want? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should | 35% |
| Should not | 47 |
| Not for a while; after occupation or period of years | 1 |
| After they prove their worth, ability, qualifications, etc. | 1 |
| After they're educated away from militarism, emperor-worship, Shintoism, toward democracy | 2 |
| If election is supervised by Allies, United States, or United Nations; if free election | 1 |
| With limitations, reservation, restrictions (not specified) | * |
| Only if they choose democratic government; if they don't choose present kind of government | 2 |
| Don't know | 11 |

* Less than 0.5%.

# JAPANESE IN CANADA

**1.** (Canada Dec 22 '43) Do you think that Japanese living in Canada should be sent back to Japan after the war is over, or should they be allowed to remain in this country? (CIPO)

| | *Repatriate* | *Allow to remain* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 54% | 39% | 7% |
| BY SELECTED PROVINCES | | | |
| Ontario | 52% | 42% | 6% |
| Quebec | 47 | 45 | 8 |

**2.** (Canada Feb 16 '44) Do you think that Japanese who are Canadian citizens should be sent back to Japan after the war is over, or should they be allowed to remain in this country? (CIPO)

Send back 33% Allowed to stay 59% Undecided 8%

**3.** (Canada Feb 16 '44) Do you think that Japanese who are not Canadian citizens should be sent back to Japan after the war is over, or should they be allowed to remain in this country? (CIPO)

Send back 80% Allowed to stay 14% Undecided 6%

**4.** (Canada Jan 17 '45) Do you think that Japanese who have been living in Canada—and have never done anything disloyal—should be allowed to remain in Canada after the war, or should they be sent back to Japan? 41% of the sample thought all loyal Japs should be allowed to remain, and 18% thought only those who had been born in Canada should be allowed to remain. These two groups were asked: Do you think Japa-

nese born in Canada should be allowed to vote in dominion elections after the war? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Send all of them back | 33% |
| Don't know whether or not they should be allowed to remain | 8 |
| Those born in Canada should be allowed to vote | 42 |
| Shouldn't be allowed to vote | 12 |
| Don't know whether or not they should be allowed to vote | 5 |

**5.** (Canada Dec 22 '45) What do you think should be done with the Japanese living in Canada who are Canadian citizens? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Allowed to stay; treated as Canadian citizens; etc. | 49% |
| If loyal and good citizens, allowed to stay | 4 |
| Allow to stay under close watch | 9 |
| Send them back | 25 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 6 |
| No opinion | 7 |

**6.** (Canada Dec 22 '45) What do you think should be done with Japanese who are not Canadian citizens but who were living in Canada before the war? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Allow to stay; treated as Canadians; etc. | 7% |
| Given a choice of taking out citizenship or leaving | 13 |
| If loyal and good citizens, allow to stay | 4 |
| Allow to stay under close watch | 3 |
| Send them back | 60 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| No opinion | 8 |

## JAPANESE IN THE U.S.

**1.** (US Mar 28 '42) Do you think we are doing the right thing in moving Japanese aliens (those who are not citizens) away from the Pacific coast? (NORC)

Yes 93% No 1% Don't know 6%

**2.** (US Mar 28 '42) How about the Japanese who were born in this country and are United States citizens, do you think they should be moved? (NORC)

Yes 59% No 25% Don't know 16%

**3.** (US Mar 28 '42) For those Japanese who are moved from the Pacific coast, do you think they should be kept under strict guard as prisoners of war, or do you think they should be allowed to go about fairly freely in their new community? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Strict guard | 65% |
| Go about fairly freely | 28 |
| Don't know | 7 |

**4.** (US Mar 28 '42) Should the government alone decide what sort of work they are going to do, or should the Japanese themselves have something to say about it? 66% of the sample who thought the government alone should decide were asked: What is your main reason? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Japs should have something to say about it | 22% |
| Don't know who should decide | 12 |
| Government should decide because: | |
| Can't trust them | 18 |
| Need absolute control | 11 |
| General statements | 14 |
| No reason given | 23 |

**5.** (US Mar 28 '42) At any work they do in their new places, should the Japanese work for the same wages other people get, for smaller wages, or for just their room and board? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Same wages | 34% |
| Smaller wages | 26 |
| Room and board | 27 |
| Don't know | 13 |

**6.** (US Mar 28 '42) Of the Japanese who were born in the United States, do you think those who went to Japan to be educated are more dangerous or less dangerous than those who were educated in this country? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Those educated in Japan more dangerous | 74% |
| Less dangerous | 7 |
| About the same | 8 |
| Don't know | 11 |

**7.** (US Mar 28 '42) Do you think that, as a whole, the Japanese who were born in the United States are more dangerous or less dangerous than those who came here from Japan? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Those born in the United States more dangerous | 10% |
| Less dangerous | 70 |
| About the same | 10 |
| Don't know | 10 |

**8.** (US Dec 2 '42) Do you think the Japanese who were moved inland from the Pacific coast should be allowed to return to the Pacific coast when the war is over? (AIPO)

| | *Yes, would allow all* | *No, would not allow any* | *Would allow only Japanese who are citizens to return* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 35% | 17% | 26% | 22% |
| Opinion of people in California, Oregon, Washington, Nevada, and Arizona where most Japanese reside | 29 | 31 | 24 | 16 |

**9.** (US Dec 2 '42) What should be done with them [the Japanese who were moved inland from the Pacific coast during the war]? Asked of a national cross-section of those who thought the Japanese who were moved inland from the Pacific coast should not be allowed to return to the Pacific coast when the war was over. 17% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Kill them; wipe them off the map; destroy them | 7% |
| Put them out of this country; deport them | 13 |
| Send them back to Japan | 50 |
| If a citizen, keep here; if not, send back to Japan | 4 |
| Leave them where they are | 10 |
| Keep them inland; keep in some place allotted to them after the war | 4 |
| Other answers | 3 |
| No opinion | 9 |
| (of those questioned) | 100% |

**10.** (US Dec 2 '42) Should American-born Japanese be allowed to return to their homes on the coast after the war? Asked of a national cross-section of those who thought the Japanese who were moved inland from the Pacific coast should not be allowed to return to the Pacific coast when the war was over. 17% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Yes 52% No 38% No opinion 10% = 100% of those questioned

**11.** (US Sept '44) After the war, do you think Japanese living in the United States should have as good a chance as white people to get any kind of job, or do you think white people should have the first chance at any kind of a job? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| As good chance | 16% |
| White people first | 61 |
| If loyal United States citizens | 21 |
| Don't know | 2 |

**12.** (US Apr '45) After the war, do you think Japanese who are American citizens should have as good a chance as other people to get any kind of job, or do you think other people should have the first chance at any kind of job? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| As good chance | 56% |
| Other people first | 40 |
| Don't know | 4 |

**13.** (US Apr '45) After the war, do you think Japanese who are loyal American citizens should have as good a chance as other people to get any kind of job, or do you think other people should have the first chance at any kind of job? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| As good chance | 59% |
| Other people first | 37 |
| Don't know | 4 |

**14.** (US Apr '45) After the war, do you think Japanese now living in the United States who are not American citizens should have as good a chance as other people to get any kind of job, or do you think other people should have the first chance at any kind of job? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| As good chance | 6% |
| Other people first | 56 |
| Sent back to Japan | 34 |
| Depends on their conduct and habits | 1 |
| Don't know | 3 |

**15.** (US Apr '45) Of all the Japanese who are American citizens, about how many do you think would try to do something against the United States if they had a chance? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Practically all of them | 15% |
| Most of them | 9 |
| About half of them | 8 |
| A few of them | 34 |
| Practically none of them | 19 |
| Don't know | 15 |

**16.** (US May '46) Do you think the average Japanese person who lives in this country is loyal or disloyal to the American government? (NORC)

Loyal 50% Disloyal 25% Don't know 25%

**17.** (US May '46) During the war, do you think the Japanese who lived in this country destroyed any American war materials? did any spying for the Japanese government? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Destroyed materials | 31% | 32% | 37% |
| Did spying | 66 | 13 | 21 |

# JAVA

## Politics and Government

**1.** (Australia Dec '45, Jan '46) What government do you favor for Java and the other islands of the Dutch East Indies? (APOP)

| | *Dutch* | *Indonesian* | *Dutch and Indonesian* | *British* | *United Nations* | *Other answers* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41% | 29% | 4% | 3% | 3% | 3% | 17% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | | | |
| Labor | 28% | 43% | 3% | 3% | 3% | 3% | 17% |
| Non-labor | 56 | 14 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 17 |

**2.** (US Mar '46) As you have read in the papers, Java, which is a colony of Holland, is now demanding its independence. Do you think the United Nations organization should decide what is done, or should Java and Holland decide this themselves? (NORC)

UN decide 38% Java and Holland 45% Don't know 17%

# JEWISH QUESTION

**1.** (US Jan '36) Do you believe that in the long run Germany will be better or worse off if it drives out the Jews? (FOR)

| | *Better* | *Worse* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 14.0% | 54.6% | 31.4% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Northeast | 15.1% | 52.7% | 32.2% |
| Midwest | 16.1 | 55.1 | 28.8 |
| Southeast | 7.5 | 60.0 | 32.5 |
| Southwest | 14.7 | 52.4 | 32.9 |
| West | 9.8 | 41.0 | 49.2 |
| Pacific coast | 14.3 | 61.1 | 24.6 |

**2.** (US Feb 8 '37) Would you vote for a Jew for President who was well qualified for the position? (AIPO)

Yes 49% No 51% = 100% No opinion 9%

**3.** (US Aug 2 '37 and Mar 8 '39) Do you think anti-Jewish feeling is increasing or decreasing in this country? (AIPO) (Great Britain July '39, Nov '40, Jan 16 '42, Jan 24 '43) Among the people you know, is anti-Jewish feeling increasing, decreasing, or about the same? (BIPO)

| | *Increasing* | *Decreasing* | *No change* | | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| US Aug '37 | 38% | 30% | 32% | = 100% | 23% | |
| US Mar '39 | 45 | 17 | 16 | | 22 | = 100% |
| Britain July '39 | 21 | 10 | 45 | | 24 | = 100 |
| Britain Nov '40 | 22 | 12 | 34 | | 32 | = 100 |
| Britain Jan '42 | 19 | 11 | 44 | | 26 | = 100 |
| Britain Jan '43 | 25 | 16 | 43 | | 16 | = 100 |

**4.** (US Apr 27 '38) Do you think the persecution of the Jews in Europe has been their own fault? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not at all | 31% |
| Entirely | 10 |
| Partly | 48 |
| No opinion and no answer | 11 |

**5.** (US Apr 27 '38, Mar 8 '39, May 2 '39) Do you think there is likely to be a widespread campaign against the Jews in this country? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | | No opinion | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '38 | 19% | 81% | = 100% | 14% | |
| Mar '39 | 20 | 65 | | 15 | = 100% |
| May '39 | 19 | 70 | | 11 | = 100 |

**6.** (US Apr 27 '38, Mar 8 '39, May 2 '39) Would you support such a campaign [against the Jews in this country]? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | | No opinion | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '38 | 12% | 88% | = 100% | 7% | |
| Mar '39 | 12 | 80 | | 8 | = 100% |
| May '39 | 12 | 78 | | 10 | = 100 |

The Mar '39 sample was asked further: How strongly do you feel about this?

BY INTENSITY OF FEELING

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| Strongly | 6% | 49% |
| Mildly | 6 | 22 |
| No answer | * | 9 |
| | 12% | 80% |

* Less than 0.5%.

78% of the May '39 sample who would not support a widespread campaign against Jews and 10% who had no opinion were asked further: Would you be in sympathy with such a campaign?

Yes 17% No 59% No opinion 12% = 88%

**7.** (US Nov '38) Do you believe that in this country there is very little hostility toward the Jewish people or that there is a growing hostility toward them? (FOR)

| | Little hostility | Growing hostility | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 52.5% | 32.5% | 15.0% |
| BY EXTREMES IN SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Cities over 1,000,000 | 44.1% | 46.7% | 9.2% |
| Towns under 2,500 | 55.9 | 22.0 | 22.1 |
| BY RELIGION | | | |
| Jewish | 50.3% | 41.7% | 8.0% |
| Catholic | 51.3 | 35.3 | 13.4 |
| Protestant | 53.0 | 31.0 | 16.0 |
| None | 50.0 | 30.0 | 20.0 |

**8.** (Great Britain Nov '38) Do you think the persecution of Jews in Germany is an obstacle to good understanding between Britain and Germany? (BIPO)

Yes 73% No 15% No opinion 12%

**9.** (US Nov 22 '38) Do you approve or disapprove of the Nazis' treatment of Jews in Germany? (AIPO)

| | Approve | Disapprove | | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 6% | 94% | = 100% | 7% |
| BY RELIGION | | | | |
| Catholic | 7% | 93% | | |
| Protestant | 5 | 95 | | |

**10.** (US Nov 22 '38) Do you approve of the temporary withdrawal from Germany of the American ambassador as a protest against the Nazis' treatment of Jews and Catholics? (AIPO)

Yes 72% No 28% = 100% No opinion 21%

**11.** (US Apr '39) Do you believe that in this country hostility toward the Jewish people is growing or not? (FOR)

| | Growing hostility | Hostility not growing | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33.2% | 45.7% | 21.1% |
| BY EXTREMES IN SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Cities over 1,000,000 | 44.8% | 35.6% | 19.6% |
| Rural | 24.1 | 50.0 | 25.9 |
| BY RELIGION | | | |
| Jewish | 40.5% | 51.3% | 8.2% |
| Catholic | 39.2 | 42.4 | 18.4 |
| Protestant | 31.5 | 46.5 | 22.0 |

**12.** (US Apr '39) What do you feel is the reason for hostility toward Jewish people here or abroad? (FOR)

| | National total | Jewish people |
|---|---|---|
| *Reasons favorable to Jews* | | |
| People are jealous and envious of Jews' accomplishments | 5.5% | 17.2% |
| Jews too clever and successful, have too much ability to make money | 4.7 | 2.5 |
| People who are against Jews are mean, narrow-minded, ignorant, crazy | 1.5 | 10.8 |
| Other favorable to Jews | 1.1 | 5.1 |
| | 12.8% | 35.6% |
| *Reasons unfavorable to Jews* | | |
| Jews control and monopolize enterprize, hoard money, have too much power | 13.0% | 8.9% |
| Unfair and dishonest in business; they cheat and swindle | 6.4 | 1.3 |
| Too grasping, covetous, avaricious, cheap | 5.6 | — |
| Their own fault; their manners, characteristics, and attitudes cause people to resent them | 4.9 | 3.2 |
| They're clannish, nonmixers, not good citizens, interested only in race | 4.4 | 1.3 |
| Aggressive, energetic; too aggressive | 2.6 | 2.5 |
| Overbearing; forward; noisy | 1.9 | — |
| Lazy; parasitic; won't do manual labor or pioneer | 1.1 | — |
| Other unfavorable | 2.4 | 1.9 |
| | 42.3% | 19.1% |
| *External and neutral reasons* | | |
| Religious and racial prejudice | 3.7% | 3.2% |
| Germans; Hitler; dictatorship | 2.6 | 5.1 |
| Biblical prophecy being fulfilled; will of God—persecuted race | 2.1 | .6 |
| Financial status of Germany; needs Jewish money to carry on | 2.0 | 8.3 |
| Propaganda; agitation | 2.0 | 11.5 |
| Political move; Jews made scapegoat to divert attention from defects of Nazism | 1.1 | 7.6 |

| | *National total* | *Jewish people* |
|---|---|---|
| Subjugation of minorities; fear of overthrow; desire for sole control | .6% | 1.9% |
| Other; general reasons | 2.0 | 6.4 |
| | 16.1 | 44.6 |
| Don't know | 43.3 | 22.9 |
| | 114.5%* | 122.2%* |

BY OPINIONS ON IMMIGRATION

| | *Let immigrants in* | *Keep immigrants out* |
|---|---|---|
| Reasons unfavorable to the Jews | 26.0% | 46.1% |
| Reasons favorable | 21.8 | 12.4 |
| Reasons neutral or external | 29.0 | 15.2 |
| Don't know | 38.1 | 41.0 |
| | 114.9%* | 114.7%* |

BY OPINIONS ON ANTI-SEMITISM

| | *Anti-Semitism not growing* | *Anti-Semitism growing* |
|---|---|---|
| Reasons unfavorable to the Jews | 33.9% | 67.7% |
| Reasons favorable | 17.8 | 11.0 |
| Reasons neutral or external | 19.8 | 16.3 |
| Don't know | 42.5 | 25.4 |
| | 114.0%* | 120.4%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondenrs gave more than one answer.

**13.** (US July '39) Which of the following statements most nearly represents your general opinion on the Jewish question? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| In the United States the Jews have the same standing as any other peoples and they should be treated in all ways exactly as any other Americans | 38.9% |
| Jews are in some ways distinct from other Americans, but they make respected and useful citizens so long as they don't try to mingle socially where they are not wanted | 10.8 |
| Jews have some different business methods and, therefore, some measures should be taken to prevent Jews from getting too much power in the business world | 31.8 |
| We should make it a policy to deport Jews from this country to some new homeland as fast as it can be done without inhumanity | 10.1 |
| Don't know | 6.5 |
| Refused to answer | 3.0 |
| | 101.1%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**14.** (US July 15 '42) Why do you think Hitler took away the power of the Jews in Germany? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Scapegoat | 7% |
| Germany overcrowded | * |
| Jews ruin country | 1 |
| Jews too powerful | 20 |
| Hitler hates Jews | 18 |
| Jewish traits | 2 |
| Jews running economy | 26 |
| Other | 4 |
| Don't know | 22 |
| No answer | 4 |
| | 104%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**15.** (US July 15 '42) Do you think it was a good idea for him [Hitler] to do this [take away the power of the Jews in Germany]? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 14% |
| No | 58 |
| No opinion | 16 |
| Qualified answers | 8 |
| No answer | 4 |

**16.** (US July 15 '42) Do you think Hitler did the right thing when he took away the power of the Jews in Germany? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 17% |
| No | 62 |
| Don't know | 16 |
| Qualified answers | 4 |
| No answer | 1 |

**17.** (US July 15 '42) Do you think the Jews have too much power and influence in this country? (OPOR)

Yes 44% No 41% No opinion and no answer 15%

**18.** (US Jan '43, Dec '44, Nov '45) Do you think that Jewish people in the United States have too much influence in the business world, not enough influence, or about the amount of influence they should have? (NORC)

| | *Too much* | *Not enough* | *About right* | *Don't know* | *Qualified answers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '43 | 49.7% | 2.0% | 33.4% | 13.3% | 1.6% |
| Dec '44 | 57 | 2 | 29 | 11 | 1 |
| Nov '45 | 58 | 1 | 30 | 11 | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**19.** (US Jan 7 '43) It is said that two million Jews have been killed in Europe since the war began. Do you think this is true or just a rumor? (AIPO)

True 47% Rumor 29% No opinion 24%

**20.** (Sweden Dec '43) Do you approve or disapprove of the government's steps to offer Danish Jews freedom in Sweden? (SGI)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 77% | 7% | 16% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Towns | 75% | 10% | 15% |
| Country | 78 | 6 | 16 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 80% | 7% | 13% |
| Women | 74 | 7 | 19 |

**21.** (US Dec 15 '43) Do you think Roosevelt has appointed about the right number of Jews to jobs in Washington, too many, or not enough? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| About right | 18% |
| Too many | 33 |
| Not enough | 2 |
| No opinion | 46 |
| No answer | 1 |

**22.** (US Dec 15 '43) After the war, do you think the Germans should make up some of the losses suffered by the Jews, or should they not make up any losses? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Make up some | 66% |
| Not make up any | 13 |
| Undecided | 17 |
| Qualified (if they can afford it) | 3 |
| No answer | 1 |

**23.** (US Dec '44) Do you think of the Jews in this country as being a religious group, like Methodists, Catholics, and Quakers—or as being a nationality group, like Poles, Swedes, and Italians? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Religious | 32% |
| Nationality | 49 |
| Both | 6 |
| Neither | 4 |
| Don't know | 9 |

**24.** (Germany Oct 26 '45) Which of these statements do you consider as generally true—(1) the treatment the Jews received under Hitler was just what they deserved. (2) Hitler went too far in his treatment of the Jews, but something had to be done to keep them within bounds. (3) The anti-Jewish measures were absolutely unjustified. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Statement 1 | — |
| Statement 2 | 19% |
| Statement 3 | 77 |
| No opinion | 3 |
| Other | 1 |

**25.** (US Feb '46) Anti-Semitism is strongest among the age group thirty-five to forty-nine, weakest among the age group twenty-one to thirty-four. (FOR)

ANALYSIS OF ANTI-SEMITISM BY AGE

| | *All United States adults* | *Anti-Semites* |
|---|---|---|
| 21–34 years | 31.4% | 25.8% |
| 35–49 years | 33.2 | 39.8 |
| 50 years and over | 35.4 | 34.4 |

Anti-Semitism is strongest in large cities, weakest in small towns.

ANALYSIS OF ANTI-SEMITISM BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY

| | *All United States adults* | *Anti-Semites* |
|---|---|---|
| 25,000 and over | 42.2% | 47.5% |
| Under 25,000 | 37.5 | 31.7 |
| Rural farm | 20.3 | 20.8 |

Anti-Semitism is strongest in the Northeast and Middle West, weakest in the South and Far West.

ANALYSIS OF ANTI-SEMITISM BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | *All United States adults* | *Anti-Semites* |
|---|---|---|
| Northeast | 28.2% | 36.2% |
| Middle West | 30.9 | 35 8 |
| South | 29.7 | 20 8 |
| Far West | 11.2 | 7.2 |

Anti-Semitism increases with wealth.

ANALYSIS OF ANTI-SEMITISM BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *All United States adults* | *Anti-Semites** |
|---|---|---|
| Rich | 6.8% | 10.4% |
| Upper middle | 22.9 | 26.2 |
| Lower middle | 41.7 | 45.3 |
| Poor | 20.0 | 15.8 |
| Negroes | 8.6 | 2.3 |

* Identified as anti-Semites are 8.8% of the sample who took one or both of two opportunities to express hostility to the Jews in answer to other questions on the ballot.

**26.** (Germany Mar 29 '46) It was also said that international Jewry alone would profit from the war. Now that the war is over, do you think that is true? (OMGUS)

Yes 14% No 74% No opinion 12%

**27.** (Germany Mar 29 '46) A cross-section comparable to the one used for the preceding question was asked: Hitler also said that the international Jewry alone would profit from the war. Now that the war is over, do you think that is the truth? (OMGUS)

Yes 11% No 77% No opinion 12%

**28.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statements: (OMGUS)

| | AMERICAN ZONE AND BERLIN | | | BERLIN ONLY | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
| Jews shouldn't have the same rights as those belonging to the Aryan race | 33% | 62% | 5% | 25% | 73% | 2% |
| Jews should have the same legal rights as members of the Aryan race | 85 | 10 | 5 | 90 | 9 | 1 |

**29.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Should Jews be allowed to go to the same restaurants as non-Jews? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 64% |
| No | 12 |
| No opinion | 2 |
| Qualified answers | 22 |

**30.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Would you have anything against Jews living on the same street with you? . . . in the same house? (OMGUS)

*Living on same street*

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 5% |
| No | 73 |
| No opinion | 1 |
| No answer | * |
| Qualified answers | 21 |

*Living in same house*

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 12% |
| No | 66 |
| No opinion | 2 |
| No answer | * |
| Qualified answers | 20 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**31.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Would you work with a Jew? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 73% |
| No | 11 |
| No opinion | 2 |
| No answer | * |
| Qualified answers | 14 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**32.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Would you work under a Jew? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 64% |
| No | 18 |
| No opinion | 3 |
| No answer | * |
| Qualified answers | 15 |

* Less than 0.5%.

# JEWS

## Colonization

**1.** (US Nov 22 '38) Should we allow a larger number of Jewish exiles from Germany to come to the United States to live? (AIPO)

Yes 23% No 77% = 100% No opinion 8%

**2.** (US Nov 22 '38) Should our government contribute money to help Jewish and Catholic exiles from Germany settle in lands like Africa and South America? (AIPO)

Yes 43% No 57%

**3.** (Great Britain Feb '39) Should the British government continue its policy of allowing Jews to settle in Palestine? (BIPO)

Yes 60% No 14% No opinion 26%

**4.** (Great Britain May '39) The British government proposes to make Palestine an independent state under joint Arab-Jewish control in ten years' time. Do you approve or disapprove? (BIPO)

Approve 45% Disapprove 23% No opinion 32%

**5.** (Australia Aug–Sept '44) Would you agree to a Jewish settlement in North Australia? (APOP)

Yes 37% No 47% No opinion 16%

**6.** (US Dec '44 and May '46) As far as you know, does Palestine rule herself or is she ruled by some other country? Those who said Palestine was ruled by another country were asked: Can you tell me the name of the country that rules Palestine at the present time? (NORC)

| | *Dec '44* | *May '46* |
|---|---|---|
| Don't know | 45% | 34% |
| Independent | 12 | 11 |
| Another country, but could not name country | 9 | 7 |
| Some country other than Great Britain | 2 | 3 |
| Great Britain | 32 | 45 |

**7.** (US Dec '44) Do you think the Jews should be given a special chance to settle in Palestine after the war, or do you think all people should have the same chance to settle there? (NORC)

Jews 45% All people same 44% Don't know 11%

**8.** (US Dec '44) Do you think the Jews should have the same chance as other people to settle in all other countries after the war? 76% of the sample who thought Jews should have the same chance as other people were asked: Do you think the Jews of other countries should have the same chance as non-Jews of other countries to settle in America after the war? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Jews shouldn't have the same chance as other people to settle in all countries | 18% |
| Don't know whether or not they should have the same chance to settle in all countries | 6 |
| Should have the same chance as non-Jews to settle in America | 61 |
| Should not have the same chance as non-Jews to settle in America | 12 |
| Don't know whether or not they should have the same chance to settle in America | 3 |

**9.** (US Dec '44) There are over a million Arabs and over half a million Jews in Palestine. Do you think the British, who control Palestine, should do what some Jews ask and set up a Jewish state there, or should they do what some Arabs ask and not set up a Jewish state? 36% of the sample thought the British should set up a Jewish state and 32% said they didn't know. These two groups were asked: Do you think the United States Government should officially demand that Palestine be made into a Jewish state, or don't you think so? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| British should not set up Jewish state | 22% |
| British should follow neither Jewish nor Arab wishes | 10 |
| United States should officially demand that Palestine be made into a Jewish state | 20 |
| United States should not demand Jewish state | 30 |
| Don't know whether or not United States should demand Jewish state | 18 |

**10.** (US Dec '44) Do you think the American government should officially urge the British government to set up a Jewish state in Palestine, or don't you think our government should? Asked of 68% of the sample who thought that the British should set up a Jewish state in Palestine or didn't know what she should do. (NORC)

Urge 27% Not urge 23% Don't know 18% = 68%

**11.** (US Dec '44) If the Jews have a state of their own in Palestine, do you think all Jews should be urged to live there or not? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Urged to live in Palestine | 39% |
| Not be urged | 54 |
| Don't know | 7 |

**12.** (US Nov 22 '45) Here are two statements. Please tell me with which one you most nearly agree: a Jewish state in Palestine is a good thing for the Jews, and every possible effort should be made to establish Palestine as a Jewish state, or commonwealth, for those who want to settle there; Jews are a religious group only and not a nation, and it would be bad for the Jews to try to set up a Jewish state in Palestine or anywhere else? Asked of a national cross-section of Jewish people. (NYHT)

| | *Pro-Jewish state* | *Anti-Jewish state* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 80.1% | 10.5% | 9.4% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–34 years | 77.9% | 13.6% | 8.5% |
| 35–49 years | 79.1 | 12.4 | 8.5 |
| 50 years and over | 82.9 | 6.0 | 11.1 |

| | *Pro-Jewish state* | *Anti-Jewish state* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 73.9% | 17.5% | 8.6% |
| Upper middle | 75.4 | 14.6 | 10.0 |
| Lower middle | 84.1 | 8.0 | 7.9 |
| Poor | 79.3 | 8.8 | 11.9 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Northeast | 81.0% | 9.9% | 9.1% |
| Middle West | 80.1 | 11.4 | 8.5 |
| South | 67.0 | 18.5 | 14.5 |
| Far West | 83.2 | 5.8 | 11.0 |
| BY LANGUAGE ABILITY | | | |
| Speaks English well | 78.9% | 12.1% | 9.0% |
| Speaks English brokenly | 84.3 | 4.6 | 11.1 |
| Does not read English | 80.0 | 7.6 | 12.4 |

**13.** (US Dec 5 '45) Have you followed the discussion about permitting Jews to settle in Palestine? (AIPO)

Yes 55% No 45%

**14.** (US Dec 5 '45) What is your opinion of this issue [allowing Jews to settle in Palestine]? Asked of a national cross-section of those who had followed the discussion about permitting Jews to settle in Palestine. 55% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Up to the Arabs | 1% |
| Leave it to England | 1 |
| Against it | 7 |
| Favor for those Jews who desire it | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Don't know | 8 |
| Favor the idea | 76 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**15.** (Great Britain Dec 14 '45) Do you know about the present difficulties over Palestine? 74% of the sample who said they knew about the difficulties were asked: Do you approve or disapprove of the way our Government is handling the Palestine problem? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* | *Not familiar with problem* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 26% | 21% | 27% | 26% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 32% | 26% | 23% | 19% |
| Women | 19 | 17 | 31 | 33 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 26% | 23% | 25% | 26% |
| 30–49 years | 27 | 20 | 28 | 25 |
| 50 years and over | 23 | 23 | 27 | 27 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 36% | 33% | 23% | 8% |
| Middle | 31 | 30 | 27 | 12 |
| Lower | 23 | 17 | 28 | 32 |

**16.** (US Jan 23 '46) Have you followed the news about the disorders in Palestine? 58% of the sample who said they had followed the news were asked: Who do you think is more to blame for these disorders—the Jews, Arabs, or the British? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Unfamiliar with the subject | 42% |
| Think Jews to blame | 12 |
| Arabs | 10 |
| British | 33 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 1 |
| No opinion as to who is to blame | 11 |
| | 109%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents blamed more than one country.

**17.** (US Jan 23 '46) Would you approve or disapprove of sending United States soldiers to maintain peace there [in Palestine]? Asked of 58% of the sample who said they had followed the news about the disorders in Palestine. (AIPO)

Approve 7% Disapprove 48% No opinion 3% = 58%

**18.** (Canada Feb 9 '46) As you know, there has been trouble in Palestine between the Arabs and the Jewish people who wish to settle there. Do you think that Jewish people should be allowed to settle freely in Palestine, should only a limited number be allowed in, or do you think that no more Jewish people should be allowed to settle in Palestine? (CIPO)

| | *Settle freely* | *Limited number* | *No more allowed* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 20% | 7% | 24% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper | 45% | 31% | 5% | 19% |
| Middle | 48 | 23 | 7 | 22 |
| Lower | 53 | 13 | 7 | 27 |

**19.** (US May '46) Did you hear or read anything about the recent report by the Anglo-American committee on Palestine? 28% of the sample who said they were familiar with the report were asked: In general, do you approve or disapprove of the proposals made in this report? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Unfamiliar with the report | 72% |
| Approve the proposals | 12 |
| Disapprove the proposals | 6 |
| Don't know whether or not approve | 10 |

**20.** (US May '46) As you remember, the report recommends that one hundred thousand more Jewish refugees be admitted to Palestine in spite of protests by the Arabs there. President Truman has said he thinks this ought to be done. Now England says that the United States ought to help her keep order in Palestine if trouble breaks out between the Jews and the Arabs. Do you think we should help keep order there, or should we keep out of it? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Keep out of it | 61% |
| Help keep order | 28 |
| Undecided | 11 |

**21.** (US May 15 '46) Have you followed the discussion about the plan to allow one hundred thousand Jews to settle in Palestine? (AIPO)

Yes 50% No 50%

**22.** (US May 15 '46) Do you think this [allowing one hundred thousand Jews to settle in Palestine] is a good idea or a poor idea? Asked of a national cross-section of people who had heard of the problem of the Jews' entry into Palestine 50% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Good 78% Poor 14%

No opinion 8% = 100% of those questioned

**23.** (US May 15 '46) It has been suggested that the United Nations handle the problem of letting Jews settle in Palestine. Do you think this is a good idea or a poor idea? Asked of a

national cross-section of people who had heard of the problem of the Jews' entry into Palestine. 50% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Good 72% Poor 19%
No opinion 9% = 100% of those questioned

**24.** (US June 26 '46) Would you approve or disapprove a plan to require each nation to take in a given number of Jewish and other European refugees, based upon the size and population of each nation? (AIPO)

Approve 40% Disapprove 49% No opinion 11%

**25.** (US Aug 14 '46) Have you followed the problem of permitting Jews to enter Palestine? 54% of the sample who said they had followed the problem were asked: What do you think should be done about this problem? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Haven't followed the problem | 46% |
| Jews should be allowed to enter | 27 |
| There should be quotas; a few allowed at a time | 3 |
| They should be given a homeland (not necessarily Palestine) | 4 |
| Let them come here | 1 |
| All nations should be open to them | 2 |
| They should not be allowed to enter | 1 |
| Not our problem; let others settle it | 3 |
| Anti-Semitic answers | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| Didn't say what should be done | 6 |

**26.** (US Aug 14 '46) Have you heard or read about the problem of permitting Jews to enter Palestine? 80% of the sample who said they had heard or read of the problem were asked: What do you think should be done about this problem? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hadn't heard of the problem | 20% |
| Jews should be allowed to enter | 35 |
| There should be quotas; a few allowed at a time | 2 |
| They should be given a homeland (not necessarily Palestine) | 7 |
| Let them come here | 1 |
| All nations should be open to them | 2 |
| They should not be allowed to enter | 2 |
| Not our problem; let others settle it | 4 |
| Anti-Semitic answers | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| Didn't say what should be done | 19 |

**27.** (US Aug 28 '46) Would you approve or disapprove a plan to require each nation to take in a given number of Jewish and other European refugees, based upon the size and population of each nation? (AIPO)

Approve 37% Disapprove 48% No opinion 15%

**28.** (US Aug 28 '46) President Truman plans to ask Congress to allow more Jewish and other European refugees to come to the United States to live than are allowed under the law now. Would you approve or disapprove of this idea? (AIPO)

Approve 16% Disapprove 72% No opinion 12%

**29.** (US Aug 28 '46) From what you have heard or read, why don't the British let more Jews into Palestine? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| British want to retain control | 5% |
| Afraid to arouse Arabs | 15 |
| To appease Arabs and protect interests in India, Egypt, and Arabia | 4 |
| No room in Palestine | 5 |
| Prejudiced against Jews; afraid they will become leading power | 10 |
| Make too much trouble in Palestine | 4 |
| Politics | 1 |
| Afraid Arabs will get help from Russia | 1% |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| No answer | 54 |

**30.** (US Aug 28 '46) In Palestine, which group do you think the British have treated better, Jews or Arabs? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Jews | 7% |
| Arabs | 38 |
| No difference | 18 |
| No opinion | 37 |

**31.** (US Sept 11 '46) Have you followed the discussion regarding the Jewish plans to make Palestine a Jewish nation? 51% of the sample who said they had followed the discussion were asked: Do you think the Arabs will go to war to prevent the Jews from making Palestine a Jewish nation? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hadn't followed the discussion | 49% |
| Arabs will go to war | 32 |
| Arabs will not go to war | 13 |
| No opinion as to whether or not the Arabs will go to war | 6 |

**32.** (Great Britain Oct '46) There are about six hundred thousand Jewish people who have lost their homes and are looking for a new land in which to settle. Do you think this problem should be left for the Jewish refugees themselves to solve, or do you think it should be handled by the countries of the United Nations? (BIPO)

| | *Solve themselves* | *United Nations* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 22% | 57% | 21% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 23% | 63% | 14% |
| Women | 22 | 49 | 29 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 20% | 57% | 23% |
| 30–49 years | 22 | 58 | 20 |
| 50 years and over | 23 | 55 | 22 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 20% | 70% | 10% |
| Middle | 20 | 68 | 12 |
| Lower | 24 | 51 | 25 |
| Very poor | 25 | 42 | 33 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative | 22% | 61% | 17% |
| Labor | 22 | 59 | 19 |
| Liberal | 21 | 56 | 23 |
| Other | 31 | 51 | 18 |
| Non-voters | 25 | 45 | 30 |

**33.** (Great Britain Oct '46) Have you, yourself, any ideas as to how this problem [of six hundred thousand Jewish refugees without homes] should be solved? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| A country of their own, preferably Palestine | 10% |
| Let them return to their original countries | 2 |
| Let them settle in the United States | 1 |
| Let them settle in the Empire | 1 |
| Let them colonize empty parts of the world | 3 |
| United Nations should solve it; international cooperation | 10 |
| Let Jews solve it among themselves; let them stew in their own juice | 4 |
| Let Jews and Arabs arrange it among themselves | 2 |
| The Jews are difficult/hard to please | 1 |
| The problem cannot be solved | 2 |
| Anti-Jewish remarks in general | 5 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Let them go where they wish | 3% |
| Miscellaneous | 9 |
| No comment | 47 |

**34.** (Canada Oct 2 '46) As you know Britain is interning Jewish refugees who have attempted to enter Palestine without permission. Do you think Canada should allow some of these refugees to settle here or not? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No, should not allow | 61% |
| Yes, should allow | 23 |
| Qualified answers | 6 |
| Undecided | 10 |

**35.** (Australia Nov '46) Do you favor or oppose limiting the number of Jews who enter Palestine? (APOP)

Limit their entry 44% Don't limit 44% No answer 12%

**36.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Should the Jews be helped to emigrate to Palestine or to rebuild their life in Germany? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Palestine | 43% |
| Germany | 15 |
| Qualified answers | 38 |
| No opinion | 4 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

## JUDGES

**1.** (US Mar 1 '37) The nine justices of the Supreme Court are lawyers. Would you approve the appointment of a person not a lawyer to the court? (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 70% = 100% No opinion 8%

**2.** (US Apr 5 '37) Would you favor an amendment to the Constitution requiring Supreme Court judges to retire at some age between seventy and seventy-five? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 64% | 36% = 100% | 10% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republican | 35% | 65% | |
| Democratic | 80 | 20 | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 52% | 48% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 65 | 35 | |
| East central | 59 | 41 | |
| West central | 66 | 34 | |
| South | 71 | 29 | |
| Mountain | 58 | 42 | |
| Pacific coast | 71 | 29 | |

**3.** (US Apr 26 '37) Would you favor a compromise on the President's [Supreme] Court plan in which he would appoint two new judges instead of six? (June 7 '37) Would you favor a compromise on the [Supreme Court] plan which would permit the President to appoint two new judges instead of six? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '37 | 38% | 62% = 100% | 21% |
| June '37 | 42 | 58 = 100 | 20 |
| APR '47 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 47% | 53% | |
| Republican | 21 | 79 | |

**4.** (US July '37) How do you feel about the President's proposal that he be allowed to appoint six new younger justices to the Supreme Court? (FOR)

| | *All answers* | | *With opinions* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Believe the President is right and that Congress should pass the law he requests | 26.8% | | |
| Don't know much about it, but if Roosevelt wants it, let him have it | 4.3 | Favor plan | 36.9% |
| Don't know what should be done, but something definitely should be done to define the status of the Supreme Court | 2.5 | Indeterminate | 3.0 |
| All right under Roosevelt, but afraid of what might happen under someone else | 2.6 | Anti-plan Rooseveltrians | 3.1 |
| Leave the number of justices at nine, but force retirement at the age of seventy | 8.9 | Favoring alternative answers | 18.9 |
| Believe it would be better to submit to vote of the people a constitutional amendment enlarging the powers of Congress | 3.7 | | |
| Believe that, instead of enlarging the Court, it would be better to pass a law requiring two-thirds or unanimous opinions of the Court to overrule acts of Congress | 3.3 | | |
| Let the Supreme Court alone | 32.1 | Status quo | 38.1 |
| Don't know | 15.8 | | |

BY OPINIONS ON THE THIRD TERM

| | *Favoring third term* | *Opposing third term* |
|---|---|---|
| Approving President's Supreme Court plan | 50.0% | 17.2% |
| Indeterminate | 2.9 | 2.1 |
| For alternative or status quo | 29.3 | 71.8 |
| Don't know | 17.8 | 8.9 |

**5.** (US Sept 16 '37 and Oct 4 '37) When President Roosevelt appointed Senator Black to the Supreme Court, did you approve of the appointment? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '37 | 56% | 44% = 100% | 36% |
| Oct '37 | 56 | 44 = 100 | 41 |
| SEPT '37 RESULTS BY SELECTED GROUPS | | | |
| Catholics | 54% | 46% | |
| Jews | 62 | 38 | |
| Negroes | 65 | 35 | |

**6.** (US Sept 16 '37) If a man has been a member of the Ku Klux Klan, should this bar him from serving as a Supreme Court judge? (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 43% = 100% No opinion 11%

**7.** (US Sept 16 '37) Should Justice Black resign from the Supreme Court if it is proved that he has been a member of the Ku Klux Klan? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 59% | 41% | = 100% | 13% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England | 66% | 34% | | |
| Middle Atlantic | 66 | 34 | | |
| East central | 61 | 39 | | |
| West central | 62 | 38 | | |
| South | 35 | 65 | | |
| Rocky Mountain | 57 | 43 | | |
| Pacific coast | 67 | 33 | | |
| BY SELECTED GROUPS | | | | |
| Catholics | 80% | 20% | | |
| Jews | 80 | 20 | | |
| Negroes | 82 | 18 | | |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democratic | 55% | 45% | | |
| Republican | 65 | 35 | | |

**8.** (US Oct 4 '37) Did you listen to Justice Black's radio talk last Friday night? [He discussed Klan connections, Oct 1] (AIPO)

Yes 38% No 58% No answer 4%

**9.** (US Oct 4 '37) Do you think Justice Black should resign from the Supreme Court? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 44% | 56% | = 100% | 29% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England | 58% | 42% | | |
| Middle Atlantic | 56 | 44 | | |
| East central | 42 | 58 | | |
| West central | 39 | 61 | | |
| South | 27 | 73 | | |
| Rocky Mountain | 32 | 68 | | |
| Pacific coast | 46 | 54 | | |
| BY SELECTED GROUPS | | | | |
| Catholics | 63% | 37% | | |
| Jews | 75 | 25 | | |
| Negroes | 68 | 32 | | |
| Democrats who listened* | 34 | 66 | | |
| All Democrats | 36 | 64 | | |
| Republicans who listened* | 64 | 36 | | |
| All Republicans | 61 | 39 | | |

* To Hugo Black's radio discussion on his Ku Klux Klan connections, October 1.

**10.** (US Oct 4 '37) If Justice Black does not resign, do you think Congress should impeach (remove) him? Asked of a national cross-section of those with opinions who thought Justice Black should resign from the Supreme Court. 44% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 31% | 69% | = 100% of those questioned |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 25% | 75% | |
| Republican | 45 | 55 | |

**11.** (US Jan '38) Do you think President Roosevelt's appointment of Hugo Black to the Supreme Court was a good choice or a bad choice? (FOR)

| | *Good choice* | *Fair choice* | *Bad choice* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 22.0% | 12.8% | 36.2% | 29.0% |
| BY SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL SECTIONS | | | | |
| Northeast | 15.6% | 8.4% | 48.4% | 27.6% |
| Southeast | 32.5 | 13.5 | 23.7 | 30.3 |
| BY SELECTED ECONOMIC GROUPS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 15.5% | 11.7% | 58.6% | 14.2% |
| Poor | 25.5 | 11.8 | 25.3 | 37.4 |

**12.** (US Jan '38) Why [do you think Hugo Black's appointment to the Supreme Court was a bad choice]? Asked of 36.2% of the sample who thought Hugo Black was a bad choice. (FOR)

| | *Ku Klux Klan charges* | *His past experience has not fitted him for it* | *A political appointment* | *All other* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48.9% | 24.9% | 17.9% | 5.4% | 2.9% | = 100% of those questioned |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 34.0% | 31.7% | 21.8% | 9.1% | 3.4% | |
| Poor | 60.6 | 15.6 | 16.0 | 3.9 | 3.9 | |

**13.** (US Jan 18 '38) Would you like to see the next appointment to the United States Supreme Court go to a man or a woman? (AIPO)

Man 74% Woman 16% No opinion 10%

**14.** (US Apr 13 '38) Do you think Supreme Court judges should be required to retire after reaching a certain age? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 70% | 30% | = 100% | 6% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England | 68% | 32% | | |
| Middle Atlantic | 69 | 31 | | |
| East central | 66 | 34 | | |
| West central | 72 | 28 | | |
| South | 74 | 26 | | |
| Rocky Mountain | 74 | 26 | | |
| Pacific coast | 71 | 29 | | |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democratic | 84% | 16% | | |
| Republican | 46 | 54 | | |

**15.** (US Apr 13 '38) What age [do you think Supreme Court judges should retire at]? Asked of a national cross-section of people who thought Supreme Court judges should be required to retire after reaching a certain age. 70% of the sample with opinions is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 60 years | 3% |
| 60 years | 13 |
| 65 years | 28 |
| 70 years | 36 |
| 75 years | 17 |
| 80 years and over | 3 |
| | 100% of those questioned |
| No answer | 4% |

Median 70 years

**16.** (US Apr 13 '38) Would you favor an amendment to the Constitution to fix the number of Supreme Court judges at nine? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 61% | 39% = 100% | 18% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 61% | 39% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 60 | 40 | |
| East central | 57 | 43 | |
| West central | 57 | 43 | |
| South | 70 | 30 | |
| Rocky Mountain | 60 | 40 | |
| Pacific coast | 62 | 38 | |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 60% | 40% | |
| Republican | 64 | 36 | |

**17.** (US Aug 25 '38) Whom would you like to see President Roosevelt appoint to the United States Supreme Court to succeed Justice Cardozo? Asked of a national cross-section of American lawyers. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Felix Frankfurter | 27% |
| Justice Learned Hand | 5 |
| John W. Davis | 5 |
| Senator Walter George | 4 |
| Justice Samuel Bratton | 3 |
| Justice J. C. Hutcheson | 3 |
| All others | 53 |

**18.** (US Jan 7 '39) Would you favor a constitutional amendment requiring all United States Supreme Court and federal judges to retire at seventy? (AIPO)

Yes 58% No 34% No opinion 8%

**19.** (US Jan 10 '39) Do you approve or disapprove of the appointment of Felix Frankfurter to the United States Supreme Court? (AIPO)

Approve 39% Disapprove 17% No opinion 44%

**20.** (US Jan 10 '39) Do you think Felix Frankfurter will make a good United States Supreme Court judge? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 82% | 18% = 100% | 18% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republican | 72% | 28% | |
| Democratic | 90 | 10 | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 90% | 10% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 87 | 13 | |
| East central | 80 | 20 | |
| West central | 77 | 23 | |
| South | 77 | 23 | |
| West | 78 | 22 | |

**21.** (US June 7 '39) In general, do you think judges in the federal courts of this country are honest? (AIPO)

Yes 86% No 14% = 100%
Refuse to say and don't know 19%

**22.** (US June 7 '39) In general, do you think judges in the state courts are honest? (AIPO)

Yes 76% No 24% = 100% Don't know 16%

**23.** (US June 7 '39) In general, do you think judges in the municipal or local courts are honest? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know or no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 72% | 28% = 100% | 18% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 80% | 20% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 67 | 33 | |
| East central | 67 | 33 | |
| West central | 75 | 25 | |
| South | 77 | 23 | |
| Far West | 76 | 24 | |

**24.** (US Aug 8 '45) Can you tell me how many justices there are on the United States Supreme Court (including the chief justice)? 40% of the sample who gave the correct answer (nine or eight) were asked: Can you tell me how many of them are Republicans and how many are Democrats? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Gave incorrect number of justices | 19% |
| Don't know how many justices | 41 |
| Correct on number of Democrats and Republicans (7 Democrats and 1 Republican or 7 Democrats and 2 Republicans) | 7 |
| Incorrect number of Republicans and Democrats or don't know | 33 |

**25.** (US Aug 8 '45) Can you tell me how many justices there are normally on the United States Supreme Court, including the chief justice? (AIPO)

Correct (9) 36% Incorrect 30% Don't know 34%

**26.** (US Aug 8 '45) In your opinion, should a Republican or a Democrat be appointed to fill the vacancy caused by Republican Justice Roberts' resignation? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Republican | 37% |
| Democrat | 14 |
| Chosen by fitness and ability, not politics | 12 |
| Non-partisan | 1 |
| Socialist | * |
| No opinion | 36 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**27.** (US Aug 8 '45) The President fills all vacancies on the Supreme Court. Do you think he should appoint about the same number of Democrats and Republicans or should he appoint only members of his own party? (AIPO)

| | *Same number of Democrats and Republicans* | *Only members of own party* | *Non-partisan* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 9% | 19% | 16% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Republican | 64% | 5% | 20% | 11% |
| Democratic | 52 | 12 | 19 | 17 |

## JUSTICE

**1.** (US July '36) Which of these two statements most nearly reflects your opinion: in American criminal courts too much time is wasted between a man's arrest and his conviction or acquittal; plenty of time should be given for court procedure

because that gives an accused man every chance to prove his innocence? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Time wasted | 56.3% |
| Plenty of time should be given | 43.7 |

**2.** (US Dec 28 '36) Should trial juries, in cases not involving murdet, be permitted to return a verdict by a three-fourths majority instead of by unanimous vote as at present? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 57% | 43% = 100% | 19% |
| Lawyers only | 42 | 58 | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 54% | 46% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 53 | 47 | |
| East central | 51 | 49 | |
| West central | 68 | 32 | |
| South | 58 | 42 | |
| Mountain | 61 | 39 | |
| Pacific coast | 56 | 44 | |

**3.** (US Mar 26 '42) Do you think a poor man gets just as fair treatment in the law courts as a rich man? (OPOR)

Yes 36% No 59% No opinion 5%

**4.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statement: Right should be based on justice rather than on might. (OMGUS)

AMERICAN ZONE AND BERLIN

Yes 96% No 3% No opinion 1%

BERLIN ONLY

Yes 98% No 2%

## JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

**1.** (US Mar 27 '46) Police records show that a large number of crimes are being committed by teen-age boys and girls. What do you think is the main reason for this juvenile delinquency? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Lack of parental control and supervision; neglect | 47% |
| War jobs of mothers; both parents working | 11 |
| Improper training at home; poor conditions in home | 14 |
| Lack of recreational facilities for teen-agers; nothing else to do; leisure time | 8 |
| Lack of education, religious training | 4 |
| War hysteria; faster living during wartime | 10 |
| Fathers in service; homes broken by war | 2 |
| Bad movies; too many movies; radio programs; newspapers; bad books | 3 |
| Too much money; war jobs | 4 |
| Easy access to liquor; poolrooms; bad company; parking; running around | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| No answer | 5 |
| | 115%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## KINGS AND RULERS

**1.** (US Nov 4 '36) Would you like to have King Edward marry Mrs. Simpson? (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 39% = 100% No opinion 42%

**2.** (US Nov 4 '36) Should newspapers print more or less news about King Edward and Mrs. Simpson? (AIPO)

More 19% Less 81% = 100% No opinion 32%

**3.** (US Dec 14 '36) Would you like to have Edward and Mrs. Simpson make their home in the United States? (June 7 '37) Would you like to have former King Edward and his wife live in this country? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '36 | 61% | 39% |
| June '37 | 61 | 39 |
| 1937 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 51% | 49% |
| Middle Atlantic | 62 | 38 |
| East central | 65 | 35 |
| West central | 60 | 40 |
| South | 59 | 41 |
| Rocky Mountain | 68 | 32 |
| Pacific coast | 61 | 39 |

**4.** (Great Britain June 29 '37) Should the Duke and Duchess of Windsor be invited to return to England to live? (BIPO)

Yes 61% No 39% = 100% No opinion 4%

**5.** (Great Britain Nov '37) Would you like to have the Duke and Duchess of Windsor be invited to return to England to live? (Dec '38) Would you like the Duke and Duchess of Windsor to make their home in England? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '37 | 55% | 45% = 100% | 9% |
| Dec '38 | 79 | 21 = 100 | 23 |

**6.** (US May 2 '39) When Americans are presented to the King and Queen of England on their visit to this country, do you think American women should curtsy or shake hands? (AIPO)

Curtsy 22% Shake hands 78% = 100% No opinion 12%

**7.** (US May 2 '39) When Americans are presented to the King and Queen of England on their visit to this country, do you think American men should bow, or should they shake hands? (AIPO)

Bow 21% Shake hands 79% = 100% No opinion 11%

**8.** (US June 16 '39) It has been suggested that President and Mrs. Roosevelt go to England to pay a return visit to the King and Queen. Do you favor this idea? (AIPO)

| | *Should go* | *Should not* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 51% | 49% = 100% | 13% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 47% | 53% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 54 | 46 | |
| East central | 47 | 53 | |
| West central | 48 | 52 | |
| South | 62 | 38 | |
| West | 46 | 54 | |

**9.** (US June 16 '39) If Roosevelt goes [to England to pay a return visit to the King and Queen] should he go while he is still President or after he has left the White House? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Still president | 51% |
| After leaving White House | 49 |
| | 100% |
| Don't know | 21% |

**10.** (US Sept '39) Were the impressions you got of the King and Queen of England during their visit here favorable, unfavorable, or neutral toward them personally? (FOR)

Favorable 65.5% Unfavorable 3.2% Neutral 31.3%

**11.** (US Sept '39) Which of the following do you think was the real reason for the English royal visit in this country? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| They came to try to influence this country to go to war to defend England if trouble comes | 23.9% |
| Their visit was mainly to help advertise British goods and British trade here | 4.1 |
| Their visit was no more than a token of friendship among English-speaking people | 58.1 |
| Don't know | 13.9 |

**12.** (US Sept '39) Do you think that President Roosevelt should return the royal visit by going to England? (FOR)

Yes, return the visit 31.9% No 50.9% Don't know 17.2%

**13.** (US Apr '42) Do you think the British part of this proposed nation [union of United States and Britain] should or should not give up having a king and queen? (FOR)

Should 51.7% Should not 26.7% Don't know 21.6%

**14.** (Sweden June '43) Have you ever seen the King in person? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 45% |
| BY AGE | | |
| 20–29 years | 44% | 56% |
| 30–49 years | 57 | 43 |
| 50 years and over | 62 | 38 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| North Sweden | 50% | 50% |
| Mälar district | 65 | 35 |
| East Gotland | 57 | 43 |
| West Gotland | 51 | 49 |
| Skåne | 49 | 51 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | |
| Town | 64% | 36% |
| Country | 46 | 54 |

**15.** (Sweden June '43) Has he [the King] spoken to you? Asked of 55% of a national sample who said they had seen the King. (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 7% | 93% = 100% of those questioned |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 9% | 91% |
| Women | 3 | 97 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 20–29 years | 4% | 96% |
| 30–49 years | 6 | 94 |
| 50 years and over | 8 | 92 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | |
| Stockholm | 7% | 93% |
| Other towns | 6 | 94 |
| Country | 6 | 94 |

**16.** (US Apr '44) Which of these comes closest to expressing your idea of the position of the Japanese Emperor? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| He is the dictator | 16.4% |
| He is to Japan what the King is to England | 5.7 |
| He is only a figurehead (except in religion) | 18.6 |
| He is the only Japanese god | 44.2 |
| Don't know | 15.1 |

**17.** (US May 29 '45) Can you tell me the name of the Emperor of Japan? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hirohito | 54% |
| Tojo | 5 |
| Can't pronounce it; Chiang Kai-shek; Yokohama; Hara Kiri, Fujiyama, or didn't say | 40 |
| Tito | 1 |

**18.** (US May 29 '45) What do you think we should do with the Japanese Emperor after the war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Execute him | 33% |
| Let court decide his fate | 17 |
| Keep him in prison the rest of his life | 11 |
| Exile him | 9 |
| Do nothing, he's only a figurehead for war lords | 4 |
| Use him as a puppet to rule Japan | 3 |
| No opinion and miscellaneous answers | 23 |

**19.** (Australia Aug '45) Have you formed an opinion on what should be done with the Emperor of Japan after the war? 67% of the men and 60% of the women said they had formed opinions. (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Execute him | 25% |
| Treat him as a war criminal | 22 |
| Exile, imprison, dethrone | 9 |
| Do nothing, he's a figurehead | 3 |
| Use him as a puppet | 3 |
| Miscellaneous and no opinion | 38 |
| | 100% of those with opinions |

**20.** (Great Britain Aug 26 '45) Do you think that the Japanese Emperor should or should not be deprived of his throne? (BIPO)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 67% | 22% | 11% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 69% | 23% | 8% |
| Women | 65 | 20 | 15 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 67% | 24% | 9% |
| 30–49 years | 66 | 22 | 12 |
| 50 years and over | 68 | 20 | 12 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 57% | 32% | 11% |
| Middle | 61 | 28 | 11 |
| Lower | 70 | 19 | 11 |

**21.** (Australia Nov '45) Do you think that Emperor Hirohito should be used as a puppet ruler under Allied control or should he be charged as a war criminal? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Treat as war criminal | 73% |
| Use as puppet | 19 |
| No opinion | 8 |

## KU KLUX KLAN

**1.** (US Aug 14 '46) Will you tell me what the Ku Klux Klan is? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Organization to maintain white supremacy; lynch Negroes; racial and religious discrimination | 28% |
| A secret organization | 17 |
| Organization which forces others to do things, takes law into own hands | 13 |
| A fraternal organization | 1 |
| A religious organization | 4 |
| A political organization | 2 |
| Organization to promote justice and fraternity, to uphold American ideals | 2 |
| An organization | 7 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| No answer; don't know | 30 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (US Aug 14 '46) Do you approve or disapprove of the Ku Klux Klan? Asked of 70% of the sample who thought they knew what the Ku Klux Klan was. (AIPO)

Approve 5% Disapprove 58% No opinion 7% = 70%

**3.** (US Aug 14 '46) Do you think it should be against the law to join such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan? A comparable cross-section was asked the following question: Do you think there should be a law which forbids the Ku Klux Klan organization? Results were combined. Asked of 70% of the sample who knew what the Ku Klux Klan was. (AIPO)

Yes 41% No 21% No opinion 8% = 70%

## LABOR AND LABORING CLASSES

**1.** (US Oct '35) Do you believe that in general labor is fairly or unfairly treated in this country today? (FOR)

| | *Fairly* | *Unfairly* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46.9% | 42.5% | 10.6% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 67.7% | 23.3% | 9.0% |
| Upper middle | 58.3 | 30.1 | 11.6 |
| Lower middle | 47.5 | 41.4 | 11.1 |
| Poor | 32.3 | 58.1 | 9.6 |
| Negro | 16.3 | 74.7 | 9.0 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Proprietors | 58.0% | 32.4% | 9.6% |
| Salaried persons | 56.3 | 37.1 | 6.6 |
| Factory labor | 39.2 | 50.5 | 10.3 |
| Housewives | 38.5 | 45.5 | 16.0 |
| Farm labor | 24.1 | 62.9 | 13.0 |
| No employment | 26.2 | 63.8 | 10.0 |

**2.** (US Dec 14 '36) Is there an age in your work at which an individual becomes unable to compete successfully with younger persons? 54% of the sample who said there was such an age were asked: At what age? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No such age | 31% |
| Don't know whether or not such an age exists | 15 |
| Unable to compete at: | |
| 70 years | 3 |
| 65 years | 7 |
| 60 years | 12 |
| 55 years | 5 |
| 50 years | 10 |
| 45 years | 5% |
| 40 years | 3 |
| Other ages mentioned | 3 |
| No opinion as to what age inability to compete begins | 6 |

**3.** (US Jan 11 '38) In your line of work, are persons over forty able to do the work as well as persons under forty? (AIPO)

Yes 70% No 21% No opinion 9%

**4.** (US June '40) Which of these people do you feel have been on the whole helpful to labor and which harmful? Asked of a national cross-section of all working classes including unemployed workers. (FOR)

| | *Helpful* | *Harmful* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Henry Ford | 73.6% | 12.3% | 14.1% |
| Senator Wagner | 51.8 | 5.6 | 42.6 |
| William Green | 49.7 | 18.2 | 32.1 |
| Secretary of Labor Perkins | 43.4 | 19.4 | 37.2 |
| Alfred P. Sloan, Jr. | 25.5 | 7.7 | 66.8 |
| Senator Robert La Follette | 22.0 | 5.5 | 72.5 |
| Senator Burton K. Wheeler | 19.1 | 3.2 | 77.7 |
| John L. Lewis | 32.6 | 44.6 | 22.8 |
| Norman Thomas | 14.1 | 20.5 | 65.4 |
| Tom Girdler | 4.4 | 9.7 | 85.9 |
| Earl Browder | 4.2 | 39.4 | 56.4 |

**5.** (US Oct 7 '41) What do you think is causing the labor trouble at this time? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Foreigners | 29% |
| Union graft | 18 |
| High cost of living | 11 |
| Wages | 9 |
| Labor unions | 9 |
| Unpatriotic | 7 |
| Workers' greed | 7 |
| Administration | 6 |
| Other | 17 |
| No answer | 12 |
| | 125%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (US Dec '41) After the present war is over, do you think people will have to work harder, about the same, or not so hard as before it started? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Harder | 69.9% |
| About the same | 18.0 |
| Not so hard | 7.1 |
| Don't know | 5.0 |

**7.** (US May 30 '42) From what you have heard, would you say there are any workers in war industries who are purposely holding back on the job? 21% of the sample who said they thought some workers were holding back were asked: A great many or only a few? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| None holding back | 64% |
| Don't know whether or not some are holding back | 15 |
| A great many holding back | 4 |
| Only a few holding back | 15 |
| Don't know how many holding back | 2 |

**8.** (US May 30 '42) Which of these reasons do you think might be causing workers to hold back on the job? Asked of 21% of the sample who thought there were workers in war industries who were purposely holding back on the job and 15% who said they didn't know if there were such workers. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| They aren't really much concerned about winning the war | 8% |
| They think their wages are too low | 10 |
| They think if they speed up their work now the company will make them produce just as fast after the war is over | 5 |
| They don't think the employers are making the best possible use of the plant machinery and equipment | 4 |
| They think if they work harder and produce more they'll just be making bigger profit for the company | 8 |
| None | 3 |
| Don't know | 10 |
| | 48%* |

* Percentages add to more than 36 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (US May 30 '42) If workers give up some of their gains now—like shorter hours and better wages—do you think they will get them back after the war? (NORC)

Yes 47% No 33% Don't know 20%

**10.** (US Jan '43) A national cross-section of the "working force"—factory labor, miners, transportation and public-utility workers, personal-service workers (janitors, beauticians, laundrymen, domestics, etc.)—were asked nine questions in an effort to gauge how well-informed the working force was. The questions asked for this purpose: the name of the Secretary of War, the man in charge of keeping prices down, the head of the War Production Board, the two Senators from the respondent's state, the presidents of the AFL and of the CIO. Also asked was whether the number of federal bureaus and agencies had increased or decreased during the past ten years, and whether or not all Russian workers are paid the same amount of money regardless of the kind of work they do. (FOR)

Percentages of factory workers answering each of the nine questions correctly.

| | |
|---|---|
| Henry L. Stimson | 45.3% |
| Leon Henderson | 41.3 |
| Donald Nelson | 35.5 |
| Both Senators | 21.5 |
| One Senator | 24.4 |
| William Green | 52.0 |
| Philip Murray | 35.5 |
| Variation in Russian wages | 39.7 |
| Increase in federal bureaus | 79.3 |

BY SEX AND OCCUPATION

| | *Well informed* | *Poorly informed* | *Uninformed* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Men* | | | |
| Transport and utility workers | 26.6% | 38.6% | 34.8% |
| Factory workers | 23.4 | 36.4 | 40.2 |
| Personal-service workers | 24.1 | 37.5 | 38.4 |
| Mine workers | 19.4 | 34.6 | 46.0 |
| *Women* | | | |
| Factory workers | 7.6 | 24.9 | 67.5 |
| Personal-service workers | 6.3 | 23.3 | 70.4 |
| Factory workers in the South | 12.6 | 26.2 | 61.2 |

**11.** (Germany Apr 15 '46) Do you think that the lot of the German workers before the war, under the Nazi regime, was better or worse than that of the American worker? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germans better | 13% |
| Americans better | 30 |
| No difference | 10 |
| Not sufficiently informed | 41 |
| No opinion; don't know; can't say | 5 |
| No answer | 1 |

**12.** (US Sept 11 '46) Could workers you know turn out more work per day without overworking themselves? (AIPO)

Yes 65% No 24% No opinion 11%

**13.** (Great Britain Nov '46) What do you think is the main reason why many people are not prepared to work harder than they are doing at the present time? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| High level of taxation | 18% |
| Not enough goods to buy | 5 |
| Insufficient food | 9 |
| Bad living conditions (housing, queues, etc.) | 1 |
| War-weariness | 12 |
| Wages too low; high cost of living | 6 |
| Wages too high; too much coddling of workers | 3 |
| Bad working conditions; poor promotion prospects | 3 |
| Effects of high wartime earnings | 1 |
| Too much idling allowed | 1 |
| People are too lazy, selfish, pleasure-loving | 8 |
| Disappointment due to continued austerity | 3 |
| People feel they did their bit during the war | 1 |
| People find it difficult to settle down after the war | 1 |
| Anxiety; lack of security | 4 |
| Inequality of effort by different social classes | 2 |
| Trade unions are responsible | 1 |
| Poor government propaganda; workers get no thanks | 1 |
| Workers have no incentive | 2 |
| Fault of the Labor government | 1 |
| People no longer think it necessary to work; work has lost its former prestige | 2 |
| Not true; everybody is working hard | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 6 |
| No comment | 5 |

## LABOR LAWS AND LEGISLATION

**1.** (US Apr 13 '38 and Nov 15 '39) Do you think the Wagner Labor Act is fair to employers? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '38 | 25% | 22% | 53% |
| Nov '39 | 22 | 19 | 59 |

**2.** (US Apr 13 '38 and Nov 15 '39) Do you think the Wagner Labor Act is fair to employees? The 1939 question read "workers" instead of "employees." (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '38 | 32% | 14% | 54% |
| Nov '39 | 33 | 10 | 57 |

**3.** (US Apr 13 '38, Oct 8 '38, Jan 25 '39, Mar 30 '39, Apr 6 '39, Apr 19 '39, Nov 15 '39, Dec 13 '39, Jan 20 '40, Oct 9 '40, Nov 27 '46) Do you think the Wagner Labor Act should be revised, repealed, or left unchanged? (AIPO)

| | *Revised* | *Repealed* | *Left unchanged* | | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '38 | 43% | 19% | 38% | = 100% | 50% | |
| Oct '38 | 52 | 18 | 30 | = 100 | 49 | |
| *Jan '39 | 48 | 18 | 34 | = 100 | 40 | |
| Mar '39 | 27 | 9 | 19 | | 45 | = 100% |
| Apr 6 '39 | 31 | 9 | 17 | | 43 | = 100 |

| | *Revised* | *Repealed* | *Left unchanged* | | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apr 19 '39..... | 27% | 7% | 19% | | 47% | = 100% |
| Nov '39..... | 25 | 12 | 30 | | 33 | = 100 |
| *Dec '39..... | 53 | 18 | 29 | = 100% | | |
| *Jan '40..... | 53 | 16 | 31 | = 100 | 9 | |
| *Oct '40..... | 24 | 6 | 27 | | 43 | = 100 |
| *Nov '46..... | 53 | 11 | 36 | = 100 | | |

* The question was asked only of those who indicated some familiarity with the Act.

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *New England* | | | |
| Apr '38..... | 35% | 19% | 46% |
| Oct '38..... | 53 | 19 | 28 |
| *Middle Atlantic* | | | |
| Apr '38..... | 45 | 13 | 42 |
| Oct '38..... | 52 | 17 | 31 |
| *East central* | | | |
| Apr '38..... | 48 | 33 | 19 |
| Oct '38..... | 56 | 22 | 22 |
| *West central* | | | |
| Apr '38..... | 39 | 25 | 36 |
| Oct '38..... | 52 | 18 | 30 |
| *South* | | | |
| Apr '38..... | 38 | 22 | 40 |
| Oct '38..... | 61 | 19 | 20 |
| *Rocky Mountain* | | | |
| Apr '38..... | 37 | 21 | 42 |
| Oct '38..... | 53 | 23 | 24 |
| *Pacific coast* | | | |
| Apr '38..... | 48 | 26 | 26 |

BY POLITICS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Democratic* | | | |
| Apr '38..... | 39% | 11% | 50% |
| Oct '38..... | 50 | 14 | 36 |
| Jan '39..... | 45 | 12 | 43 |
| Dec '39..... | 50 | 10 | 40 |
| *Republican* | | | |
| Apr '38..... | 49 | 32 | 19 |
| Oct '38..... | 58 | 30 | 12 |
| Jan '39..... | 56 | 29 | 15 |
| Dec '39..... | 58 | 27 | 15 |

JAN 1939 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Upper..... | 58% | 25% | 17% |
| Middle..... | 51 | 18 | 31 |
| Lower..... | 34 | 13 | 53 |

**4.** (US Jan 25 '39, Jan 20 '40, Nov 27 '46) In what way [should the Wagner Labor Act be revised]? Asked of a national cross-section of those with opinions who thought the Wagner Labor Act should be revised. (AIPO)

1939 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| More fair to employer..... | 59% |
| Unions made more responsible..... | 2 |
| Act should apply to more lines of work..... | 6 |
| NLRB should not have so much authority..... | 6 |
| Should agree with the varying conditions in different states and sections..... | 6 |
| More fair to worker..... | 6 |
| Adjustment in method of settling strikes..... | 2 |
| Should agree with varying conditions in different corporations, especially small ones..... | 2 |
| Make fair to all unions, both national and local..... | 2 |
| All others..... | 7% |
| Evasion of law should be made impossible with strict penalties in such cases..... | 2 |
| | 100% |
| No answer..... | 37% |

1940 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Make it fairer to employer..... | 30% |
| Make it fairer to both sides..... | 21 |
| Stricter control of union activities..... | 9 |
| Raise wages..... | 7 |
| More specific rules and regulations..... | 5 |
| Make it applicable to various sections of country..... | 5 |
| Make it less dictatorial, more democratic..... | 5 |
| Eliminate NLRB; appeal directly to courts..... | 2 |
| Create more cooperative spirit between labor and employer..... | 2 |
| Help give more work..... | 2 |
| Make more workable for small businessman..... | 1 |
| All others..... | 11 |
| | 100% |
| No answer..... | 23% |

1946 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Clarified, much less ambiguous..... | 3% |
| Get the consumer in there too..... | 1 |
| Management and labor should be on an equal basis..... | 30 |
| Act should be strengthened, amended..... | 24 |
| Should have more restrictions on strikes..... | 15 |
| Limit the power of labor leaders..... | 3 |
| No opinion..... | 19 |
| Make unions arbitrate..... | 3 |
| More government control over unions..... | 1 |
| Protect public interests..... | 1 |

**5.** (US Jan 20 '40 and Nov 27 '46) What is your opinion of the Wagner Labor Act? (AIPO)

1940 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| General and miscellaneous approval..... | 40% |
| Has helped labor..... | 7 |
| All right if enforced strictly..... | 3 |
| All right but poorly administered..... | 2 |
| All right but needs time to work out..... | 1 |
| Has made more jobs..... | 1 |
| Some of it good, some bad..... | 3 |
| Unfair to employer..... | 13 |
| Should be revised..... | 6 |
| Unstable, too many loopholes..... | 1 |
| It has failed..... | 1 |
| Should be repealed..... | 1 |
| Doesn't include enough occupations in its scope..... | 1 |
| Too radical..... | 1 |
| General and miscellaneous disapproval..... | 19 |
| | 100% |
| No answer..... | 55% |

1946 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| All right; fair..... | 15% |
| Should be amended; needs improvement..... | 5 |
| Unfair to management..... | 1 |
| One-sided..... | 2 |
| Disapprove, bad law..... | 7 |
| Good for workers..... | * |
| No opinion..... | 70 |
| | 100% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**6.** (US July 7 '43) Are you familiar with the Connally-Smith Bill passed by Congress over the President's veto? (AIPO)

Yes 38% No 62%

**7.** (US July 7 '43) In general are you for or against this law [Connally-Smith Bill]? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who were familiar with the Connally-Smith Bill. 38% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

For 67% Against 24%
Undecided 9% = 100% of those questioned

**8.** (US Feb '44) Do you think there should or should not be a law passed that: requires every worker in a plant to belong to a union if the majority votes to have a union; requires every union to record with the Department of Labor a financial statement every year; requires elections of union officials to be held under government supervision; makes it unlawful to strike during peacetime under any circumstances? (FOR)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Requires every worker in a plant to belong to a union if the majority votes to have a union | 32.1% | 55.7% | 12.2% |
| Requires financial statement | 77.9 | 5.4 | 16.7 |
| Requires elections | 51.9 | 26.4 | 21.7 |
| Outlaws strikes | 23.7 | 63.7 | 12.6 |

**9.** (US July 12 '45) There has been some discussion about changing the laws concerning labor unions. What changes, if any, would you like to see made? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Eliminate unions | 8% |
| Increase union restrictions | 50 |
| Increase employers' powers | 2 |
| Improve mediation system | 2 |
| Effect changes favoring unions | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 15 |
| No changes | 31 |
| | 112%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**10.** (US May 15 '46) Do you think present labor laws should be changed in any way? 63% of the sample who thought the present laws should be changed were asked: In what way? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should be changed | 17% |
| No opinion as to whether or not they should be changed | 20 |
| Laws should be completely revised | 1 |
| Modify Wagner Bill; law too one-sided; favors labor too much | 6 |
| Control unions; unions have too much power | 14 |
| Outlaw strikes; control strikes; outlaw unions | 18 |
| Control union finances | 1 |
| Reorganization within unions, more democratic | 3 |
| Pay should be equalized; fair pay for labor and education required; better conditions | 7 |
| Compulsory arbitration; strikes should be settled before we get to the state we're in now | 7 |
| Cooling-off period | 1 |
| Miscellaneous suggestions for change | 3 |
| Didn't say what changes should be made or don't know | 4 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**11.** (US June 12 '46) Do you think present labor laws give too much of an advantage to labor? (AIPO)

Yes 42% No 45% No opinion 13%

**12.** (US June 12 '46) Do you think present labor laws give too much of an advantage to employers? (AIPO)

Yes 20% No 57% No opinion 23%

**13.** (US June 12 '46) Have you heard about the Case Bill which would regulate labor unions? (AIPO)

Yes 64% No 36%

**14.** (US June 12 '46) Do you think Truman was right in disapproving the Case Bill, or should he have approved it? (AIPO)

Right disapproving 27% Should have approved 18%
No opinion 55%*

* Includes those who had not heard of Case Bill.

**15.** (US Nov 27 '46) What is your understanding of what the Wagner Labor Act provides or is supposed to do? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct | 14% |
| Probably correct | 5 |
| Incorrect | 12 |
| Don't know and no answer | 69 |

## LABOR LEADERS

**1.** (US Mar 10 '37) Do you think that John L. Lewis, leader of the CIO, has aided the cause of the American working man? (AIPO)

Yes 53% No 47% = 100% No Opinion 23%

**2.** (US June 14 '37, Sept 23 '38, May 18 '39) Which labor leader do you like better: Green of the AFL or Lewis of the CIO? (AIPO)

| | *Green* | *Lewis* |
|---|---|---|
| June '37 | 67% | 33% |
| Sept '38 | 78 | 22 |
| May '39 | 80 | 20 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| 1937 lower one-third | 53% | 47% |
| 1938 lower income | 66 | 34 |
| 1937 upper two-thirds | 74 | 26 |
| 1938 middle income | 82 | 18 |
| 1938 upper income | 88 | 12 |

**3.** (US June '40) Who do you think is most to blame for the present conflict between the AFL and the CIO, John L. Lewis or William Green? Asked of a national cross-section of all working classes including unemployed workers. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Lewis | 39.4% |
| Both | 21.6 |
| Green | 11.0 |
| Neither | 3.8 |
| Don't know | 24.2 |

**4.** (US Mar 7 '41) Westbrook Pegler, the newspaper writer, claims that many labor union leaders are racketeers. Do you agree or disagree with him? (Oct 7 '41) Do you believe that many labor union leaders are racketeers? (AIPO)

| | *Yes, agree* | *No, disagree* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '41 | 72% | 14% | 14% |
| Oct '41 | 74 | 17 | 9 |

**5.** (US Apr 8 '41) Do you think there is too much power in the hands of the leaders of labor unions in this country? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 75% | 13% | 12% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper | 82% | 13% | 5% |
| Middle | 76 | 14 | 10 |
| Lower | 71 | 13 | 16 |

**6.** (US June '41) How many labor leaders in your community do you think do a good job in representing labor? Are fair in dealing with employers? Are honest in handling union funds? (FOR)

| | *Do a good job* | *Executives* | *Factory labor* | *Are fair* | *Are honest* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| All | 3.9% | 4.0% | 5.5% | 4.3% | 3.9% |
| Most | 11.4 | 9.9 | 18.0 | 13.0 | 11.0 |
| About half | 10.7 | 10.6 | 19.8 | 10.9 | 7.2 |
| Few | 14.6 | 27.8 | 19.6 | 14.0 | 13.3 |
| None | 8.1 | 17.2 | 11.5 | 6.7 | 8.0 |
| Don't know | 51.3 | 30.5 | 25.6 | 51.1 | 56.6 |

**7.** (US Oct 7 '41) Do you believe that many labor union leaders are Communists? (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 25% No opinion 14%

**8.** (US Nov 5 '41, June 2 '43, Canada Aug 18 '43, US May 15 '46) What is your opinion of John L. Lewis? (AIPO, CIPO)

| | | *Favorable* | *Unfavorable* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| US | Nov '41 | 14% | 70% | 16% |
| US | June '43 | 9 | 87 | 4 |
| Canada | Aug '43 | 9 | 87 | 4 |
| US | May '46 | 13 | 69 | 18 |

**9.** (US Feb '42) Who is President of the AFL? of the CIO? (FOR)

| | *AFL* | *CIO* |
|---|---|---|
| Green | 43.6% | 1.4% |
| Lewis | 2.6 | 32.9 |
| Murray | 1.0 | 23.8 |
| Other | 1.0 | 2.0 |
| Don't know | 51.8 | 39.9 |

**10.** (US Jan '43) How many labor leaders around here do you think are fair in dealing with management—all, most, about half, few, or none? How many do a good job in representing workers? How many are honest in handling union funds? Asked of a national cross-section of the "working force"—factory labor, miners, transportation and public-utility workers, personal-service workers (janitors, beauticians, laundrymen, domestics, etc.). (FOR)

| BY OCCUPATION | *All or most* | *Half* | *Few or none* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Fair with management* | | | | |
| Mine workers | 42.7% | 17.2% | 19.2% | 20.9% |
| Factory workers | 32.5 | 20.0 | 20.3 | 27.2 |
| Personal service | 24.9 | 13.0 | 14.9 | 47.2 |
| *Good representatives* | | | | |
| Mine workers | 42.7 | 14.5 | 23.6 | 19.2 |
| Factory workers | 36.1 | 19.1 | 19.5 | 25.3 |
| Personal service | 24.2 | 12.8 | 15.8 | 47.2 |
| *Honest with money* | | | | |
| Mine workers | 33.1 | 9.4 | 31.1 | 26.4 |
| Factory workers | 33.0 | 11.3 | 21.3 | 34.4 |
| Personal service | 21.8 | 7.5 | 20.0 | 50.7 |

**11.** (Canada Apr 10 '43) Do you think that, generally speaking, labor is being wisely led? (CIPO) (Canada July 20 '46 and US July 24 '46) Do you think that, generally speaking, organized labor is being wisely led or unwisely led by its leaders? (CIPO, AIPO)

| | *Wisely* | *Unwisely* | *Undecided or qualified answers* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Canadian 1943 | 33% | 37% | 30% |
| Canadian 1946 | 30 | 49 | 21 |
| US 1946 | 18 | 64 | 18 |
| CANADIAN '46 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Progressive-Conservative | 20% | 66% | 14% |
| Liberal | 28 | 51 | 21 |
| Cooperative Commonwealth Federation | 52 | 32 | 16 |
| CANADIAN '46 RESULTS BY LABOR STATUS | | | |
| Organized labor | 53% | 28% | 19% |
| Unorganized labor | 26 | 53 | 21 |
| Management | 20 | 72 | 8 |

**12.** (US Jan 4 '45) Union members were asked to name both the president of the American Federation of Labor and the president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Results follow: (NYHT)

| | |
|---|---|
| Answered correctly | 44% |
| Able to name one but not both | 30 |
| Both wrong or did not know | 26 |

**13.** (Canada July 27 '46) Some people say there are too many troublemakers and agitators among union labor leaders. Others say that this talk is only anti-labor propaganda. What are your views on this? (CIPO)

| | *Employers* | *Labor** | *Public* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Agitators | 58% | 31% | 50% |
| Propaganda | 12 | 42 | 23 |
| Other | 15 | 7 | 6 |
| No opinion | 15 | 20 | 21 |

* Labor includes only the views of union members and their families.

**14.** (US Nov '46) Here is a list of some well-known labor leaders. Which two on the list would you say you most approve of? Which two do you least approve of? (FOR)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* |
|---|---|---|
| John L. Lewis | 8.9% | 45.4% |
| William Green | 21.6 | 5.1 |
| Harry Bridges | 4.5 | 21.6 |
| James Petrillo | 1.0 | 19.9 |
| Philip Murray | 16.0 | 3.5 |
| Walter Reuther | 6.2 | 3.9 |
| A. F. Whitney | 5.5 | 4.3 |
| David Dubinsky | 3.7 | 1.8 |
| Joseph Curran | 2.2 | 1.9 |
| Phillip Randolph | 1.3 | .4 |
| Ferdinand Smith | .7 | .3 |
| All of them | 1.3 | 4.0 |
| None of them | 13.4 | 4.6 |
| Don't know | 43.3 | 28.8 |
| | 129.6%* | 145.5%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because each respondent was asked to choose two.

**15.** (Germany Nov 25 '46) Should leaders of trade unions be allowed to speak on the radio? (OMGUS)

Yes..... 71%
No..... 6
No opinion..... 19
Qualified answer... 4

## LABOR SUPPLY

**1.** (US Jan 7 '39) If you were running a business, would you hire a man who had been on WPA? (AIPO)

Yes 77% No 15% No opinion 8%

**2.** (US Apr '39) There is an admitted shortage of many kinds of skilled labor in the United States. Which of these do you think should take the lead in training a new supply? (FOR)

The public-school system..... 41.9%
Private industry..... 26.8
The labor unions..... 8.9
WPA..... 6.8
Other..... 1.9
Don't know..... 13.7

**3.** (US Sept '40) In your business do you notice any shortage in unskilled labor? In semi-skilled labor? In skilled labor? In technicians? In junior executives or supervisors? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Unskilled..... | 1.5% | 74.1% | 24.4% |
| Semiskilled..... | 10.0 | 58.1 | 31.9 |
| Skilled..... | 32.6 | 52.0 | 15.4 |
| Technicians..... | 16.7 | 50.2 | 33.1 |
| Junior executives..... | 15.9 | 58.6 | 25.5 |

* The relatively large percentage of "no answer" is accounted for by executives to whom the questions do not apply, i.e. those connected with financial and mercantile institutions.

**4.** (US May '41) If you consider shortages of labor in certain key skills a major or secondary factor, do you believe that: certain unions are standing in the way of a full-speed training program; industry should sponsor more apprentice training; government-sponsored training is inadequate; the labor shortages are largely due to the difference in character of the labor demand made by defense activities? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Unions standing in way of training program..... 39.4%
Industry sponsor apprentice training..... 28.3
Government training inadequate..... 13.9
Labor shortages due to character of labor demand made by defense activities..... 12.9
Other..... 1.8
No answer..... 3.7

**5.** (US Oct 22 '43) From what you know, is there a labor shortage in your community? 64% of the sample who said there was a labor shortage in their community were asked: Do you believe more women workers are needed? Only women were questioned. (NORC)

No labor shortage..... 29%
Don't know whether or not there is a labor shortage.... 7
More women are needed..... 49
More women not needed..... 9
Don't know whether or not more women needed..... 6

**6.** (US May 18 '44 and May 26 '44) How about working in canning factories? Do you think there is need for people to take part-time jobs in canning factories this year? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| May 18 '44..... | 78% | 3% | 19% |
| May 26 '44..... | 75 | 6 | 19 |

**7.** (Czechoslovakia Sept '46) Do you expect that the loss of manpower will be overcome by greater mechanization and by more extensive electrification? (CZIPO)

Yes 76% No 11% Don't know 13%

**8.** (Czechoslovakia Sept '46) Would you grant the government the righr of compulsory transfer of labor to other employment? (CZIPO)

Yes..... 39%
No..... 18
Don't know..... 6
Only in case of real necessity..... 37

**9.** (Sweden Sept 26 '46) The Swedish public was asked its opinion on the current proposal aimed at lessening the manpower shortage: To let pensionable persons go on working if health and strength permit. Results follow: (SGI)

Pensionables should retain their work..... 70%
Unwise to discard the age limit..... 24
No opinion and no answer..... 6

**10.** (Sweden Sept 26 '46) The Swedish public was asked its opinion on the current proposal aimed at lessening the manpower shortage: To secure invalids a certain number of jobs and special tasks in all great enterprises. Results follow: (SGI)

In favor 83% Unsuitable 7% Don't know 10%

## LABOR SUPPLY, AGRICULTURAL

**1.** (US Oct 21 '42) How about farmers in this country? Do you think farmers can get all the workers they need now? (NORC)

Yes 9% No 86% Don't know 5%

**2.** (US Jan 21 '43) Are you able to get the farm help you need now? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Yes 41% No 55% Don't know 4%

**3.** (US Jan 21 '43) Do you expect to have trouble getting farm help during your busy season? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Yes 73% No 19% Don't know 8%

**4.** (US Jan 21 '43) Have you asked the United States Employment Service to help you find labor for your farm? 8% of the sample who said they had asked for help were asked: Did they help you find labor for your farm? Only farmers were questioned. (AIPO)

Didn't ask for help..... 92%
Asked for help and got it..... 3
Asked for help but didn't get it..... 5

**5.** (US Jan 21 '43) What do you think should be done to meet the farm labor shortage problem? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Defer farm hands from draft; leave experienced men on farms; stop drafting farm labor..... 39%
Obtain outside labor, especially from towns..... 10
Release soldiers who have been farmers, especially during busy season..... 8
Raise prices so farm labor can be paid more; make farm pay and industrial pay more equal..... 8

Freeze farm jobs so farm hands cannot go to war factories. 7%
Other..... 10
Undecided..... 18

**6.** (US Jan 21 '43) It has been suggested that in order to meet the farm labor shortage problem, many women will have to take jobs on farms this summer. Would this help you? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Yes 41% No 54% No opinion 5%

**7.** (US Jan 21 '43) It has also been suggested that high school students be given jobs on farms this summer. Would this help you? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Yes 56% No 38% No opinion 6%

**8.** (US Jan 21 '43) Have you lost any of your farm help to the draft as yet? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Yes 40% No 60%

**9.** (US Jan 21 '43) Have you lost any of your farm help to war industries? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Yes 29% No 71%

**10.** (US Mar '43) How many, besides you, are there now working all year round on your farm? How many should there be? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Have 0—need 1 hand..... | 40.3% |
| Have 0—need 2 hands.... | 12.0 |
| Have 1—need 2 hands.... | 50.0 |
| Have 1—need 3 hands.... | 23.5 |
| Have 2—need 3 hands.... | 38.6 |
| Have 2—need 4 hands.... | 35.5 |
| Have 3—need 4 hands.... | 20.3 |
| Have 2—need 5 hands.... | 18.4 |
| Have 3—need 5 hands.... | 29.0 |
| Have 4—need 5 hands.... | 13.2 |

**11.** (US Mar '43) Do you expect you will or will not be able to get enough experienced farm help for your needs this year? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

BY SIZE OF FARM

| | *Will* | *Will not* | *Don't know* | *Never use any** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Under 10 acres..... | 50.9% | 34.7% | 9.6% | 4.8% |
| 10–49 acres..... | 33.4 | 55.3 | 8.6 | 2.7 |
| 50–99 acres..... | 25.8 | 64.0 | 9.3 | .9 |
| 100–499 acres..... | 21.5 | 72.9 | 5.6 | — |
| 500 acres and over..... | 18.5 | 75.3 | 6.2 | — |

* Volunteered answer. Probably does not represent all farmers not using hired help.

**12.** (US Mar '43) Could strong women from cities or towns really solve the [farm labor] shortage problem, only help it a little, or would they be practically no help at all? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

| | *Solve* | *Only help* | *No help* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 9.1% | 50.5% | 36.6% | 3.8% |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | | |
| Good..... | 7.7% | 50.8% | 40.6% | .9% |
| Fair..... | 9.5 | 49.6 | 38.0 | 2.9 |
| Poor..... | 9.7 | 51.5 | 31.5 | 7.3 |

**13.** (US Mar '43) During the war, do you think the government should or should not have the power to make a farm hand stay on the job if he is needed even though he could earn more money elsewhere? Do you think government should or should not have the power to move anyone from the job he has, no matter what it is, to one the government considers more important? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

| | FARMERS | | FARM HANDS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Power to freeze hired hands* | *Power to move anybody* | *Power to freeze hired hands* | *Power to move anybody* |
| Should..... | 60.8% | 62.7% | 47.5% | 57.2% |
| Should not..... | 28.6 | 23.4 | 43.7 | 29.9 |
| Don't know..... | 10.6 | 13.9 | 8.8 | 12.9 |

**14.** (US Apr '43) Do you think that farm owners in general work harder, about as hard, or not so hard as factory workers? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

| | *Harder* | *About as hard* | *Not so hard* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 74.0% | 16.1% | 5.1% | 4.8% |
| BY SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL SECTIONS | | | | |
| Northeast..... | 84.1% | 12.4% | 2.0% | 1.5% |
| South..... | 68.5 | 17.0 | 7.9 | 6.6 |
| Pacific..... | 86.3 | 9.9 | 1.9 | 1.9 |

**15.** (US May 18 '44 and May 26 '44) Do you think the shortage of farm help is serious enough that there is need for people to take jobs on farms during their vacations this year? 8% of the sample who did not think the shortage was serious enough to employ vacation help were asked: Why not? The second question was not asked of the May 26 sample. (NORC)

MAY 18 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Regard shortage as serious enough..... | 82% |
| Don't know whether or not shortage is serious enough.. | 10 |
| Not serious enough because farmers don't need help..... | 3 |
| Inexperienced help is not helpful..... | 3 |
| Working people need their vacations..... | 1 |
| Miscellaneous reasons why vacation help should not be required..... | 1 |

MAY 26 RESULTS

Yes 80% No 12% Don't know 8%

## LAND, NATIONALIZATION OF

**1.** (Great Britain Apr '45) Would you approve or disapprove of the nationalization of the land? (BIPO)

Approve 51% Disapprove 30% Don't know 19%

**2.** (Hungary Jan '46 and Aug '46) Can the results of land distribution be considered final? Budapest was excluded from the cross-section. (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Uncertain; undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '46 total questioned..... | 40.3% | 56.7% | 3.0% |
| Aug '46 total questioned..... | 56 | 38 | 6 |
| JAN '46 RESULTS IN TOWNS AND VILLAGES BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| *Trans Danubia* | | | |
| Town..... | 29.6% | 63.1% | 7.3% |
| Village..... | 37.9 | 61.5 | 0.6 |
| *Area between Danube and Tisza* | | | |
| Town..... | 48.2 | 50.2 | 1.6 |
| Village..... | 49.7 | 49.7 | 0.6 |
| *North* | | | |
| Town..... | 40.3 | 57.4 | 2.3 |
| Village..... | 41.8 | 56.8 | 1.4 |

**3.** (Hungary Jan '46) What measures are still necessary in connection with land distribution? Budapest was excluded from the cross-section. (HIPOR)

| | | TRANS DANUBIA | | AREA BETWEEN DANUBE AND TISZA | | NORTH | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Total questioned* | *Town* | *Village* | *Town* | *Village* | *Town* | *Village* |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| None | 32.1 | 26.5 | 30.3 | 25.4 | 29.2 | 39.8 | 30.9 |
| Some | 30.1 | 26.7 | 25.1 | 48.6 | 43.8 | 22.8 | 20.7 |
| Investigation | 18.0 | 27.5 | 14.3 | 15.8 | 18.0 | 16.3 | 14.4 |
| Help, support | 7.0 | 6.1 | 14.5 | 1.8 | 4.6 | 2.4 | 11.5 |
| Transfer | 2.3 | 1.2 | 2.0 | 0.8 | 2.2 | 3.3 | 8.5 |
| Re-establishment of medium-size estates | 4.2 | 3.8 | 5.7 | 4.8 | 0.8 | 5.1 | 3.6 |
| Re-establishment of large estates | 6.3 | 8.2 | 8.1 | 2.8 | 1.4 | 10.3 | 10.4 |

**4.** (Czechoslovakia Sept '46) Do you approve or disapprove of a revision of the land reform? (CZIPO)

Approve 61% Disapprove 10% Don't know 29%

## LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGES

**1.** (US Oct 18 '39) Do you think the German language should be taught in American colleges and high schools? (AIPO)

Yes 77% No 23%

**2.** (US Oct 18 '39) Do you think American colleges and high schools should stop teaching the German language? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 12% | 88% |
| BY AGE | | |
| 30 years and under | 6% | 94% |
| 30–49 years | 11 | 89 |
| 50 years and over | 18 | 82 |

**3.** (US Mar 6 '40) What is the language that is spoken most in South America? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Spanish | 54% |
| English | 4 |
| Spanish and Portuguese | 3 |
| Portuguese | 2 |
| Other languages | 6 |
| No answer | 31 |

**4.** (US Jan 22 '41) Do you speak or understand any languages besides English? (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 68% No answer 2%

**5.** (Canada Apr 7 '43) Do you think that French should be a compulsory subject, like spelling, writing, and arithmetic in all grades of public schools in English-speaking Canada? (CIPO)

| BY LANGUAGE SPOKEN | *French-speaking* | *English-speaking* |
|---|---|---|
| Should be compulsory | 79% | 36% |
| Should not be compulsory | 15 | 59 |
| Undecided | 6 | 5 |

**6.** (Canada Apr 7 '43) Do you think that English should be a compulsory subject, like spelling, writing, and arithmetic in all grades of elementary schools in French-speaking Canada? (CIPO)

| BY LANGUAGE SPOKEN | *French-speaking* | *English-speaking* |
|---|---|---|
| Should be compulsory | 85% | 90% |
| Should not be compulsory | 13 | 7 |
| Undecided | 2 | 3 |

**7.** (Denmark July 14 '43) Do you understand the Swedish language when you hear it over the radio? (DGI)

Yes 56.3% No 43.7%

**8.** (Sweden Aug '43) Do you think that foreign languages should be taught in all elementary schools? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 72% | 15% | 13% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Town | 83% | 8% | 9% |
| Country | 64 | 19 | 17 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 81% | 13% | 6% |
| 30–49 years | 74 | 14 | 12 |
| 50 years and over | 62 | 18 | 20 |

**9.** (Sweden Aug '43) What [foreign] languages [should be taught in the elementary schools]? Asked of 72% of the sample who thought that foreign languages should be taught in the elementary schools. (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| German | 4% |
| English | 60 |
| Free choice | 29 |
| Other languages | 2 |
| Don't know | 5 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**10.** (Sweden Aug '43) Can you read a foreign language? [Norwegian and Danish are not considered as foreign languages] (SGI)

| | *1 language* | *2 languages* | *3 languages* | *4 languages or more* | *None* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 13% | 7% | 4% | 1% | 75% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Upper | 15% | 25% | 28% | 9% | 23% |
| Middle | 15 | 10 | 5 | 1 | 69 |
| Workers | 12 | 3 | — | — | 85 |

**11.** (Denmark Oct 10 '43) Should the language of the radio be correct king's Danish or do you prefer a simple Danish as spoken in everyday conversation? (DGI)

King's Danish 17.6% Simple Danish 65.7%
Don't know 16.7%

**12.** (US Apr '44) About how many Japanese do you feel can read their own language? (FOR)

| | *Nearly all* | *Most* | *About half* | *Only a few* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 13.9% | 17.6% | 27.4% | 22.2% | 18.9% |
| BY SELECTED GROUPS | | | | | |
| Negroes | 22.6% | 20.2% | 11.6% | 11.6% | 34.0% |
| Pacific coast | 20.2 | 17.6 | 26.7 | 19.8 | 15.7 |
| High economic level | 15.4 | 19.3 | 25.7 | 25.4 | 14.2 |

**13.** (Denmark Mar 11 '45) Can you make yourself understood in one or more foreign languages? (DGI)

Yes 28.6% No 64.6% Don't know 6.8%

**14.** (Denmark Mar 11 '45) Which [language can you speak understandably]? Asked of 28.6% of sample who could make themselves understood in one or more foreign languages. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| German | 47.3% |
| English | 30.3 |
| French | 5.1 |
| Swedish | 12.3 |
| Norwegian | 2.3 |
| Other languages | 2.7 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned |

**15.** (Denmark Mar 11 '45) Where did you learn them [foreign languages]? Asked of 28.6% of sample who could make themselves understood in one or more foreign languages. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| At school | 44.8% |
| In the respective country | 27.5 |
| Through a course | 18.1 |
| Self-taught | 3.2 |
| Being with foreigners | 2.1 |
| Wireless | 1.5 |
| Through work | 1.4 |
| Been a sailor | 1.4 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned |

**16.** (Denmark Mar 11 '45) Why did you learn them [foreign languages]? Asked of 28.6% of sample who could make themselves understood in one or more foreign languages. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Duty at school | 35.6% |
| Been in the respective country | 26.1 |
| Interest | 25.4 |
| Business reasons | 6.6 |
| Part of general education | 2.5 |
| Being with foreigners | 1.5 |
| Other reasons | 1.6 |
| Don't know | 0.7 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned |

**17.** (US Oct 31 '45) Should the school children in all countries be required to learn, in addition to their own language, some one language which would be understood in all countries so that people of every nation could understand each other better? 71% of the sample who thought school children should be required to learn an international language were asked: If some language other than ours were selected, which one would you choose? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| International language shouldn't be required | 17% |
| No opinion as to whether or not should be required | 12 |
| International language should be French | 19 |
| Should be Spanish | 19 |
| Should be German | 5 |
| Should be Latin | 2 |
| Should be Esperanto | 2 |
| Miscellaneous languages suggested | 6 |
| Should be Russian | 3 |
| Don't know what the language should be | 19 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**18.** (US Oct 31 '45) Do you think the United Nations should appoint a group to study various languages and select one to use [for the international language]? Asked of 71% of the sample who thought school children should learn one international language. (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 8% No opinion 6% = 71%

**19.** (US Oct 31 '45) If the people of all nations could speak the same language, do you think this would increase the chances of maintaining world peace? (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 23% No opinion 17%

**20.** (Sweden Feb '46) If schools are to teach two languages, which of them should be primary and which one secondary? (SGI)

PRIMARY

| | *German* | *English* | *Russian* | *Other languages* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 3% | 85% | 2% | 1% | 9% |
| CHOICE OF PRIMARY LANGUAGE BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 3% | 86% | 3% | 1% | 7% |
| Women | 3 | 84 | 1 | 1 | 11 |
| CHOICE OF PRIMARY LANGUAGE BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Upper | 8% | 90% | — | 2% | — |
| Middle | 3 | 85 | 1% | 1 | 10% |
| Workers | 2 | 85 | 2 | 2 | 9 |

SECONDARY

| | |
|---|---|
| German | 33% |
| English | 4 |
| Russian | 11 |
| French | 22 |
| Spanish | 6 |
| Other languages | 2 |
| Don't know | 22 |

**21.** (Denmark Feb 16 '46) Can you understand Norwegian (Swedish) completely or partly if you hear it, for instance, over the wireless? (DGI)

| | *Norwegian* | *Swedish* |
|---|---|---|
| Completely | 36% | 16% |
| Partly | 48 | 60 |
| Can't understand | 16 | 24 |

**22.** (Denmark Feb 16 '46) Do you think that something should be done to make the northern languages more alike or should these languages, as at present, be allowed to develop differently? (DGI)

Be alike 38% Be different 34% Don't know 28%

**23.** (Finland Mar 8 '46) Do you think that foreign languages ought to be taught in the public schools? 64% of the sample who thought foreign languages should be taught in the public schools were asked: What language? (FGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| The other national languages (Swedish, Finnish) | 40% |
| English | 11 |
| Russian | 1 |
| Some other language | 1 |
| Only own language | 36 |
| Don't know | 11 |

**24.** (Sweden May '46) Do you understand Norwegian or Danish when it is spoken? (SGI)

| | Norwegian | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes, all or most of it* | *Yes, some of it* | *No* |
| National total | 44% | 41% | 15% |
| NORWEGIAN BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper | 70% | 23% | 7% |
| Middle | 48 | 40 | 12 |
| Workers | 37 | 44 | 19 |
| NORWEGIAN BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Large towns | 58% | 33% | 9% |
| Other towns | 48 | 42 | 10 |
| Country | 38 | 43 | 19 |
| NORWEGIAN BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| North Sweden | 45% | 46% | 9% |
| Dalecarlia | 59 | 34 | 7 |
| Mälar district | 34 | 48 | 18 |
| Stockholm | 56 | 34 | 10 |
| East Gotland | 39 | 41 | 20 |
| Skåne | 40 | 38 | 22 |
| Bovä | 44 | 40 | 16 |
| | Danish | | |
| National total | 17% | 41% | 42% |
| DANISH BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper | 37% | 37% | 26% |
| Middle | 20 | 43 | 37 |
| Workers | 11 | 40 | 49 |
| DANISH BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Large towns | 32% | 44% | 24% |
| Other towns | 22 | 46 | 32 |
| Country | 10 | 39 | 51 |
| DANISH BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| North Sweden | 6% | 32% | 62% |
| Dalecarlia | 11 | 43 | 46 |
| Mälar district | 6 | 43 | 51 |
| Stockholm | 28 | 45 | 27 |
| East Gotland | 18 | 39 | 43 |
| Skåne | 35 | 43 | 22 |
| Bovä | 12 | 47 | 41 |

**25.** (Sweden May '46) Can you read a book in Norwegian or Danish? (SGI)

| | Norwegian | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes, very well* | *Yes, some of it* | *No* | *Have never tried* |
| National total | 32% | 28% | 22% | 18% |
| NORWEGIAN BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper | 60% | 20% | 11% | 9% |
| Middle | 36 | 30 | 18 | 16 |
| Workers | 27 | 27 | 26 | 20 |
| NORWEGIAN BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Large towns | 50% | 18% | 13% | 19% |
| Other towns | 37 | 30 | 18 | 15 |
| Country | 26 | 31 | 25 | 18 |
| NORWEGIAN BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| North Sweden | 32% | 30% | 18% | 20% |
| Dalecarlia | 39 | 25 | 18 | 18 |
| Mälar district | 24 | 34 | 30 | 12 |
| Stockholm | 47 | 22 | 12 | 19 |
| East Gotland | 25 | 28 | 20 | 27 |
| Skåne | 32 | 27 | 25 | 16 |
| Bovä | 37 | 26 | 24 | 13 |

| | Danish | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes, very well* | *Yes, some of it* | *No* | *Have never tried* |
| National total | 13% | 22% | 43% | 22% |
| DANISH BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper | 41% | 16% | 30% | 13% |
| Middle | 16 | 25 | 37 | 22 |
| Workers | 9 | 19 | 49 | 23 |
| DANISH BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Large towns | 28% | 22% | 25% | 25% |
| Other towns | 18 | 26 | 35 | 21 |
| Country | 8 | 20 | 50 | 22 |
| DANISH BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| North Sweden | 5% | 13% | 56% | 26% |
| Dalecarlia | 10 | 18 | 47 | 25 |
| Mälar district | 5 | 17 | 59 | 19 |
| Stockholm | 25 | 21 | 28 | 26 |
| East Gotland | 10 | 20 | 39 | 31 |
| Skåne | 27 | 30 | 27 | 16 |
| Bovä | 14 | 29 | 38 | 19 |

**26.** (Norway May 3 '46) Do you think Norway ought to have two written languages, i.e. the official "book" language and the "New Norwegian," or should these be compounded into one language? (NGI)

| | *Two languages* | *One language* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 15% | 79% | 6% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 9% | 86% | 5% |
| Women | 21 | 72 | 7 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–25 years | 19% | 75% | 6% |
| 25–35 years | 19 | 78 | 3 |
| 35–50 years | 12 | 82 | 6 |
| 50 years and over | 13 | 79 | 8 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| High | 12% | 85% | 3% |
| Middle | 13 | 84 | 3 |
| Low | 16 | 77 | 7 |

**27.** (Norway May 3 '46) What should be the basis of this [compounded language]? Asked of 79% of the sample who thought Norway should have one language. (NGI)

| | *"Book" language* | *"New Norwegian"* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 66% | 30% | 4% = 100% of those questioned |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 59% | 36% | 5% |
| Women | 74 | 22 | 4 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–25 years | 59% | 38% | 3% |
| 25–35 years | 64 | 31 | 5 |
| 35–50 years | 69 | 26 | 5 |
| 50 years and over | 69 | 27 | 4 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| High | 79% | 17% | 4% |
| Middle | 63 | 32 | 5 |
| Low | 66 | 30 | 4 |

**28.** (Denmark Aug 3 '46) Can you mention, in order of importance, three languages which you think everyone should learn at school? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| English | 53% |
| German | 17 |
| French | 13 |
| Swedish | 10 |
| Russian | 3 |
| Other languages | 4 |
| No languages | 2 |
| Don't know | 5 |
| | 107%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**29.** (Brazil Nov '46) Do you think that the Latin language should be taught in our schools compulsorily or by choice? (IBOPE)

Compulsorily 54% By choice 33% No opinion 13%

## LAUNDRY

**1.** (US June 2 '44) In the past six months, have you had any laundry or dry cleaning work done? Asked of a national cross-section of women marketers who knew what ceiling prices were. 89% of the sample is represented. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 69% |
| No | 20 |
| Not questioned because of unfamiliarity with ceiling prices | 11 |

**2.** (US June 2 '44) During the last year, would you say laundry and dry cleaning prices have gone up or down? Asked of 69% of a sample of women marketers who had some laundry or dry cleaning done in the preceding six months. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Up | 31% |
| Stayed same | 34 |
| Down | * |
| Don't know | 4 |
| | 69% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**3.** (US June 2 '44) Do you generally find out what the ceiling prices are before you buy laundry and cleaning services? Asked of 69% of sample of women marketers who had some laundry or dry cleaning done in the preceding six months. (NORC)

Yes 13% No 53% No answer 3% = 69%

**4.** (Great Britain June '46) Have you sent any washing to the laundry during the past four weeks? 51% of the sample who said they had sent washing to the laundry were asked: Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the service? (BIPO)

| | *Satisfied* | *Dissatisfied* | *Total who had sent out laundry* | *Hadn't sent out any laundry* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 32% | 19% | 51% | 49% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 30% | 18% | 48% | 52% |
| Women | 35 | 20 | 55 | 45 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 53% | 26% | 79% | 21% |
| Middle | 38 | 28 | 66 | 34 |
| Lower | 28 | 15 | 43 | 57 |

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS

**1.** (US Jan '36) If war in Europe is averted through the League of Nations, do you believe the United States should join the League? (FOR)

Yes 29.8% No 57.4% Don't know 12.8%

**2.** (Great Britain June 12 '37 and June 29 '37) Do you think that this country should continue to support the League of Nations? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| June 12 '37 | 74% | 26% = 100% | 1% |
| June 29 '37 | 85 | 15 = 100 | 16 |

**3.** (US Oct 18 '37) Would you like to see the United States join the League of Nations? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 67% = 100% | 22% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 33% | 67% | — |
| East central | 33 | 67 | — |
| West central | 31 | 69 | — |
| South | 44 | 56 | — |
| Far West | 27 | 73 | — |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Landon voters | 19% | 63% | 18% = 100% |
| Roosevelt voters | 27 | 50 | 23 = 100 |

**4.** (Great Britain Dec '37) Should Great Britain remain a member of the League of Nations? (BIPO)

Yes 84% No 16% = 100% No opinion 14%

**5.** (US Dec 13 '37) Do you think the cause of world peace will be hurt if the League of Nations is dissolved? (AIPO)

Yes 28% No 48% No opinion 24%

**6.** (US Sept 23 '38) Do you think America's failure to join the League of Nations was partly responsible for the present troubles in Europe? (AIPO)

Yes 17% No 62% No opinion 21%

**7.** (US July 29 '41, July 1 '42, Aug 21 '42, Jan 11 '43, June 7 '44) Do you think the United States should have joined the League of Nations after the last war? In the 1943 question, the word "we" was used instead of "the United States." (AIPO, NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided; don't know; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| AIPO July '41 | 37% | 37% | 26% |
| NORC July '42 | 46 | 23 | 31 |
| NORC Aug '42 | 47 | 28 | 25 |
| NORC Jan '43 | 51 | 23 | 26 |
| AIPO June '44 | 53 | 20 | 27 |
| 1941 RESULT BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 39% | 36% | 25% |
| East central | 35 | 39 | 26 |
| West central | 27 | 45 | 28 |
| South | 39 | 30 | 31 |
| West | 42 | 35 | 23 |

**8.** (US July 29 '41) If the United States had joined the League of Nations, do you think it would have prevented the war? (AIPO)

Yes 20% No 56% No opinion 24%

**9.** (US Dec 15 '42) Do you think the Republican party was right or wrong in keeping the United States out of the League of Nations after the last war? (AIPO)

Right 23% Wrong 34% No opinion 43%

**10.** (US Dec 15 '42) Do you think the fact that the United States did not join the League of Nations after the last war is largely responsible for this war? (AIPO)

Yes 22% No 52% No opinion 26%

# LEGISLATION

## France

**1.** (France Jan 16 '45) Do you think it necessary to make for Alsace-Lorraine laws different from the rest of France? (FIPO)

Yes 19% No 72% No opinion 9%

## Germany

**1.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statement: Unrestricted discussion of proposed legislation is essential to a good government. (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| American zone and Berlin | 87% | 6% | 7% |
| Berlin only | 92 | 6 | 2 |

## U.S.

**1.** (US Dec 14 '36) Is there any legislation you would like to have the new Congress pass? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Old age pensions | 8% |
| Regulation of working hours | 8 |
| Something constitutional to replace the NRA | 6 |
| Revise the Social Security Act | 5 |
| Minimum wage laws | 4 |
| Raise living wage | 4 |
| Legislation for care of needy; relief | 3 |
| Child labor amendment | 3 |
| Reduce taxes | 3 |
| Legislation to help farmers | 3 |
| Stricter automobile laws | 3 |
| Adoption of Townsend Plan | 3 |
| Neutrality legislation | 2 |
| Legislation curbing government spending | 2 |
| Stricter liquor regulations | 2 |
| Revise AAA | 2 |
| New prohibition law | 2 |
| Legislation to curb the power of the president | 2 |
| Government control of business | 1 |
| Abolish the WPA | 1 |
| Higher tariff | 1 |
| Other answers | 32 |
| | 100% |
| Had no suggestions to offer | 54% |

**2.** (US Nov 30 '37) Which one type of legislation should Congress pass first—aid to business, crop control, wages and hours? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Aid to business | 49% |
| Crop control | 11 |
| Wages and hours | 40 |
| | 100% |
| No opinion | 18% |

**3.** (US Mar 30 '38) Do you favor the Reorganization Bill which is now before Congress? (AIPO) (July '38) On the whole, do you approve or disapprove of President Roosevelt's Reorganization Bill? (FOR) (July 27 '38) Did you favor the Reorganization Bill? (AIPO)

| | *Favor* % | *Against* % | *Undecided* % | *Uninformed* % | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AIPO Mar '38 | 20 | 35 | 45 | — | = 100% |
| FOR July '38 | 22.3 | 38.3 | 13.4 | 26.0 | = 100 |
| AIPO July 27 '38 | 42 | 58 = 100% | 28 | — | |

FORTUNE RESULTS IN JULY '38 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTIONS*

| | % | % |
|---|---|---|
| Southwest | 69.1 | 30.9 |
| Southeast | 58.1 | 41.9 |
| Pacific coast | 41.8 | 58.2 |
| Middlewest | 32.9 | 67.1 |
| Mountain | 28.8 | 71.2 |
| Northwest | 27.1 | 72.9 |
| Northeast | 24.3 | 75.7 |

FORTUNE RESULTS IN JULY '38 BY ECONOMIC STATUS*

| | % | % |
|---|---|---|
| Prosperous | 21.9 | 78.1 |
| Upper middle | 29.7 | 70.3 |
| Lower middle | 35.9 | 64.1 |
| Poor | 48.1 | 51.9 |
| Negroes | 76.6 | 23.4 |

FORTUNE RESULTS IN JULY '38 BY OCCUPATION*

| | % | % |
|---|---|---|
| Factory labor | 54.6 | 45.4 |
| Farm labor | 64.6 | 35.4 |
| Other labor | 50.1 | 49.9 |
| Unemployed | 43.7 | 56.3 |
| Farmers | 38.6 | 61.4 |
| Housekeepers | 37.1 | 62.9 |
| Proprietors | 36.4 | 63.6 |
| White-collar | 29.9 | 70.1 |
| Professional | 29.0 | 71.0 |
| Students | 26.6 | 73.4 |
| Retired | 16.6 | 83.4 |
| Executives | 14.6 | 85.4 |

* Those who were undecided or uninformed were excluded from these breakdowns.

**4.** (US Apr '38) Do you think it is important that Congress do the following things? (FOR)

| | *Yes or qualified yes** | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Balance the budget | 73.1% | 10.0% | 16.9% |
| Pass laws to curb labor organizations | 61.3 | 20.9 | 17.8 |
| Take the government out of competition with private business | 58.1 | 18.6 | 23.3 |

| | *Yes or qualified yes** | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Regulate wages and hours | 56.4% | 29.9% | 13.7% |
| Appropriate more money for relief or WPA | 46.2 | 43.4 | 10.4 |
| Regulate agriculture with some form of crop control | 42.9 | 34.6 | 22.5 |
| Take over public utilities | 32.7 | 43.9 | 23.4 |

* Interviewers noted separately straight answers of "yes" and answers that legislation to these ends would be desirable if done in such-and-such a way, or if not done as now proposed. The ratios of outright assents to qualified assents ranged from two to one in the case of crop control to nearly five to one in favor of taking the government out of competition with private business.

**5.** (US July 13 '38) If you had been a member of Congress during the past two years, would you have supported every bill recommended by President Roosevelt? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 23% | 77% | = 100% | 14% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England | 18% | 82% | | |
| Middle Atlantic | 28 | 72 | | |
| East central | 21 | 79 | | |
| West central | 18 | 82 | | |
| South | 29 | 71 | | |
| Far West | 20 | 80 | | |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 10% | 90% | | |
| Middle | 19 | 81 | | |
| Lower | 39 | 61 | | |
| OPINIONS OF ROOSEVELT VOTERS | | | | |
| All persons who voted for Roosevelt in 1936 | 38% | 62% | | |
| ROOSEVELT VOTERS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England | 35% | 65% | | |
| Middle Atlantic | 46 | 54 | | |
| East central | 36 | 64 | | |
| West central | 34 | 66 | | |
| South | 35 | 65 | | |
| Far West | 32 | 68 | | |

**6.** (US July 13 '38) What parts of President Roosevelt's program would you have opposed [if you had been a member of Congress during the past two years]? Asked of a national cross-section who would not have supported every bill Roosevelt recommended. 77% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Supreme Court Bill | 31% |
| Spending program and relief expenditures | 38 |
| Reorganization Bill | 16 |
| Farm Program | 8 |
| All of it | 8 |
| Wage and Hour Bill | 7 |
| Taxation | 3 |
| New Deal interference with business | 5 |
| All others | 11 |
| NRA | 2 |
| Naval Armaments Bill | 2 |
| Roosevelt's labor policies | 2 |
| | 133%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who would not have supported every bill President Roosevelt recommended and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**7.** (US Oct '39) Of the following recent measures, which do you think should be kept as they stand, which modified, which repealed? Asked of a national cross-section of businessmen. (FOR)

| | *Kept* | *Modified* | *Repealed* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation | 84.7% | 3.9% | 3.1% | 8.3% |
| Civilian Conservation Corps | 78.1 | 11.4 | 7.4 | 3.1 |
| Banking Act (divorcing security affiliates) | 64.7 | 14.0 | 3.8 | 17.5 |
| Federal Housing Administration | 56.9 | 19.0 | 19.6 | 4.5 |
| Securities Exchange Act | 44.5 | 34.2 | 3.6 | 17.7 |
| Utility Holding Company Act | 33.7 | 35.5 | 9.1 | 21.7 |
| Wages and Hours Law | 29.8 | 47.0 | 21.4 | 1.8 |
| Social Security Act | 24.3 | 57.9 | 17.3 | .5 |
| Works Progress Administration | 12.1 | 41.7 | 44.4 | 1.8 |
| Wagner Act | 9.8 | 41.9 | 40.9 | 7.4 |
| Undistributed-profits tax | 8.1 | 22.5 | 66.2 | 3.2 |

**8.** (US Oct '39) Which one of the New Deal measures [named above] would you say was the best of these acts? Asked of a national cross-section of businessmen. (FOR)

| | *Total* | *Manufacturers* | *Retailers* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation | 31.2% | 27.9% | 33.3% |
| Civilian Conservation Corps | 17.0 | 18.7 | 15.8 |
| Federal Housing Administration | 12.3 | 8.9 | 14.5 |
| Securities Exchange | 12.0 | 20.9 | 6.3 |
| Social Security Act | 11.7 | 10.7 | 12.3 |
| Wages and Hours Law | 6.3 | 5.2 | 6.9 |
| Banking Act (divorcing security affiliates) | 4.7 | 4.6 | 4.8 |
| Works Progress Administration | 1.6 | 1.2 | 1.8 |
| Utility Holding Company Act | 1.2 | .6 | 1.6 |
| Wagner Act | .7 | .3 | 1.0 |
| Undistributed-profits tax | .2 | — | .4 |
| Don't know | 4.3 | 4.9 | 4.0 |
| | 103.2%* | 103.9%* | 102.7%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (US Oct '39) Which one would you say was the worst of these acts [named above]? Asked of a national cross-section of businessmen. (FOR)

| | *Total* | *Manufacturers* | *Retailers* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wagner Act | 43.9% | 59.3% | 33.9% |
| Undistributed-profits tax | 22.5 | 19.6 | 24.4 |
| Works Progress Administration | 17.1 | 11.3 | 20.8 |
| Wages and Hours Law | 6.0 | 5.5 | 6.3 |
| Social Security Act | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.6 |
| Utility Holding Company Act | 1.9 | 1.8 | 2.0 |
| Federal Housing Administration | 1.3 | .3 | 2.0 |
| Civilian Conservation Corps | .5 | .3 | .6 |
| Securities Exchange Act | .4 | .3 | .4 |
| Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation | .4 | .6 | .2 |

| | Total | Manufacturers | Retailers |
|---|---|---|---|
| Banking Act (divorcing security affiliates) | .4% | .3% | .4% |
| Don't know | 5.5 | 2.4 | 7.5 |
| | 103.3%* | 104.8%* | 102.1%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**10.** (US Oct '40) Do you believe America can prepare for total war without seriously amending any of the social legislation of the past eight years? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Yes 21.3% No 77.1% Don't know or no answer 1.6%

**11.** (US Sept 3 '42) If you were elected to Congress this fall, what laws would you want to have passed? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Price and wage ceiling law | 19% |
| Labor legislation: prohibit strikes; crack down on leaders | 16 |
| Law to draft 18–19 year olds | 4 |
| Tax bill to increase revenue | 4 |
| Anti-liquor law | 2 |
| Law cutting down extravagance; enforcing economy | 1 |
| Repeal of AAA | 1 |
| Nationwide gas rationing law | 1 |
| Law requiring increased efficiency; consolidation of overlapping bureaus | 2 |
| Defeat of 18–19 year old draft measure | 1 |
| Other legislation | 14 |
| All legislation proposed by the administration | * |
| No opinion | 47 |
| | 112%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**12.** (US Sept '45) As you know, both big business and labor will probably have something to say about what laws are passed in this country. But during the next year or two, which one would you like to see have the most to say—big business or labor? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Big business | 22% |
| Labor | 48 |
| Both the same, or neither | 23 |
| Don't know | 7 |

**13.** (US Sept '45) Why would you like to see big business (labor) have the most to say about what laws are passed in this country? Asked of 22% of the sample who thought big business would probably have the most to say about what laws were passed in this country during the next two years, and 48% who thought labor would have the most to say. (NORC)

*Big business because*

| | |
|---|---|
| Labor couldn't exist without big business | 3% |
| To prevent strikes; to get rid of labor unions | 3 |
| Big business is smarter; understands problems; labor is unqualified for leadership | 7 |
| Big business is fair; labor is unfair; big business will be more fair about wages | 1 |
| Best for country; to stop inflation; to prevent a depression; will provide more jobs; benefit more people; things will be cheaper | 4 |
| Labor has had say-so long enough, big business should have chance now; the present situation is bad | 5 |
| Labor is too Communistic | 1 |
| I'm a businessman | * |
| Other answers | * |
| Don't know | * |
| | 24%** |

*Labor because*

| | |
|---|---|
| Economic: big business couldn't exist without labor | 8% |
| Political: labor represents the majority of people, the common man; majority should rule in democratic country | 10 |
| Technical: labor understands the workers' technical problems | 9 |
| Financial: labor will get a fair and living wage for the working man | 6 |
| Employment: labor would put more people to work | 4 |
| Historical: labor should have the say, present laws favor big business | 9 |
| I like labor; I'm a laboring man | 2 |
| Other answers | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 50%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 22 and 48 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**14.** (US Sept '45) During the last ten years, which do you think has had the most to say what laws were passed in this country—big business or labor? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Big business | 46% |
| Labor | 36 |
| Both the same or neither | 8 |
| Don't know | 10 |

**15.** (US Sept 19 '45) At the present time when Congress passes a bill to spend money, the President cannot veto parts of that bill but must accept it in full or veto it. Do you think this should be changed so that the President can veto some items in a bill to spend money without vetoing the entire bill? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 57% | 14% | 29% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 59% | 12% | 29% |
| Republican | 56 | 20 | 24 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 70% | 20% | 10% |
| High school | 65 | 17 | 18 |
| Grade school or less | 49 | 12 | 39 |

**16.** (US Mar 13 '46) At the present time which do you think has more influence on the laws passed by Congress—big business or union labor? A comparable cross-section was asked the question about "business or labor" instead of "big business or union labor." Results were combined. (AIPO)

Big business 33% Union labor 50% No opinion 17%

**17.** (US Mar 13 '46) Which would you personally like to see have more influence [on the laws passed by Congress]—big business or union labor? A comparable cross-section was asked the question about "business or labor" instead of "big business or union labor." Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Big business | 20% |
| Union labor | 23 |
| Equal | 39 |
| Neither | 13 |
| No opinion | 5 |

# LEGISLATIVE BODIES

## Germany

**1.** (Germany Sept 3 '46) Do you happen to know whether the Constitutional Assembly is now in session or not? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 21% |
| No | 3 |
| No opinion | 75 |
| No answer | 1 |

**2.** (Germany Sept 3 '46) What, in your opinion, is the duty of these [Constitutional] Assemblies? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| New Constitutions are being carried out; carrying out and presenting of laws; for publishing new laws; to present suggestions to military government | 24% |
| To take care of the good of the people; to provide peace and order; to send home prisoners of war | 2 |
| Reconstruction | 2 |
| To create a democratic Germany; carrying through democracy | 2 |
| To form new political and economic laws | * |
| To give new social laws; to help people; to provide work; to pay social rents; to provide enough food and living space | 3 |
| Unification of the four zones | * |
| Others | * |
| No opinion; don't know | 65 |
| No answer | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

# LEISURE

**1.** (US Jan '38) Which one of these recreations do you enjoy the most? (FOR)

| | *Total* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Listening to the radio | 18.8% | 15.3% | 22.4% |
| Going to the movies | 17.3 | 11.3 | 23.5 |
| Reading magazines and books | 13.8 | 8.6 | 19.2 |
| Hunting or fishing | 11.0 | 18.1 | 3.7 |
| Watching sporting events | 10.4 | 16.2 | 4.4 |
| Reading newspapers | 7.1 | 8.6 | 5.5 |
| Playing outdoor games | 6.6 | 9.3 | 3.8 |
| Playing cards and indoor games | 5.3 | 4.6 | 6.1 |
| Legitimate theatre | 3.7 | 2.4 | 5.0 |
| All others | 3.5 | 3.2 | 3.8 |
| Don't know | 2.5 | 2.4 | 2.6 |

**2.** (US Aug 16 '38) What is your favorite way of spending an evening? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Reading or studying | 21% |
| Movies | 17 |
| Dancing | 12 |
| Listening to radio | 9 |
| Take a drive | 4 |
| Playing cards | 9 |
| Stay home; stay with family | 7 |
| Visiting with friends | 4 |
| Music listening; singing | 3 |
| Participating in sports | 2 |
| Spectator sports | 2% |
| Drinking | 1 |
| Going for a walk | 1 |
| Have a party | 1 |
| Sewing and knitting | 1 |
| Fishing and hunting | 1 |
| Having a date | 1 |
| All others | 4 |
| | 100% |
| No answer | 3% |

**3.** (Sweden May '42) Where do you usually spend weekday evenings with your pals? Asked of a national cross-section of young people. (SGI)

Boys

| | IN SUMMER | | | IN WINTER | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Towns* | *Provinces* | *Country* | *Towns* | *Provinces* | *Country* |
| Sports grounds | 18% | 23% | 21% | 15% | 11% | 7% |
| Cycling | 9 | 9 | 2 | — | — | — |
| Bathing places | 9 | 8 | 2 | — | — | — |
| Outdoors | 26 | 28 | 20 | 19 | 20 | 15 |
| Dancing or amusement places | 7 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Cafes | 2 | 9 | 13 | 5 | 12 | 21 |
| At home | 9 | 4 | 10 | 33 | 22 | 23 |
| Clubs | 5 | 5 | 3 | 9 | 8 | 4 |
| Never meet pals on weekday evenings | 6 | 4 | 14 | 9 | 8 | 25 |
| Other places | 9 | 1 | 11 | 8 | 18 | 4 |

Girls

| | IN SUMMER | | | IN WINTER | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Towns* | *Provinces* | *Country* | *Towns* | *Provinces* | *Country* |
| Sports grounds | 5% | 1% | 1% | 11% | 9% | 3% |
| Cycling | 20 | 15 | 9 | — | — | — |
| Bathing places | 4 | 15 | 1 | — | — | — |
| Outdoors | 27 | 26 | 22 | 14 | 11 | 10 |
| Dance and amusement places | 6 | 4 | 6 | 3 | — | 1 |
| Cafes | — | — | 1 | — | — | 2 |
| At home | 19 | 15 | 29 | 52 | 52 | 42 |
| Clubs | 3 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 9 | 10 |
| Never meet pals on weekday evenings | 5 | 6 | 18 | 1 | 1 | 27 |
| Other places | 11 | 13 | 6 | 15 | 18 | 5 |

**4.** (Sweden May '42) Where do you generally go dancing? Asked of a national cross-section of young people. (SGI)

Boys

| | IN SUMMER | | | IN WINTER | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Towns* | *Provinces* | *Country* | *Towns* | *Provinces* | *Country* |
| Do not dance | 38% | 35% | 44% | 49% | 44% | 52% |
| Dance hall, Tivoli | 37 | 29 | 46 | 5 | 12 | 2 |
| Community hall | 14 | 33 | 9 | 10 | 18 | 12 |
| Dance hall | 3 | 2 | 1 | 18 | 21 | 27 |
| Restaurant | 5 | 1 | — | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| Club, school | — | — | — | 6 | 2 | 4 |
| At home | — | — | — | 7 | 2 | 2 |
| Various places | 3 | — | — | 1 | — | — |

GIRLS

| | IN SUMMER | | | IN WINTER | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Towns* | *Provinces* | *Country* | *Towns* | *Provinces* | *Country* |
| Do not dance | 23% | 15% | 15% | 36% | 34% | 29% |
| Dance hall, Tivoli | 46 | 47 | 67 | 1 | — | 4 |
| Community hall | 13 | 33 | 13 | 5 | 34 | 12 |
| Public dance hall | 1 | 1 | 1 | 21 | 17 | 34 |
| Restaurant | 8 | 2 | 1 | 9 | 3 | 1 |
| Club, school | — | 1 | 2 | 9 | 5 | 17 |
| At home | 6 | 1 | 1 | 17 | 5 | 3 |
| Various places | 3 | — | — | 2 | 2 | — |

**5.** (Sweden May '42) Do you talk to your parents about how you spend your evenings? Asked of a national cross-section of young people. (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Sometimes* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Total boys | 37% | 39% | 19% | 5% |
| Total girls | 66 | 14 | 15 | 5 |
| BY AGE AND SEX | | | | |
| 16–17 year boys | 41% | 37% | 21% | 1% |
| 16–17 year girls | 72 | 11 | 14 | 3 |
| 18–19 year boys | 39 | 35 | 20 | 6 |
| 18–19 year girls | 65 | 18 | 12 | 5 |
| BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND SEX | | | | |
| Boys living at home | 41% | 39% | 19% | 1% |
| Girls living at home | 72 | 13 | 15 | — |
| Boys living away from home | 13 | 34 | 18 | 35 |
| Girls living away from home | 46 | 22 | 12 | 20 |

**6.** (Sweden May '42) Is there anything particular you would like done for young people? Asked of a national cross-section of young people and parents. (SGI)

CHOICE OF YOUNG PEOPLE BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY AND SEX

| | *Town boys* | *Country boys* | *Town girls* | *Country girls* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Don't know | 57% | 68% | 68% | 65% |
| A community hall | 9 | 9 | 8 | 9 |
| A farm for the young | 2 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| Dance hall; amusement hall | 3 | 4 | 7 | 4 |
| Clubs | 3 | 2 | 4 | 9 |
| Sports grounds; swimming bath; sport | 15 | 9 | 3 | 1 |
| Openings for education | 6 | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| Cleaning up the places of amusement | 5 | 2 | 4 | 4 |

CHOICE OF PARENTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY AND SEX

| | *Town fathers* | *Town mothers* | *Country fathers* | *Country mothers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Don't know | 37% | 52% | 67% | 70% |
| Enough is done | 12 | 13 | 2 | 4 |
| A community hall | 16 | 11 | 11 | 8 |
| Farm for the young | 2 | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| Clubs | 2 | 5 | 2 | — |
| Sporting grounds; swimming pool; sport | 6 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Openings for education | 19 | 8 | 9 | 9 |
| Make places of amusement more decent | 6 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

**7.** (Denmark June 24 '44) War has caused many people to spend more time at home than before. Do you think that this has been a source of happiness to you personally? (DGI)

Yes 35.5% No 11.1% Don't know 9.6%
Same as before 43.8%

**8.** (Hungary June '46) What distractions have you? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

BY SEX AND AGE

| | MEN | | WOMEN | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Under 40* | *Over 40* | *Under 40* | *Over 40* |
| Theater; movie | 16.0% | 14.4% | 18.3% | 17.0% |
| Reading | 12.9 | 15.9 | 14.4 | 11.7 |
| Excursions; open-air swimming; walking | 15.5 | 10.4 | 12.9 | 4.5 |
| Sports | 12.2 | 6.9 | 5.2 | — |
| Music; concerts; opera | 6.1 | 5.9 | 8.1 | 5.8 |
| Radio | 4.9 | 7.8 | 5.0 | 11.6 |
| Company; coffee-house | 2.2 | 1.2 | 3.5 | 1.5 |
| Dance | 3.6 | — | 5.5 | — |
| Family; children; home life | 2.9 | 3.7 | 3.5 | 2.9 |
| Rest; sleep | 3.6 | 3.4 | 2.3 | 2.9 |
| Work | 0.7 | 1.2 | 1.8 | 3.7 |
| Studying | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.5 | — |
| Sewing; handwork | 0.2 | 0.3 | 4.7 | 4.4 |
| Clubs | 1.0 | — | 0.5 | — |
| Gardening; farming | 1.4 | 3.1 | 0.5 | — |
| Card-playing; chess | 3.9 | 4.4 | 0.7 | — |
| Food; drink | 0.9 | 0.6 | 0.2 | — |
| Love | 0.8 | — | 0.2 | — |
| Nothing | 1.5 | 4.6 | 3.0 | 2.2 |
| Other; no answer | 9.3 | 15.9 | 9.2 | 31.8 |

**9.** (Norway Dec 20 '46) How do you spend your spare time? (NGI)

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Read | 42% | 40% | 44% |
| Needlework; knitting | 18 | 1 | 34 |
| Sports | 10 | 15 | 5 |
| Walks | 8 | 5 | 10 |
| Rest; sleep | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Play the piano, violin, guitar, etc. | 5 | 5 | 4 |
| Listen to the wireless | 3 | 5 | 2 |
| Gardening | 3 | 5 | 1 |
| Go to the cinema, theater | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| Study; learn lessons | 3 | 4 | 2 |
| Fishing | 3 | 5 | — |
| Play cards | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| Sing; singing practice | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Hunting | 1 | 3 | — |
| Domestic occupations | 1 | — | 3 |
| Christian interests | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Smoke | 1 | 1 | — |
| Keep house and tools in repair | 1 | 2 | — |
| Drive a car, motorbike, motorboat; riding | 1 | 2 | — |
| Look after children (play with them) | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Go out; visit friends | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Have a cozy time at home | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Club work | 1 | — | 1 |
| Writing; writing letters | 1 | — | 1 |
| Look after animals, dogs, chickens, pigs | 1 | 1 | — |
| Dancing | 1 | — | 1 |
| Drawing | 1 | 1 | — |
| Go to meetings | 1 | — | 1 |

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Other replies | 7% | 9% | 4% |
| Nothing in particular | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Have no spare time | 8 | 7 | 9 |
| Don't know | — | — | 1 |
| | 142%* | 133%* | 144%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**10.** (Canada Dec 26 '46) Which of these do you like to do most in your spare time? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Reading | 26% |
| Listening to radio | 23 |
| Visiting friends | 20 |
| Going to movies | 13 |
| Playing cards | 11 |
| Sports (participating) | 7 |
| Parties; dancing; etc | 7 |
| Using, or working on, car | 6 |
| Sports (spectator) | 6 |
| Other | 13 |
| Have no spare time | 4 |
| | 136%* |

Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**11.** (Canada Dec 26 '46) Do you ever find yourself not knowing what to do in your spare time? Asked of 96% of the sample who had spare time. (CIPO)

Often 5% Sometimes 17% Rarely 12%
Never 62% = 96%

## LEND-LEASE BILL

**1.** (US Jan 22 '41) Have you been following the discussion of the Lend-Lease Bill, regarding aid to England and other countries, which Congress is now considering? A comparable cross-section was asked: Have you been following the discussion of the President's Lend-Lease Bill, regarding aid to England and other countries, which Congress is now considering? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 67%* No 33%

* This figure was rising very rapidly at this time. Within a week the percentage interested rose to 82%.

**2.** (US Jan 22 '41) Do you think Congress should pass this [Lend-Lease] Bill? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who had followed the discussion regarding the Lend-Lease Bill. 67% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *Qualified answers* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 54% | 15% | 22% | 9% = 100% of those questioned |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democratic | 69% | 10% | 13% | 8% |
| Republican | 38 | 23 | 30 | 9 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 54% | 16% | 21% | 9% |
| East central | 39 | 17 | 35 | 9 |
| West central | 53 | 15 | 22 | 10 |
| South | 77 | 10 | 8 | 5 |
| Far West | 55 | 16 | 20 | 9 |

**3.** (US Jan 22 '41) If Congress does pass this [Lend-Lease] Bill, should the powers which it grants to the President be given to him for as long as the war lasts, or for only a limited period of time, such as two years? Asked of a national cross-section of people who had followed the Lend-Lease Bill discussion. 67% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | *As long as the war lasts* | *Limited period only* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 36% | 56% | 8% = 100% of those questioned |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 35% | 56% | 9% |
| East central | 31 | 59 | 10 |
| West central | 33 | 60 | 7 |
| South | 49 | 45 | 6 |
| Far West | 36 | 58 | 6 |

**4.** (US Jan 22 '41) Wendell Willkie has come out in favor of the President's Lend-Lease Bill. Do you think Willkie was right in supporting this bill? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who had followed the discussion. 67% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Yes 72% No 18%
No opinion 10% = 100% of those questioned

**5.** (US Jan 29 '41) Have you heard about the President's Lend-Lease Bill now before Congress? (OPOR)

Yes 82% No 16% Qualified answers 2%

**6.** (US Jan 29 '41) This [Lend-Lease] Bill provides that British warships could use American ports to repair, refuel, and rearm. Do you favor or oppose that part of the bill? (OPOR)

Favor 56% Qualified 2% Oppose 32% No opinion 10%

**7.** (US Jan 29 '41) The [Lend-Lease] Bill would give the President power to lend to England or any other country warplanes or any other war supplies now belonging to our army or navy, if the President thought that this would help the defense of the United States. Do you approve or disapprove of this part of the bill? (OPOR)

Approve 57% Qualified answers 6% Disapprove 31%
No opinion 6%

**8.** (US Jan 29 '41) A cross-section comparable to the one used for the preceding question was asked: This [Lend-Lease] Bill would permit the President to have the United States government pay for war materials made in this country for England or any other country which the President thinks would help our national defense. Do you favor or oppose this part of the bill? (OPOR)

Favor 52% Qualified answers 5% Oppose 32%
No opinion 11%

**9.** (US Jan 29 '41) Do you think Congress should pass this [Lend-Lease] Bill? (OPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Qualified answers* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 58% | 21% | 14% | 7% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 58% | 20% | 16% | 6% |
| East central | 46 | 30 | 16 | 8 |
| West central | 55 | 22 | 14 | 9 |
| South | 78 | 9 | 8 | 5 |
| Far West | 60 | 18 | 15 | 7 |

| | Yes | No | Qualified answers | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democratic | 71% | 13% | 10% | 6% |
| Republican | 43 | 30 | 20 | 7 |
| BY DEGREES OF INFORMATION ABOUT EUROPEAN AFFAIRS* | | | | |
| Well-informed | 59% | 21% | 17% | 3% |
| Fairly well-informed | 58 | 22 | 14 | 6 |
| Uninformed | 53 | 23 | 6 | 18 |

* Groups were formed by gauging answers to a series of questions about European affairs and geography.

**10.** (US Jan 29 '41) If Congress does pass this [Lend-Lease] Bill, should the powers which it grants to the President be given to him for as long as the war lasts or for only a limited period of time, such as two years? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| As long as the war lasts | 36% |
| Limited period | 52 |
| Other | 4 |
| No opinion | 8 |

**11.** (US Feb 14 '41) Have you heard about the President's Lend-Lease Bill now before Congress? (AIPO)

Yes 91% No 9%

**12.** (US Feb 14 '41) Do you think Congress should pass this [Lend-Lease] Bill? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who had heard about the Lend-Lease Bill. 91% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | Qualified answers | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 20% | 11% | 14% = 100% of those questioned |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England | 52% | 21% | 15% | 12% |
| Middle Atlantic | 54 | 18 | 13 | 15 |
| East central | 50 | 24 | 11 | 15 |
| West central | 51 | 22 | 11 | 16 |
| South | 73 | 9 | 6 | 12 |
| West | 57 | 19 | 11 | 13 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Roosevelt voters | 67% | 13% | 6% | 14% |
| Willkie voters | 41 | 28 | 18 | 13 |

**13.** (US Feb 27 '41) Do you approve or disapprove of the Lend-Lease Bill? A comparable cross-section was asked: Do you approve or disapprove of the President's Lend-Lease Bill? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve | 56% |
| Disapprove | 27 |
| Qualified answers | 8 |
| No opinion | 9 |

**14.** (US Feb 27 '41) Did you approve or disapprove of the Lend-Lease Bill when you first heard about it? A comparable cross-section was asked: Did you approve or disapprove of the President's Lend-Lease Bill when you first heard about it? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve | 50% |
| Disapprove | 33 |
| Qualified answers | 4 |
| No opinion | 13 |

**15.** (US Feb 27 '41) If the Lend-Lease Bill is passed, do you think it will result in sending an American army abroad to fight? (AIPO)

Yes 31% No 47% Qualified answers and don't know 22%

**16.** (US Feb 27 '41) Do you think Congress should debate the Lend-Lease Bill still further, or should they vote on it now? A comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think Congress should vote on the Lend-Lease Bill now, or should they continue debating it? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Debate bill further | 22% |
| Vote on it now | 67 |
| Don't know | 11 |

**17.** (US Feb 28 '41) If the Lend-Lease Bill is passed, do you think it will bring us closer to getting into the war, or do you think it will help keep us out of the war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Will get us in | 39% |
| Make no difference | 22 |
| Will help keep us out | 31 |
| Other | 2 |
| No opinion | 6 |

**18.** (US Mar 7 '41) Do you approve or disapprove of the Lend-Lease Bill? 10% of the sample had no opinion at all and an additional 4% hadn't a very definite opinion. These two groups were asked: If you were a member of Congress and had to vote on the Lend-Lease Bill today, would you vote for or against it? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Definitely approve | 61% |
| Definitely disapprove | 23 |
| Unfamiliar with the subject | 2 |
| Would vote for it | 4 |
| Would vote against it | 2 |
| No opinion as to how would vote | 8 |

## LEND-LEASE OPERATIONS

**1.** (US Jan 9 '41) If the English are unable to pay cash for the ships, should we lend (lease) American ships to them to be operated by British sailors? Those who, in answer to a previous question about selling ships to the British, were against the idea or expressed no opinion were excluded from the cross-section. (AIPO)

Yes 74% No 21% No opinion 4% Qualified answer 1%

**2.** (US Jan 9 '41 and Jan 28 '41) If the British are unable to pay cash for war materials bought in this country, should our government lend (lease) war materials to the British to be paid back in the same materials and other goods after the war is over? (AIPO, OPOR)

| | Yes | No | No opinion | Qualified answers | Give, not lend |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AIPO Jan 9 '41 | 68% | 26% | 6% | — | — |
| OPOR Jan 28 '41 | 65 | 20 | 5 | 5% | 5% |
| AIPO RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Republican | 62% | 32% | 6% | | |
| Democratic | 74 | 20 | 6 | | |

**3.** (US Mar 7 '41) Would you approve or disapprove of the United States leasing about forty additional destroyers to Britain? (AIPO)

Approve 52% Disapprove 26% No opinion 22%

**4.** (US Mar 8 '41) Would you approve or disapprove of the United States leasing about five destroyers a month to Britain? (AIPO)

Approve 55% Disapprove 25% No opinion 20%

**5.** (US Mar 19 '41) Do you think we should send some of our warships, manned by American sailors, to Europe to help the English? (AIPO)

Yes 27% No 67% No opinion 6%

**6.** (US Apr 8 '41) Do you favor or oppose the present lend-lease policy of sending American war materials to help the English and their Allies? (AIPO)

Favor 77% Oppose 18% No opinion 5%

**7.** (US Apr 8 '41) Do you think the United States should lend Britain part of our navy to protect merchant ships, with the understanding that these warships would fly the British flag and be run by British sailors? (AIPO)

Yes 41% No 50% No opinion 9%

**8.** (US June 24 '41) Should the United States government supply Russia with arms, airplanes, and other war materials on the same basis that we supply them to Britain? (AIPO)

Yes 35% No 54% No opinion 11%

**9.** (US Aug 5 '41) Would you be willing to see the United States include Russia under the lend-lease program? (AIPO)

Yes 38% No 39% Don't know about lend-lease 11%
Undecided 12%

**10.** (US Aug 19 '41) Do you think the United States should send war materials under the lend-lease program to the Free French forces of General De Gaulle? Only those who were familiar with the underground movement were questioned. (AIPO)

Yes 74% No 16% Undecided 10%

**11.** (US Dec 24 '41) Since we got into the war, from what you have heard, do you think we have been sending more, about the same amount, or less supplies to Britain and Russia? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 12% |
| Same | 34 |
| Less | 26 |
| Don't know | 28 |

**12.** (US Dec 24 '41 and Feb 14 '42) What do you personally feel we should do now about sending supplies to Britain and Russia? Do you think we should send more, about the same amount, or less than we were sending before we got into the war? 32% of the Dec '41 sample and 29% of the Feb '42 sample who thought we should send less were asked: Do you think we should stop sending any supplies at all? (NORC)

| | *1941* | *1942* |
|---|---|---|
| Should send more | 21% | 28% |
| Should send same | 37 | 31 |
| Don't know how much we should send | 10 | 12 |
| Should stop sending supplies altogether | 5 | 8 |
| Should send less but not stop | 25 | 20 |
| Should send less but don't know whether or not we should stop | 2 | 1 |

**13.** (US Jan 16 '42) Some people say that since Russia is now fighting the main battle against Germany, we should send as many war supplies as possible to Russia even if our own armed forces would have less equipment. Do you agree or disagree with this? (OPOR)

Agree 26% Disagree 66% Undecided 8%

**14.** (US Jan 16 '42) Some people say that since we are now at war we should send fewer supplies to Russia and keep these supplies for our own armed forces. Do you agree or disagree with this? (OPOR)

Agree 44% Disagree 47% Undecided 9%

**15.** (US Feb '42) Do you think that Great Britain should or should not pay us for the war materials we have sent them under the Lend-Lease Bill? How about China? Russia? These questions were asked supposing the Allies win the war. (NORC)

| | *Britain* | *China* | *Russia* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Should or should qualified | 75% | 63% | 76% |
| Won't be able | 9 | 14 | 7 |
| Should not | 9 | 15 | 9 |
| Other | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Don't know | 5 | 6 | 6 |

**16.** (US Feb 14 '42 and Apr 6 '43) Do you think we should give England the supplies we send them, or do you think we should get repaid for them in some way? The Apr '43 question substituted "Britain" for "England" and added "after the war" at the end of the question. (NORC)

| | *Give supplies* | *Get repaid* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '42 | 20% | 74% | 6% |
| Apr '43 | 23 | 72 | 5 |

**17.** (US Apr 6 '43) In what way should we get repaid [for the supplies]? Asked of 72% of the 1943 sample who thought we should get repaid for the supplies we were sending Britain. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Money, cash, etc | 29% |
| Trade, trade agreements or merchandise: | |
| Needed materials | 7 |
| Supplies or merchandise | 23 |
| Trade agreements | 3 |
| Territory, land, possessions: | |
| Bases, islands or territory in western hemisphere | 9 |
| Land (not specified) | 7 |
| Canada | 2 |
| Any way they can | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 8 |
| | 93%* |

* Percentages add to more than 72 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**18.** (US Feb 14 '42 and Apr 6 '43) Do you think we will get repaid in some way by England for the supplies we are sending them? The Apr '43 question substituted "Britain" for "England." (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *Depends* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '42 | 39% | 42% | 11% | 8% |
| Apr '43 | 40 | 45 | 15 | — |

**19.** (US Feb 14 '42) Do you think we should give Russia the supplies we send them, or do you think we should get repaid for them in some way? (NORC)

Give 19% Get repaid 75% Don't know 6%

**20.** (US Feb 14 '42) Do you think we will get repaid in some way by Russia for the supplies we are sending them? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 38% |
| No | 35 |
| Don't know | 18 |
| Depends | 9 |

**21.** (Canada Mar 4 '42 and Oct 24 '45) It has been suggested that the Canadian Government send war materials and food supplies to Britain free instead of charging the British for these shipments. Would you approve or disapprove of this? (CIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '42..... | 53% | 35% | 12% |
| Oct '45..... | 53 | 35 | 12 |
| 1942 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Liberal..... | 50% | 38% | 12% |
| Conservative... | 60 | 29 | 11 |

**22.** (US July 1 '42, Oct 6 '42, Nov 3 '42) Do you think we should give our Allies the supplies we are sending them, or do you think we should get repaid for them in some way after the war? (NORC)

| | *Give to Allies* | *Get repaid* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| July '42..... | 35% | 58% | 7% |
| Oct '42..... | 37 | 55 | 8 |
| Nov '42..... | 39 | 54 | 7 |

**23.** (US Nov 3 '42) In what way should they [our Allies] repay us? Asked of 54% of the Nov sample who thought we should be repaid for the supplies we were sending to our Allies. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Money | 26% |
| Goods | 17 |
| Strategic points | 1 |
| Colonies | 3 |
| Conquered countries | * |
| General mention of land | 3 |
| Trade concessions | 8 |
| Any way they can | 3 |
| General political cooperation | 1 |
| We can never be repaid | — |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 6 |
| | 69%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 54 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**24.** (US Sept 24 '42 and Jan 11 '43) Should we continue to send supplies to our Allies, even if it means we will have some shortages here at home? (NORC)

| | *Send supplies* | *Not send supplies* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '42..... | 88% | 7% | 5% |
| Jan '43..... | 94 | 4 | 2 |

**25.** (US Jan 7 '43 and Mar 10 '43) Do you happen to know what the lend-lease program is? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Jan '43..... | 73% | 27% |
| Mar '43..... | 79 | 21 |

**26.** (US Jan 7 '43 and Mar 10 '43) Do you favor or oppose continuing the lend-lease program? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who said they knew what the lend-lease program was. 73% of the Jan '43 sample and 79% of the Mar '43 sample are represented. (AIPO)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '43... | 82% | 9% | 9% = 100%* |
| Mar '43... | 88 | 7 | 5 = 100* |

* 100% of those questioned.

**27.** (US Jan 7 '43 and Mar 10 '43) Do you think the nations now getting lend-lease materials from us will repay us for these materials either in money or in goods, or will not repay us at all? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who said they knew what the lend-lease program was. 73% of the Jan. sample is represented. In March the question was asked of the total sample. (AIPO)

| | *Will repay* | *Will not repay* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '43..... | 29% | 58% | 13% = 100% of those questioned |
| Mar '43..... | 29 | 60 | 11 = 100 |

**28.** (US Jan 7 '43 and Mar 10 '43) Do you think they [nations now getting lend-lease materials] should repay us? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who said they knew what the lend-lease program was. 73% of the January sample is represented. In March the question was asked of the total sample. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '43..... | 72% | 28% | — = 100% of those questioned who expressed opinions |
| Mar '43..... | 73 | 21 | 6% |

**29.** (US Apr 6 '43) The United States has sent a lot of food and munitions to Britain under lend-lease. What do you think was the main reason for our doing this? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Helping them helps us | 44% |
| They needed help | 28 |
| Lend-lease kept us out of the fighting | 10 |
| Helping them gave us time to prepare | 6 |
| Lend-lease creates good will | 4 |
| Our troops are stationed there | 4 |
| Lend-lease is a trade exchange | 1 |
| Answers derogatory to the United States | 1 |
| Answers derogatory to Britain | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 6 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**30.** (US June '43) Do you think we are getting anything at all in return for the supplies and war materials we are sending England? 28% of the sample thought we were not getting anything and 18% said they didn't know. These two groups were asked: Do you think the United States should expect to get anything in return for what we're sending England? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Getting something now | 54% |
| Think we should expect some return | 34 |
| Think we should not expect return | 7 |
| Qualified answers | 1 |
| Didn't say whether or not we should expect something in return | 4 |

**31.** (US June '43) People who think they've found out why the League of Nations failed are now preparing for a new union of nations if we win the war. Nobody can say for sure whether a new union would end all wars or only lead to worse ones. In order to try out a union of nations as a possible way of preventing wars, would you yourself be willing or not willing to consider most of our lend-lease materials as aid to the Allies and not expect any payment for them? (NORC)

Yes, willing 51% No, not willing 40% Don't know 9%

**32.** (US Aug 4 '43 and Nov 15 '43) Have you ever heard of the lend-lease program? 83% of the Aug '43 sample and 85% of the Nov '43 sample who had heard of the program were asked: Have you ever heard of "reverse lend-lease"? (NORC)

| | *Aug '43* | *Nov '43* |
|---|---|---|
| Hadn't heard of lend-lease or didn't know | 17% | 15% |
| Heard of lend-lease but not of reverse lend-lease | 63 | 47 |
| Heard of both | 20 | 35 |
| Didn't know whether or not had heard of reverse lend-lease | — | 3 |

**33.** (US Aug 4 '43) What do you think it [reverse lend-lease] means? Asked of 20% of the sample who had heard of reverse lend-lease. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Reciprocal trade; exchange of goods | 5% |
| Other countries send us material; other countries help us | 3 |
| They give us what we need; repay us with materials we don't have | 2 |
| Furnish food and supplies to American troops abroad | 2 |
| Lend-lease to us | 1 |
| They are supposed to pay us back | 1 |
| Will pay us back in the future | 1 |
| Means end of lend-lease; it failed | 1 |
| Not going to get repaid | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 3 |
| | 20% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**34.** (US Aug 4 '43) (Well, it's pretty hard to say just what lend-lease is. As you know, the United States supplies the Allies with some of the materials they need to fight the war.) Which one of these four explanations comes closest to your idea of the way lend-lease is supposed to work? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Money after the war | 11% |
| Supplies we need | 27 |
| Any way they can after the war | 40 |
| Nothing in return | 12 |
| Don't know | 10 |

**35.** (US Aug 4 '43) If England continues to do all it can to help us defeat the Axis, do you think this is enough repayment for the lend-lease supplies we send? 51% of the sample who thought England's help in the war was not adequate repayment were asked: Do you think we should be repaid the full amount, about half, or less than half? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| England's help adequate payment | 42% |
| Don't know whether or not help is enough | 7 |
| Should repay full amount | 27 |
| Should repay about half | 18 |
| Should repay less than half | 2 |
| Don't know how much should be repaid | 4 |

**36.** (US Aug 4 '43) In which of these ways should we be repaid [for lend-lease supplies]? Asked of 51% of the sample who thought England's help in defeating the Axis was not enough repayment for lend-lease. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Gold | 15% |
| Guns and armaments | 2 |
| Goods and materials | 26 |
| Territory | 9 |
| Air and naval bases | 22 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 76%* |

* Percentages add to more than 51 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**37.** (US Aug 4 '43) If Russia continues to do all it can to help us defeat the Axis, do you think this is enough repayment for the lend-lease supplies we send her? 42% of the sample who thought Russia's help in the war was not adequate repayment were asked: Do you think we should be repaid the full amount, about half, or less than that? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia's help adequate | 51% |
| Don't know whether or not help is enough | 7 |
| Should repay full amount | 20 |
| Should repay about half | 16 |
| Should repay less than half | 3 |
| Don't know how much should be repaid | 3 |

**38.** (US Aug 4 '43) In which of these ways should we be repaid [for the supplies]? Asked of 42% of the sample who thought Russia's help in defeating the Axis was not enough repayment for lend-lease. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Gold | 12% |
| Guns and armaments | 2 |
| Goods and materials | 23 |
| Territory | 4 |
| Air and naval bases | 16 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 59%* |

* Percentages add to more than 42 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**39.** (US Aug 4 '43) If we make England and Russia pay us back for most of the supplies we are sending them, do you think this would help cause a depression in those countries? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 39% |
| No | 35 |
| Don't know | 14 |
| Qualified | 12 |

**40.** (US Aug 4 '43) Well, if it [making England and Russia repay us for most of the supplies we have sent] would cause a depression in those countries, do you think we ourselves would be better off to collect anyway? (NORC)

Yes 30% No 56% Don't know 14%

**41.** (US Aug 4 '43) As far as you know, have we received any war materials or supplies from England in return for lend-lease? 32% of the sample who said we had received some return for lend-lease were asked: Would you guess that she has sent us more than half of the amount we've sent her, about half, or a fourth, or a tenth as much as we've sent her? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Haven't received anything | 47% |
| Don't know whether or not we have received anything | 21 |
| Have received more than half | 1 |
| Have received about half | 3 |
| Have received a fourth | 10 |
| Have received a tenth | 14 |
| Don't know how much we have received | 4 |

**42.** (US Oct 6 '43 and Sept 6 '45) Do you think England should pay us back in some way after the war for the lend-lease material we send her? In 1945 the last verb was changed from "send" to "sent" and "after the war" was omitted from the question. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '43 | 79% | 13% | 8% |
| Sept '45 | 83 | 12 | 5 |

**43.** (US Oct 6 '43 and Sept 6 '45) What is your understanding of our agreement with England on lend-lease material sent to her—is England supposed to pay us back in some way after the war, or are we supposed to give her this material? In the 1945 question, the words "after the war" were omitted. (AIPO)

| | *Supposed to pay* | *Give material* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '43 | 57% | 13% | 30% |
| Sept '45 | 65 | 20 | 15 |

**44.** (US Oct 6 '43) Does England furnish us with any war materials under the lend-lease program? A comparable cross-section was asked: Does England furnish us anything under the lend-lease program? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 23% Don't know 47%

**45.** (US Apr '45) If our government keeps on sending lend-lease materials, which we may not get paid for, to friendly countries for about three years after the war, do you think this will mean more jobs or fewer jobs for most Americans, or won't it make any difference? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More jobs | 57% |
| Fewer jobs | 10 |
| No difference | 18 |
| Don't know | 15 |

**46.** (US Apr '45 and July '45) Do you think the United States should be paid for the war materials we have been (are) sending to England, or do you think her help in the war is enough payment? (NORC)

| | *Apr '45* | *July '45* |
|---|---|---|
| Should be paid; should give them plenty of time, pay when able | 53% | 59% |
| War help enough | 18 | 25 |
| Should pay part; pay what they're able; pay if possible | 10 | 5 |
| Should pay in other than money—land, bases, goods, etc | 1 | 1 |
| Should pay when they're able; installments | 1 | — |
| Should pay for this and for World War I; (all expressions of displeasure that England owes us for the last war) | 5 | 2 |
| Pay according to original lend-lease agreement; if they help with the Japanese war it is enough; don't know; should not pay | 10 | 7 |
| Should not pay for some other reason: she won't pay anyway; would cause depression and that would hurt us | 2 | 1 |
| Should pay in money | * | — |

* Less than 0.5%.

**47.** (US May 29 '45) Under the lend-lease agreement, is England supposed to pay us back in full, only in part, or not at all for our lend-lease aid? 36% of the sample thought we were supposed to be repaid in full and 24% thought we were supposed to be repaid in part. These two groups were asked: Will you tell me in what forms England is supposed to repay us for our lend-lease aid? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not supposed to be repaid | 6% |
| No opinion as to whether or not we are supposed to be repaid | 34 |
| Suppose to be repaid in goods, in material, in kind | 19 |
| In money, in cash | 14 |
| In trade | 7 |
| In land bases, air bases | 5 |
| Whatever we need most | 2 |
| In service | 2 |
| In same form as received | 1 |
| In war materials | 1 |
| In any way at all | 1 |
| In miscellaneous ways | 1% |
| Didn't say in what way | 20 |
| | 113%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**48.** (US May 29 '45) Do you think England should repay us in full, only in part, or not at all for our lend-lease help? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| In full | 63% |
| Not at all | 3 |
| Only in part | 24 |
| No opinion | 10 |

**49.** (US May 29 '45) Do you think England should repay us for the lend-lease materials which her armed forces actually used in fighting the Germans? (AIPO)

Yes 74% No 17% No opinion 9%

**50.** (US July '45) Do you think we are getting anything at all in return for supplies and war materials we are sending England? 39% of the sample who thought we were getting something in return were asked: What are we getting? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not getting anything | 40% |
| Don't know whether or not we are getting anything | 21 |
| Getting cooperation; help in winning the war; friendship; men; ultimate peace | 22 |
| Getting materials; equipment; reverse lend-lease | 12 |
| Naval bases | 3 |
| Air bases | 3 |
| Ships; transportation | 2 |
| Money; payment for materials | 1 |
| Their experience in training men, in rationing, etc | 1 |
| They held off the Germans until we got prepared | 1 |
| Other items we are getting | 1 |
| Don't know what we are getting | 3 |
| | 110%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**51.** (US July '45) At the same time as the preceding question, a comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think we are getting anything at all in return for the supplies and war materials we are sending England? 51% of this sample who thought we were getting something were asked a more explicit question: What are we getting—materials or services, help in winning the war, or what? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not getting anything | 31% |
| Don't know whether or not we are getting anything | 18 |
| Getting materials or services | 14 |
| Getting help in winning the war | 24 |
| Getting both materials and services as well as help | 11 |
| Other items we are getting | 1 |
| Don't know what we are getting | 1 |

**52.** (US July '45) Here are a couple of facts about the lend-lease materials we have sent England. So far, England has returned to us in goods and services about one-fourth of what we have sent her. When the Lend-Lease Bill was passed by Congress, it was agreed that our President could regard England's help in fighting the war as enough payment for these materials. The reason for this was that our government thought that by fighting Germany, England was defending our interests as well as her own. Do you think we should consider the goods and services we've gotten from England, together with her help in fighting the war, as about an even trade—or do you think we should get something more? Each respondent was handed a card with the facts. 53% of the sample who thought we should get something more were asked: What do you think we should get? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should regard what we've got as an even trade | 36% |
| Don't know how we should regard what we've got | 11 |
| Should get money; payment for materials | 22 |
| Should get materials; civilian and military services to our armed forces; lend-lease in reverse | 12 |
| Should get land, colonies | 3 |
| Bases | 4 |
| Canada | * |
| Trade; concessions; agreements | 1 |
| Help in winning the war | 6 |
| Cooperation after the war; our place at the peace table and credit for what we have done in this war; our chance to make peace terms | 1 |
| Pay the first war debt | 3 |
| Other answers | 7 |
| Don't know what we should get | 3 |
| | 109%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**53.** (US July '45) What is your understanding of the agreement the United States has with the countries receiving our war materials under lend-lease? Are the countries supposed to pay us in either money or goods, or could their help in winning the war be regarded as enough payment? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Money or goods | 49% |
| Help could be enough | 25 |
| Don't know | 26 |

**54.** (US July '45) From what you have heard, would you say that most foreign countries have wasted a lot more lend-lease materials than necessary, or have they handled the materials as well as they could? 26% of the sample who thought more material than necessary was wasted were asked: Would you say that there has been more waste of lend-lease materials in foreign countries than there has been waste of materials by our army, or has it been about the same? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Handled as well as possible | 55% |
| Don't know whether or not there has been unnecessary waste | 19 |
| More waste in foreign countries | 6 |
| About the same amount of waste in foreign countries as in our army | 14 |
| More waste by our army | 3 |
| Don't know where more waste occurred | 3 |

**55.** (US July '45) Which way do you think the United States would have been better off in the long run—by sending war materials to the countries that fought Germany, or by keeping the war materials for our own armed forces? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sending materials | 78% |
| Keeping materials for our forces | 18 |
| Don't know | 4 |

**56.** (US Sept 6 '45) Was it your understanding that the lend-lease goods we sent to England during the war were to be paid for in full either in goods or money, or not to be paid for at all? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| In full | 44% |
| In part | 21 |
| Not at all | 13 |
| No opinion | 22 |

**57.** (US Sept 6 '45) President Truman says that we should not ask for repayment for lend-lease goods sent to England. Do you agree or disagree with this? (AIPO)

Agree 30% Disagree 61% No opinion 9%

**58.** (Canada Oct 24 '45) During the war, Canada provided Britain with millions of dollars worth of supplies free. Now that the fighting has stopped, do you think Canada should continue to provide these supplies free until Britain gets back to normal, or should Britain be expected to pay for such supplies? (CIPO)

| | *Continue free* | *Britain to pay* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 26% | 64% | 10% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Liberal | 23% | 67% | 10% |
| Progressive-Conservative | 36 | 54 | 10 |
| Cooperative Commonwealth Federation | 30 | 60 | 10 |

**59.** (US Dec '45) Which one of these comes closest to your idea of how lend-lease should have been handled? (FOR)

| | *National total* | *Those who in 1944 favored: Roosevelt* | *Dewey* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lend-lease should have been stopped when it was and in the way it was | 49.4% | 42.8% | 62.4% |
| While lend-lease should have been stopped about when it was, it should not have been done so suddenly without consulting the countries receiving it | 18.4 | 19.9 | 17.6 |
| Lend-lease should have been extended up to a year to help countries receiving it get back on their feet | 19.0 | 22.4 | 14.0 |
| Don't know | 13.2 | 14.9 | 6.0 |

**60.** (US Dec '45) What do you think the United States should do about what other countries received from us under lend-lease? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hold out for full payment either in goods or money | 27.4% |
| Make settlements satisfactory to both sides that will give us certain concessions, certain services, and perhaps some goods | 58.1 |
| Cancel all they owe us | 5.2 |
| Don't know | 9.3 |

## LENT

**1.** (Great Britain Feb '39) What are you giving up for Lent? (BIPO)

| | *Nothing* | *Meat* | *Money to charity* | *Smoking* | *Sugar in tea* | *Beer or spirits* | *Cinema, whist drives, entertainments* | *Chocolates and sweets* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 88% | 1% | 1% | 3% | 1% | 1% | 3% | 2% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | | |
| Men | 93% | 1% | 1% | 2% | — | 1% | 2% | — |
| Women | 81 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1% | — | 8 | 4% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | | |
| Higher | 88% | — | 1% | 5% | 1% | — | 3% | 2% |
| Middle | 88 | 1% | 1 | 3 | — | 1% | 4 | 2 |
| Lower | 88 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 |
| BY AGE | | | | | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 90% | — | 1% | 2% | 1% | 1% | 3% | 2% |
| 30–49 years | 88 | 1% | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| 50 years and over | 88 | — | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 5 | ? |

**2.** (Great Britain Feb '39) Why [are you giving up article chosen in answer to question above for Lent]? Asked of 12% of the sample who said they were giving up something. (BIPO)

BY SEX

| | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| Religion | 22% | 19% |
| Should deny ourselves earthly pleasures sometimes | 21 | 16 |
| Catholic | 10 | 5 |
| Habit | 22 | 33 |
| Good to discipline ourselves | 13 | 16 |
| Greater contribution to church | — | 5 |
| To please others | 8 | — |
| Spend money in better fashion | 4 | 6 |
| | 100%* | 100%* |

* 100% of those who said they were giving up something for Lent.

## LIBERTY OF THE PRESS

**1.** (US Jan '36 and Aug '38) Do you believe that any of the following abuse their power—bankers, press, radio, pulpit, veterans? In 1938 "none" was added to the list. (FOR)

| | *Press* | *Bankers* | *Pulpit* | *Veterans* | *Radio* | *Don't know* | *None of them* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Jan '36 | 41.8 | 38.3 | 26.0 | 23.4 | 21.8 | 7.0 | 27.8 | = 186.1* |
| Aug '38 | 24.5 | 22.3 | 5.1 | 9.6 | 7.3 | 11.7 | 19.5 | = 100 |

1936 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Prosperous | 42.4 | 40.3 | 26.5 | 29.8 | 26.1 | 3.8 | 27.6 | = 196.5* |
| Upper middle | 48.5 | 42.0 | 30.4 | 28.4 | 27.2 | 5.3 | 25.7 | = 207.5* |
| Lower middle | 43.0 | 39.6 | 24.8 | 21.6 | 20.8 | 6.5 | 24.0 | = 180.3* |
| Poor | 34.8 | 33.4 | 20.8 | 14.5 | 16.2 | 8.9 | 30.9 | = 159.5* |
| 1936 Negroes only | 24.6 | 20.7 | 27.6 | 12.5 | 12.1 | 9.1 | — | = 106.6* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (US Dec 28 '36) Do you think the press should have the right to say anything it pleases about public officials? (AIPO)

Yes 55% No 45% = 100% No opinion 6%

**3.** (US July 19 '37) Do you think the government should tell newspapers what news to print and what not to print? (AIPO)

Yes 12% No 88% = 100% No opinion 7%

**4.** (US Oct '37) Do you think newspapers should be allowed to print anything they choose except libelous matter? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 54.8% | 39.1% | 6.1% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 60.7% | 34.1% | 5.2% |
| Women | 48.8 | 44.3 | 6.9 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 61.9% | 36.6% | 1.5% |
| Poor | 50.8 | 41.5 | 7.7 |

**5.** (US Oct '37) Which kind of material should be less featured [in newspapers]? Asked of 39.1% of the sample who thought newspapers should not be allowed to print anything they chose. (FOR)

| | *Total* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sex | 13.8% | 12.5% | 14.8% |
| Crime | 28.8 | 26.8 | 30.3 |
| Personal scandal | 20.0 | 19.9 | 20.1 |
| Misleading statements | 14.8 | 17.1 | 13.0 |
| Articles attacking the President and other public men | 4.9 | 5.1 | 4.8 |
| Articles causing dissatisfaction with the present order | 5.8 | 5.9 | 5.8 |
| Foreign news likely to make the public want to get mixed up in war | 10.6 | 11.5 | 9.9 |
| Other | 1.3 | 1.2 | 1.3 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned | | |

**6.** (US Nov 12 '37) In Quebec, Canada, a law permits the police to padlock places printing Communist literature. Would you favor such a law here? (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 39% = 100% No opinion 10%

**7.** (Great Britain Nov '38) Do you think that the state should impose a political censorship of the British press? (BIPO)

Yes 19% No 81% = 100% No opinion 14%

**8.** (US June '39) Do you think our government should or should not establish a bureau to supervise what should be printed in newspapers and magazines? (FOR)

Should 15.3% Should not 76.1%

Don't know or depends 8.6%

**9.** (US Aug '39) Do you believe that, in the past, newspapers and magazines have been free to print anything they please on any subject they please? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 49.1% |
| Yes, except libel and obscenity | 14.3 |
| Almost anything | 10.7 |
| No | 18.2 |
| Don't know | 7.7 |

**10.** (US Aug '39) Who has prevented them [newspapers and magazines] from doing so [printing anything they please]? Asked of 28.9% of the sample who thought newspapers and magazines had not always been free to print anything they pleased. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Newspaper owners | 22.9% |
| Politicians | 19.6 |
| Capitalists | 15.7 |
| Government | 12.5 |
| Advertisers | 11.3 |
| Other | 7.7 |
| Don't know | 10.3 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned |

**11.** (US Aug '39) Even if it injures the sale of the product and lessens the income of the producer, do you think that newspapers and magazines should have the right of honest criticism about a book or movie; the quality of gasoline; the labor policy of an employer; the way a company operates its business? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| A book or movie | 81.6% | 11.2% | 7.2% |
| Quality of gasoline | 72.8 | 17.2 | 10.0 |
| Labor policy of an employer | 60.1 | 28.1 | 11.8 |
| The way a company operates its business | 58.4 | 31.4 | 10.2 |

**12.** (US Aug '39) Do you believe that newspapers and magazines should be allowed to describe methods of fighting syphilis; print accident and war pictures; attack the Communist party; attack the Nazis in Germany; attack President Roosevelt; print divorce hearings; print a fine painting of a nude; print a speech attacking a public official without printing his reply? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *Qualified yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Describe methods of fighting syphilis | 78.3% | .7% | 11.3% | 9.7% |
| Print accident and war pictures | 71.6 | 4.3 | 18.5 | 5.6 |
| Attack the Communist party | 63.8 | 1.4 | 12.5 | 22.3 |
| Attack the Nazis | 54.3 | 1.8 | 20.4 | 23.5 |
| Attack President Roosevelt | 49.4 | 5.1 | 37.8 | 7.7 |
| Print divorce hearings | 36.6 | 2.3 | 51.5 | 9.6 |
| Print a fine painting of a nude | 36.1 | 1.1 | 52.8 | 10.0 |
| Print a speech attacking a public official without printing his reply | 11.9 | .4 | 79.5 | 8.2 |
| OPINION ON ATTACKING ROOSEVELT BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| Pacific coast | 66.3% | 8.2% | 23.0% | 2.5% |
| Southwest | 41.0 | 2.5 | 41.5 | 15.0 |
| Southeast | 32.0 | 3.9 | 52.5 | 11.6 |
| OPINION ON ATTACKING ROOSEVELT BY OPINIONS ABOUT HIM | | | | |
| Generally approving Roosevelt | 37.0% | 4.9% | 50.1% | 8.0% |
| Generally disapproving Roosevelt | 72.9 | 5.2 | 17.7 | 4.2 |

**13.** (US Aug '39) By what method should newspapers and magazines be prevented [from writing about the items mentioned in the preceding question]? Asked of a national cross-section of those who thought the newspapers and magazines should not be allowed to write about the items in the above question. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Public opinion | 34.1% |
| Editor's good taste | 29.3 |
| More legislation (comparable to libel and obscenity laws) | 15.4 |
| Government control of the press | 7.6 |
| Board of censors | .5 |
| All other means | 1.1 |
| Don't know | 12.0 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned |

**14.** (US Aug '39) Do you believe the government should own or more closely control the newspapers? (FOR)

| | *Own* | *More closely control* | *Leave alone* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 3.6% | 10.3% | 73.6% | 12.5% |
| Negroes only | 12.5 | 20.7 | 36.3 | 30.5 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 1.4% | 5.9% | 87.4% | 5.3% |
| Upper middle class | 1.7 | 7.3 | 82.9 | 8.1 |
| Lower middle class | 2.8 | 10.5 | 76.2 | 10.5 |
| Poor | 4.6 | 11.1 | 67.3 | 17.0 |

**15.** (US Aug '39) Do you feel that the press has abused its freedom in any way? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 21.3% |
| No | 64.2 |
| Occasionally | 1.3 |
| Don't know | 13.2 |

**16.** (US Aug '39) In what way [has the press abused its freedom]? Asked of 21.3% of the sample who thought the press had abused its freedom. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Prejudice in general and politics | 36.0% |
| Sensationalism; exaggeration; distortion | 30.8 |
| Too much sex, crime | 9.7 |
| Suppression; propaganda; selfish use of power | 8.3 |
| Other | 12.1 |
| Don't know | 3.1 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned |

**17.** (Great Britain Sept '39) Do you think that the censorship of news is too strict, too lenient, or about right? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too strict | 54% |
| Too lenient | 2 |
| About right | 37 |
| Don't know | 7 |

**18.** (US Apr 9 '40) Which do you think is more important—that newspapers should be allowed to criticize the decisions of judges, or that judges should be free from such criticism? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Newspapers to criticize | 75% |
| Judges free from criticism | 25 |
| | 100% |
| Other answers and no opinion | 13% |

**19.** (US Apr 9 '40) Which do you think is more important—that newspapers should be allowed to criticize the decisions of courts, or that courts should be free from such criticism? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Newspapers should be able to criticize | 74% |
| Courts should be free from criticism | 26 |
| | 100% |
| Other answers and no opinion | 15% |

**20.** (Great Britain July '40) Do you think that stricter control and censorship of the press by the government would be wise? (BIPO)

Wise 19% Unwise 68% Don't know 13%

**21.** (US Jan 22 '41) Do you think there should be a law forbidding newspapers to take sides in their editorials during election campaigns? (AIPO)

Yes 18% No 73% Don't know 9%

**22.** (US Jan 22 '41) Do you think the newspapers should be allowed to take sides in their editorials during election campaigns? (AIPO)

Yes 58% No 34% Don't know 8%

**23.** (Great Britain Mar '41) If the government objects to the opinions expressed in a newspaper and feels that it should not be allowed to appear, what should it do of the following—suppress it and then get Parliament to approve; government should not be able to suppress any newspaper; take the matter to the law court and try to get the courts to agree that the paper's opinions are against the national interest? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Suppress it and then get Parliament to approve | 39% |
| Take the matter to the law court and try to get the courts to agree that paper's opinions are against national interests | 20 |
| Government should not be able to suppress any newspaper | 30 |
| Any other opinion | 11 |

**24.** (US Nov '43 and Nov '45) In peacetime, do you think newspapers should be allowed to criticize our form of government? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '43 | 66% | 30% | 4% |
| Nov '45 | 64 | 31 | 5 |

**25.** (US Dec '44) After the war, do you think all newspaper reporters should be free to report everything they see going on in foreign countries, or do you think the governments of those countries should have a right to keep some reports from being sent out? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Reporters should be free | 69% |
| Governments should have right | 25 |
| Don't know | 6 |
| International law should decide | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**26.** (France Jan 16 '45) Do you favor the censoring of political news? (FIPO)

Yes 22% No 66% No opinion 12%

**27.** (France Mar 1 '45) The paper *France-Soir* has been suspended for appearing four times without waiting for the military censor's OK. Do you approve of this judgment? (FIPO)

Yes 42% No 34% No opinion 24%

**28.** (Germany Dec 1 '45) Do you think that a newspaper should have the right to criticize the civil government? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 65% |
| Yes, couldn't do it during Nazi regime | 2 |
| Yes, this is the democratic way | 4 |
| No | 8 |
| No opinion | 21 |

**29.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statements: (OMGUS)

| | AMERICAN ZONE AND BERLIN | | | BERLIN ONLY | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
| Books criticising the politics of the government should be published | 83% | 11% | 6% | 84% | 13% | 3% |
| No book should be published which criticizes a government or recommends a change of it | 29 | 62 | 9 | 35 | 62 | 3 |

**30.** (Germany Aug 9 '46) We should like to know if you have any criticisms about the following items, for often criticism is worth more than praise. Are you satisfied, not quite satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the right of criticism conceded to newspapers and magazines? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Satisfied | 74% |
| Not quire satisfied | 8 |
| Not at all satisfied | 3 |
| No opinion | 15 |

# LIQUOR PROBLEM

**1.** (US Sept 8 '35) In your locality is the situation in respect to the use of alcoholic beverages better, worse, or about the same as it was during the last few years of prohibition? (AIPO)

| | *Better* | *About same* | *Worse* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 36% | 31% | 33% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republican | 24% | 26% | 50% |
| Democratic | 47 | 33 | 20 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 38% | 29% | 33% |
| Middle Atlantic | 44 | 27 | 29 |
| East central | 36 | 26 | 38 |
| West central | 37 | 26 | 37 |
| South | 26 | 41 | 33 |
| Mountain | 33 | 33 | 34 |
| Far West | 46 | 24 | 30 |

**2.** (US Nov 13 '35) Do you think liquor regulations in your state are too strict, too lax, or about right? (Oct 8 '38 and Dec 13 '39) Do you think liquor regulations here are too strict, not strict enough, or about right? (Nov 13 '41) Do you think liquor regulations in this community are too strict, or not strict enough? (AIPO)

| | *Too strict* | *Not strict enough* | *About right* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '35 | 11% | 39% | 50% |
| Oct '38 | 4 | 53 | 43 |
| Dec '39 | 7 | 51 | 42 |
| Nov '41 | 6 | 55 | 39 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| *New England* | | | |
| Nov '35 | 14% | 41% | 45% |
| Oct '38 | 5 | 49 | 46 |
| *New England and mid-Atlantic* | | | |
| Dec '39 | 12 | 39 | 49 |
| *Middle Atlantic* | | | |
| Nov '35 | 9 | 26 | 65 |
| Oct '38 | 6 | 41 | 53 |
| *East central* | | | |
| Nov '35 | 7 | 44 | 49 |
| Oct '38 | 4 | 53 | 43 |
| Dec '39 | 4 | 57 | 39 |
| *West central* | | | |
| Nov '35 | 12 | 46 | 42 |
| Oct '38 | 3 | 65 | 32 |
| Dec '39 | 7 | 56 | 37 |
| *South* | | | |
| Nov '35 | 19 | 40 | 41 |
| Oct '38 | 4 | 65 | 31 |
| Dec '39 | 7 | 62 | 31 |
| *West* | | | |
| Oct '38 | 4 | 52 | 44 |
| Dec '39 | 5 | 53 | 42 |
| *Mountain* | | | |
| Nov '35 | 10 | 41 | 49 |
| *Pacific* | | | |
| Nov '35 | 6 | 48 | 46 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| *Big cities* | | | |
| Nov '35 | 12% | 35% | 53% |
| Dec '39 | 9 | 46 | 45 |

| | *Too strict* | *Not strict enough* | *About right* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Small towns* | | | |
| Nov '35 | 5% | 48% | 47% |
| Dec '39 | 5 | 53 | 42 |
| *Farms* | | | |
| Nov '35 | 10 | 50 | 40 |
| Dec '39 | 3 | 63 | 34 |

**3.** (US Apr 5 '37) Do you think drunkenness is increasing in this country? (AIPO)

Yes 47% No 53% = 100% No opinion 16%

**4.** (US Jan '38) What kind of liquor law would you approve in this state: (1) No restrictions except in requiring licenses for dealers; (2) liquor to be sold only by the bottle, and only in state stores; (3) liquor to be sold only by the bottle, not by the drink; (4) no hard liquors, only light wines and beers allowed; (5) complete prohibition of alcoholic drinks. (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* % | *Statement 2* % | *Statement 3* % | *Statement 4* % | *Statement 5* % | *Other* % | *Don't know or don't care* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 35.2 | 16.9 | 6.6 | 6.0 | 22.3 | 2.7 | 10.3 |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | |
| Men | 41.9 | 18.4 | 7.8 | 4.3 | 15.1 | 3.9 | 8.6 |
| Women | 28.4 | 15.3 | 5.4 | 7.6 | 29.7 | 1.5 | 12.1 |

**5.** (US Oct 8 '38 and Dec 13 '39) Do you think drunkenness is increasing or decreasing in this community? (Nov 13 '41) Do you think there is more drunkenness or less drunkenness in your community than there was ten years ago? (AIPO)

| | *Increasing* | *Decreasing* | *About the same* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '38 | 40% | 24% | 36% |
| Dec '39 | 39 | 24 | 37 |
| Nov '41 | 43 | 31 | 26 |

**6.** (Great Britain Jan '39) Should the present licensing hours, during which drink may be sold, be extended, kept the same, or shortened? (BIPO)

Extended 19% Kept same 61% Shortened 20%

**7.** (Great Britain May '39) We have been asked to obtain some information about the drinking habits of people in this community. Do you happen to be a teetotaller? (BIPO)

Yes 37% No 63%

**8.** (Great Britain May '39) Which do you normally prefer—beer, spirits, or wine? Asked of 63% of the sample who were not teetotallers. (BIPO)

Beer 58% Spirits 11%

Wine 31% = 100% of the drinkers

**9.** (US June 7 '39) Do you ever drink any alcoholic beverage such as wine, beer, cocktails, high-balls? (Nov 21 '45 and July 24 '46) Do you ever have occasion to use any alcoholic beverages such as liquor, wine, or beer, or are you a total abstainer? (AIPO)

1939 RESULTS

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 58% | 42% |
| 1939 RESULTS BY SEX | | |
| Men | 70% | 30% |
| Women | 45 | 55 |
| 1939 RESULTS BY AGE | | |
| Under 30 years old | 67% | 33% |
| 30–49 years old | 62 | 38 |
| 50 years and over | 42 | 58 |
| 1939 RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | |
| Urban | 63% | 37% |
| Small town | 50 | 50 |
| Farm | 43 | 57 |

1945 AND 1946 RESULTS

| | *Wine and beer* | *Total abstainer* | *Both liquor and wine or beer* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '45 | 15% | 33% | 51% | 1% |
| July '46 | — | 33 | 67 | — |

**10.** (US June 7 '39) Do you disapprove of other people drinking? Asked of a national cross-section of abstainers. 42% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 45% | 55% = 100% of abstainers with opinions | 8% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 37% | 63% | |
| Women | 49 | 51 | |
| BY AGE | | | |
| Under 30 years old | 30% | 70% | |
| 30–49 years | 42 | 58 | |
| 50 years and over | 56 | 44 | |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Urban | 35% | 65% | |
| Small town | 55 | 45 | |
| Farm | 60 | 40 | |

**11.** (US June 7 '39) About how many times a week do you take a drink? Asked of a national cross-section of drinkers. 58% of the sample is represenred. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Occasionally | 18% |
| Once a month | 10 |
| Once in two weeks | 2 |
| Once a week | 27 |
| Twice a week | 14 |
| 3 times a week | 8 |
| 4 times a week | 3 |
| 5 times a week | 1 |
| Once a day | 14 |
| Twice a day | 2 |
| More than twice a day | 1 |
| | 100% of those questioned who answered |
| No answer | 15% |

**12.** (US June 7 '39) What kind of liquor do you like best—wine, beer, gin, scotch, rye, bourbon, rum, or some other? Asked of a national cross-section of drinkers. 58% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Wine | 16% |
| Beer | 45 |
| Gin | 7 |
| Scotch | 15 |
| Rye | 11 |
| Bourbon | 10 |
| Rum | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Other | 2% |
| No answer | 5 |
| | 113%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who drank and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**13.** (US June 7 '39) About how often do you like to take a drink? Asked of a national cross-section of drinkers. 58% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than once a month | 38% |
| Once a month | 8 |
| Once in two weeks | 2 |
| Once a week | 19 |
| Twice a week | 8 |
| Three times a week | 4 |
| Four times a week | 1 |
| Five times a week | 1 |
| Once a day | 14 |
| Twice a day | 3 |
| More than twice a day | 2 |
| | 100% of those questioned who answered |
| No answer | 10% |

**14.** (US Nov '39) Do you agree with him [Governor Dickinson] thar liquor is what usually causes the downfall of young girls? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *Qualified yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46.2% | 1.1% | 43.3% | 9.4% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 39.3% | 1.1% | 50.6% | 9.0% |
| Women | 53.2 | 1.2 | 35.8 | 9.8 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| Under 40 years | 40.8% | 1.1% | 49.8% | 8.3% |
| Over 40 years | 51.1 | 1.2 | 37.2 | 10.5 |

**15.** (Great Britain July '40) Since the war began do you find that you are using more or less alcohol (beer, spirits, etc.)? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 6% |
| Less | 22 |
| Same | 27 |
| Don't use | 45 |

**16.** (US June 7 '41) Do you think there should be a law forbidding the sale of liquor in areas near army camps? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 51% |
| Should permit only wine and beer | 8 |
| No | 36 |
| No opinion | 5 |

**17.** (Canada Mar 7 '42) Do you think the rules regulating the sale of wine and beer in this community are too strict or not strict enough? Asked in Ontario and Quebec. (CIPO)

| | *Too strict* | *About right* | *Not strict enough* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ontario | 5% | 39% | 47% | 9% |
| Quebec | 19 | 46 | 19 | 16 |

**18.** (Canada Mar 7 '42) Would you favor or oppose a law setting a limit on the amount of hard liquor which any person would be allowed to buy in a week? (CIPO)

Favor 60% Oppose 29% No opinion 11%

**19.** (Australia Mar–Apr '42) Are the new restrictions on the liquor trade too drastic, not drastic enough, or about right? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too drastic | 20% |
| About right | 48 |
| Not drastic enough | 29 |
| No answer | 3 |

**20.** (Australia Mar–Apr '42) Should army privates have wet canteens? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Favor wet canteens | 78% |
| Against them | 18 |
| Undecided | 4 |

**21.** (Sweden May '42) Do you drink sometimes when you want to have a good time? Asked of a national cross-section of young people. (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | |
| National total—boys | 30% | 68% | 2% |
| National total—girls | 11 | 81 | 8 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY AND SEX | | | |
| Town boys | 28% | 68% | 4% |
| Town girls | 14 | 74 | 12 |
| Provincial boys | 29 | 70 | 1 |
| Provincial girls | 10 | 85 | 5 |
| Country boys | 32 | 66 | 2 |
| Country girls | 9 | 87 | 4 |
| BY AGE AND SEX | | | |
| 16–17 year old boys | 14% | 84% | 2% |
| 16–17 year old girls | 6 | 88 | 6 |
| 18–19 year old boys | 32 | 66 | 2 |
| 18–19 year old girls | 10 | 82 | 8 |
| 20 year old boys | 58 | 40 | 2 |
| 20 year old girls | 24 | 67 | 9 |

**22.** (Sweden May '42) Do you think that your children drink alcohol when they are out enjoying themselves? Asked of a national cross-section of parents. (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Fathers' answers* | | | |
| About sons | 22% | 70% | 8% |
| About daughters | 16 | 78 | 6 |
| *Mothers' answers* | | | |
| About sons | 17 | 74 | 9 |
| About daughters | 9 | 79 | 12 |

**23.** (Great Britain May '42) Has rhe budget changed your habits in drinking? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Teetotaller | 41% |
| Stopped | 3 |
| Drink less | 24 |
| Drink same | 32 |

**24.** (Australia July–Aug '42) Would you favor or oppose a plan to reduce the alcoholic content of beer and wines? (APOP)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National toral | 56% | 32% | 12% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 51% | 40% | 9% |
| Women | 64 | 21 | 15 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Labor party | 51% | 38% | 11% |
| Liberal-Country | 63 | 27 | 10 |

**25.** (Australia Sept '42) In your opinion, is a public inquiry into the liquor trade necessary? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Favored inquiry | 57% |
| Inquiry unnecessary | 26 |
| Undecided | 17 |

**26.** (Australia Sept '42) Do you think shouting [for drinks] should be stopped? (APOP)

| Yes | No | No answer |
|---|---|---|
| 57% | 37% | 6% |

**27.** (Australia Sept '42 and Mar '43) Should alcoholic drinks be rationed by means of coupons? (Apr '44) During the war, should beer, wines, and spirits be rationed by coupons? (APOP)

| | *Yes, favor* | *No, oppose* | *Undecided* | *No opinion; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '42 | 47% | 46% | — | 7% |
| Mar '43 | 48 | 37 | 9% | 6 |
| Apr '44 | 53 | 32 | — | 15 |
| 1942 RESULTS BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 38% | 56% | | 6% |
| Women | 58 | 33 | | 9 |
| 1942 RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Capital cities (where beer was short) | 49% | 43% | | 8% |
| Country towns and farms | 44 | 50 | | 6 |

**28.** (Sweden Dec '42) Do you think that drinking has increased or decreased during the past two years? (SGI)

| | *Increased* | *Decreased* | *The same* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 26% | 27% | 20% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Towns | 42% | 16% | 18% | 24% |
| Country | 18 | 33 | 32 | 17 |

**29.** (Canada May 12 '43 and Nov 14 '45) Do you ever have occasion to use any alcoholic beverages such as liquor, wine or beer, or are you a total abstainer? (CIPO)

| | *Use alcohol* | *Total abstainer* |
|---|---|---|
| May '43 | 59% | 41% |
| Nov '45 | 64 | 36 |
| 1943 RESULTS BY SEX | | |
| Men | 72% | 28% |
| Women | 45 | 55 |

**30.** (Canada May 12 '43) Do you think the government regulations cutting down on the amount of beer sold in Canada were necessary or unnecessary? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Regulations necessary | 44% |
| Not necessary | 35 |
| No opinion | 21 |

**31.** (Canada May 12 '43) Do you think these restrictions on beer are working out fairly satisfactorily, or would you prefer to see beer rationed? (CIPO)

| | *Restrictions satisfactory* | *Want rationing* | *Want no restrictions or rationing* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 21% | 42% | 17% | 20% |
| BY SELECTED PROVINCES | | | | |
| Ontario | 15% | 62% | 7% | 16% |
| Quebec | 26 | 23 | 27 | 24 |

**32.** (Sweden Aug '43) Do you think that the misuse of alcohol would increase or decrease if the ration books were abolished and prices increased? Do you think that prices are high enough as it is to make the abolition of the ration books possible? (SGI)

| | *Ration books abolished if prices unaltered* | *Ration books abolished if prices increased* | *If no ration books there will be greater misuse in spite of higher prices* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41% | 12% | 28% | 19% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 52% | 13% | 24% | 11% |
| Women | 31 | 9 | 33 | 27 |

**33.** (Canada Aug 11 '43) In your opinion, what is the main reason for the regulations cutting down the amount of beer (hard liquor) that is sold in your province? (CIPO)

| | *Beer* | *Liquor* |
|---|---|---|
| Shortages of ingredients and manpower | 27% | 40% |
| Diversion of public spending | 20 | 16 |
| Prohibition sentiment | 15 | 16 |
| Politics | 8 | 5 |
| Needs of armed forces | 8 | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 | 6 |
| Don't know | 17 | 15 |

**34.** (Sweden Apr '44) Do you think that the alcohol ration book has helped or harmed sobriety in Sweden? (SGI)

| | *Helped* | *Harmed* | *No difference* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 51% | 24% | 15% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 49% | 28% | 16% | 7% |
| Women | 54 | 20 | 13 | 13 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 57% | 20% | 17% | 6% |
| Middle class | 54 | 22 | 14 | 10 |
| Workers | 48 | 27 | 15 | 10 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 49% | 26% | 14% | 11% |
| 30–49 years | 51 | 24 | 15 | 10 |
| 50–64 years | 54 | 23 | 14 | 9 |
| 65 years and over | 49 | 23 | 17 | 11 |

**35.** (Sweden Apr '44) Do you think that, because they own a ration book, many drink alcohol which they would not do otherwise? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 35% | 50% | 15% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 40% | 50% | 10% |
| Women | 30 | 49 | 21 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 35% | 50% | 15% |
| 30–49 years | 34 | 52 | 14 |
| 50–64 years | 37 | 48 | 15 |
| 65 years and over | 35 | 42 | 23 |

**36.** (Sweden Apr '44) If alcohol were ration-free now, but at higher prices, do you think that sobriety would be better or worse? (SGI)

| | *Worse* | *Better* | *The same* | *Worse at first, better later* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 36% | 17% | 28% | 9% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 33% | 20% | 26% | 12% | 9% |
| Women | 40 | 14 | 29 | 6 | 11 |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 38% | 14% | 28% | 12% | 8% |
| 30–49 years | 37 | 18 | 27 | 9 | 9 |
| 50–64 years | 36 | 18 | 28 | 8 | 10 |
| 65 years and over | 35 | 17 | 27 | 6 | 15 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Upper class | 44% | 17% | 27% | 4% | 8% |
| Middle class | 38 | 14 | 27 | 10 | 11 |
| Workers | 34 | 19 | 28 | 10 | 9 |

**37.** (Sweden Apr '44) Do you think that alcohol prices are already sufficiently high and that, therefore, the ration book might be abolished? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41% | 40% | 19% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 50% | 39% | 11% |
| Women | 33 | 41 | 26 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 38% | 42% | 20% |
| 30–49 years | 44 | 39 | 17 |
| 50–64 years | 42 | 41 | 17 |
| 65 years and over | 40 | 34 | 26 |

**38.** (Sweden Apr '44) What do you consider to be the best way of decreasing alcohol consumption? (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Education | 12% | 15% | 9% |
| Ration-free alcohol | 9 | 12 | 5 |
| Prohibition | 8 | 8 | 9 |
| Severer punishment for drunken disturbances | 5 | 7 | 3 |
| Higher prices | 4 | 5 | 4 |
| Ration books at restaurants | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Other ways | 10 | 10 | 9 |
| Nothing will help | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Don't know | 48 | 39 | 59 |

**39.** (Sweden Apr '44) Are you a member of a temperance society? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 7% | 93% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 7% | 93% |
| Women | 6.5 | 93.5 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | |
| Country | 8% | 92% |
| Towns | 6 | 94 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 20–29 years | 9% | 91% |
| 30–49 years | 6 | 94 |
| 50–64 years | 6 | 94 |
| 65 years and over | 5 | 95 |

**40.** (Canada Apr 1 '44) After the war, when there is no shortage of liquor, do you think there should be a law limiting the amount of liquor a person can buy each month, or do you think there should be no limit? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No limit | 50% |
| Some limit | 35 |
| No liquor at all | 9 |
| Undecided | 6 |

**41.** (Canada Apr 1 '44) How much [liquor] do you think each person should be allowed to buy in a month? Asked of 35% of the sample who thought that there should be some law limiting the amount of liquor. (CIPO)

Median 40 ounces a month

**42.** (US Apr 25 '44) Will you please look over these statements and tell me which one comes closest to the way you feel about beer? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| We should make more beer than we are now making because it helps wartime morale | 6% |
| Although beer doesn't help the war effort, it doesn't hurt it, so we should go on making the same amount | 35 |
| We should make less beer because it hinders the war effort | 17 |
| Everything possible should be done to stop the use of beer | 34 |
| No opinion | 8 |

**43.** (US May 23 '44) An officer in the navy says he thinks all navy men should be permitted to have beer on board navy ships. Do you agree or disagree? (AIPO)

Agree 46% Disagree 46% Undecided 8%

**44.** (Canada June 7 '44) Do you think the present restrictions on the sale of liquor in this province are stricter than necessary, or do you think they have to be as strict as they are? (CIPO)

| | *Too strict* | *Have to be strict* |
|---|---|---|
| 13 ounces | 50% | 50% |
| 26 ounces | 33 | 67 |
| 80 ounces | 39 | 61 |

**45.** (Canada Nov 15 '44) Do you think the government should stop the sale of all liquor, wine, and beer on the day victory is announced, or should present regulations be continued on that day? (CIPO)

| | *Sale stopped* | *Rations continued* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 45% | 48% | 7% |
| BY SELECTED PROVINCES | | | |
| Ontario | 52% | 43% | 5% |
| Quebec | 28 | 67 | 5 |

**46.** (Canada Nov 15 '44) Should the present liquor rations be increased for the month of December so that people have a larger supply for the holiday season, or do you think no special change should be made? (CIPO)

Increased 43% No change 51% Undecided 6%

**47.** (Canada Sept 5 '45) Do you think liquor should continue to be rationed or not? (CIPO)

| | *Yes, rationed* | *No, not rationed* | *Undecided* | *Other* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 43% | 11% | 3% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 34% | 52% | 11% | 3% |
| Women | 51 | 35 | 11 | 3 |

**48.** (Canada Nov 14 '45) In most provinces it is against the law to serve hard liquor in a public place like restaurants and bars. Would you like to see this law changed in any way or not? (CIPO)

| | *Change* | *No change* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total (excluding Quebec) | 42% | 53% | 5% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Farm | 29% | 64% | 7% |
| Under 10,000 | 36 | 58 | 6 |
| 10,000 to 100,000 | 46 | 52 | 2 |
| Over 100,000 | 59 | 38 | 3 |

**49.** (Canada Nov 14 '45) Do you think hard liquor should be sold at bars, or just with meals in restaurants or hotel dining rooms? Asked of 42% of the sample who wanted liquor laws changed. (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| At bars | 13% |
| Just in restaurants or hotel dining rooms | 10 |
| Both | 16 |
| Qualified | 1 |
| No opinion | 2 |
| | 42% |

**50.** (France Feb 16 '46) What quantity of wine [do you consider necessary for yourself] each week? (FIPO)

| | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| Less than 3 litres | 15% | 42% |
| 3–6 litres | 38 | 40 |
| 6–9 litres | 35 | 11 |
| 9–12 litres | 6 | 1 |
| More than 12 litres | 3 | 1 |
| No answer | 3 | 5 |

Median: Men 6 litres
Women 3.5 litres

**51.** (Australia Feb–Mar '46) When there is plenty of barley and hops again, should production of beer still be restricted? (APOP)

Yes 25% No 70% No opinion 5%

**52.** (Canada Mar 16 '46) What do you think is the best way to bring about the temperate use of alcoholic beverages in this country? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Prohibition | 19% |
| Have no controls; free sale | 27 |
| Present system | 16 |
| Education and religion | 12 |
| Miscellaneous | 12 |
| No opinion | 14 |

**53.** (Canada Mar 16 '46) Would you favor or oppose a law to prohibit the sale of all alcoholic beverages (including wine and beer)? Asked of 81% of the sample who did not suggest prohibition as a way to achieve more temperate drinking in Canada. (CIPO)

Favor 8% Oppose 65% Undecided 8% = 81%

**54.** (Canada Mar 16 '46) In which of these ways do you think we should allow hard liquor to be sold? Asked of 73% of the sample who were against prohibition in Canada or were undecided on the subject. (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| For use in homes only | 27% |
| In hotel dining rooms, as well as for use in homes | 19 |
| In bars and restaurants | 14 |
| Other ways | 5 |
| No opinion | 8 |
| | 73% |

**55.** (Canada Mar 16 '46) Now what about beer? How do you think beer should be sold? Asked of 73% of the sample who were against prohibition in Canada or were undecided on the subject. (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| For use in home only | 15% |
| In hotel dining rooms as well as for use in homes | 11 |
| In beverage rooms open to men only | 8 |
| In separate beverage rooms for men and women | 5 |
| In beverage rooms where men and women are allowed to drink together | 7 |
| In bars and restaurants | 13 |
| Other ways | 6 |
| Undecided | 8 |
| | 73% |

**56.** (Finland Mar 22 '46) Do you think that something further should be done to decrease alcohol consumption? 70% of the sample who thought something further should be done were asked: What? (FGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Nothing should be done | 8% |
| Nothing can be done | 9 |
| Didn't say whether or not something should be done | 13 |
| Regulating restrictions should be introduced | 19 |
| Should have prohibition | 12 |
| Educational steps | 11 |
| Effective control | 4 |
| Fewer restrictions | 3 |
| Everyone should use less | 2 |
| Other suggestions as to what should be done | 3 |
| Something should be done but don't know what | 16 |

**57.** (Great Britain May '46) Do you think that the government's popularity has or has not suffered through the recent cut in beer? (BIPO)

| | *Has* | *Has not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 40% | 27% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 39% | 44% | 17% |
| Women | 27 | 35 | 38 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 27% | 41% | 32% |
| 30–49 years | 32 | 42 | 26 |
| 50 years and over | 37 | 36 | 27 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 27% | 46% | 27% |
| Middle | 32 | 44 | 24 |
| Lower | 35 | 37 | 28 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative | 40% | 33% | 27% |
| Labor | 30 | 48 | 22 |
| Liberal | 28 | 40 | 32 |
| Other | 38 | 32 | 30 |
| Non-voters | 32 | 34 | 34 |

**58.** (Czechoslovakia Oct '46) Do you think that the government should take steps against increased drunkenness? (CZIPO)

Yes 86% No 6% Don't know 8%

**59.** (Czechoslovakia Oct '46) Would you approve if liquors were again rationed? (CZIPO)

Yes 42% No 46% Don't know 12%

**60.** (Czechoslovakia Oct '46) Do you approve or disapprove of the increase in the prices of liquors? (CZIPO)

Approve 41% Disapprove 49% No opinion 10%

**61.** (Czechoslovakia Oct '46) Do you approve or disapprove of the proposal to punish intoxicated car drivers and "hooligans" more severely than hitherto? (CZIPO)

Approve 93% Disapprove 2% Don't know 5%

**62.** (Hungary Dec '46) Do you drink alcohol? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

BY SEX AND SOCIAL STATUS

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Educated men | 64.0% | 36.0% |
| Bourgeois men | 67.0 | 33.0 |
| Working men | 72.7 | 27.3 |
| Educated women | 55.0 | 45.0 |
| Bourgeoise women | 42.4 | 57.6 |
| Working women | 40.3 | 59.7 |

**63.** (Hungary Dec '46) Do you drink alcohol daily? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Educated men | 37.2% | 62.8% |
| Bourgeois men | 21.4 | 78.6 |
| Working men | 28.4 | 71.6 |
| Educated women | 10.8 | 89.2 |
| Bourgeoise women | 9.3 | 90.7 |
| Working women | 8.0 | 92.0 |

**64.** (Hungary Dec '46) What is your favorite drink? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

| | MEN | | | WOMEN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Educated* | *Bourgeois* | *Workers* | *Educated* | *Bourgeoise* | *Workers* |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Wine | 89.1 | 70.0 | 83.5 | 71.0 | 57.0 | 79.4 |
| Beer | 7.4 | 10.4 | 10.8 | 12.3 | 21.0 | 21.8 |
| Liquor | 2.5 | 10.4 | 0.8 | 10.8 | 13.4 | 4.6 |
| Cognac | — | 4.8 | — | 4.6 | 6.7 | 1.1 |
| Brandy | 13.2 | 7.1 | 10.0 | 13.9 | 8.4 | 13.8 |
| Rum | — | — | 0.8 | 3.1 | 5.0 | 3.4 |
| Champagne | 0.8 | — | — | 1.5 | — | — |
| Any drink | 1.6 | 6.0 | 5.8 | 4.6 | 5.0 | 1.1 |
| Other and no answer | — | — | 0.8 | — | 0.8 | 1.1 |
| Percentages | 114.6* | 108.7* | 112.5* | 121.8* | 117.3* | 126.3* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## LOCAL GOVERNMENT

**1.** (Sweden June '44) Do you remember any local government resolution this spring? (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Town planning; parks; sports grounds | 2% |
| Libraries; theater building; baths | 2 |
| Questions of roads, water, and railways | 1.5 |
| Incorporations | 1.5 |
| School questions | 1 |
| Relief for the sick, the poor, and children | 0.5 |
| Other replies | 7.5 |
| Nothing | 84 |

**2.** (France Dec 1 '44) Should the borough presidents of Paris arrondissements be elected or appointed by the government? (FIPO)

Yes 65% No 25% No opinion 10%

**3.** (Sweden Sept '45) On the whole, do you think it would be a happy solution if all smaller communities, as has been suggested, should combine into larger units, or at least solve certain problems in common? (SGI)

| | *Happy solution to combine completely* | *Happy solution to solve certain problems in common, but no complete unification* | *Not happy solution* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 63% | 27% | 8% | 2% |
| OPINIONS OF TOWN AND COMMUNITY EXECUTIVES BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Right Party | 48% | 41% | 9% | 2% |
| Liberal | 53 | 22 | 19 | 6 |
| Agrarian | 41 | 43 | 12 | 4 |
| Social Democrat | 73 | 21 | 4 | 2 |
| Communist | 84 | 16 | — | — |

**4.** (Sweden Sept '45) What problems [do you think would be better solved if all smaller communities would combine into larger units for the purpose of solving them]? Asked of a national cross-section of people who thought smaller communities should solve certain problems in conjunction with other communities as a unit. 27% of the sample is represented. (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| School questions, etc. | 41% |
| Social problems (the abstention question, care of the poor, the problem of care of the sick and children) | 36 |
| The question of the poor; old-age homes | 32 |
| Fire brigade; firemen | 12 |
| Public health; sanitation | 4 |
| The question of the church and administration of its various functions | 4 |
| Public institutions generally (baths, sports grounds, open air institutions, libraries) | 2 |
| Other replies | 13 |
| No definite answer | 5 |
| | 149%* |

* Percentages are based on the total number of persons who thought certain problems should be solved in common and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**5.** (Germany Dec 11 '45) As you have probably heard, the American military government will relinquish its direct supervision over German city and *Landkreis** government and will then exercise indirect supervision. What do you think of this change? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| A good move; a good idea | 32% |
| Good if right people get in | 7 |
| May be good or bad; can't tell yet | 6 |
| Better chance of working well | 1 |
| Not a good idea | 5 |
| Not ready for it yet | 6 |
| The military government will take over again if it does not work | 1 |
| Just a formality; the military government will really be in control | 2 |
| Other answers | 15 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know; no opinion | 22% |
| No answer | 3 |

* Similar to American county or township.

**6.** (Germany Dec 11 '45) Are you fully convinced of the ability of the German local government to govern effectively and without prejudice after the American military government has relinquished its direct supervision? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Completely convinced | 25% |
| I think so | 37 |
| I don't know | 25 |
| No, can't do it | 8 |
| Too early to judge | 1 |
| Other | 4 |

**7.** (Germany Mar 15 '46) Do you know who is the premier of this province? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Right | 59% |
| Wrong | 2 |
| Don't know; can't say; no opinion | 38 |
| No answer | 1 |

**8.** (Germany June 7 '46) As you know, at the present time mayors are elected by the local councils which are elected by the people. Do you think it would be better if the mayors were elected directly by the people, or do you think the present system is better? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Elected directly | 54% |
| Present system | 28 |
| No opinion | 17 |
| Qualified replies, both in different size cities | * |
| No answer | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**9.** (Germany June 7 '46) Which do you think your local government officials should rely upon most when they decide matters of general policy: upon the opinion of the people who elected them; the opinion of all Germans; upon their own judgment? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| People who elected them | 42% |
| All Germans | 28 |
| Own judgment | 12 |
| No opinion | 16 |
| People who elected them and all Germans | 1 |
| People and own judgment | 1 |
| Other answers | * |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**10.** (Germany June 7 '46) Whom do you think your local officials do rely upon most? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| People who elect them | 43% |
| All Germans | 12 |
| Own judgment | 18 |
| No opinion | 25 |
| People who elected him and all Germans | * |
| People and own judgment | 1 |
| Other answers | * |
| No answer | * |

* = 1

**11.** (Germany Aug '46) As far as you know, who is now responsible for local administration and government—the military government or German officials? Those who said the German officials were responsible were asked further: Was it a good idea or bad idea for this transfer of responsibility to German officials to be made? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Military government responsible | 31% |
| No opinion as to who is responsible | 16 |
| Didn't say who is responsible | * |
| Good idea to transfer responsibility | 43 |
| Bad idea to transfer responsibility | 5 |
| No opinion whether transfer good or bad | 5 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**12.** (Germany Aug '46) Some time ago the military government transferred the responsibility for local administration to German officials. Do you consider this a good or a bad idea? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good idea | 77% |
| Bad idea | 9 |
| No opinion | 14 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**13.** (Germany Aug '46) In your opinion, are the local German officials doing an excellent job, a good job, a fair job, or a bad job? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Excellent | 3% |
| Good | 39 |
| Fair | 32 |
| Bad | 6 |
| No opinion | 20 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**14.** (Germany Aug '46) What reason can you give for your opinion? Asked of 42% of the sample who thought the local German officials were doing an excellent or good job. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good experience; they try to see everybody's point; good mayor; officials accept other peoples' opinions | 32% |
| They are doing their duty; they work toward satisfying everyone | 54 |
| Officials are working efficiently but too slowly | 2 |
| No opinion; don't know | 2 |
| No answer | 10 |
| | 100% |

of those questioned

**15.** (Germany Aug '46) What reasons can you give for your opinion? Asked of 38% of the sample who thought local German officials were doing a fair or bad job. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too dependent; too many restrictions by military government; too many regulations | 8% |
| Many officials are working only for their own profit; unjust; corruptible; biased | 13 |
| No experienced men; no experts | 21 |
| Too much bureaucracy; over-organization; work sluggishly; too slow | 28 |
| Enlightenment and courtesy lacking; one never gets clear information | 5 |
| Offices not yet quite free of Nazism; Christian Democratic Union supports Nazis | 6 |
| General difficulties; disagreements; economic conditions | 10 |
| Other answers | 2 |
| No answer | 6 |
| Don't know; no opinion | 1 |
| | 100% |

of those questioned

**16.** (Germany Aug '46) On the whole, are the local German officials working for the good of the community, or do they work primarily with their own interest in mind? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Work for the good of the community | 55% |
| Have own interest in mind | 16 |
| No opinion or no answer | 28 |
| Work for both community and self | 1 |

**17.** (Germany Aug '46) A cross-section comparable to the one used for the preceding question was asked: On the whole, are the local officials working for the good of the community, or do they work primarily with their own interest in mind? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| For the good of the community | 61% |
| Have their own interest in mind | 15 |
| No opinion | 22 |
| No answer | 1 |
| Work for both community and self | 1 |

**18.** (Germany Aug '46) In your opinion, should local government be carried out by persons belonging to one of the political parties or by officials not belonging to any party? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Members of a political party | 13% |
| Officials with no party interests | 38 |
| No opinion | 34 |
| Yes and no (both) | 14 |
| No answer | 1 |

All those who had an opinion on the preceding question were asked: Why? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Members of a political party are more interested; more enlightened; politicians should be leading; are more familiar with everyday affairs than people with no party interests | 8% |
| They stick together; more encouragement; more backbone | 2 |
| One cannot do without parties; one has to be politically organized | 1 |
| Had no say in former years, therefore shall speak their mind now; exchange of opinions; they shall state their point of view | 1 |
| Officials without party interests are unbiased; party interests not in the foreground; equal treatment of public; unanimity of officials; no one-sided policy | 30 |
| Better work done because officials don't change after every election; are not so tied up; can remain in office if system of government changes | 6 |
| Both: whether party interests or not the chief point is that officials are doing their duty; are capable of working for the good of the community; the most capable should have the most important job; selection only according to ability, experience, and knowledge | 13 |
| An official should serve only the state; dependent on government; difference on account of dependence on the military government | 2 |
| Others | * |
| No opinion | 6 |
| No answer | 31 |
| | 100% of those with opinions |

* Less than 0.5%.

**19.** (Germany Aug '46) In your opinion, what is the biggest obstacle the local administration has to contend with in doing its job? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Lack of experts; denazification; not enough qualifications | 6% |
| Refugees; expellees | 21 |
| Economic difficulties; raw materials supply; lack of goods; lack of transport; zonal economy; fuel supplies | 21 |
| Food situation; insufficient food causes inefficient work | 14 |
| General difficulties; after-effects of the war; damages; effects of rule; burglary and thefts | 8% |
| Reconstruction; housing problem | 11 |
| Displaced persons | * |
| Difficult to satisfy everybody; Military Government pressure | 5 |
| Don't know; no opinion | 21 |
| Russian military government | * |
| No answer | 2 |
| Others | 1 |
| | 110%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**20.** (Germany Aug '46) What is your opinion regarding the way mayors should be elected—should they be elected directly by the people, or should they be chosen by the council (which is elected by the people), or should they be appointed by the military government, or do you think it doesn't make much of a difference how it is done? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Election by the people | 52% |
| Selection by local council | 22 |
| Appointed by the military government | 5 |
| Method of selection is of no account | 5 |
| No opinion | 16 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**21.** (Germany Aug '46) Can you tell me how mayors are elected at present? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Election by the people | 29% |
| Selection by local council | 43 |
| Appointment by the military government | 3 |
| Through political parties; mayor is put up by strongest party | * |
| According to number of votes | * |
| Other answers | * |
| No opinion; don't know; no answer | 25 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**22.** (Germany Aug '46) Are you satisfied with this mode of election or do you think some other way would be better? Asked of 43% of the sample who said mayors were elected by local council. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Satisfied | 72% |
| No opinion | 7 |
| Not satisfied; would prefer direct suffrage; election by the people; the whole population to vote | 20 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

## LOTTERIES

**1.** (US Feb 8 '36 and May 16 '36) Would you favor government-supervised lotteries? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '36 | 59% | 41% = 100% | 8% |
| May '36 | 53 | 40 | 7 = 100% |

**2.** (US Apr 13 '38) Would you favor lotteries in this state to help pay the cost of government? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 51% | = 100% | 6% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England | 59% | 41% | | |
| Middle Atlantic | 58 | 42 | | |
| East central | 45 | 55 | | |
| West central | 39 | 61 | | |
| South | 37 | 63 | | |
| Rocky Mountain | 43 | 57 | | |
| Pacific coast | 58 | 42 | | |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper and middle | 45% | 55% | | |
| Lower | 55 | 45 | | |

**3.** (US Apr 13 '38) Do you think government lotteries would produce an unwholesome gambling spirit in this country? (AIPO)

Yes 51% No 49%

**4.** (US May 12 '38) Do you approve of churches raising money by lotteries and games of chance? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 31% | 69% | = 100% | 5% |
| BY RELIGION | | | | |
| Catholic | 58% | 42% | | |
| Protestant | 21 | 79 | | |
| Other denominations | 23 | 77 | | |
| Non-church members | 35 | 65 | | |

**5.** (US July 8 '39) Would you favor lotteries in this state under the supervision of the state government to help pay the cost of government? (AIPO)

Yes 49% No 44% Don't know 7%

**6.** (US July 8 '39) At the same time as the preceding question, a comparable cross-section was asked: Would you favor lotteries in this state run by the state government to help pay the cost of government? (AIPO)

Yes 48% No 44% Don't know 8%

**7.** (US Jan 9 '41) Would you favor lotteries in this state run by the state government to help pay the cost of old-age pensions? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 45% | 41% | 14% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 59% | 31% | 10% |
| East central | 40 | 44 | 16 |
| West central | 36 | 51 | 13 |
| South | 31 | 51 | 18 |
| Far West | 43 | 43 | 14 |

**8.** (US Jan 22 '41) Would you favor lotteries in this country run by the federal government to help pay some of the cost of national defense? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 51% | 38% | 11% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 60% | 30% | 10% |
| East central | 50 | 39 | 11 |
| West central | 39 | 46 | 15 |
| South | 45 | 40 | 15 |
| Far West | 47 | 43 | 10 |

**9.** (Australia Nov '41) Are you in favor of government lotteries? (APOP)

| | *Favor* | *Against* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 77% | 17% | 6% |
| STATE BY STATE | | | |
| New South Wales | 86% | 10% | 4% |
| Victoria | 77 | 18 | 5 |
| Queensland | 73 | 20 | 7 |
| Western Australia | 71 | 24 | 5 |
| Tasmania | 63 | 20 | 17 |
| South Australia | 60 | 28 | 12 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 83% | 10% | 7% |
| 30–39 years | 78 | 16 | 6 |
| 40–49 years | 78 | 16 | 6 |
| 50–59 years | 76 | 19 | 5 |
| 60 years and over | 69 | 27 | 4 |

**10.** (US Jan 6 '42 and Feb 3 '43) Do you happen to know what lotteries are? The 1943 question asked "what a lottery is" instead of "what lotteries are." (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Jan '42 | 80% | 20% |
| Feb '43 | 78 | 22 |

**11.** (US Jan 6 '42 and Feb 3 '43) Would you favor lotteries run by the federal government to help pay a part of the cost of carrying on the war? In 1943 two comparable cross-sections were used and results combined. One cross-section was asked the same question as the 1942 sample; the second cross-section was asked: Would you favor lotteries run by the federal government to help pay the cost of the war? In all cases only those familiar with lotteries were questioned. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *Undecided; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '42 | 54% | 37% | = 100% | 9% |
| Feb '43 | 49 | 42 | | 9 = 100% |
| 1943 RESULTS BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 54% | 46% | | |
| Women | 43 | 57 | | |

**12.** (Canada Mar 1 '44) Would you favor or oppose lotteries run by the Dominion government to help pay the cost of the war? (CIPO)

Favor 58% Oppose 33% Undecided 9%

**13.** (Sweden Aug '45) If you won 10,000 kronor** in a lottery, on what would you spend the money? (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Women* | *Men* | *Upper* | *Middle* | *Workers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Buy a house or flat | 28 | 27 | 29 | 15 | 21 | 35 |
| Pay debts, taxes | 8 | 7 | 9 | 6 | 8 | 8 |
| Improve farm; repair house | 8 | 7 | 8 | 2 | 11 | 5 |
| Put in bank; save | 8 | 9 | 7 | 12 | 8 | 7 |
| Travel | 7 | 9 | 6 | 13 | 8 | 6 |
| Invest in own business | 6 | 3 | 9 | 4 | 7 | 5 |
| Charity | 4 | 7 | 2 | 14 | 5 | 3 |
| Education; studies | 4 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 3 |
| Establishing oneself; marrying | 4 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 5 |

| | National total % | Women % | Men % | Upper % | Middle % | Workers % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Save for the children; children's future | 3 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Spend it little by little; good living | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| Invest profitably; speculate | 2 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| Buy car, boat | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Buy furniture, paintings, silver, and other things for the home | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Other replies | 6 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 4 |
| Don't know | 13 | 13 | 12 | 14 | 14 | 11 |
| Percentages | 107* | 105* | 103* | 102* | 104* | 102* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

** The Swedish krona was worth approximately 25 cents in American money at this time.

**14.** (Sweden Aug '45) Have you a lottery or similar ticket at the moment? (SGI)

| | Ticket for the penny lottery | Premium bond | Defense bond | Other kinds of tickets | Nothing just now | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 39% | 10% | 7% | 31% | = 136%* |
| BY SEX | | | | | | |
| Men | 53% | 41% | 11% | 8% | 27% | = 140% |
| Women | 46 | 36 | 10 | 6 | 35 | = 133 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Upper class | 57% | 56% | 17% | 7% | 22% | = 159% |
| Middle class | 48 | 47 | 15 | 8 | 28 | = 146 |
| Workers | 50 | 31 | 5 | 6 | 34 | = 126 |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents had more than one kind of ticket.

**15.** (US Oct 3 '45) Would you approve or disapprove of a national lottery to pay part of the cost of aid to war veterans? A comparable cross-section was asked: To pay part of the cost of aid to war veterans, do you approve or disapprove of a national lottery to raise the money? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Approve 48% Disapprove 34% No opinion 18%

**16.** (Canada Feb 2 '46) Would you favor or oppose the government running a lottery for charity on a big horse race, such as the King's Plate? (CIPO)

Favor 52% Oppose 38% Undecided 10%

**17.** (Sweden Apr '46) Do you think it would be a good plan to do away with the highest prizes in the state lottery (100,000 kronor) and the premium bonds (250,000 kronor) and transform these instead into a larger number of 50,000 kronor prizes, or do you think that this would be undesirable? (SGI)

Approve the plan 77% Disapprove 12% Don't know 11%

**18.** (Australia Nov '46) Do you favor or oppose lotteries run by state governments? (APOP)

Favor 79% Oppose 16% No opinion 5%

**19.** (Australia Nov '46) What do you think about the federal government running a lottery? (APOP)

Oppose 48% Favor 40% No opinion 12%

**20.** (Hungary Dec '46) Have you ever had a lottery ticket? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| Men | 55.4% | 44.6% |
| Women | 44.3 | 55.7 |

**21.** (Hungary Dec '46) Why [have you] not [had a lottery ticket]? Asked of a Budapest cross-section of men and women who said they had never had a lottery ticket. 44.6% of the men and 55.7% of the women are represented. (HIPOR)

| | Men | Women |
|---|---|---|
| Lack of money | 26.5% | 30.6% |
| Lack of confidence | 31.7 | 31.0 |
| Wasting money | 2.9 | 3.8 |
| Does not care | 35.0 | 29.1 |
| Not knowing | 1.4 | 2.4 |
| Other; no answer | 2.5 | 3.1 |
| | 100.0%* | 100.0%* |

* 100% of those who had never had a lottery ticket.

**22.** (Hungary Dec '46) Have you ever won with a lottery ticket even the smallest sum? Asked of a Budapest cross-section who said they had had a lottery ticket. 55.4% of the men and 44.3% of the women are represented. (HIPOR)

| | Men | Women |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 46.9% | 43.1% |
| No | 53.1 | 56.9 |
| | 100.0%* | 100.0%* |

* 100% of those who had had a lottery ticket.

## MacARTHUR, DOUGLAS

**1.** (US Jan 5 '42) If the Philippines fall, do you think the government should get General MacArthur out beforehand so he can fight again, or have him stay with his troops to the end? (NORC)

Get him out 42% Let him stay 42% Don't know 16%

**2.** (US Feb 6 '43) Do you happen to know what job Douglas MacArthur holds in the government today? (NORC)

Correctly identified 87% Incorrectly identified 2% Don't know 11%

## MAGNA CHARTA

**1.** (Canada Aug 10 '46) What do you understand by "Magna Charta"? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct definition | 18% |
| Vague | 15 |
| Incorrect definition | 7 |
| Don't know | 60 |

# MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

**1.** (US Dec 16 '38, Dec 22 '39, Dec 12 '44, Dec 11 '46) Are you going to make any New Year's resolutions? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '38 | 28% | 72% |
| Dec '39 | 25 | 75 |
| Dec '44 | 25 | 75 |
| Dec '46 | 27 | 73 |
| 1946 RESULTS BY SEX | | |
| Men | 22% | 78% |
| Women | 32 | 68 |

**2.** (US Dec 16 '38, Dec 22 '39, Dec 12 '44, Dec 11 '46) All those who said they were going to make New Year's resolutions in answer to the preceding questions were asked what they would be. 28% of the 1938 sample, 25% of the 1939 sample, 25% of the 1944 sample, and 27% of the 1946 sample are represented. (AIPO)

1938 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Save money | 17.7% |
| Improve my character | 13.4 |
| Better myself in business | 10.1 |
| Be more religious; go to church more often | 9.4 |
| Stop smoking | 9.3 |
| Improve my disposition | 8.0 |
| Stop drinking | 6.7 |
| Be more charitable | 5.4 |
| Keep more regular hours; go to bed earlier | 4.5 |
| Make more effort to get a job | 3.4 |
| Improve my mind | 2.8 |
| Manage my home and children better | 2.6 |
| Be more ambitious | 2.3 |
| Be less critical of other people | 2.2 |
| Stop gambling | 1.2 |
| Be a better husband and father | .9 |
| All others | 17.3 |
| | 117.2%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who intended to make resolutions and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

1939 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Better myself in work or business | 2% |
| Save more money | 2 |
| Stop smoking | 2 |
| Stop drinking | 2 |
| Improve my character | 1 |
| Improve my disposition | 1 |
| Be more religious; go to church more often | 1 |
| Pay off debts; stay out of debt | 1 |
| All others and no answer | 13 |
| | 25% |

1944 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Live better life; improve character | 2% |
| Be more religious; go to church more often | 2 |
| Save more money; budget | 2 |
| Improve my disposition; be more understanding; not be jealous | 1 |
| Buy bonds | 1 |
| Stop drinking or drink less | 1 |
| Be more efficient; try to do a better job | 1 |
| Stop smoking or smoke less | 1% |
| Work to get the war over faster | 1 |
| Get more sleep; take care of health | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Didn't say | 9 |
| | 25% |

1946 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Stop drinking, drink less | 5% |
| Save more money, budget | 15 |
| Improve my disposition, be more understanding, not be jealous, control temper | 10 |
| Be more religious, go to church more | 8 |
| Improve my character, live better life | 12 |
| Be more efficient and prompt, try to do a better job | 7 |
| Help husband (family) more, see friends, stay home | 6 |
| Stop smoking, smoke less | 6 |
| Earn more money, get better position | 5 |
| To get thin, to gain weight | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 8 |
| No opinion | 13 |
| Get more sleep, take care of my health | 2 |
| Other resolutions | 2 |
| Stop gambling | 1 |
| Stop swearing | 1 |
| Not to worry | 1 |
| Improve education, mind, culture | 2 |
| | 107%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who intended to make New Year's resolutions and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**3.** (Sweden Feb '44) What do you think of the politeness of the conductors in trains, buses, and streetcars? (SGI)

| | *Excellent* | *Fair* | *Poor* | *Bad* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Politeness in trains | 61% | 25% | 2% | 1% | 11% |
| Politeness in buses | 55 | 26 | 6 | 3 | 10 |
| Politeness in streetcars | 48 | 28 | 5 | 2 | 17 |

**4.** (Sweden Feb '44) Have you any personal impression of whether you are better served in post-offices and ticket-offices at railway stations than as a customer in, for instance, a food shop? (SGI)

POST OFFICES

| | *Better* | *The same* | *Don't know* | *Worse* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 2% | 69% | 11% | 18% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Towns | 3% | 62% | 14% | 21% |
| Country | 2 | 73 | 9 | 16 |

RAILWAY STATIONS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 3% | 64% | 7% | 26% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Towns | 4% | 54% | 9% | 33% |
| Country | 3 | 70 | 6 | 21 |

**5.** (Sweden June '44) What is the most suitable way of addressing an unknown male (female) person who appears to be the same age and class as yourself? (SGI)

| | *You* | *Madam, miss, sir* | *He, she* | *Lady, my lady, sir* | *Thou* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 37% | 24% | 2% | 15% | 17% | 5% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | | |
| North Sweden | 38% | 27% | 3% | 12% | 16% | 4% |
| Dalecarlia | 29 | 24 | 3 | 10 | 30 | 4 |
| Mälar district | 28 | 22 | — | 20 | 22 | 8 |
| Stockholm | 41 | 15 | — | 24 | 9 | 11 |
| East Gotland | 34 | 30 | 1 | 16 | 15 | 4 |
| Skåne | 40 | 31 | 5 | 10 | 11 | 3 |
| West Gotland | 50 | 13 | 3 | 13 | 18 | 3 |

**6.** (Sweden June '44) How should a housewife address her maid? (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Christian name | 60% |
| Miss | 21 |
| Thou | 7 |
| You | 2 |
| Other replies | 1 |
| Don't know | 9 |

**7.** (US Aug '46) On the whole, which sex do you think is more polite and well-mannered, men or women? (FOR)

| | *Men* | *Women* | *No difference* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 22.9% | 48.9% | 21.0% | 7.2% |
| Women | 32.8 | 36.5 | 21.6 | 9.1 |

**8.** (Hungary Oct '46) Do you think the shopkeepers are more polite since the stabilization of the Hungarian forint? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Other and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 83.4% | 10.8% | 5.8% |
| Women | 86.7 | 9.5 | 3.8 |

**9.** (Norway Oct 25 '46) Do you think we all ought to address each other as "you"? (NGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 60% | 31% | 9% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 69% | 23% | 8% |
| Women | 52 | 37 | 11 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–25 years | 63% | 27% | 10% |
| 25–35 years | 63 | 30 | 7 |
| 35–50 years | 57 | 33 | 10 |
| 50 years and over | 59 | 30 | 11 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| High | 43% | 52% | 5% |
| Middle | 52 | 42 | 6 |
| Low | 63 | 27 | 10 |

**10.** (Netherlands Nov 28 '46) It is sometimes said that it is not good for children to tell them about St. Nicholas and to let them believe in him. What do you think? (NIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Think it is good | 83% |
| Think it is not good | 11 |
| Don't know | 6 |

**11.** (Netherlands Nov 28 '46) Are you personally going to give presents next month on St. Nicholas Day (Dec 5), at Christmas, at both occasions, or aren't you going to give presents at all? (NIPO)

| | *St. Nicholas* | *Christmas* | *Both* | *Won't give presents* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 57% | 9% | 15% | 19% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Less than 20,000 | 65% | 6% | 15% | 14% |
| Over 100,000 | 49 | 13 | 17 | 21 |

**12.** (Norway Dec 27 '46) Do you think that it is a charming custom to give one another Christmas presents? (NGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 92% | 7% | 1% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 88% | 11% | 1% |
| Women | 96 | 4 | — |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–25 years | 96% | 4% | — |
| 25–35 years | 95 | 5 | — |
| 35–50 years | 91 | 9 | — |
| 50 years and over | 89 | 10 | 1% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| High | 91% | 9% | — |
| Middle | 95 | 5 | — |
| Low | 91 | 8 | 1% |

**13.** (Norway Dec 27 '46) Do you think that this custom is practiced in a reasonable manner, or do you think that it is exaggerated? Asked of 92% of the sample who thought it a charming custom to give one another Christmas presents. (NGI)

| | *Reasonable manner* | *Exaggerated* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 52% | 5% = 100% of those who approved the custom | |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 42% | 54% | 4% | |
| Women | 43 | 51 | 6 | |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 18–25 years | 55% | 40% | 5% | |
| 25–35 years | 38 | 56 | 6 | |
| 35–50 years | 38 | 58 | 4 | |
| 50 years and over | 43 | 52 | 5 | |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| High | 33% | 63% | 4% | *No answer* — |
| Middle | 33 | 63 | 4 | — |
| Low | 45 | 49 | 5 | 1% |

## MARRIAGE

**1.** (US Feb 8 '37) If a girl has her parents' consent to marry, how old should she be before the state permits the marriage? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 16 years | 2% |
| 16 years | 15 |
| 17 years | 4 |
| 18 years | 51 |
| 19 years | 2 |
| 20 years | 8 |

| | |
|---|---|
| 21 years | 13% |
| Over 21 years | 2 |
| No opinion | 3 |

**2.** (US Apr '37) Of course it depends on individuals to a large extent, but in general which marriages do you think are the most likely to succeed? (FOR)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Where both are young | 18.9% | 46.0% |
| But the man a little older than the woman | 27.1 | |
| Where both are over twenty-eight | 17.3 | 28.9 |
| But the man a little older than the woman | 11.6 | |
| Where the man is a few years older than the woman | | 15.6 |
| Don't know | | 9.5 |

**3.** (US Nov '42) Are there any on the list [Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Negroes] that you would not consider marrying? Asked of a national cross-section of high school students. (FOR)

| *Protestants* | | *Catholics* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Negroes | 91.6% | Negroes | 92.8% |
| Chinese | 71.9 | Chinese | 75.5 |
| Jews | 51.6 | Jews | 58.8 |
| Catholics | 19.9 | Protestants | 25.2 |
| Swedes | 7.7 | Swedes | 9.3 |
| Irish | 4.7 | Irish | 2.8 |
| Protestants | 1.8* | Catholics | 1.0 |
| Makes no difference | 1.3 | Makes no difference | 1.0 |
| Don't know | 1.6 | Don't know | 1.4 |
| | 252.1%** | | 267.8%** |

| *Jews* | | *Negroes* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Negroes | 95.0% | Jews | 57.8% |
| Chinese | 80.0 | Chinese | 54.1 |
| Catholics | 28.8 | Swedes | 45.0 |
| Protestants | 27.5 | Irish | 42.2 |
| Swedes | 9.3 | Catholics | 29.4 |
| Irish | 23.8 | Protestants | 22.0* |
| Jews | 1.3 | Negroes | 1.8 |
| Makes no difference | 1.3 | Makes no difference | 13.8 |
| Don't know | 3.8 | Don't know | 12.8 |
| | 270.8%** | | 278.9%** |

* There is no accounting for the small maverick groups that declare they would not marry their own kind. But interviewers report that a number of respondents were, oddly, confused as to the meaning of "Protestant" some of them thinking they were protesters and "troublemakers," others thinking they were some such sect as the Holy Rollers.

** Percentages add to considerably more than 100 because many respondents gave more than one answer.

**4.** (US Dec '42) Suppose first a person was honest and physically attractive to you, and could have four of these ten things to an outstanding degree. Which four would you prefer them to have if you were going to marry them? Asked of a national cross-section of high school students. (FOR)

| | *Boys* | *Girls* |
|---|---|---|
| A sense of humor | 57.5%* | 53.9%* |
| Ambition | 57.4 | 82.1 |
| Brains | 50.2 | 46.2 |
| Thriftiness | 49.5 | 34.4 |
| Courage | 44.3 | 45.3 |
| Religious feeling | 42.5 | 45.3 |
| Purity | 35.8 | 23.7 |
| Good family | 29.0 | 27.1 |
| Tolerance | 20.3 | 22.0 |
| Money | 6.0 | 15.9 |
| Don't know | 1.6 | .7 |

* Percentages add to considerably more than 100 since each respondent was asked to pick four things.

**5.** (Canada Feb 24 '43) Do you think young men in the services or those likely to be called should marry in wartime or postpone their marriages until the war is over? (CIPO)

| | *Marry now* | *Postpone* | *Up to individual* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 20% | 40% | 36% | 4% |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 21% | 36% | 41% | 2% |
| 30–39 years | 24 | 32 | 40 | 4 |
| 40–49 years | 21 | 42 | 32 | 5 |
| 50–59 years | 16 | 43 | 35 | 6 |
| 60 years and over | 13 | 54 | 29 | 4 |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 18% | 45% | 34% | 3% |
| Women | 22 | 34 | 39 | 5 |

**6.** (US Aug '43) Which would you rather do if you had a choice: be unmarried and have a successful career; be married and have a successful career besides; be married and run a home? Asked of a national cross-section of young women. (FOR)

| | *Unmarried and have career* | *Married and have career* | *Married and run a home* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 6.2% | 17.8% | 74.0% | 2.0% |
| BY MARITAL STATUS | | | | |
| Married | 3.6% | 15.6% | 79.5% | 1.3% |
| Single | 10.5 | 22.1 | 64.4 | 3.0 |
| BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS | | | | |
| Employed | 6.9% | 20.5% | 69.9% | 2.7% |
| Unemployed | 5.8 | 14.1 | 79.6 | 0.5 |

**7.** (US Aug '43) Which marriage do you think is usually most successful: one where the husband is a few years older; where he is a little younger; or where he is about the same age as his wife? Asked of a national cross-section of young women. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Husband a few years older | 61.7% |
| Husband a little younger | 1.4 |
| Husband about same age | 30.6 |
| No difference or don't know | 6.3 |

**8.** (US Aug '43) In which case do you think the average marriage is happier—if the woman is completely honest with her husband, or if she sometimes tells little lies to make things smooth? Asked of a national cross-section of young women. (FOR)

| BY MARITAL STATUS | *Completely honest* | *Little lies* | *Depends or don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Married | 56.4% | 37.4% | 6.2% |
| Single | 53.7 | 35.8 | 10.5 |
| Widowed or divorced | 47.2 | 47.2 | 5.6 |

**9.** (Great Britain Mar '46) What do you think is the main fault of husbands? Wives? Asked of a national cross-section of married persons. (BIPO)

| FAULTS IN HUSBANDS | |
|---|---|
| Selfishness | 12% |
| Lack of consideration for wives | 7 |
| Thoughtlessness | 6 |
| Take wives too much for granted | 6 |
| Too autocratic; don't like wives to have any freedom or minds of their own | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Expect too much from wives; too hard to please | 2% |
| Don't show any courtesy after marriage as before | 2 |
| Don't appreciate difficulties of housekeeping under present conditions | 6 |
| Tight-fisted; won't give enough money for housekeeping | 2 |
| Too extravagant | 2 |
| Don't take enough interest in the home | 2 |
| Drink too much | 5 |
| Smoke too much | 2 |
| Miscellaneous faults | 7 |
| No fault to find | 12 |
| No reply; don't know | 25 |

FAULTS IN WIVES

| | |
|---|---|
| Nagging | 7% |
| Talking too much | 7 |
| Expect too much from their husbands; too hard to please | 5 |
| Worry too much | 5 |
| Interfere too much | 2 |
| Too wrapped up in domestic duties | 7 |
| Governed too much by emotion | 6 |
| Too extravagant | 6 |
| Want too much freedom and independence | 2 |
| Too pleasure-loving | 2 |
| Think too much about clothes | 2 |
| Selfishness | 2 |
| Bad temper | 2 |
| Miscellaneous faults | 12 |
| No fault to find | 17 |
| No reply; don't know | 16 |

**10.** (Finland May 2 '46) Do you think that married people should talk openly to one another about everything, or are there certain things one ought to keep to oneself? (FGI)

| | *Ought to talk openly* | *Keep certain things to themselves* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 68% | 22% | 10% |
| BY MARITAL STATUS | | | |
| Married | 57% | 21% | 22% |
| Unmarried | 72 | 22 | 6 |

**11.** (France June 16 '46) In your opinion, what is the greatest fault of husbands? Wives? (FIPO)

FAULTS IN HUSBANDS

| | MARRIED | | SINGLE | | DIVORCED OR WIDOWED | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* |
| Egoism | 36% | 17% | 37% | 19% | 36% | 22% |
| Flightiness; unfaithfulness | 13 | 10 | 13 | 10 | 12 | 11 |
| Drinking and gambling | 10 | 11 | 6 | 10 | 17 | 13 |
| Indifference and negligence | 6 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 9 |
| Jealousy | 2 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 4 |
| Laziness | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| No common sense | 1 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Greed | 1 | 1 | — | 2 | — | — |
| Other faults | 14 | 16 | 12 | 12 | 8 | 11 |
| No faults | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| No opinion | 14 | 32 | 25 | 34 | 18 | 24 |

FAULTS IN WIVES

| | MARRIED | | SINGLE | | DIVORCED OR WIDOWED | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* |
| Character faults (disagreeable, lying, nervous, etc.) | 28% | 22% | 18% | 18% | 18% | 15% |
| Frivolity; coquettishness | 16 | 11 | 14 | 12 | 20 | 10 |
| Unfaithfulness | 6 | 6 | 9 | 6 | 13 | 9 |
| Jealousy | 7 | 5 | 7 | 6 | 9 | 8 |
| Disorderly; poor housewives | 5 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 6 |
| Extravagance | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| Want too much independence | 2 | 2 | 1 | — | — | — |
| Laziness | 2 | 2 | — | 1 | — | 2 |
| Other faults | 13 | 11 | 14 | 11 | 16 | 15 |
| No faults | 1 | 3 | — | 2 | — | 1 |
| No opinion | 16 | 27 | 27 | 32 | 18 | 31 |
| | | | | | | 98%* |

* There is no explanation why this should add to 98% rather than 100%.

**12.** (Denmark June 29 '46) What is your chief criticism of your wife? Asked of a national cross-section of married men. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Spends too much money | 17% |
| Sulky and angry | 14 |
| Interferes too much | 7 |
| Suffers from a cleaning phobia | 4 |
| Forgetful | 3 |
| Missing social life too much | 3 |
| Smokes | 2 |
| Talks too much | 2 |
| Other complaints | 48 |

**13.** (US Aug '46) Assuming that all three girls are equally good-looking, do you think most men would prefer to marry: (FOR)

| | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| A girl who has never held a job | 16% | 12% |
| A girl who has held a job and been moderately successful at it | 34 | 42 |
| A girl who has held a job and been extremely successful at it | 21 | 17 |
| Depends | 10 | 8 |
| Doesn't matter; don't know | 19 | 21 |

**14.** (US Aug '46) Which do you think is worse, for a wife to be unfaithful to her husband or for a husband to be unfaithful to his wife? (FOR)

| | *Husband unfaithful* | *Wife unfaithful* | *Equally bad* | *Refused or don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 3.7% | 22.5% | 66.9% | 6.9% |
| Women | 5.8 | 19.4 | 69.5 | 5.3 |

**15.** (US Aug '46) Who do you think is most often to blame when a marriage isn't a success, the man or the woman? (FOR)

| | *Man* | *Woman* | *Both equally* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 11.1% | 10.6% | 64.0% | 14.3% |
| Women | 12.2 | 11.5 | 62.6 | 13.7 |

**16.** (US Aug '46) Who do you think should have the most to say in deciding where the family is going to locate, the husband or the wife? (FOR)

| | *Husband* | *Wife* | *Both the same* | *Depends* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 48.1% | 9.7% | 34.9% | 4.6% | 2.7%. |
| Women | 42.9 | 10.9 | 37.3 | 5.4 | 3.5 |

**17.** (US Aug 28 '46) What do you think is the ideal age for a man to marry? A woman to matry? (AIPO)

| *Ideal age for men* | | *Ideal age for women* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| No answer; don't know. | 2% | No answer; don't know. | 2% |
| 21 and under | 14 | Under 20 years | 14 |
| 22 years | 5 | 20 years | 17 |
| 23 years | 6 | 21 years | 17 |
| 24 years | 7 | 22 years | 13 |
| 25 years | 35 | 23 years | 10 |
| 20–25 years | 2 | 24 years | 5 |
| 25–30 years | 17 | 25 years | 14 |
| 20–30 years | * | 20–25 years | 3 |
| 30 years | 9 | 25–30 years | 3 |
| Over 30 years | 2 | 20–30 years | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | * | Over 30 years | * |
| | * = 1 | Miscellaneous | * |
| | | | * = 1 |
| Median 25 years | | Median 21 years | |

**18.** (US Aug 28 '46) How much income per week do you think a young couple needs to have to get married on these days? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 3% |
| $25 and under per week | 6 |
| $30 per week | 5 |
| $35 per week | 8 |
| $40 per week | 15 |
| $45 per week | 6 |
| $50 per week | 34 |
| Over $50 to under $60 per week | 2 |
| $60 per week | 8 |
| Over $60 to under $75 per week | 3 |
| $75 per week | 7 |
| Over $75 per week | 3 |
| Median $50 | |

**19.** (Norway Oct 18 '46) What do you consider is your husband's (wife's) worst fault? Married men were asked about their wives and married women about their husbands. (NGI)

HUSBAND'S WORST FAULT

| | |
|---|---|
| Mentioned some fault | 43% |
| Husband had no faults | 26 |
| Would not discuss the subject | 19 |
| Could not say | 12 |

*The faults were (43%)*

| | |
|---|---|
| Smokes too much | 10% |
| Is so absorbed in his work that there is too little time for a cozy home life | 7 |
| Is indifferent | 5 |
| Is obstinate | 5 |
| Snores | 4 |
| Drinks too much | 4 |
| Is selfish | 4 |
| Is too kind and good-natured | 4 |
| Lacks a sense of economy | 3 |
| Uses snuff | 3 |
| Is cross | 3 |
| Too keen on sports | 2 |
| Reads too much | 2 |
| Is jealous | 2 |
| Is impolite | 2 |
| Sleeps too much | 2 |
| Talks too little | 2% |
| Too little at home | 2 |
| Too talkative | 1 |
| Other replies | 33 |
| | 100% |
| of those who mentioned faults | |

WIFE'S WORST FAULT

| | |
|---|---|
| Mentioned some fault | 36% |
| She was faultless | 28 |
| Would not discuss it | 23 |
| Couldn't say | 13 |

*The faults were (36%)*

| | |
|---|---|
| Works too hard | 5% |
| Is too independent and obstinate | 5 |
| Spends too much money | 5 |
| Smokes too much | 3 |
| Is too hasty | 3 |
| Too interested in her house | 3 |
| Works too much | 5 |
| Spends too little time on her husband | 3 |
| Only small faults | 3 |
| Inquisitive | 2 |
| Quarrelsome | 2 |
| Unpunctual | 2 |
| Too interested in parties | 2 |
| Doesn't sleep until husband comes home at night | 2 |
| Sour in the morning | 2 |
| Drinks too much coffee | 2 |
| Other replies | 51 |
| | 100% |
| of those who mentioned faults | |

**20.** (Hungary Nov '46) If you had a choice of three girls for a wife, which of these categories would you choose: first, one who had never worked; second, one who had worked but was not successful; third, one who had worked successfully and made a career? Asked of a cross-section of Budapest men. (HIPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| One who had never worked | 33.0% |
| One who had worked but was not successful | 6.7 |
| One who had worked successfully and made a career | 47.0 |
| Other and no answer | 13.3 |

**21.** (Canada Nov 16 '46) In some Canadian provinces, civil marriages are allowed—that is, people may be married by a judge or some other court official if they wish. In other provinces, marriages can be performed only by clergymen. Which law would you like to see in this province? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Clergy only | 60% |
| Civil marriages only | 3 |
| Choice of either | 33 |
| Undecided | 4 |

## MARRIAGE AND STATE

**1.** (US Sept 16 '37) Should the government give financial aid to young people to help them get married and establish homes? (AIPO)

Yes 38% No 54% No opinion 8%

**2.** (Australia Dec '41) Would you favor government advances of about £150 for young men getting married? (Aug–Sept '44) It's been suggested that the government should lend about

£150 to young couples about to be married. Would you approve or disapprove such loans? (APOP)

| | *Approve; favor* | *Oppose; against* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '41 | 51% | 40% | 9% |
| Aug–Sept '44 | 63 | 32 | 5 |
| 1941 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New South Wales | 60% | 32% | 8% |
| Queensland | 55 | 37 | 8 |
| Western Australia | 48 | 43 | 9 |
| South Australia | 46 | 44 | 10 |
| Victoria | 44 | 47 | 9 |
| Tasmania | 37 | 48 | 15 |

3. (Australia Apr '45) Would you agree to the government lending £150 to couples being married and canceling £50 for each child after the second? (APOP)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Qualified* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 62% | 27% | 6% | 5% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Labor voters | 67% | 21% | 6% | 6% |
| Non-labor voters | 56 | 34 | 6 | 4 |
| | | | *Qualified and No opinion* | |
| Well-to-do income group | 47% | 33% | 20% | |

## MEAT

1. (Canada Oct 24 '42) In your opinion, who is the most to blame for the beef shortage, the government, the packing industry, or the farmers? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Government | 38% |
| Packers | 18 |
| Farmers | 9 |
| All three | 5 |
| None of them | 4 |
| Undecided | 26 |

2. (Canada Oct 24 '42) Some people are saying that the best solution of the beef shortage would be a coupon rationing plan. Do you agree or disagree? (CIPO)

| | *Want rationing* | *Rationing unnecessary* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 45% | 43% | 12% |
| BY RACIAL ORIGIN | | | |
| French-Canadian | 26% | 61% | 13% |
| English-Canadian | 50 | 38 | 12 |

3. (US May 7 '43) Are there any particular meats you have had trouble getting, even though you've had enough ration points? Which? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Beef | 27% |
| Steaks | 11 |
| Hamburger | 3 |
| Lamb | 10 |
| Pork | 7 |
| Bacon | 6 |
| Ham | 5 |
| Pork chops | 2 |
| Veal | 4% |
| Roasts | 4 |
| Other cuts | 10 |
| No other cuts | 41 |
| Not ascertainable | 2 |
| | 132%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

4. (US May 7 '43) What sort of things are you doing to make your meat go further? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Using "stretchers" | 18% |
| Using actual meat substitutes | 32 |
| Using other substitutes | 13 |
| Preparing meat differently | 18 |
| Making greater use of leftovers | 13 |
| Using different cuts | 6 |
| Canning own meat | 3 |
| Eating in restaurants | 2 |
| Economizing in general | 1 |
| Just eating less meat | 9 |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Nothing, I have plenty | 8 |
| Nothing; don't know | 7 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 131%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

5. (US May 7 '43) Is the quality of meat you are able to buy as good as it has always been? 37% of the sample of women who said the quality was not as good were asked: Why do you suppose that is? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Quality of meat is as good as always | 59% |
| Don't know whether or not it is as good | 4 |
| Best meat goes to armed forces | 13 |
| Meat is too fresh | 4 |
| Meat is being "stretched" | 4 |
| Meat is being sent abroad (no mention of armed forces) | 2 |
| Animals not being given proper care | 2 |
| Greater demand | 1 |
| Good meat has too high a price or point value | 1 |
| Illegal practices | 1 |
| Meat is being cut differently | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 |
| Not ascertainable | 5 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

6. (US May 7 '43) Do you think that meat prices are higher than they ought to be? 73% of the sample of women who thought meat prices were higher than they should be were asked: How do you explain this—is anyone particularly to blame? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't think prices are higher than they should be | 17% |
| Don't know whether or not prices are too high | 10 |
| The government; government agencies | 11 |
| The retail merchant | 6 |
| Other mentions of middleman | 9 |
| Black markets | 4 |
| The public | 3 |
| Unspecified person or persons to blame | 2 |
| Just shortages | 5 |
| No one to blame (general) | 4 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Due to needs of our armed forces | 3% |
| All prices too high | 3 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 7 |
| No reasons given for high prices | 21 |
| | 105%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**7.** (Australia Oct '43) Do you think we should have coupons for meat now or not until there is less meat available? (APOP)

Coupons now 35% Not now 55% Undecided 10%

**8.** (US Oct 22 '43, May 18 '44, May 26 '44) Do you think that rationing of meats has been handled very well, only fairly well, or poorly? 21% of the Oct '43 sample and 18% of the May 18 '44 sample thought it had been handled only fairly well and 11% of the Oct '43 sample and 10% of the May 18 '44 sample thought it had been poorly handled. These two groups were asked: In what way hasn't it been handled as well as it could have been? In 1943 only women were questioned. Only the first question was asked of the May 26 '44 sample. The word "most" preceded "meats" in the May 26 '44 question. (NORC)

| | *Oct '43* | *May 18 '44* | *May 26 '44* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Has been handled very well | 63% | 65% | 46% |
| Don't know how it has been handled | 5 | 7 | 8 |
| Points too high; should have more points; ration too small (general) | 8 | 5 | — |
| Too few points for a small family; too many points for children | 4 | — | — |
| Poor distribution (general) | 6 | 4 | — |
| Regional distribution is unfair | 1 | — | — |
| Individual allotments are unfair, unequal | 1 | — | — |
| Dealers distribute unfairly | 2 | — | — |
| Black-market practices | 2 | 6 | — |
| Rationing stimulated buying | * | — | — |
| Answers in terms of shortages | 5 | — | — |
| Miscellaneous reasons why handling not good | 1 | 1 | — |
| Didn't say why handling was not good | 2 | 3 | — |
| Rationing too strict | — | 5 | — |
| Criticism of mechanics of rationing | — | 3 | — |
| Rationing not necessary | — | 1 | — |
| Criticism of information policy | — | 1 | — |
| Only fairly well | — | — | 34 |
| Poorly | — | — | 12 |
| | 100% | 101%* | 100% |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (US Oct 22 '43 and May 18 '44) Who do you think is mainly responsible? Asked of 32% of the 1943 sample and 28% of the 1944 sample who thought the rationing of meat had been handled only fairly well or poorly. In 1943 only women were questioned. (NORC)

| | *1943* | *1944* |
|---|---|---|
| General government bureaucracy | 5% | 10% |
| People in charge of rationing (national) | 3 | — |
| OPA | 5 | 6 |
| Dealers and producers | 5 | 3 |
| Consumers | 1 | 2 |
| Local ration board | * | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2% | * |
| Don't know | 11 | 7% |
| | 32% | 29%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 28 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**10.** (Australia Dec '43 and Apr '44) Are you satisfied it's necessary to ration meat by coupons? (APOP)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1943 National total | 50% | 40% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| 1943 women only | 53% | 38% | 9% |
| 1944 women | 64 | 30 | 6 |
| 1944 men | 52 | 42 | 6 |

**11.** (US May 18 '44 and May 26 '44) As far as you know, are most meats rationed or not rationed now? 86% of the May 18 sample and 87% of the May 26 sample who said meats were not rationed were asked: Why do you think most meats were taken off rationing? (NORC)

| | *May 18 '44* | *May 26 '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Thought meat was rationed | 8% | 6% |
| Didn't know whether or not it was still rationed | 6 | 7 |
| Taken off because of: | | |
| Oversupply or surplus (general) | 15 | 20 |
| Sufficient supply (general) | 14 | 11 |
| Shortage of storage space | 12 | 11 |
| Army needs have been met | 5 | 7 |
| More meat is being produced | 7 | 6 |
| More meat is being butchered | 5 | 5 |
| Politics | 5 | 5 |
| Oversupply or surplus of pork | 5 | 5 |
| Surplus caused by rationing | 4 | 5 |
| Meat was spoiling | 2 | 4 |
| Opposition to rationing | 2 | 2 |
| To stop black market | 1 | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 | 2 |
| Didn't know why it was taken off | 12 | 10 |
| | 106%* | 107%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**12.** (US May 18 '44 and May 26 '44) Do you think they could have taken these meats off rationing sooner? Asked of 86% of the May 18 sample and 87% of the May 26 sample who thought most meats were not rationed. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| May 18 '44 | 34% | 21% | 31% | = 86% |
| May 26 '44 | 37 | 25 | 25 | = 87 |

**13.** (US May 18 '44) 34% of the May 18 sample who thought meats could have been taken off rationing sooner and 21% who thought they could not, were asked: Why? (NORC)

| REASONS WHY | |
|---|---|
| There has been a surplus of meats for some time | 14% |
| Never needed rationing; there always was plenty of meat | 5 |
| Meat has spoiled or been wasted | 5 |
| The meat situation hasn't changed recently | 2 |
| Meat was being held in storage | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 34% |

REASONS WHY NOT

| | |
|---|---|
| The government could not have done it sooner | 6% |
| The meat supply would not permit it sooner | 6 |
| Supplies were needed for armed forces and overseas before | 4 |
| Rationing was necessary before to prevent unfair distribution | 2 |
| Rationing shouldn't have been removed now | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 21% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**14.** (US May 18 '44 and May 26 '44) Do you think that most meats will be rationed again? Asked of 86% of the May 18 sample and 87% of the May 26 sample who thought most meats were not rationed. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| May 18 '44 | 52% | 16% | 18% | = 86% |
| May 26 '44 | 59 | 15 | 13 | = 87 |

**15.** (US May 18 '44) How soon [do you think meat will be rationed again]? Asked of 52% of the sample who thought that most meats would be rationed again. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 2 months; June; very soon | 3% |
| Summer; July; August; 2 or 3 months | 6 |
| Fall; September; October; November; 4, 5, 6 months | 21 |
| After election | 5 |
| Winter; December; to a year, 7 to 11 months | 6 |
| A year or more; a long time | 2 |
| When surplus is gone | 3 |
| Depends on the war | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know | 5 |
| | 52% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**16.** (US May 18 '44) Since most meats were taken off rationing, have you had more trouble getting meat or less? Asked of 86% of the sample who thought most meats were not rationed. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 9% |
| Same | 49 |
| Less | 20 |
| Don't know | 8 |
| | 86% |

**17.** (US May 18 '44) From what you have heard, what reason did the government give for taking most meats off rationing? Asked of 86% of the sample who thought most meats were not rationed. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Oversupply or surplus (general) | 13% |
| Shortage of storage space and to prevenr spoiling | 11 |
| Sufficient supply (general) | 8 |
| Government did not give a reason | 7 |
| Army needs have been met | 6 |
| More meat being butchered | 3 |
| More meat is being produced | 3 |
| Oversupply or surplus of pork | 3 |
| Meat was spoiling | 2 |
| Surplus caused by rationing | 1 |
| Opposition to rationing | 1 |
| Politics | 1 |
| To stop black market | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1% |
| Don't know | 31 |
| | 91%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 86 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**18.** (US May 18 '44) Now that most meats and canned vegetables have been taken off rationing, do you think it is still necessary to have ceiling prices on them? asked of 86% of the sample who thought most meats were not rationed. (NORC)

Yes 75% No 5% Don't know 6% = 86%

**19.** (US June 2 '44) Does your ration allow you to get all the rationed meats your family really needs? Asked of national cross-section of women marketers. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 90% |
| No | 7 |
| More | 2 |
| Don't use | 1 |
| Don't know | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**20.** (Canada Sept 12 '45) In answer to the question: Why do you think Canada has rationed meat again? 67% of the sample answered that it was to feed Europe; to supply UNRRA; etc. Another 6% believed that it was to satisfy complaints from the United States. Only 9% had no answer at all. Presumably the remaining 18% gave miscellaneous answers. People were then asked: Do you approve or disapprove of this? (CIPO)

Approve 68% Disapprove 23% Undecided 9%

**21.** (France Feb 16 '46) What quantity of meat [do you consider necessary for your nourishment] each week? (FIPO)

| | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| Less than 250 gr. | 1% | 1% |
| 250–550 gr. | 20 | 28 |
| 550–850 gr. | 18 | 20 |
| 850–1,150 gr. | 29 | 28 |
| 1,150–1,450 gr. | 6 | 4 |
| 1,450–1,750 gr. | 14 | 11 |
| More than 1,750 gr. | 12 | 7 |
| No answer | — | 1 |

Median: Men 1,060 gr. Women 925 gr.

**22.** (Denmark Apr 6 '46) Do you think that we eat too much meat and too many eggs? (DGI)

Yes 36% No 54% Don't know 10%

**23.** (Belgium July–Oct '46) When buying meat are you aware of, or do you take note of, the official price (maximum legal price)? (INSOC)

| | *Always* | *Often* | *Rarely* | *Never* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33.1% | 14.0% | 13.2% | 25.2% | 14.5% |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | | | | |
| Urban | 33.3% | 13.2% | 12.3% | 25.3% | 15.9% |
| Rural | 29.0 | 13.0 | 16.5 | 29.2 | 12.3 |
| Industrial | 38.6 | 17.1 | 10.2 | 19.1 | 15.0 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Farmers | 28.3% | 15.4% | 17.8% | 26.6% | 11.9% |
| Workers | 32.6 | 13.3 | 11.2 | 22.5 | 20.4 |
| White-collar | 24.1 | 18.0 | 13.8 | 26.1 | 18.0 |
| Businessmen | 36.1 | 13.0 | 9.3 | 24.8 | 16.8 |
| Professional men | 16.5 | 11.0 | 14.3 | 36.2 | 22.0 |
| Living on income | 46.6 | 9.2 | 12.9 | 21.5 | 9.8 |
| Housewives | 39.3 | 14.5 | 14.9 | 27.2 | 4.1 |

**24.** (Belgium July–Oct '46) When buying [meat] with ration stamps or certificates of entitlement, do you ever have to pay more than the fixed official prices (maximum legal prices)? (INSOC)

| | *Always* | *Often* | *Rarely* | *Never* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 11.4% | 17.6% | 11.3% | 33.2% | 26.5% |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | | | | |
| Urban | 10.8% | 18.5% | 9.9% | 31.5% | 29.3% |
| Rural | 13.5 | 16.5 | 12.1 | 32.5 | 25.4 |
| Industrial | 9.5 | 17.2 | 12.9 | 37.5 | 22.9 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Farmers | 13.7% | 15.4% | 13.3% | 30.2% | 27.4% |
| Workers | 9.9 | 15.5 | 10.7 | 32.1 | 31.8 |
| White-collar | 10.6 | 19.6 | 9.6 | 29.6 | 30.6 |
| Businessmen | 8.4 | 18.2 | 13.9 | 30.8 | 28.7 |
| Professional | 13.2 | 13.2 | 9.9 | 28.5 | 35.2 |
| Living on income | 10.4 | 19.0 | 11.1 | 39.9 | 19.6 |

**25.** (Belgium July–Oct '46) Did you ever buy [meat] without ration stamps or certificates? (INSOC)

| | *Often* | *Rarely* | *Never* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 51.0% | 24.0% | 18.6% | 6.4% |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | | | |
| Urban | 56.2% | 22.4% | 14.0% | 7.4% |
| Rural | 47.6 | 24.5 | 22.7 | 5.2 |
| Industrial | 45.8 | 26.2 | 21.7 | 6.3 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Farmers | 44.7% | 22.3% | 27.7% | 5.3% |
| Workers | 48.1 | 24.8 | 18.6 | 8.5 |
| White-collar | 52.5 | 27.0 | 12.7 | 7.8 |
| Businessmen | 59.7 | 18.0 | 12.2 | 10.1 |
| Professional | 57.2 | 22.0 | 8.8 | 12.0 |
| Living on income | 44.8 | 22.1 | 28.2 | 4.9 |
| Housewives | 54.6 | 25.5 | 19.1 | 0.8 |

**26.** (US Aug 28 '46) Do you approve or disapprove of having price controls put back on meat? (AIPO)

Approve 49% Disapprove 43% No opinion 8%

**27.** (US Aug 28 '46) What effect do you think this [return of price control on meat] will have on the supply of meat in the meat markets? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 16% |
| No effect | 9 |
| Less meat | 45 |
| Less meat for a while | 4 |
| Black market will increase | 9 |
| The poor people will get more; even distribution | 3 |
| Will be greater supply | 14 |
| Meat will be cheaper | 4 |
| Will stabilize the market | 1 |
| Cut out black market | 1 |
| Higher prices | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| | 107%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**28.** (France Sept '46) M. Yves Farge has decided to employ the following system in certain large cities: the butchers will deliver to each consumer 150 grams of meat at the ceiling price; 150 grams more at the free market price. Do you approve of this system? (FIPO)

Approve 34% Disapprove 47% No opinion 19%

**29.** (US Sept 11 '46) Do you think the present price ceilings should be kept on or taken off the following items? Among others was listed meats.

| | *Kept on* | *Taken off* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 53% | 5% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republican | 29% | 67% | 4% |
| Democratic | 52 | 42 | 6 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional and business | 37% | 59% | 4% |
| Farmer | 34 | 60 | 6 |
| White-collar | 41 | 54 | 5 |
| Manual workers | 47 | 47 | 6 |

**30.** (US Oct 10 '46) Should the Congress to be elected this November keep or do away with price controls on meats? (AIPO)

Keep 22% Do away 70% No opinion 8%

## MEDALS

**1.** (Great Britain Oct '40) At present there are different decorations awarded to officers from those awarded to men. Do you think this distinction should be kept up or done away with? (BIPO)

Kept up 26% Done away with 60% Don't know 14%

**2.** (US Aug 22 '45) Can you tell me what award a soldier gets the first time he is wounded? (AIPO)

Correct 65% Incorrect 3% Don't know 32%

**3.** (US Aug 22 '45) What does it [the award a soldier gets the first time he is wounded] look like? (AIPO)

Correct 43% Don't know 57%

**4.** (US Aug 22 '45) Can you tell me what a soldier gets to wear showing that he has been in a battle? (AIPO)

Correct 46% Incorrect 27% Don't know 27%

**5.** (US Aug 22 '45) What does the soldier's discharge emblem look like? (AIPO)

Correct 44% Incorrect 12%* Don't know 44%

* Incorrect = total of "Partly correct" and "Incorrect."

**6.** (US Aug 22 '45) Can you tell me what award a soldier gets the second time he is wounded? (AIPO)

Correct 14% Incorrect 17% Don't know 69%

**7.** (US Aug 22 '45) What does it [the award a soldier gets the second time he is wounded] look like? (AIPO)

Correct 9% Don't know 91%

**8.** (US Aug 22 '45) How can one tell whether a soldier has been overseas six months or longer? (AIPO)

Correct 53% Incorrect 14% Don't know 33%

**9.** (US Aug 22 '45) Can you describe briefly what the soldier's good conduct ribbon looks like? (AIPO)

Correct 18% Incorrect 11% Don't know 71%

**10.** (Great Britain May '46) As far as you know, are you entitled to a defense medal? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 32% | 64% | 4% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 52% | 44% | 4% |
| Women | 17 | 79 | 4 |

**11.** (Great Britain May '46) Have you or have you not applied for it [defense medal]? Asked of 32% of the sample who said they were entitled to a defense medal. (BIPO)

| | *Have* | *Have not* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 58% = 100% of those questioned |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 40% | 60% = 100% |
| Women | 50 | 50 = 100 |

## MEDICAL ECONOMICS

**1.** (US Oct '36) How much money has your household spent during the past year for doctors and hospital bills? (FOR)

BY WILLINGNESS TO PAY $10 A YEAR FOR HOSPITAL INSURANCE

| | *Total* | *Would pay $10* | *Would not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nothing | 24.7% | 18.7% | 30.7% | 27.9% |
| Under $10 | 16.8 | 16.2 | 16.3 | 22.7 |
| $10–$24 | 16.5 | 15.9 | 17.2 | 16.6 |
| $25–$49 | 13.4 | 14.9 | 12.4 | 11.1 |
| $50–$99 | 9.8 | 11.3 | 8.5 | 7.8 |
| $100–$199 | 8.1 | 9.9 | 6.5 | 5.4 |
| $200 and over | 10.7 | 13.1 | 8.4 | 8.5 |

**2.** (US Oct '36) How much money has your household spent during the last year for dental bills? (FOR)

None or under $25 71.7% Over $25 28.3%

**3.** (US June 14 '37) Do you think poor people here get proper medical care? (AIPO)

Yes 46% No 54% = 100% No opinion 11%

**4.** (US May 12 '38) Excluding dentistry, about how much did you spend for doctor and hospital bills for yourself last year? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Nothing | 40% |
| $2 and under | 3 |
| Over $2 to $5 | 6 |
| Over $5 to $8 | 2 |
| Over $8 to $10 | 5 |
| Over $10 to $15 | 3 |
| Over $15 to $20 | 2 |
| Over $20 to $25 | 4 |
| Over $25 to $35 | 2 |
| Over $35 to $45 | 1 |
| Over $45 to $55 | 4 |
| Over $55 to $100 | 4 |
| Over $100 to $200 | 3 |
| Over $200 to $300 | 1 |
| Over $300 | 1 |
| Don't remember | 16 |
| No answer | 3 |

Median $2

**5.** (US May 12 '38) Excluding dentistry, about how much did your family spend for doctor and hospital bills last year? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Nothing | 21% |
| $2 and under | 1 |
| Over $2 to $5 | 3 |
| Over $5 to $8 | 1 |
| Over $8 to $10 | 6 |
| Over $10 to $15 | 4 |
| Over $15 to $20 | 3 |
| Over $20 to $25 | 5 |
| Over $25 to $35 | 2 |
| Over $35 to $45 | 2 |
| Over $45 to $55 | 6 |
| Over $55 to $75 | 3 |
| Over $75 to $100 | 6 |
| Over $100 to $200 | 6 |
| Over $200 to $300 | 2 |
| Over $300 | 3 |
| Don't remember | 24 |
| No answer | 2 |

**6.** (US May 20 '38) Have you ever put off going to the doctor because of the cost? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 58% = 100% | 3% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 24% | 76% | |
| Middle income | 37 | 63 | |
| Lower income | 68 | 32 | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 35% | 65% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 45 | 55 | |
| East central | 35 | 65 | |
| West central | 44 | 56 | |
| South | 48 | 52 | |
| Far West | 45 | 55 | |

**7.** (US May 20 '38) About how much did you spend for doctor bills for yourself last year (not counting dentist bills)? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Nothing | 37% |
| $2 and under | 4 |
| Over $2 to $5 | 10 |
| Over $5 to $8 | 3 |
| Over $8 to $10 | 8 |
| Over $10 to $15 | 5 |
| Over $15 to $20 | 4 |
| Over $20 to $25 | 4 |
| Over $25 to $35 | 2 |
| Over $35 to $45 | 1 |
| Over $45 to $65 | 1 |
| Over $65 to $100 | 4 |
| Over $100 to $200 | 3 |
| Over $200 | 2 |
| Don't know | 12 |

**8.** (US Mar 6 '40) Would you go to the doctor more often if the doctor's charges were lower? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, emphatically | 21% |
| Yes | 26 |
| No | 33 |
| No, emphatically | 20 |

**9.** (US Dec 18 '41) On the average, can you tell me about how much you spend on medicine, not counting doctors' fees, when you have a cold? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| None | 21% |
| $1 or less | 22 |

| | |
|---|---|
| $1 | 12% |
| Over $1 to $7.50 | 19 |
| More than $7.50 | 2 |
| Not much; very little | 3 |
| Don't know and miscellaneous | 21 |

Median 50¢ per cold

**10.** (Great Britain July '44) Can you get a doctor's treatment free? 37% of the sample who said they could get no free treatment were asked: Have there been times when you did not go to see a doctor but would have gone if there had been no charge? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Can get free medical treatment | 63% |
| Would have gone to a doctor if there had been no charge | 14 |
| Would not have gone to a doctor even if there had been no charge | 23 |

**11.** (US Aug '44) Do you think there are any people in the United States who can't afford to see a doctor as often as they should? 81% of the sample who said they believed there were such people were asked: Would you say there are a great many people like that or only a few? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| No such people | 15% |
| Undecided as to whether or not such people exist | 4 |
| Yes, a great many | 57 |
| Yes, but only a few | 21 |
| Undecided as to how many there are | 3 |

**12.** (US Apr 10 '46 and Australia Nov '46) Just making a guess, about how much did you (or your husband) pay for doctor, hospital, (chemist) and dentist bills during the past year? In Australia the question substituted "the last twelve months" for "the last year." (AIPO, APOP)

UNITED STATES RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer; don't know | 3% |
| Nothing | 16 |
| Under $25 | 21 |
| $25 to $50 | 16 |
| $50 to $100 | 16 |
| Over $100 | 28 |

Median $50

AUSTRALIAN RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Nothing | 23% |
| £5 and under | 21 |
| £6 to £10 | 17 |
| £11 to £15 | 6 |
| £16 to £25 | 14 |
| £26 to £50 | 13 |
| £51 to £100 | 4 |
| Over £100 | 2 |

## MEDICINE, STATE

**1.** (US Oct '36) Do you believe the government should provide free medical and dental care at the expense of the taxpayer for those who can't pay? (FOR)

Yes 74.0% No 20.3% Don't know or no answer 5.7%

**2.** (US Oct '36) Would you be willing to pay ten dollars a year for each member of your family to cover hospital expenses for a year? (It is understood this would provide ward care or a proportionate credit against private-room care.) (FOR)

Yes 47.9% No 44.3% Don't know 7.8%

**3.** (US Oct '36) Would you be willing to pay ten dollars a year for each member of your family for dental expenses for a year? (FOR)

Yes 43.3% No 49.4% Don't know or no answer 7.3%

**4.** (US June 14 '37) Should the federal government provide free medical care for those unable to pay? (May 20 '38) Do you think the government should be responsible for providing medical care for people who are unable to pay for it? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| June '37 | 79% | 21% = 100% | 7% |
| May '38 | 81 | 19 = 100 | 4 |

1938 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 77% | 23% |
| Middle Atlantic | 84 | 16 |
| East central | 79 | 21 |
| West central | 79 | 21 |
| South | 83 | 17 |
| Far West | 83 | 17 |

**5.** (US May 20 '38) Would you be willing to pay higher taxes for this purpose? Asked of a national cross-section of people who thought the government should be responsible for providing medical care for people who were unable to pay for it. 81% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Yes 59% No 41% = 100% No opinion 9%

**6.** (US June 28 '37) Should the federal government aid state and local governments in providing medical care for babies at birth? (AIPO)

Yes 82% No 18% = 100% No opinion 12%

**7.** (US Aug 9 '37) Should the federal government aid state and local governments in providing medical care for mothers at childbirth? (AIPO)

Yes 81% No 19% = 100% No opinion 10%

**8.** (US Nov 12 '37) If a medical association agreed to pay all your family doctor and hospital bills, how much a month would your family be willing to pay for this service? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Do not favor the idea | 28% |
| Less than $1.00 | 2 |
| $1.00 | 9 |
| Over $1.00 to $1.50 | * |
| $1.50 to $2.00 | 2 |
| $2.00 | 9 |
| Over $2.00 to $3.00 | 2 |
| $3.00 | 5 |
| Over $3.00 to $4.00 | * |
| $4.00 | 2 |
| Over $4.00 to $5.00 | * |
| $5.00 | 7 |
| Over $5.00 to $7.50 | 1 |
| $7.50 to $10.00 | 1 |
| $10.00 | 3 |
| Over $10.00 | 1 |
| No opinion | 27 |

* = 1

Median $1.00

**9.** (US May 12 '38) If you were assured complete medical and hospital care for yourself in case of accident or illness (excluding dentistry) how much a month would you be willing to pay for this service? (Dec 23 '38) If you were assured complete medical and hospital care for yourself in case of accident or illness (except dentistry) would you be willing to pay three dollars a month? Two dollars and a half a month? Two dollars a month? (Jan 20 '39) If you were assured complete medical

and hospital care for yourself in case of accident or illness (except dentistry) would you be willing to pay two dollars a month? (AIPO)

MAY '38 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Total willing to pay | 53% |
| Against the idea | 13 |
| No opinion | 34 |

Median $2 per month or $24 a year

DEC '38 RESULTS

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| $3.00 | 48% | 38% | 14% |
| $2.50 | 49 | 37 | 14 |
| $2.00 | 61 | 25 | 14 |

JAN '39 RESULTS

Yes 68% No 27% No opinion 5%

**10.** (US May 12 '38) If your family were assured complete hospital care in case of accident or illness (excluding dentistry) how much a month would your family be willing to pay for this service? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Total willing to pay | 49% |
| Against the idea | 13 |
| No opinion | 38 |

Median $2 per month or $24 a year

**11.** (US Dec 23 '38) Should Congress create a new Cabinet Department of Public Welfare to handle public health, education, and welfare? (Aug 22 '45) Do you think another Cabinet office, called the Department of Public Welfare and headed by a Secretary, should be set up in Washington to include such things as Social Security, public health, and education? A comparable cross-section was asked the question in the following form: It has been suggested that a Secretary be appointed to head a new Department of Public Welfare in Washington which would include such things as Social Security, public health, and education. Do you approve or disapprove of this? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '38 | 57% | 43% = 100% | 21% | |
| Aug '45 | 47 | 22 | 31 | = 100% |

1945 RESULTS BY EDUCATION

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| College | 53% | 32% | 15% |
| High school | 50 | 25 | 25 |
| Grade school | 45 | 17 | 38 |

1945 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Professional and business | 53% | 27% | 20% |
| White-collar | 54 | 22 | 24 |
| Farmers | 35 | 31 | 34 |
| Manual workers | 47 | 15 | 38 |

**12.** (Great Britain Apr '41) Which would you prefer of the following: all doctors and hospitals under state control with their services free as education is now; an extension of the panel system to include everybody; having a private doctor whom you pay for his visits and medicine? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| All doctors and hospitals under state control | 55% |
| Extension of panel system to include everybody | 30 |
| Having a private doctor | 15 |

**13.** (Australia Dec '41) Should control of medical services be a Commonwealth or a state responsibility? (APOP)

| | *Commonwealth control* | *State control* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 26% | 19% |

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| New South Wales | 62% | 22% | 16% |
| Queensland | 53 | 27 | 20 |
| Victoria | 53 | 26 | 21 |
| Western Australia | 48 | 35 | 17 |
| Tasmania | 47 | 36 | 17 |
| South Australia | 41 | 33 | 26 |

**14.** (Canada Apr 8 '42, May 22 '43, Aug 28 '43, Apr 8 '44) If the government should start a national health plan, would you be willing to pay a small part of your (or your family's) income every month so that you and your family would receive medical and hospital care whenever you needed it? In the 1944 sample "each year" was used instead of "every month." (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apr 8 '42 | 75% | 18% | 7% |
| May 22 '43 | 69 | 16 | 15 |
| Aug 28 '43 | 69 | 16 | 15 |
| Apr 8 '44 | 80 | 16 | 4 |

APR '42 RESULTS BY AGE

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 21–29 years | 79% | 14% | 7% |
| 31–39 years | 78 | 16 | 6 |
| 41–49 years | 75 | 17 | 8 |
| 51–59 years | 75 | 18 | 7 |
| Over 60 years | 68 | 25 | 7 |

APR '42 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wealthy | 76% | 21% | 3% |
| Average | 79 | 15 | 6 |
| Poor | 74 | 18 | 8 |

1944 RESULTS BY PROVINCES

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Quebec | 67% | 28% | 5% |
| Ontario | 83 | 13 | 4 |
| Prairies | 90 | 8 | 2 |

**15.** (Canada May 22 '43) How much would you be willing to pay each month [for a national health plan]? (CIPO)

| | *Average amount* |
|---|---|
| Single persons | $1.60 monthly |
| Two in family | 2.29 monthly |
| Three in family | 2.41 monthly |
| Four in family | 2.73 monthly |
| Five or more | 2.53 monthly |

**16.** (US Sept '42) After the war, do you think the federal government should or should not provide for medical care, old-age pensions for everyone, and job insurance? Do you think it will provide any or all of these? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Will* | *Will not* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Free medical care | 23.7% | 76.3% | 59.5% | 40.5% |
| Old-age pensions for everyone | 48.7 | 51.3 | 90.5 | 9.5 |
| Job insurance | 35.5 | 64.5 | 84.0 | 16.0 |

**17.** (US Apr '43) Do you think there should be a plan like this [the Social Security Law] to take care of working people while they are sick? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 85% |
| No | 10 |
| Qualified answer | 2 |
| Don't know | 3 |

**18.** (Great Britain June 10 '43) Do you think that a state-run medical service would or would not be beneficial to the nation as a whole? (BIPO)

Yes 70% No 17% Don't know 13%

**19.** (Australia July '43) If a nationwide free medical service is established after the war, who should organize and control the scheme—the doctors or the government? (APOP)

Government 57% Doctors 30% Undecided 13%

**20.** (US July 28 '43) At present the Social Security program provides benefits for old age, death, and unemployment. Would you favor changing the program to include payment of benefits for sickness, disability, doctor, and hospital bills? 59% of the sample who favored changing the program were asked: Would you be willing to pay (or have your husband pay) six per cent of your salary or wages (or income) in order to make this plan possible? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Oppose changing the program | 29% |
| No opinion as to whether or not the program should be changed | 12 |
| Favor change and willing to pay 6% of salary | 44 |
| Favor change but unwilling to pay | 11 |
| Didn't say whether or not were willing to pay | 4 |

**21.** (Australia Oct '43) Do you think a free medical service would or would not be beneficial to the nation as a whole? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Would be beneficial | 76% |
| Would not be | 19 |
| Undecided | 5 |

**22.** (Australia Oct '43) Would you favor it [a national medical service] if every family had to pay two shillings a week? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Would not oppose contributions | 68% |
| Would oppose contributions | 21 |
| Undecided or no opinion | 11 |

**23.** (Australia Nov '43) Which would you prefer—a national medical service financed entirely by taxes, or one for which each family paid about two shillings a week? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Two shillings contributions | 48% |
| Only taxes | 35 |
| No difference | 10 |
| Opposed to it | 7 |

**24.** (Canada Apr 12 '44) Do you think each county or riding should be allowed to decide by a vote whether it wants a health plan of its own, or should all people in your province be required to take part in a province-wide plan? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Province-wide plan | 63% |
| Community decide | 12 |
| Undecided which plan | 5 |
| Don't want health insurance | 16 |
| Undecided whether insurance wanted | 4 |

**25.** (Australia July '44) The government is planning a national hospital and medical service which everyone will be able to use. Do you think the whole cost should be raised by taxes, or should every family pay in about two shillings a week? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Favor contributory scheme | 60% |
| Opposed contributions | 27 |
| Saw no difference | 7 |
| Opposed any kind of government service | 6 |

**26.** (Great Britain July '44) If you were entitled to attend your doctor free of charge under a public health service, would you do so, or would you attend him privately and pay fees? (BIPO) (Australia Feb–Mar '45) If, under a national health service, you were entitled to attend a doctor free of charge, would you do so, or would you attend another doctor privately and pay fees? (APOP)

| | *Attend free* | *Attend privately* | *Be guided by circumstances or conditional answers* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Great Britain | 79% | 21% | — |
| Australia | 52 | 26 | 22% |
| AUSTRALIAN RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Well-to-do | 24% | 51% | 25% |
| Better-off | 36 | 38 | 26 |
| Artisans | 55 | 24 | 21 |
| Low income | 66 | 15 | 19 |

**27.** (Great Britain July '44) On the whole, would you like the idea of a publicly run national health service, or would you prefer hospitals and doctors to be left as they are? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| National health service | 55% |
| As they are | 32 |
| Don't know | 13 |

**28.** (Great Britain July '44) Who do you think should have most to say about the way medical services are arranged, the doctors or the public through the government? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Doctors | 25% |
| Equal | 32 |
| Public | 35 |
| Don't know | 8 |

**29.** (Great Britain July '44) Would you approve or disapprove of health centers, where you might get more treatments than you could get at your doctor's surgery, but which might not be so near your home? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve | 69% |
| Disapprove | 18 |
| Don't know | 13 |

**30.** (Great Britain July '44) If we do not have a national health service, do you think that it is best to get rid of the panel, leaving only private doctors, or should we try to make some system as the panel work satisfactorily? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Abolish panel | 10% |
| Panel system | 68 |
| Don't know | 22 |

**31.** (US Aug '44) Do you think anything should be done to make it easier for people to get medical care when they need it? 82% of the sample who thought something should be done were asked: What do you think should be done? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Nothing should be done | 10% |
| Undecided as to whether or not something should be done | 8 |
| Place responsibility with federal, state, or local government | 26 |
| With private charity | 3 |
| Private insurance plans | 6 |
| Liberalization of doctor's services; lower prices; more donated service; less independence and unavailability. | 5 |
| Other answers, i.e. doctors, hospitals, clinics, group insurance | 42 |

**32.** (US Aug '44) Some people have a kind of insurance for which they pay a certain amount each month to cover any hospital care they or their families may have in the future. Do you think this is a good idea or a bad idea? (NORC)

Good idea 92% Bad idea 4% Undecided 4%

**33.** (US Aug '44) If you could get some insurance for which you paid a certain amount each month to cover all the doctor care you might need in the future, would you rather do that, or would you rather pay the doctor what he charges you each time? (NORC)

Prefer insurance 55% Prefer to pay each time 38%
Undecided 7%

**34.** (US Aug '44) Would you be willing to pay three dollars a month if you were assured complete doctor and hospital care for you and your family any time in the future you might need it? (NORC)

Yes 67% No 25% Undecided 8%

**35.** (US Aug '44) Do you think it would be a good idea or a bad idea if the Social Security law also provided for the doctor and hospital care that people might need in the future? 68% of the sample thought it would be a good idea and 13% were undecided. These two groups were asked: If this meant that two and a half per cent of people's pay checks would be taken out instead of the present one per cent, would you think this a good idea or a bad idea? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Whole idea bad | 19% |
| Good idea even if pay deductions are increased | 58 |
| Poor idea if pay deductions are increased | 10 |
| Undecided about the matter if pay deductions are increased | 13 |

**36.** (US Aug '44) Would you rather have the Social Security law handle the insurance that would pay for people's doctor and hospital care, or would you rather have it handled through some private insurance plan? Asked of 81% of the sample who were either undecided or thought it a good idea to have Social Security also provide for medical care. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Social Security | 48% |
| Private insurance | 13 |
| Undecided | 20 |
| | 81% |

**37.** (Australia Dec '44–Jan '45) At present we have pensions for old age, invalids, and widows, and in 1945 a national hospital and medical service will probably be started. Do you think the whole cost of these benefits should be raised by taxes, or should every wage-earner contribute, say, two shillings a week? (APOP)

| | *Contributions* | *Taxes only* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 58% | 34% | 8% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Labor voters | 54% | 37% | 9% |
| Non-labor voters | 64 | 27 | 9 |

**38.** (US May 29 '45) At present the Social Security program provides benefits for old age, death, and unemployment. Would you favor increasing the present tax rates to include payment of benefits for sickness, disability, doctor, and hospital bills? 52% of the sample who favored increasing taxes to include the new benefits were asked: If the government and regular insurance companies charged about the same amount to provide benefits for sickness, disability, doctor, and hospital bills, which would you prefer to have handle it—the government or regular insurance companies? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Oppose increase in taxes to provide new benefits | 37% |
| No opinion as to whether or not new benefits should be provided | 11 |
| Would prefer the government to handle new benefits | 32 |
| Would prefer regular insurance companies | 16% |
| No preference between the government and private insurance companies | 4 |

**39.** (US July 25 '45) Which of these two plans would you prefer as a means of seeing that people in this country get better medical care: (1) Let the government set up plans so that people get medical care. This service would be paid for by making deductions from everyone's pay check or earnings, or (2) let the medical profession set up plans so that people get medical care. Anyone who wanted this service could have it by allowing deductions from his pay check or earnings? Each respondent was handed a card with the two alternatives on it. (AIPO)

Statement 1 39% Statement 2 46% No opinion 15%

**40.** (US July 25 '45) Which of these plans would you prefer for handling medical care and health insurance for the people in this country: (1) A plan set up by the government which would require every person to take part, or (2) a plan set up by the medical profession which would include only those persons who were interested? Each respondent was handed a card with the two alternatives on it. (AIPO)

Statement 1 52% Statement 2 33% No opinion 15%

**41.** (US Nov 21 '45) Have you heard or read about President Truman's proposal for having a compulsory health insurance in this country? 60% of the sample who had heard or read of the plan were asked: Do you approve or disapprove of Truman's plan for health insurance in this country? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Haven't heard of the plan | 40% |
| Approve the plan | 35 |
| Disapprove | 15 |
| Don't know whether approve or not | 10 |

**42.** (US Apr 10 '46) What do you think should be done, if anything, to provide for the payment of doctor, dentist, and hospital bills for people in this country? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Socialized medicine under head of Social Security | 12% |
| Voluntary health insurance; Blue Cross; cooperative organization; hospitalization | 17 |
| More free hospitals and free clinics; government aid for medical care for needy | 11 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 12 |
| Private charity and agencies | 6 |
| No answer; don't know | 16 |
| Nothing | 26 |

**43.** (US Apr 10 '46) What do you think should be done, if anything, so that people can get the hospital and medical care they need and make it easier for them to pay these bills? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Socialized medicine under head of Social Security | 11% |
| National health program | 1 |
| Voluntary health insurance, Blue Cross, cooperative organization, hospitalization | 25 |
| Federal government supported hospitals and clinics | 2 |
| State and local government supported hospitals and clinics | 2 |
| Community funds | 1 |
| More free hospitals and free clinics and free care (private or public unspecified) | 2 |
| Government aid for medical care for needy | 5 |
| Wagner-Dingell-Murray Bill | 2 |
| Something should be done (no suggestion) | 4 |
| Group insurance compulsory; compulsory health insurance | 3 |
| Private charity and agencies | 2 |
| Government hospital insurance | 1 |
| Deductions from workers' pay | 5 |
| Wages raised | 2 |
| Plan by doctors rather than politicians | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Miscellaneous | 4% |
| Nothing | 9 |
| No opinion; don't know; no answer | 18 |

**44.** (US Apr 10 '46) For yourself and your family, do you personally approve or disapprove of having insurance to take care of doctor and hospital expenses? (AIPO)

Approve 86% Disapprove 10% No opinion 4%

**45.** (US Apr 10 '46) Which would you prefet to have handle this health insurance—the government, the insurance companies, or the medical profession? A comparable cross-section was asked: If you had to make a choice, which would you prefer to have run such a plan—the government, the insurance companies, or the medical profession? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Government | 35% |
| Insurance companies | 31 |
| Medical profession | 21 |
| No opinion | 13 |

**46.** (US Apr 10 '46) If the government handled this [a health insurance program], do you think you would get better medical care or not as good medical care as you are now getting? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 32% |
| Same | 23 |
| Not as good | 35 |
| No opinion | 10 |

**47.** (US Apr 10 '46) How much would you be willing to pay a year for you and your dependents to join a health insurance plan which would pay all doctor, hospital, and dental bills? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer; don't know | 19% |
| Nothing | 9 |
| Under $25 | 30 |
| $25–$50 | 23 |
| $50–$100 | 15 |
| Over $100 | 4 |

Median $30

**48.** (US Apr 10 '46) Have you heard or read about the Wagner-Dingell-Murray health insurance bill which would require weekly pay deductions from every worker and employer for medical, dental, and hospital insurance? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 37% | 63% |
| BY EDUCATION | | |
| College | 66% | 34% |
| High school | 43 | 57 |
| Grammar school or less | 26 | 75 |

**49.** (US Apr 10 '46) What do you think of this [Wagner-Dingell-Murray] bill? Asked of 37% of the sample who had heard or read about the bill. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good thing; good idea | 55% |
| Good thing for people who won't plan for these things | 1 |
| Against it | 20 |
| Against it; shouldn't be compulsory | 3 |
| Too many deductions now | 1 |
| People pay too much for what they get; too much profit | 1 |
| It is Socialism, don't like Socialism | 3 |
| Doctors won't care how they treat patients | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 3% |
| No answer; don't know | 12 |
| | 100% |

of those questioned

**50.** (US Apr 10 '46) Are you in any medical or hospital insurance plan now? (AIPO)

Yes 37% No 61% No answer 2%

**51.** (US Apr 10 '46) Do you think that in a health insurance plan, employers should pay an amount equal to what an employee pays for medical, dental, and hospital insurance? (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 31% No opinion 12%

**52.** (Great Britain Apr 27 '46) Have you followed the discussion on the national health service? 65% of the sample who said they had followed the discussion were asked: Do you think that the government's plans will or will not result in better health services for the country as a whole? (BIPO)

| | *Will* | *Will not* | *Don't know* | *Haven't followed discussion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41% | 14% | 10% | 35% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 46% | 18% | 10% | 26% |
| Women | 35 | 11 | 10 | 44 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 36% | 10% | 10% | 44% |
| 30–49 years | 46 | 14 | 10 | 30 |
| 50 years and over | 37 | 18 | 10 | 35 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 37% | 36% | 6% | 21% |
| Middle | 44 | 19 | 13 | 24 |
| Lower | 40 | 10 | 10 | 40 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Conservative | 27% | 33% | 10% | 30% |
| Labor | 62 | 4 | 10 | 24 |
| Liberal | 43 | 14 | 18 | 25 |
| Other voters | 65 | 10 | 4 | 21 |
| Non-voters | 29 | 8 | 13 | 50 |

**53.** (Great Britain Apr 27 '46) Why [do you think that the government's plans will or will not result in better health services for the country as a whole]? Asked of 65% of the sample who had followed the discussion on the national health service. (BIPO)

*Will*

| | |
|---|---|
| Same chance of good treatment for all, rich and poor | 19% |
| Excellent; long overdue | 6 |
| Specialists available for all | 3 |
| Doctors will be less overworked; will have more time for panel patients | 2 |
| Will separate health from finance | 1 |

*Will not*

| | |
|---|---|
| Regimentation; impersonal relationship; too much form filling | 4 |
| Doctors will resent the change and will not give of their best | 2 |
| Doctors will not be dictated to; too much interference | 1 |

*Don't know*

| | |
|---|---|
| Too early to say | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 13 |
| No comment | 11 |
| | 65% |

**54** (Hungary Oct '46) Do you think the Employee's Sickness Insurance Institute (MABI) fulfills its duty toward the insured employees? Asked of insured employees in Budapest and suburbs. In Hungary it is obligatory to be a member of this Institute. (HIPOR)

Yes 53.4% No 32.9% No answer 13.7%

**55.** (Hungary Oct '46) Did you or your family ever make use of the medical attendance of this [Employee's Sickness Insurance] Institute? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Men | 85.1% | 14.9% |
| Women | 81.4 | 18.6 |

**56.** (Hungary Oct '46) Did you find the examination and the treatment perfectly satisfactory [at the Employee's Sickness Insurance Institute]? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 65.3% | 16.7% | 18.0% |
| Women | 62.9 | 22.6 | 14.5 |

**57.** (Hungary Oct '46) Was the medicine you got from the Employee's Sickness Insurance Institute (MABI) perfectly efficient? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 52.7% | 27.2% | 20.1% |
| Women | 43.6 | 48.0 | 8.4 |

**58.** (Hungary Oct '46) Have you chosen a family doctor for permanent medical attendance from the doctors of the Employee's Sickness Insurance Institute? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 66.9% | 29.4% | 3.7% |
| Women | 68.3 | 31.2 | 0.5 |

**59.** (Hungary Oct '46) Are you perfectly satisfied with the family doctor chosen? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Never used his services* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 42.0% | 7.0% | 51.0% |
| Women | 45.9 | 8.4 | 45.7 |

**60.** (Australia Nov '46) If the government gives free medical care to everyone, should all cost come from taxation, or should every family contribute something each week? (APOP)

Contributions 60% Taxes only 34% No opinion 6%

## MEDICINES, SPECIFIC

**1.** (Great Britain Nov '46) During the past seven days have you taken any medicine, pill, capsule, or powder? 47% of the sample who said they had taken medicine of some sort were asked: Was it prescribed by a doctor? (BIPO)

| | *Doctor's prescription* | *Recommended by chemist* | *Other* | *Have taken nothing* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 17% | 6% | 24% | 53% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 13% | 5% | 20% | 62% |
| Women | 21 | 8 | 27 | 44 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 13% | 8% | 24% | 55% |
| 30–49 years | 15 | 7 | 24 | 54 |
| 50 years and over | 20 | 6 | 22 | 52 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 21% | 5% | 16% | 58% |
| Middle | 15 | 5 | 22 | 58 |
| Lower | 17 | 7 | 24 | 52 |
| Very poor | 17 | 8 | 26 | 49 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Professional; salaried-executive | 18% | 2% | 18% | 62% |
| Salaried-clerical | 11 | 6 | 24 | 59 |
| Proprietor, shop or business; farmers | 21 | 5 | 20 | 54 |
| Weekly wages: factory, heavy industry, transport, miners | 14 | 5 | 25 | 56 |
| Agricultural workers (excluding farmers) | 12 | — | 18 | 70 |
| Weekly wages, all others | 13 | 8 | 23 | 56 |
| Housewives | 21 | 7 | 27 | 45 |
| Unoccupied and retired | 27 | 5 | 21 | 47 |
| Unemployed | 17 | 8 | 15 | 60 |

## MENTAL PHYSIOLOGY AND HYGIENE

**1.** (Sweden Feb '45) Do you have the impression that mental examinations too often take place in connection with court cases? (SGI)

| | *Too often* | *Sufficiently often* | *Too seldom* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 21% | 2% | 22% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 61% | 21% | 2% | 16% |
| Women | 50 | 21 | 2 | 27 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 50% | 29% | 2% | 19% |
| Middle class | 60 | 19 | 2 | 19 |
| Workers | 52 | 22 | 2 | 24 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–24 years | 51% | 22% | 1% | 26% |
| 25–29 years | 59 | 23 | 1 | 17 |
| 30–49 years | 60 | 19 | 2 | 19 |
| 50–64 years | 46 | 24 | 4 | 26 |
| 65 years and over | 52 | 21 | 2 | 25 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Country | 56% | 21% | 2% | 21% |
| Large towns | 52 | 22 | 3 | 23 |
| Other towns | 57 | 20 | 2 | 21 |

# METALS

**1.** (US Mar 10 '42) Has anyone called at your home to pick up scrap materials for national defense? (Sept 29 '42) Has anyone called at your home in the present scrap drive to see how much scrap metal you have or collect it? (Oct 27 '42) Has anyone called at your home to see how much scrap metal you have or to collect it? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '42 | 32% | 62% | 6% |
| Sept '42 | 35 | 65 | — |
| Oct '42 | 68 | 28 | 4 |

**2.** (US Mar 10 '42) If you make a thorough search, about how many pounds of scrap metal do you think you could find that you could give for national defense? (AIPO)

| | *Median average per family* |
|---|---|
| National total | 175 lbs. |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | |
| New England | 100 lbs. |
| East and west central | 200 lbs. |
| South | 300 lbs. |
| Far West | 160 lbs. |

**3.** (US Sept 29 '42) Have you read about the present drive to collect scrap metal? (AIPO)

Yes 96% No 4%

**4.** (US Sept 29 '42) Do you know where to turn in your scrap metal? (AIPO)

Yes 74% No 26%

**5.** (US Sept 29 '42) Do you have a way to get it [scrap metal] there yourself? Asked of 74% of the sample who said they knew where to turn in their scrap metal. (AIPO)

Yes 71% No 29% = 100% of those questioned

**6.** (US Sept 29 '42) Is there scrap metal around your home or place that could be collected if someone came for it? (AIPO)

Yes 42% No 58%

**7.** (US Sept 29 '42) Would you favor having scrap metal inspectors appointed in this community who could come into your home and take all scrap metal that you do not need? (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 43%

**8.** (US Sept 29 '42) Do you think metal statues, old guns, railings, heavy chains, and other metals in parks and cemeteries in this community should be donated to the scrap metal drive? (AIPO)

Yes 82% No 10% No opinion 8%

**9.** (US Oct 27 '42) Is there any scrap metal left around your home or place which you could give to the war effort? (AIPO)

Yes 21% No 73% Don't know 6%

**10.** (US Apr 28 '43, Aug 27 '43, Jan 21 '44) Have you turned in any scrap metal? The Apr '43 question was asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '43 | 75% | 25% | * |
| Aug '43 | 81 | 19 | — |
| Jan '44 | 79 | 20 | 1% |

* Less than 0.5%.

# MIDDLE AGE

**1.** (US Apr 24 '46 and Great Britain Aug '46) At what age do you think middle age begins? In Britain the question was: At what age does middle age begin? (AIPO, BIPO)

AMERICAN OPINION

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 40 years | 23% |
| At 40 years | 30 |
| Between 41–49 years | 24 |
| At 50 years | 17 |
| Over 50 years | 4 |
| No answer | 2 |

| | MEDIAN |
|---|---|
| National total | 40 years of age |
| AMERICAN OPINION BY AGE | |
| 21–29 years | 40 years of age |
| 31–49 years | 40 years of age |
| 50 years and over | 40 years of age |
| AMERICAN OPINION BY SEX | |
| Men | 40 years of age |
| Women | 45 years of age |
| AMERICAN OPINION BY OCCUPATION | |
| Professional and business | 45 years of age |
| White-collar | 41 years of age |
| Farmers | 40 years of age |
| Manual workers | 40 years of age |
| AMERICAN OPINION BY EDUCATION | |
| College | 42 years of age |
| High school | 40 years of age |
| Grammar school or less | 40 years of age |

BRITISH OPINION

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* | *21–29 years* | *30–39 years* | *40–49 years* | *50 years and over* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 30–34 years | 1% | 1% | 1% | 2% | 2% | 1% | 1% |
| 35–39 years | 8 | 9 | 7 | 13 | 6 | 7 | 7 |
| 40–44 years | 26 | 27 | 25 | 34 | 27 | 23 | 22 |
| 45 years | 31 | 31 | 31 | 27 | 34 | 31 | 32 |
| 50 years | 25 | 24 | 27 | 19 | 24 | 29 | 27 |
| 51–59 years | 4 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| 60–64 years | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 65 years | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — |
| It all depends | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 3 |

BRITISH OPINION BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Higher* | *Middle* | *Lower* | *Very poor* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 30–34 years | 2% | 1% | 2% | 2% |
| 35–39 years | 4 | 8 | 8 | 10 |
| 40–44 years | 16 | 25 | 27 | 26 |
| 45 years | 40 | 31 | 31 | 29 |
| 50 years | 28 | 26 | 24 | 23 |
| 51–59 years | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 60–64 years | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| 65 years | — | — | — | 1 |
| It all depends | 6 | 4 | 2 | 1 |

# MIGRATION, INTERNAL

**1.** (US Jan 21 '37) If you had your choice, in which state would you like to live the year around? (Dec 12 '44) If you could live in any state in the nation, in which state would you most like to live? (AIPO)

1937 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| California | 21% |
| New York | 9 |
| Florida | 7 |
| Pennsylvania | 5 |
| Texas | 4 |
| Ohio | 3 |
| Michigan | 3 |
| Illinois | 3 |
| Massachusetts | 3 |
| Washington | 3 |
| All others | 39 |

1944 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| New England | 6% |
| Middle Atlantic | 20 |
| East central | 13 |
| West central | 12 |
| South | 19 |
| Mountain | 8 |
| Pacific coast | 22 |

**2.** (US June 1 '37) If you had your choice, would you prefer to live in the city or in the country? (AIPO)

City 42% Country 58% = 100% No preference 8%

**3.** (US June 21 '37) Where would you prefer to live and work —on a farm, in a town, or in a city? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| City | 40% |
| Farm | 28 |
| Town | 26 |
| Work in city; live in country | 2 |
| Other | 1 |
| No answer | 3 |

**4.** (US Oct '37) Suppose that you were to move to another part of the country to live, which would you choose, taking into consideration economic opportunity, the kind of people who live there, and general living conditions? Which part would you avoid going to? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Specified a definite part of the country | 63.7% |
| Happy where they are, no second choice | 7.5 |
| Happy where they are, second choice named | 25.1 |
| Don't know | 3.7 |

| *Would choose** | | *Would avoid*** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| The Pacific coast | 25.3% | The South | 28.4% |
| The East | 16.5 | The East | 17.7 |
| The South | 15.5 | The Middle West | 16.0 |
| New England | 13.2 | New England | 12.9 |
| The Middle West | 11.8 | The Far West (Mountain States) | 11.3 |
| The Fat West (Mountain Stares) | 11.1 | The Southwest | 8.1 |
| The Southwest | 6.6 | The Pacific coast | 5.6 |
| | 100.0% of those who had a first choice | | 100.0% of those who named a part of the country they would avoid living in |

* These are the preference of the 63.7% who had a first choice.
** These eliminate answers of "would avoid none of them," 4.1%, and "don't know," 4.2%.

**5.** (Great Britain Feb '39) If you were in a position to live where you liked would you choose the city or country; inland or seaside? (BIPO)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Country | 61% | Inland | 33% | Seaside | 28% |
| City | 39 | Inland City | 21 | Seaside City | 18 |
| | 100% | | 54% | | 46% = 100% |

**6.** (US May 26 '39) Are you now living in the same house you were living in at this time last year? 20% of the sample who were not living in the same house were asked: Were you living in the same town (county) this time last year? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Living in same house as previous year | 78% |
| Didn't say whether or not living in same house | 2 |
| Living in same town or county | 13 |
| Not living in same town or county | 5 |
| Didn't say whether or not living in same town or county | 2 |

**7.** (Sweden May '42) If you could choose, would you stay here or move somewhere else? Asked of a national cross-section of young people. (SGI)

BY SEX AND SIZE OF COMMUNITY

| | *Stay* | *Go to the country* | *Go to a larger town* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Towns* | | | | |
| Boys | 63% | 10% | 22% | 5% |
| Girls | 61 | 14 | 19 | 6 |
| *Provinces* | | | | |
| Boys | 58 | 5 | 31 | 6 |
| Girls | 56 | 4 | 32 | 8 |
| *Country* | | | | |
| Boys | 59 | 2 | 24 | 15 |
| Girls | 53 | 4 | 28 | 15 |

**8.** (US Mar '43) What are one or two things you think you might not like so well about living in the city? What one or two things do you think you might like most? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

WOULD DISLIKE

| | *Farmers* | *Wives* |
|---|---|---|
| Too crowded | 34.7% | 39.0% |
| Noise, confusion | 12.0 | 16.0 |
| Too expensive | 8.6 | 3.4 |
| Not own boss | 6.4 | — |
| Dirty, poor air | 5.7 | 9.3 |
| Bad for children | — | 7.7 |
| Other | 20.5 | 20.7 |
| Don't know | 32.1 | 26.0 |
| | 120.0%* | 122.1%* |

THINK THEY'D LIKE

| | *Farmers* | *Wives* |
|---|---|---|
| Short hours, easy work | 12.6% | 6.7% |
| More money | 8.6 | — |
| Modern conveniences | 4.3 | 24.9 |
| Good transportation | 3.9 | 31.6 |
| Contact with people | 1.3 | 3.8 |
| Other | 11.4 | 16.8 |
| Nothing | 14.5 | 7.7 |
| Don't know | 50.9 | 28.9 |
| | 107.5%* | 120.4%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (Great Britain Mar 1 '43) Have you moved from another district since the war started? (BIPO)

| | *Moved* | *Not moved* |
|---|---|---|
| National total.... | 29% | 71% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Higher..... | 25% | 75% |
| Middle..... | 34 | 66 |
| Lower..... | 28 | 72 |

**10.** (Sweden Apr '43) What do you think are the main reasons for people moving from the country into town? (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Large town dwellers born in the country* | *Small town dwellers born in the country* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Desire to earn larger incomes and have higher living standards..... | 36% | 43% | 36% |
| Think working conditions easier in town..... | 26 | 20 | 27 |
| Sadness of country..... | 19 | 24 | 20 |
| Opinion that townsmen ahead of country people... | 2 | — | 4 |
| Education possibilities..... | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Desire to learn about new places..... | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Other replies..... | 1 | — | — |
| Don't know..... | 13 | 10 | 9 |

**11.** (Canada Nov 3 '43) If you had a choice, where would you personally live after the war—in a city, town, village, or in the country? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| City..... | 30% |
| Town or village... | 34 |
| Farm..... | 34 |
| Undecided..... | 2 |

**12.** (Australia Apr '44 and July '44) Where would you like to live after the war—in a city, a country town, or on a farm? Where did you live before the war? The second question was asked of only the Apr '44 sample. (APOP)

| | *Capital cities* | *Provincial cities, other towns* | *On farms* | *Miscellaneous* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Today* | | | | |
| Apr '44..... | 54% | 29% | 17% | — |
| July '44..... | 51 | 36 | 13 | — |
| *Postwar preference* | | | | |
| Apr '44..... | 42 | 38 | 18 | 2% |
| July '44..... | 43 | 38 | 19 | — |
| *Prewar* | | | | |
| Apr '44..... | 50 | 33 | 16 | 1 |

**13.** (US Nov 29 '44, Dec 12 '44, Dec 28 '44, Jan 31 '45) If you were talking to friends who do not live in this state, what is the strongest argument you could give them for moving into this state? (AIPO)

| | *Nov '44* % | *Dec 12 '44* % | *Dec 28 '44* % | *Jan '45* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Good jobs; opportunities; money in state; high wage scale; no wage tax | 24 | 31 | 30 | 33 |
| Weather; good climate..... | 16 | 18 | 25 | 26 |
| Good industrial opportunities; good area for industry..... | 8 | 8 | 6 | 5 |
| Scenery; prettiest state; vacationland; summer resort..... | 6 | 7 | 11 | 11 |
| Home state; born and raised here; best state I've ever lived in..... | 8 | 8 | 13 | 14 |
| People; good people in state..... | 3 | 5 | 7 | 8 |
| Prosperous communities; cheap living; better living conditions..... | 3 | 4 | 5 | 4 |
| Churches; schools; shopping; entertainment area..... | 3 | 5 | 8 | 6 |
| Good government; progressive state.. | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| Transportation; good roads, good public works..... | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Miscellaneous..... | 3 | 4 | 4 | 3 |
| No reasons; none; no reason for moving here; would tell them to stay out; no arguments for moving here. | 8 | 8 | 10 | 8 |
| Don't know, no opinion, no answer. | 15 | 12 | 8 | 8 |
| Percentages.... | 100 | 113* | 131* | 132* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**14.** (US Nov 29 '44, Dec 12 '44, Dec 28 '44, Jan 31 '45) What do you like least about this state? (AIPO)

| | *Nov '44* % | *Dec 12 '44* % | *Dec 28 '44* % | *Jan '45* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Climate; weather; bad winters; hot summers; bad water; intense humidity..... | 24 | 26 | 31 | 31 |
| Politics; political machine; grafters; political complexion not clean enough; controlled by corrupt politics; don't like (name of politician)..... | 8 | 7 | 6 | 7 |
| People; people in a hurry; tempo of life too fast; too many foreigners; colored people are too forward; city people not friendly; too densely populated; people too conservative; poor class of people; bums..... | 7 | 6 | 5 | 5 |
| Taxes..... | 4 | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| Smoke; dirt; slums; unpleasant living conditions; no social legislation... | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Not enough industries..... | 1 | 2 | 1 | * |
| Poor transportation; poor highways; bad roads..... | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Not sufficient employment; no jobs.. | 1 | 1 | * | 1 |
| Wages not high enough..... | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Poor schools; education; churches... | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| State is perfect; OK; almost perfect; no faults; nothing..... | 27 | 25 | 24 | 24 |
| Object to blue laws; obsolete legislation..... | — | * | * | 1 |
| Object to terrain; too flat or too mountainous; poor fishing or hunting..... | — | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| High cost of living; rents too high; land too expensive; landlords..... | — | — | 1 | 1 |
| State is backward; slow; not progressive; not up-to-date; provincial.... | — | — | 1 | 1 |
| Lack of amusement centers; entertainment facilities; object to censorship | — | — | 1 | 1 |

| | Nov '44 % | Dec 12 '44 % | Dec 28 '44 % | Jan '45 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Too liberal; need liquor legislation; too many beer joints; gambling | — | — | 1 | 1 |
| Poor business facilities; land poor for farming | — | — | * | 1 |
| Location; no markets for farmers; not close to ocean | — | — | 1 | * |
| Some specific city | — | — | * | 1 |
| Everything; can see nothing good about it; don't like it | — | — | * | * |
| Miscellaneous | 9 | 10 | 3 | 2 |
| No opinion; no answer; don't know | 13 | 12 | 13 | 11 |
| Percentages | 100 | 101† | 103† | 102† |

* Less than 0.5%.
† Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**15.** (Canada Feb 17 '45) If you had to live in one of these four cities, which one would you most like to live in—Winnipeg, Vancouver, Toronto, Montreal? Which one would you least like to live in? (CIPO)

| | *Like most* | *Like least* |
|---|---|---|
| Vancouver | 36% | 6% |
| Montreal | 23 | 37 |
| Toronto | 21 | 20 |
| Winnipeg | 10 | 16 |
| Undecided | 10 | 21 |

**16.** (Denmark Apr 8 '45) If your work allowed it, would you prefer to live in Copenhagen, in a provincial town, or in the country? (DGI)

BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE

| | *Copenhagen* | *Provincial town* | *Country* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Copenhagen | 66.9% | 13.2% | 8.0% |
| Provincial town | 10.4 | 70.2 | 25.8 |
| Country | 14.6 | 12.5 | 63.3 |
| Don't know | 8.1 | 4.1 | 2.9 |

The 66.9% who lived in Copenhagen, 13.2% who lived in a provincial town, and 8.0% who lived in the country and would prefer to live in Copenhagen were asked: Why?

THOSE WHO PREFER COPENHAGEN BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE

| | *Copenhagen* | *Provincial town* | *Country* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Habit | 33.2% | — | — |
| Livelier | 17.2 | 27.3% | 39.4% |
| Place of birth | 22.1 | 7.3 | 3.9 |
| Greater opportunities | 5.7 | 30.9 | 31.4 |
| Big city | 7.9 | 13.6 | 15.6 |
| Family is there | 1.5 | 7.3 | 2.0 |
| Central | 2.2 | 0.9 | — |
| Other reasons | 2.6 | 10.0 | 13.7 |
| Don't know | 7.6 | 2.7* | 2.0 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned | 100.0% of those questioned | 108.0%* |

The 10.4% who lived in Copenhagen, 70.2% who lived in a provincial town, and 25.8% who lived in the country and would prefer to live in a provincial town were asked: Why?

THOSE WHO PREFER PROVINCIAL TOWNS BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE

| | *Copenhagen* | *Provincial town* | *Country* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Habit | 3.6% | 36.4% | 12.4% |
| Place of birth | 23.8 | 19.5 | 12.4 |
| Quieter | 25.0 | 12.8 | 13.7 |
| Healthier | 16.7 | 9.4 | 5.2 |
| Livelier | 2.4 | 1.8 | 15.0 |
| Greater opportunities | 1.2 | 1.5 | 13.7 |
| Don't like big cities | — | 3.8 | 7.9 |
| Cheaper | 3.6 | 0.4 | 2.0 |
| Other reasons | 17.8 | 6.1 | 9.2 |
| Don't know | 5.9 | 8.3 | 8.5 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned | 100.0% of those questioned | 100.0% of those questioned |

The 14.6% who lived in Copenhagen, 12.5% who lived in a provincial town, 63.3% who lived in the country and would prefer to live in the country were asked: Why?

THOSE WHO PREFER THE COUNTRY BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE

| | *Copenhagen* | *Provincial town* | *Country* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Place of birth | 21.3% | 25.7% | 28.4% |
| Habit | 1.7 | 11.4 | 28.8 |
| Healthier | 37.7 | 31.4 | 20.7 |
| Quieter | 17.2 | 19.0 | 15.2 |
| Scenery | 19.0 | 2.0 | 0.9 |
| Other reasons | 9.0 | 5.7 | 3.7 |
| Don't know | 4.1 | 4.8 | 2.3 |
| | 110.0%* | 100.0% of those questioned | 100.0% of those questioned |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents questioned and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**17.** (Finland Dec 28 '45) What do you think is the main reason why country people want to move into town? (FGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Working conditions easier and more convenient | 44% |
| The amusements and brighter life in towns | 27 |
| Better wages | 20 |
| The comforts and more superior way of living in towns | 7 |
| False ideas of town life | 4 |
| Bad housing conditions in the country | 2 |
| Clubs, societies, and possibilities for studying | 1 |
| Other causes | 3 |
| Don't know | 6 |
| | 114%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**18.** (Sweden Apr '46) Do you think that your children over fifteen would move away from home (without going to some other city) if they had the financial means? Asked of a national cross-section of parents with children over fifteen years old living at home. (SGI)

| | Boys | | | | Girls | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *Yes, some of them* | *No* | *Don't know* | *Yes* | *Yes, some of them* | *No* | *Don't know* |
| National total.... | 26% | 4% | 61% | 9% | 28% | 6% | 59% | 7% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | | |
| Women.... | 26% | 5% | 62% | 7% | 25% | 8% | 64% | 3% |
| Men..... | 26 | 3 | 61 | 10 | 31 | 4 | 53 | 12 |

**19.** (Sweden Apr '46) Would you like to move away from home (without moving to some other city) if you had the means? Asked of a national cross-section of young people over twenty living at home. (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total.. | 30% | 64% | 6% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Women..... | 26% | 65% | 9% |
| Men..... | 32 | 64 | 4 |

**20.** (Sweden Apr '46) Would you yourself oppose this moving away from home [on the part of children over fifteen]? Asked of a national cross-section of parents with children over fifteen years old living at home. (SGI)

| | Boys | | | | Girls | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *Yes, some of them* | *No* | *Don't know* | *Yes* | *Yes, some of them* | *No* | *Don't know* |
| National total.... | 27% | 1% | 69% | 3% | 33% | 1% | 60% | 6% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | | |
| Women.... | 27% | 2% | 68% | 3% | 37% | 2% | 56% | 5% |
| Men..... | 27 | — | 70 | 3 | 28 | — | 65 | 7 |

**21.** (Sweden Apr '46) How do you think they [children over fifteen] would live if they moved away from home? Asked of a national cross-section of parents with children over fifteen who wanted to leave home. (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Rent a single, furnished room | 14% |
| Rent room in smaller boarding house | 2 |
| Rent something in a youth hostel | 7 |
| Rent a furnished room with a friend | 12 |
| Rent own flat and furnish it | 53 |
| Rent a flat with a friend | 4 |
| Rent in other ways | 2 |
| Don't know | 6 |

**22.** (Sweden Apr '46) How would you prefer to live if you left home? Asked of a national cross-section of young people over twenty who wanted to leave home. (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Rent a single, furnished room | 26% |
| Rent something in a youth hostel | 4 |
| Rent a furnished room with a friend | 9 |
| Rent own flat and furnish it | 31 |
| Rent flat with a friend | 19 |
| Don't know | 11 |

**23.** (US Apr 25 '46) If there were nothing to keep you from living wherever you wanted to, in what kind of location would you choose to live? (NYHT)

| | *A large city* | *A small city* | *Small town close to a city* | *Small town quite a distance from a city* | *Out in the country* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total.... | 14.7% | 17.6% | 35.8% | 3.5% | 26.0% | 2.4% |
| BY AGE | | | | | | |
| 21–34 years..... | 14.3% | 16.9% | 41.8% | 2.8% | 23.6% | .6% |
| 35–49 years..... | 15.2 | 17.3 | 34.9 | 3.2 | 27.9 | 1.5 |
| 50 years and over.. | 14.7 | 18.4 | 31.5 | 4.5 | 26.2 | 4.7 |
| BY SEX | | | | | | |
| Men..... | 12.8% | 16.8% | 37.2% | 3.3% | 27.1% | 2.8% |
| Women..... | 16.3 | 18.2 | 34.7 | 3.7 | 25.1 | 2.0 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | | |
| Urban..... | 18.3% | 20.4% | 40.3% | 4.1% | 14.5% | 2.4% |
| Rural..... | .6 | 6.5 | 18.1 | 1.1 | 71.7 | 2.0 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Prosperous..... | 14.3% | 15.2% | 44.2% | 3.1% | 21.9% | 1.3% |
| Upper middle..... | 13.8 | 19.3 | 40.2 | 3.4 | 22.6 | .7 |
| Lower middle..... | 14.7 | 18.9 | 36.6 | 3.4 | 25.0 | 1.4 |
| Poor..... | 15.6 | 14.8 | 29.1 | 4.0 | 31.2 | 5.3 |
| BY VETERANS' STATUS | | | | | | |
| No veteran in house | 15.1% | 17.3% | 34.0% | 3.5% | 28.0% | 2.1% |
| Veteran in house.. | 13.8 | 18.6 | 39.1 | 4.3 | 22.1 | 2.1 |
| Respondent a veteran..... | 16.3 | 15.6 | 46.7 | 2.4 | 19.0 | — |

**24.** (US Apr 26 '45) A cross section of service men, both in this country and abroad, were asked where they intended to live after the war. Asked by the information and educational division of the United States army. (NYHT)

| | |
|---|---|
| Return to same state | 80.4% |
| Return to different state in same general area | 2.3 |
| Go to entirely different area | 6.5 |
| Undecided | 10.8 |
| *Analysis of expected soldier migration* | |
| To the North | 28% |
| To the West Coast | 51 |
| To the South | 21 |
| From the North | 55 |
| From the West Coast | 10 |
| From the South | 35 |

**25.** (US Sept 11 '46) If you could, would you like to move to another part of the country? 26% of the sample who said they would like to move to another part of the country were asked: Where would you like to move? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't want to move | 72% |
| No opinion as to whether or not they want to move | 2 |
| Would want to move to California | 9 |
| To Florida | 1 |
| To Colorado | 1 |
| To Arizona | 1 |
| To New York | 1 |
| To Texas | 1 |
| To the West | 1 |
| To Washington | 1 |
| To the South | 1 |
| To other places | 8 |
| Didn't say where they would want to move | 1 |

**26.** (US Nov 13 '46) At what age do you (or your husband) plan to retire? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 50 | 2% |
| 50–54 years | 4 |
| 55–59 years | 4 |
| 60–64 years | 10 |
| 65 years or over | 14 |
| Don't plan to retire | 46 |
| Have retired | 6 |
| Haven't decided | 1 |
| When unable to work | 2 |
| When old enough or tired enough | * |
| When I have enough money | * |
| No answer | 10 |
| | * = 1 |

**27.** (US Nov 13 '46) After you retire, do you plan to stay on the farm or move? Asked of 44% of the sample of farmers who said they planned to retire. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Stay on farm | 21% |
| Move to small city | 10 |
| Move to large city | 1 |
| Move to California | 2 |
| Move to Florida | 1 |
| Don't know | 6 |
| Move to own farm, working on another guy's now | * |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 44% |

* Less than 0.5%.

## MILITARY CEREMONIES, HONORS, AND SALUTES

**1.** (Sweden Oct '43) What do you think of the existing Swedish military duty of saluting? Asked of a national cross-section of men. (SGI)

| | *All right as it is* | *All in uniform should salute* | *Should be limited* | *Should be voluntary* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 35% | 4% | 42% | 9% | 10% |
| BY MILITARY STATUS | | | | | |
| Officers | 69% | — | 15% | 4% | 12% |
| Non-commissioned officers | 34 | 3% | 50 | 10 | 3 |
| Privates | 35 | 5 | 34 | 9 | 17 |

## MILITARY EDUCATION

**1.** (US July 22 '41 and Dec 20 '41) Should young men who want to go to West Point or Annapolis be permitted to apply directly for entrance, or should they first be required to get an appointment from their Congressman as at present? (AIPO)

| | *Apply directly* | *Apply through Congressman* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| July '41 | 64% | 19% | 17% |
| Dec '41 | 68 | 18 | 14 |

**2.** (US Oct 1 '41) Do you think courses in military training should be given to boys in high school in this community? (AIPO)

Yes 69% No 31% = 100% No opinion 4%

**3.** (US July 27 '45) In general, would you rate the job that the army has done in the following matters as excellent, good, or poor? Among other items was listed: How about giving men proper basic training; has the army done an excellent, good, or poor job? (AIPO)

Excellent 40% Good 45% Poor 6% Don't know 9%

**4.** (US Dec 31 '46) Will you tell me what sort of training the boys in the army or navy are getting today besides drilling and marching? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Technical; vocational training | 14% |
| Trades | 19 |
| Educational (equivalent to high school or college) | 10 |
| Discipline | 6 |
| All kinds; everything; etc | 6 |
| Specialized training | 4 |
| None | 5 |
| Engineering | 1 |
| Radio | 4 |
| Aviation | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| No opinion | 33 |
| | 109%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## MILITARY OCCUPATION

**1.** (US Jan 28 '41) Can you remember the names of five countries that Germany has conquered since the war began? (OPOR)

*Number of countries correctly named*

| | |
|---|---|
| One correctly named | 4% |
| Two correctly named | 6 |
| Three correctly named | 12 |
| Four correctly named | 17 |
| Five correctly named | 48 |
| Six correctly named | 4 |
| Seven or more correctly named | 1 |
| No answers | 8 |

*Answers given*

| | |
|---|---|
| Poland | 64%* |
| Rumania | 8 |
| Denmark | 31 |
| Norway | 54 |
| Holland | 54 |
| Belgium | 55 |
| Luxemburg | 3 |
| France | 69 |
| Incorrect | 21 |
| Austria | 16 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Czechoslovakia | 39% |
| No answer | 8 |

* Since each respondent was asked to name five countries, percentages add to considerably more than 100.

**2.** (US Nov 19 '41) Which of the following territories have been occupied by Japan since the beginning of the present war with China—Korea, Nanking, French Indo-China, Dutch East Indies, Australia? (OPOR)

*Countries named*

| | |
|---|---|
| Korea | 28% |
| Nanking | 51 |
| French Indo-China | 45 |
| Dutch East Indies | 6 |
| Australia | * |
| Unable to answer | 30 |
| Can't read | 1 |
| | 161%** |

*Percentages right and wrong*

| | |
|---|---|
| Two wrong | * |
| One wrong | 5% |
| None wrong and none right | 15 |
| One right | 30 |
| Two right | 19 |
| Unable to answer | 30 |
| Can't read | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (US Nov 19 '41) Would you name as many countries as you can that have been conquered or occupied by Germany since the beginning of the war? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Incorrect; none correct | 11%** |
| One correct | 4 |
| Two correct | 7 |
| Three correct | 8 |
| Four correct | 10 |
| Five correct | 10 |
| Six correct | 10 |
| Seven correct | 9 |
| Eight correct | 8 |
| Nine correct | 7 |
| Ten through fifteen correct | 15 |
| Sixteen through twenty-one correct | * |
| No answer | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages are based on number of countries mentioned.

**4.** (Great Britain Mar '45) What should be the longest period of service in the army of occupation? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 year | 16% |
| 2 years | 31 |
| 3 years | 25 |
| 4 years | 5 |
| 5 years | 16 |
| Over 5 years | 3 |
| Don't know | 4 |

**5.** (US Apr 18 '45) It has been suggested that after the war in Europe is over, wives of servicemen be permitted to visit their husbands who have to stay there to police conquered countries. Do you approve or disapprove of this plan? A comparable cross-section was asked: It has been suggested that, after the war, wives of servicemen be permitted to visit their husbands who have to stay abroad to police conquered countries. Do you approve or disapprove of this plan? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Approve 64% Disapprove 29% No opinion 7%

**6.** (US Apr 18 '45) How do you think these trips [of servicemen's wives] should be paid for, by the government or by the people themselves? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Government and families share cost | 5% |
| People | 30 |
| Government | 42 |
| No opinion | 23 |

**7.** (US Sept 6 '45) Some persons say that after Germany and Japan are disarmed a few men trained in FBI methods could do a better policing job in defeated countries than many men trained as regular soldiers. Do you agree or disagree with this? (AIPO)

Agree 39% Disagree 45% No opinion 16%

## France

**1.** (US July 16 '42) From what you have heard or read, how would you describe the way the Nazis are treating the French? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| As slaves | 16% |
| Killing them | 3 |
| Badly | 55 |
| Prisoners | 2 |
| Starving | 4 |
| Fairly | 4 |
| Exploiting | 2 |
| Don't know | 14 |
| No answer | 2 |
| Not badly but as conquered | * |
| Fairly to Nazis | 1 |
| Other | 2 |
| | 105%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (US July 16 '42) Which of these statements comes closest to your feeling of what the Nazis intend to do with the French? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| On the whole, the Nazis have treated the French fairly well | 2% |
| The Nazis have treated them cruelly but they have to do this to win the war. If the Germans win, they will treat the French fairly later on | 6 |
| The Nazis intend to control France and allow it to exist only as long as the French do what the Nazis want them to do | 45 |
| The Nazis want to crush the French so they can be enslaved to serve the Germans | 40 |
| Other | 2 |
| Don't know; no answer | 5 |

## Germany

**1.** (US July 18 '44) Do you think the policing of Europe after the war should be left largely to the English and Russians, or should we keep as many men in Germany and other enemy countries as the English and Russians do? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Left to English and Russians | 23% |
| As many as English and Russians | 62 |
| Don't know | 15 |

**2.** (US July 18 '44) How long do you think our troops will have to stay on in Europe after the war is won there, so as to keep order? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 6 months and under | 18% |
| Over 6 months and including 1½ years | 32 |
| Over 1½ years | 39 |
| Indefinitely | 2 |
| Don't know | 9 |

**3.** (US Aug 1 '44) About how long do you think we should keep some of our armed forces in Germany to maintain peace and order after the war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 6 months and under | 13% |
| 1 year | 20 |
| 2–3 years | 18 |
| 4–10 years | 21 |
| Over 10 years | 14 |
| No particular time | 14 |

Median 2–3 years

**4.** (France Oct 16 '44) For how long will a military occupation of Germany be necessary? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 5 years | 19% |
| 5–10 years | 19 |
| 10–25 years | 22 |
| 25–50 years | 19 |
| More than 50 years | 12 |
| Occupation is useless | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| Don't know | 3 |

**5.** (US Dec 28 '44) After the actual fighting in Europe is over, how much longer do you think some of our military forces will still be serving over there? (NYHT)

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 months or less | 1.7% |
| 4–6 months | 8.3 |
| 7–11 months | 3.9 |
| 1 year | 21.2 |
| 1–3 years | 26.9 |
| Over 3 years | 27.4 |
| Don't know | 10.6 |

**6.** (Great Britain Mar '45) It was decided at the Crimea Conference that British troops will help to occupy Germany. About how long do you think the occupation will have to last? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 5 years | 18% |
| 10 years | 27 |
| 15 years | 10 |
| 20 years | 16 |
| 25 years | 8 |
| Over 25 years | 10 |
| Don't know | 11 |

**7.** (Great Britain Mar '45) Should the wives of married men in the army of occupation be allowed to go to Germany with their husbands? (BIPO)

Yes 74% No 19% Don't know 7%

**8.** (Great Britain Apr '45) Do you approve or disapprove of the order to allied troops not to fraternize with any Germans? (BIPO)

Approve 79% Disapprove 15% Don't know 6%

**9.** (Great Britain Apr '45) Do you think that the order [against fraternization] can be enforced? (BIPO)

Yes 46% No 34% Don't know 20%

**10.** (US May 10 '45) Do you think the United Nations should or should not govern Germany with an occupation force for several years? (NYHT)

Should 86% Should not 6% Don't know 8%

**11.** (US July 12 '45) From what you have heard or read, do you think we are treating the civilians in Germany too softly, about right, or too harshly? (Oct 17 '45) What is your opinion of the way we are treating the Germans—are we being too tough or not tough enough? (AIPO) (Dec '45) Up to the present time, do you think our occupation policy in Germany has been too tough, not tough enough, or do you think it has been handled about right? (FOR)

| | *Too tough* | *Not tough enough* | *About right* | *Don't know; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| July '45 | 1% | 45% | 36% | 18% |
| Oct '45 | 2 | 50 | 37 | 11 |
| Dec '45 | 1.0 | 26.9 | 60.1 | 12.0 |
| OCT '45 RESULTS BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 1% | 46% | 43% | 10% |
| Women | 2 | 53 | 32 | 13 |

**12.** (Canada July 14 '45 and Great Britain Aug 26 '45) From what you have heard or read, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Germany is being handled? The phrase "From what you have heard or read" was omitted from the British question. (CIPO, BIPO)

| | *Satisfied* | *Dissatisfied* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Canada | 57% | 20% | 23% |
| Great Britain | 55 | 25 | 20 |
| BRITISH RESULTS BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 57% | 27% | 16% |
| Women | 53 | 23 | 24 |
| BRITISH RESULTS BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 50% | 27% | 23% |
| 30–49 years | 56 | 26 | 18 |
| 50 years and over | 55 | 22 | 23 |
| BRITISH RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 54% | 27% | 19% |
| Middle | 58 | 22 | 20 |
| Lower | 54 | 26 | 20 |

**13.** (Germany Oct 26 '45) On the whole, do you consider allied measures in Germany to be just or too stern? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Just | 82% |
| Too hard | 14 |
| No answer | 1 |
| No opinion | 1 |
| Both | 2 |

**14.** (Germany Oct 26 '45 and Jan 14 '46) Do you think that there are any important differences among the occupation policies of the four powers? 34% of the Oct '45 sample and 45% of the Jan '46 sample who thought there were differences were asked: What are they? (OMGUS)

OCT '45 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| No difference among policies | 21% |
| No opinion as to whether or not there are differences | 45 |
| Russian zone worse for Germans | 10 |
| Russians do not cooperate with other Allies | 3 |
| Russians inhumane | 2 |
| French zone worse for Germans | 9 |
| United States zone better for Germans | 4 |
| Americans more humane | 1 |
| British zone better for Germans | 3 |
| Other answers | 4 |
| | 102%* |

JAN '46 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| No differences among policies | 19% |
| No opinion as to whether or not there are differences | 36 |
| Russian zone generally worse economically, etc.; Russians are inhumane, non-cooperative | 18 |
| Russian zone politically worse; only interested in spreading Communism; favor members of the Communist party too much | 9 |
| French zone generally worse economically, etc | 5 |
| French are getting revenge by making things tough and/or territorial claims | 4 |
| British zone better: more humane, better food, housing, etc | 6 |
| American zone better: more humane, economically better, etc | 10 |
| Differences in policy; economic policy; reconstruction (general, no zone specified) | 6 |
| Differences in treatment, living conditions, attitude toward Germans, etc | 2 |
| Other answers | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 117%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**15.** (Germany Jan 14 '46) Are these differences as great as they were a few months ago, or do you feel they are becoming greater or smaller? Asked of 45% of the sample who thought important differences existed among the occupation policies of the four powers. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Greater | 5% |
| Smaller | 13 |
| The same | 16 |
| No opinion | 10 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 45% |

**16.** (Germany Oct 26 '45) On the whole, do you think that the measures of the military government against former Nazis are too strict or not strict enough? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too strict | 25% |
| Not strict enough | 36 |
| Both | 4 |
| Other | 18 |
| No answer | 1 |
| No opinion | 16 |

**17.** (Germany Nov 5 '45 and Dec 15 '45) On the whole, are you satisfied with the work of the military government? (OMGUS)

| | *Nov '45* | *Dec '45* |
|---|---|---|
| Yes, satisfied | 88% | 85% |
| No, dissatisfied | 6 | 7 |
| No opinion | 4 | 8 |
| No answer | 2 | — |

**18.** (Germany Dec 15 '45) Why [are you] dissatisfied [with the work of the military government]? Asked of 7% of the sample who were dissatisfied. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 90% |
| Should give more food, employment, fuel, bring back war prisoners | 4 |
| America doesn't understand Germans | 1 |
| Works too slowly | 1 |
| Unfair; many injustices | 1 |
| We have to like it; better than German administration | 2% |
| Other | 1 |
| | 100% |

of those who were dissatisfied

**19.** (Germany Nov 5 '45) Has your attitude toward the American occupation changed since the end of the war? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 17% |
| No | 74 |
| No opinion | 8 |
| No answer | 1 |

**20.** (Germany Nov 5 '45) What do the Americans want to accomplish through the occupation? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Abolition of Nazism and militarism | 31% |
| Insure peace and order within Germany | 28 |
| Secure justice for minority groups—Jews, etc | 1 |
| To establish a democratic government | 16 |
| To help Germany reconstruct | 5 |
| To re-educate the Germans and/or establish their guilt | 6 |
| To prevent extension of Communist influence | 2 |
| Collect reparations; deindustrialization and other punitive measures | 4 |
| Other answers | 8 |
| To prevent another war | 6 |
| Don't know; no opinion | 14 |
| | 121%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**21.** (Germany Nov 5 '45) What do you think the occupation ought to accomplish? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Abolition of Nazism and militarism | 24% |
| Insure peace and order | 26 |
| Help in reconstruction | 11 |
| Establishment of democracy, truth, freedom | 19 |
| A place for Germany in world family of nations | 4 |
| Re-education of German people | 3 |
| Work and bread | 6 |
| Other | 10 |
| Don't know; no opinion | 18 |
| No answer | 2 |
| | 123%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**22.** (Germany Nov 5 '45 and Dec 27 '45) In what way can you personally speed up the end of the occupation? (OMGUS)

| | *Nov '45* | *Dec '45* |
|---|---|---|
| Cooperation with the military government; obeying laws | 40% | 15% |
| Hard work | 9 | 17 |
| Refusing to support remaining Nazis; rejecting of old Nazi ideas; personal anti-fascist propaganda | 8 | 5 |
| Democratic political action | 5 | 8 |
| By being content with necessarily severe conditions | — | 1 |
| Not interested in ending occupation | 4 | 2 |
| Nothing I can do | 12 | 11 |
| By doing my duty | 2 | 14 |
| Other | 9 | 1 |
| No answer | 2 | 6 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Don't know | 18% | 5% |
| No opinion | — | 20 |
| | 109%* | 105%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**23.** (Germany Nov 5 '45) Has the American occupation proved to be harsher or less harsh than you had expected? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| More harsh | 10% |
| Less harsh | 72 |
| No opinion | 12 |
| No answer | 1 |
| Other | 5 |

**24.** (Germany Nov 5 '45, Mar 29 '46, Oct 26 '46, Dec 10 '46) Do you think that it is a national humiliation for Germany to be occupied by foreign powers? (Dec 27 '45 and Feb 21 '46) Do you consider the occupation of Germany a national humiliation? (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '45 | 30% | 60% | 10% | — |
| Dec '45 | 26 | 65 | 9 | — |
| Feb '46 | 27 | 64 | 8 | 1% |
| Mar '46 | 34 | 60 | 6 | — |
| Oct '46 | 29 | 60 | 11 | — |
| Dec '46 | 36 | 55 | 9 | — |

**25.** (Germany Dec 15 '45 and Dec 27 '45) How long should the Americans occupy Germany? (OMGUS)

DEC 15 '45 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 5 years | 4% |
| 5–10 years (usual answer 10 years) | 8 |
| 11–15 years (usual answer 15 years) | 1 |
| A few years; several years; a while; as long as necessary | 5 |
| Until order—social, political, economic, etc.—is restored; until Germany is self-sufficient | 30 |
| Until Nazism has been completely eradicated or party members punished | 2 |
| As long as possible to protect us against the Russians, Poles, French, Communists, underground | 5 |
| Don't care; can stay as long as they like | 23 |
| Other answers | 1 |
| No opinion; can't say | 14 |
| Get it over; as soon as possible; leave right away; OK to pull out now; get the hell out | 6 |
| Irrelevant answers | 1 |
| | 100% |

DEC 27 '45 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, no opinion | 11% |
| Very short occupation; one year or less | 6 |
| Short occupation (1–5 years) | 5 |
| Longer occupation (5–9 years) | 5 |
| Long occupation (10 years and over) | 4 |
| Until Germany can govern herself | 7 |
| Until Nazism and militarism are exterminated | 4 |
| Until Germans understand reasons for the occupation | 1 |
| Until peace and order are assured | 16 |
| Other answers | 1 |
| Many years (number not specified); as long as necessary | 24 |
| Doesn't care how long it lasts | 5 |
| Until fear of Russians, Polish and/or other aggressors is past | 17 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**26.** (Germany Dec 27 '45) In what ways can the Germans help to speed up the end of the occupation? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Occupation will continue until law and order is established and we learn to behave | 6% |
| By learning to govern ourselves; until Germany can govern itself democratically; until we can find and/or choose good leaders; government by elections; by becoming politically self-sufficient | 14 |
| By hard work, cooperation with the military government; by obeying laws; by discipline | 38 |
| By getting rid of National Socialism; by getting rid of Nazi ideologies; by helping in denazification | 5 |
| By helping in reconstruction; rehabilitation | 5 |
| Germans must stand on their own feet; Germans must help themselves; must become unified, self-sufficient; Germans themselves must show that they are humans, that they are not criminals | 12 |
| We can do nothing about it | 2 |
| Don't care how long occupation goes on; can stay as long as they like | 2 |
| Other | 1 |
| No opinion; not sufficiently informed; can't say | 18 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**27.** (Germany Jan 14 '46) Have you heard that talks are being held about the way the American zone is to be administered? 24% of the sample who had heard about the talks were asked: What have you heard about it? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Haven't heard about the talks | 76% |
| Have heard there will be German civilian administration (time not specified) | 12 |
| Will be German civilian administration by June, by early '46 | 1 |
| Will be American civilian administration | 3 |
| Will be German civilian administration under US civilian control | 2 |
| German civilian administration under US military control | 1 |
| German civilian administration responsible to US authorities | 2 |
| Other answers | 2 |
| Didn't say what they had heard | 1 |

**28.** (Germany Feb 21 '46) Do you think the occupation necessary? (OMGUS)

Yes 88% No 7% No opinion 5%

**29.** (Germany Feb '46) Which orders published by the American occupation authorities have the Germans disliked? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should give more freedom; too many restrictions | 6% |
| Denazification too stringent; hit the little man too hard | 20 |
| Requisitioning unfair; houses, autos, cameras | 6 |
| Foreign displaced persons not properly controlled by UNRRA | 3 |
| Movement of evacuees into Germany | 1 |
| War prisoners mishandled, sent to France to work | 3 |
| Soldiers given too much freedom; plundering, robbing, hunting, "the Negroes" | 1 |
| The curfew; limitation on light and/or gas | 7 |
| Food was promised to be better but isn't | 2 |
| Other | 1 |
| None; regulations are liked; all the same; don't know of any which are disliked | 32 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know; no opinion; don't know which laws they are | 26% |
| No answer | 2 |
| | 110%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**30.** (Germany Mar 29 '46) How much longer do you think the Americans will occupy Germany? (July 25 '46) How long do you expect the American occupation army to stay in Germany? (OMGUS)

MAR '46 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Short occupation; 3 years or under | 7% |
| Longer occupation; 4 to 10 years | 16 |
| Long occupation; 10 years and more | 38 |
| Until Germany can govern herself, until Germany can be self-sufficient | 4 |
| Until Nazis are completely out; until all traces of Nazism and militarism are eradicated | 2 |
| Until peace and order are completely restored and assured | 4 |
| Until Germans understand reasons for occupation; until they become democratic; until Germany understands democracy | 2 |
| Until fear of outside aggression (Russian, Polish; another war) has passed | 1 |
| Many years (number not specified) | 4 |
| Don't care how long it lasts; can stay a day or forever | 4 |
| No answer; don't know; no opinion | 20 |
| | 102%** |

JULY '46 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 3 years | 2% |
| 3–5 years | 7 |
| 5–7 years | 3 |
| 7–9 years | 1 |
| 10 years | 20 |
| 10–15 years | 11 |
| 15–20 years | 8 |
| 20–25 years | 5 |
| 25–50 years | 1 |
| More than 50 years | * |
| An occupation army will always have to be there; occupation army will stay for a long time yet | 4 |
| Until the German people have acquired democratic way of thinking | 4 |
| Until order is re-established in Germany | 8 |
| Depends on peace treaty, on understanding between Great Powers | 2 |
| Altogether uncertain | 1 |
| Until the Russians come | 2 |
| Other answers | * |
| Too early to tell yet; have no idea; that is not for me to say; leave it to the Americans | 24 |
| | 103%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**31.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statement: Germany should be occupied by the Allies for many years, in fact, until the Germans are able to set up a good democratic government of their own. (OMGUS)

Yes 69% No 23% No opinion 8%

**32.** (Netherlands May 3 '46) Do you think Dutch troops should cooperate in occupying Germany? (NIPO)

Yes 46% No 22% Don't know 32%

**33.** (US May 15 '46) Do you think we have done a good job or a poor job in handling our occupation of Germany? (AIPO)

| | *Good* | *Fair* | *Poor* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 31% | 24% | 21% | 24% |
| BY MILITARY STATUS | | | | |
| Veterans | 23% | 27% | 40% | 10% |
| All others | 32 | 24 | 18 | 26 |

**34.** (Canada May 18 '46) Canada plans to withdraw her army of occupation from Germany. Do you approve or disapprove of this? (CIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know; undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46% | 37% | 17% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Quebec | 60% | 23% | 17% |
| Rest of Canada | 40 | 43 | 17 |

**35.** (Canada June 26 '46) The United States has suggested that Russia, France, Great Britain, and United States make a twenty-five-year agreement to keep troops in Germany to see that Germany does not build up armies and war plants. Would you favor or oppose this plan? 72% of the civilians and 70% of the veterans who favored the plan were asked: Would you favor this even if it meant that Canada would have to keep troops in Germany? (CIPO)

| | *Civilians* | *Veterans* |
|---|---|---|
| Oppose 25-year occupation | 15% | 18% |
| Qualified answers on 25-year occupation | 4 | 6 |
| Undecided on 25-year occupation | 9 | 6 |
| Favor even if troops must stay | 55 | 58 |
| Oppose if troops must stay | 14 | 10 |
| Undecided if troops must stay | 3 | 2 |

**36.** (Germany July 25 '46) How long do you expect the British occupation army to be in Germany? How long the Russian? (OMGUS)

*British*

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 5 years | 3% |
| 5–10 years | 6 |
| 10–15 years | 14 |
| 15–20 years | 6 |
| More than 20 years | 7 |
| Not as long as Americans | 1 |
| Like Americans; like all others | 15 |
| Other | 1 |
| Will stay for good; will stay for a long time | 1 |
| No opinion | 45 |
| No answer | 1 |

*Russian*

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 5 years | 1% |
| 5–10 years | 3 |
| 10–15 years | 7 |
| 15–20 years | 4 |
| More than 20 years | 8 |
| Longer than all others | * |
| Longer than Americans | 2 |
| Like Americans; like all others | 8 |
| Other | * |
| Will stay for good; will stay for a long time | 16 |
| No opinion | 50 |
| No answer | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**37.** (Germany July 25 '46) Have you heard of the Congress in Stuttgart? 65% of the sample who had heard of the Congress were asked: What is your opinion of the work the Congress has been doing up till now—have they been doing a very good, good, fair, or bad job? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Haven't heard of the Congress | 35% |
| Very good | 4 |
| Good | 30 |
| Fair | 10 |
| Bad | 1 |
| No opinion | 20 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**38.** (Germany July 25 '46) In your opinion, which of the following describes best the work of the Congress [in Stuttgart]—(1) The Congress is a central government, which passes all laws for the American zone; (2) The Congress is a loosely federalized government which issues only certain kinds of laws for the American zone; (3) The Congress is not a government at all. It is a meeting of officials of the three states in the American zone who concern themselves with cooperation between the states in policy and administration. In this way the states remain self-reliant and independent. (Correct) (4) The Congress is not composed of Germans but of Americans. These representatives of the American military government come together to discuss the solution of questions common to the three states in the American zone? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Statement 1 | 5% |
| Statement 2 | 7 |
| Statement 3 | 34 |
| Statement 4 | 5 |
| No opinion | 48 |
| No answer | 1 |

**39.** (US Aug 28 '46) Do you think we are doing the best thing to keep troops in Germany and other defeated nations in Europe, or would it be better to bring all our troops home now? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Keep troops in Europe | 80% |
| Bring troops home | 16 |
| No opinion | 4 |

**40.** (Germany Sept 3 '46) In your opinion, has the occupation been more severe or less severe than you expected? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| More severe than expected | 9% |
| Less severe than expected | 81 |
| No opinion | 9 |
| Just as expected | 1 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**41.** (Germany Sept 3 '46) Have you or your family suffered in any way as a result of the occupation? (OMGUS)

Yes 10% No 90% No answer *

* Less than 0.5%.

**42.** (Germany Sept 3 '46) In what way [have you or your family suffered as a result of the occupation]? Asked of 10% of the sample who said they or their families had suffered. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Requisitioning of home or house, furniture, money, car | 35% |
| Plundering | 34 |
| Don't get support | 3 |
| Raping | 1 |
| Denazification | 9 |
| Bad behavior of the troops | 5 |
| Others; expelled from other zones; food | 10 |
| Lack of liberty to move | 6% |
| No answer | 5 |
| | 108%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents questioned and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**43.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) In your opinion, what is the most important task of the Americans now stationed in Germany? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| To provide calm and order in Germany; to maintain security of the people; to provide peace, protection from rapacious attacks | 55% |
| To prevent Germany from a revival of National Socialism; supervising of politics, denazification; to get rid of militarists | 8 |
| Removal of industry; to prevent Germany from preparing for war | 8 |
| Supervision of economy; to care for food; to create normal conditions | 11 |
| Fight against attempts of Bolshevism to extend; to protect the western part of Germany against Communism | 2 |
| Americans here in Germany should be the personification of democracy | 5 |
| Occupation to control the Germans | 10 |
| To govern the German people; to help Germany get a government | 2 |
| Exploitation; should leave us alone; don't do their duty | 1 |
| No opinion; don't know | 13 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 116%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**44.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) Do you find that they [Americans now in Germany] perform this task very well or not well at all? Asked of 86% of the sample who had an opinion about the most important task of the Americans in Germany. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Very well | 25% |
| Fairly | 48 |
| Not good | 7 |
| No opinion | 12 |
| No answer | 8 |
| | 100% of those who had an opinion |

**45.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) Which of the following statements do you think most accurately describes the main job which should be done by the Americans who are stationed in Germany: (1) The Americans are here to see that Germany does not fight a war again. (2) The Americans are here to prevent war in Europe again. (3) The Americans are here to direct the rebuilding of Europe in such a fashion that a sound economy will be built and tied in with that of the Western Powers. (4) The Americans are here to help rebuild German economy as a part of the world economic system which will be organized for peace. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Statement 1 | 15% |
| Statement 2 | 16 |
| Statement 3 | 39 |
| Statement 4 | 28 |
| No opinion | 12 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 113%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**46.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) Which of these statements [listed in preceding question] do you think describes what the Americans are really doing? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Statement 1 | 25% |
| Statement 2 | 23 |
| Statement 3 | 22 |
| Statement 4 | 16 |
| No opinion | 19 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 108%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**47.** (Germany Nov 25 '46) Are you in agreement or disagreement with the unification of the British and the American zones? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Agree | 84% |
| Disagree | 2 |
| Qualified | 3 |
| No opinion | 11 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

## Japan

**1.** (US Dec 28 '44) After the actual fighting in the Pacific is over, how much longer do you think some of our military forces will still be serving over there? (NYHT)

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 months or less | 1.9% |
| 4–6 months | 6.9 |
| 7–11 months | 2.8 |
| 1 year | 15.8 |
| 1–3 years | 23.5 |
| Over 3 years | 33.8 |
| Don't know | 15.3 |

**2.** (US May 10 '45) Do you think the United Nations should or should not govern Japan with an occupation force for several years? (NYHT)

Should 77% Should not 10% Don't know 13%

**3.** (US Sept 19 '45) What is your opinion of the way we are treating the Japanese—are we being too tough or not tough enough? (AIPO)

| | *Not tough enough* | *Too tough* | *About right* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 61% | 1% | 32% | 6% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | | |
| College | 46% | 2% | 44% | 8% |
| High school | 63 | * | 32 | 5 |
| Grade school or less | 68 | * | 27 | 5 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 68% | * | 25% | 7% |
| 30–49 years | 60 | 1% | 34 | 5 |
| 50 years and over | 59 | * | 35 | 6 |

* Less than 1%.

**4.** (Great Britain Sept 29 '45) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the Allies' treatment of Japan since the surrender? (BIPO)

| | *Satisfied* | *Dissatisfied* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 44% | 23% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 35% | 48% | 17% |
| Women | 32 | 38 | 30 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 32% | 45% | 23% |
| 30–49 years | 32 | 46 | 22 |
| 50 years and over | 35 | 40 | 25 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 40% | 50% | 10% |
| Middle | 33 | 50 | 17 |
| Lower | 33 | 41 | 26 |

**5.** (US Oct 3 '45) Do you think we will have to police the Japanese people many years, or do you think we can withdraw our troops in a few years? (AIPO)

Many 64% Few 23% Undecided 13%

**6.** (US Oct 3 '45) How many years [will we have to police the Japanese people]? Asked of 87% of the sample who had an opinion as to how long the United States would have to police the Japanese people. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 through 5 years | 24% |
| 6 through 10 years | 19 |
| 11 through 20 years | 20 |
| 21 through 50 years | 13 |
| 51 through 100 years | 2 |
| Forever | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Undecided | 17 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

Median 10 years

**7.** (US Oct 17 '45) Do you think that General MacArthur should continue as supreme commander of Japan, or should an allied council with representatives from England, Russia, China, and the United States be given rule over Japan? (AIPO)

MacArthur 73% Allied council 17% No opinion 10%

**8.** (US Oct 17 '45) A cross-section comparable to the one used for the preceding question was asked: Do you think we should continue ruling Japan as we are, or should an allied council with representatives from England, Russia, China, and the United States rule Japan? (AIPO)

Continue 60% Allied council 27% No opinion 13%

**9.** (US Dec '45) There seem to be two schools of thought as to the way we are now running civilian affairs in Japan. One group feels that we are letting the Japanese have too much to do with running their civilian affairs, while others feel this is the only way the situation could be handled so far. With which do you agree? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Japanese have too much to do | 26.6% |
| Only way to handle | 61.1 |
| Don't know | 12.3 |

**10.** (US Dec '45) Up to the present time, do you think our occupation policy in Japan has been too tough, not tough enough, or do you think it has been handled about right? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too tough | 0.5% |
| Not tough enough | 37.6 |
| About right | 51.0 |
| Don't know | 10.9 |

**11.** (US May 15 '46) Do you think we have done a good job or a poor job in handling our occupation of Japan? (AIPO)

Good 60% Fair 15% Poor 4% No opinion 21%

**12.** (US Aug 28 '46) Do you think we are doing the best thing to keep troops in Japan, or would it be better to bring all our troops home now? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Keep troops | 81% |
| Bring troops home | 15 |
| No opinion | 4 |

## Netherlands

**1.** (Netherlands July '45) Do you find the attitude adopted by the following groups towards the occupying forces good, moderate, or bad? Asked in the three western provinces only. (NFS)

| | *Good* | *Moderate* | *Bad* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41% | 49% | 10% | = 100% | 5% |
| BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS | | | | | |
| Physicians | 96% | 3% | 1% | = 100% | 6% |
| Church | 92 | 7 | 1 | | 11 |
| Students | 87 | 12 | 1 | | 17 |
| Officials | 46 | 19 | 35 | | 25 |
| Laborers | 48 | 22 | 30 | | 10 |
| Judges | 40 | 40 | 20 | | 46 |
| Manufacturers | 44 | 44 | 12 | | 34 |
| Contractors | 19 | 78 | 3 | | 19 |

## Poland

**1.** (US July 15 '42) From what you have heard or read, how would you describe the way the Nazis are treating the Poles? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| As slaves | 6% |
| Killing | 8 |
| Badly | 68 |
| Prisoners | 1 |
| Starving | 1 |
| Fairly | 1 |
| Exploiting | 1 |
| Segregation | 1 |
| Other | 1 |
| Don't know | 15 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (US July 15 '42) Which of these statements comes closest to your feeling of what the Nazis intend to do with the Poles? Each respondent was given a card with the four statements printed on it. (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| On the whole, the Nazis have treated the Poles fairly well | 1% |
| The Nazis have treated them cruelly but they have to do this to win the war. If the Germans win, they will treat these people fairly later on | 5 |
| The Nazis intend to control Poland and allow it to exist only as long as the Poles do what the Nazis want them to do | 31 |
| The Nazis want to crush the Poles so they can be enslaved to serve the Germans | 53 |
| Other answers | 2 |
| Don't know | 8 |

## U.S. Insular Possessions

**1.** (US Aug 29 '42) From what you have heard or read, have the Japanese succeeded in occupying any of the Aleutian Islands —that is, our islands near Alaska? 57% of the sample who thought the Japs had succeeded were asked: Do you think we can drive them out fairly easily, or that it will be a pretty hard job to get them out of there? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Japs haven't occupied the Aleutians | 23% |
| Don't know whether or not the Japs have occupied Aleutians | 20 |
| Think we can get them out fairly easily | 23 |
| Think it will be a hard job | 31 |
| Never be able to get them out | * |
| Don't know how hard getting them out will be | 3 |

* Less than 0.5%.

# MILITARY SERVICE, COMPULSORY

**1.** (Great Britain Jan 14 '37) Do you favor compulsory military training? (BIPO)

Yes 25% No 75% = 100% No opinion 1%

**2.** (Great Britain Jan 14 '37) [Do you favor military training] Up to the age of twenty-five years or up to the age of thirty-five years? Asked of 25% of the sample who favored compulsory military training. (BIPO)

25 years 57% 35 years 43% = 100%* No opinion 3%

* 100% of those questioned with opinions.

**3.** (US Feb 8 '37) Should every able-bodied young man be required to serve at least six months in the army or navy? (AIPO)

Yes 37% No 56% No opinion 7%

**4.** (US Dec 2 '38 to Nov '46, dates listed below) Should every able-bodied American boy twenty years old be required to go into the army or navy for one year? (AIPO)

| | | *Yes, in favor* % | *No, oppose* % | % | *Don't know; no opinion; undecided* % | % | *Qualified* % | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AIPO | Dec 2 '38 | 37 | 63 | = 100 | | | | |
| *AIPO | May 2 '39 | 38 | 57 | | 5 | = 100 | | |
| **AIPO | Sept 19 '39 | 39 | 61 | = 100 | 5 | | | |
| (1) AIPO | May 14 '40 | 50 | 50 | = 100 | 7 | | | |
| (2) AIPO | June 11 '40 | 64 | 36 | = 100 | 6 | | | |
| **AIPO | June 25 '40 | 63 | 37 | = 100 | | | | |
| (3) AIPO | July 11 '40 | 67 | 33 | = 100 | 7 | | | |
| (3) AIPO | July 19 '40 | 66 | 34 | = 100 | 8 | | | |
| (4) OPOR | July 20 '40 | 71 | 29 | = 100 | 5 | | | |
| (3) AIPO | Aug 8 '40 | 62 | 31 | | 7 | = 100 | | |
| (5) AIPO | Aug 9 '40 | 71 | 29 | = 100 | 5 | | | |
| (3) AIPO | Aug 15 '40 Men 16–24 years | 65 | 35 | = 100 | | | | |
| (6) AIPO | Aug 22 '40 | 73 | 21 | | 6 | = 100 | | |
| (3) AIPO | Oct 19 '40 | 76 | 24 | = 100 | 7 | | | |
| (7) AIPO | Dec 2 '42 | 66 | 27 | | 7 | = 100 | | |
| (7) AIPO | Oct 26 '43 | 63 | 29 | | 8 | = 100 | | |
| (8) AIPO | Jan 18 '44 | 66 | 26 | | 8 | = 100 | | |
| (9) AIPO | Aug 29 '44 | 63 | 23 | | 14 | = 100 | | |
| (10) NORC | Sept '44 | 76 | 17 | | 4 | | 3 | = 100 |
| (9) AIPO | Nov 15 '44 | 70 | 25 | | 5 | = 100 | | |
| (11) AIPO | Jan 17 '45 | 69 | 22 | | 9 | = 100 | | |
| (9) NORC | Apr '45 | 65 | 26 | | 9 | = 100 | | |
| (10) NORC | Apr '45 | 70 | 20 | | 8 | | 2 | = 100 |

| | | Yes, in favor | No, oppose | | Don't know; no opinion; undecided | | Qualified | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| (11) AIPO | Apr 4 '45.. | 70 | 24 | | 6 | = 100 | | |
| (12) AIPO | May 29 '45.. | 67 | 26 | | 7 | = 100 | | |
| (11) AIPO | June 27 '45.. | 69 | 24 | | 7 | = 100 | | |
| (13) AIPO | Aug 22 '45.. | 65 | 29 | | 6 | = 100 | | |
| (13) AIPO | Oct 17 '45.. | 70 | 24 | | 6 | = 100 | | |
| (13) AIPO | Oct 31 '45.. | 75 | 21 | | 4 | = 100 | | |
| (14) NORC | Nov '45.. | 71 | 21 | | 6 | | 2 | = 100 |
| (13) AIPO | Nov 21 '45.. | 70 | 25 | | 5 | = 100 | | |
| (13) AIPO | Dec 5 '45.. | 70 | 25 | | 5 | = 100 | | |
| (13) AIPO | Feb 13 '46.. | 66 | 28 | | 6 | = 100 | | |
| (15) AIPO | Oct 10 '46.. | 67 | 25 | | 8 | = 100 | | |
| (14) NORC | Nov '46.. | 73 | 21 | | 6 | = 100 | | |

* The question was: Should every able-bodied young man twenty years old be made to serve in the army or the navy for one year?

** Do you think every able-bodied young man twenty years old should be made to serve in the army or the navy for one year?

(1) Should the United States do any of the following at this time? Among other things was listed: Require every able-bodied young man twenty years old to serve in the army, the navy, or the air force for one year? A comparable cross-section was asked about service in the army and navy only. Results were combined.

(2) Do you think every able-bodied young man twenty years old should be made to serve in the army, the navy, or the air force for one year? A comparable cross-section was asked about service for young men in the army or navy only. Results were combined.

(3) Do you think every able-bodied young man twenty years old should be made to serve in the army, the navy, or the air force for one year? The Aug 15 '40 question was asked of a national cross-section of men sixteen to twenty-four years old.

(4) Do you favor increasing the size of our army and navy by drafting men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-two to serve in the armed forces for one year?

(5) Do you favor increasing the size of our army and navy by drafting men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one to serve in the armed forces for one year?

(6) Do you favor increasing the size of our army and navy at this time by drafting men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one to serve in the armed forces for one year?

(7) After this war is over, do you think every young man should be required to serve one year in the army or navy?

(8) After this war is over, do you think all able-bodied young men seventeen and eighteen years of age should be required to serve a year in the army or navy?

(9) After this war is over, do you think every able-bodied young man should be required to serve one year in the army or navy?

(10) Would you be in favor of or would you be against a law that would require boys to take a year's military training after the war when they become eighteen years old?

(11) After this war is over, do you think every able-bodied young man should be required to take military or naval training for one year?

(12) Do you think the present Congress should pass a law requiring every able-bodied man to take military or naval training for one year?

(13) In the future, do you think every able-bodied young man should be required to take military or naval training for one year?

(14) Would you be in favor of or would you be against a law that would require boys to take a year's military training in peacetime when they become eighteen years old?

(15) Should the Congress to be elected this November pass a law to require every physically-fit young man (who has not served in the armed forces) to take military or naval training for one year?

| | Yes, in favor | No, oppose | Don't know; no opinion; undecided |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | |
| *Men* | | | |
| Dec '38 | 44% | 56% | — |
| July 11 '40 | 70 | 30 | — |
| July 19 '40 | 68 | 32 | — |
| Aug '44 | 65% | 23% | 12% |
| Apr 4 '45 | 70 | 25 | 5 |
| June '45 | 68 | 25 | 7 |
| Oct 31 '45 | 76 | 21 | 3 |
| *Women* | | | |
| Dec '38 | 33 | 67 | — |
| July 11 '40 | 64 | 36 | — |
| July 19 '40 | 63 | 37 | — |
| Aug '44 | 62 | 23 | 15 |
| Apr 4 '45 | 70 | 23 | 7 |
| June '45 | 70 | 23 | 7 |
| Oct 31 '45 | 74 | 21 | 5 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| *Dec '38* | | | |
| 19–22 years | 30% | 70% | |
| 23–29 years | 34 | 66 | |
| 30–49 years | 39 | 61 | |
| 50 years and over | 36 | 64 | |
| *Sept '39* | | | |
| Under 30 years | 36 | 64 | |
| Over 30 years | 40 | 60 | |
| *May '40* | | | |
| Total under 30 years | 44 | 56 | |
| Men under 30 years | 41 | 59 | |
| Total 30–49 years | 49 | 51 | |
| Total 50 years and over | 55 | 45 | |
| *June 25 '40* | | | |
| Men 21–25 years | 52 | 48 | |
| *July 11 '40* | | | |
| 15–20 years | 67 | 33 | |
| 21–29 years | 62 | 38 | |
| 30–49 years | 69 | 31 | |
| 50 years and over | 68 | 32 | |
| *Aug 15 '40* | | | |
| Men 21–24 years | 63 | 37 | |
| Men 16–21 years | 67 | 33 | |
| *Aug '44* | | | |
| 21–29 years | 61 | 24 | 15% |
| 30–49 years | 69 | 19 | 12 |
| 50 years and over | 58 | 27 | 15 |
| *June '45* | | | |
| 21–29 years | 72 | 22 | 6 |
| 30–49 years | 69 | 24 | 7 |
| 50 years and over | 68 | 25 | 7 |
| *Oct 31 '45* | | | |
| 21–29 years | 78 | 19 | 3 |
| 30–49 years | 75 | 21 | 4 |
| 50 years and over | 73 | 23 | 4 |
| *Nov 21 '45* | | | |
| Men 15–18 years | 76 | 22 | 2 |
| Total 21–29 years | 72 | 24 | 4 |
| Total 30–49 years | 70 | 25 | 5 |
| Total 50 years and over | 69 | 25 | 6 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| *Democratic or Roosevelt voters* | | | |
| May '40 | 53% | 47% | — |
| June 11 '40 | 65 | 35 | — |
| July 19 '40 | 73 | 27 | — |
| Aug '44 | 68 | 19 | 13% |
| Jan '45 | 73 | 19 | 8 |
| Apr 4 '45 | 77 | 18 | 5 |
| Oct 31 '45 | 79 | 18 | 3 |
| Nov 21 '45 | 76 | 20 | 4 |
| Oct '46 | 68 | 25 | 7 |

| | *Yes, in favor* | *No, oppose* | *Don't know; no opinion; undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Republican or Dewey voters* | | | |
| May '40 | 46% | 54% | — |
| June 11 '40 | 63 | 37 | — |
| July 19 '40 | 60 | 40 | — |
| Aug '44 | 60 | 28 | 12% |
| Jan '45 | 64 | 30 | 6 |
| Apr 4 '45 | 61 | 34 | 5 |
| Oct 31 '45 | 70 | 27 | 3 |
| Nov 21 '45 | 63 | 32 | 5 |
| Oct '46 | 67 | 26 | 7 |
| *Independents* | | | |
| Oct '46 | 66 | 26 | 8 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| *New England and mid-Atlantic* | | | |
| June 11 '40 | 68% | 32% | — |
| Apr 4 '45 | 69 | 25 | 6% |
| Nov 21 '45 | 70 | 25 | 5 |
| *New England* | | | |
| Aug '44 | 65 | 21 | 14 |
| Nov '44 | 69 | 26 | 5 |
| *Middle Atlantic* | | | |
| Aug '44 | 67 | 21 | 12 |
| Nov '44 | 73 | 23 | 4 |
| *East and west central* | | | |
| Apr 4 '45 | 66 | 29 | 5 |
| Nov 21 '45 | 69 | 27 | 4 |
| *East central* | | | |
| June 11 '40 | 61 | 39 | — |
| Aug '44 | 61 | 24 | 15 |
| Nov '44 | 72 | 25 | 3 |
| *West central* | | | |
| June 11 '40 | 54 | 46 | — |
| Aug '44 | 64 | 24 | 12 |
| Nov '44 | 63 | 33 | 4 |
| *South* | | | |
| June 11 '40 | 68 | 32 | — |
| Aug '44 | 61 | 21 | 18 |
| Nov '44 | 71 | 21 | 8 |
| Apr 4 '45 | 74 | 17 | 9 |
| Nov 21 '45 | 76 | 17 | 7 |
| *Mountain states and Far West* | | | |
| June 11 '40 | 60 | 40 | — |
| Aug '44 | 61 | 27 | 12 |
| Apr 4 '45 | 72 | 25 | 3 |
| Nov 21 '45 | 69 | 26 | 5 |
| *Mountain* | | | |
| Nov '44 | 64 | 33 | 3 |
| *Pacific coast* | | | |
| Nov '44 | 71 | 25 | 4 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| *Professional and business* | | | |
| Oct 31 '45 | 74% | 23% | 3% |
| Nov 21 '45 | 71 | 25 | 4 |
| *White-collar* | | | |
| Oct 31 '45 | 76 | 22 | 2 |
| Nov 21 '45 | 72 | 24 | 4 |
| *Farmers* | | | |
| Oct 31 '45 | 68 | 28 | 4 |
| Nov 21 '45 | 58 | 35 | 7 |
| *Manual workers* | | | |
| Oct 31 '45 | 78 | 17 | 5 |
| Nov 21 '45 | 73 | 22 | 5 |

| | *Yes, in favor* | *No, oppose* | *Don't know; no opinion; undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| SEPT '39 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 33% | 67% | — |
| Lower income and reliefers | 45 | 55 | — |
| JUNE 11 '40 RESULTS BY TYPE OF FAMILY | | | |
| Members of families with men 18–30 years | 61% | 39% | — |
| Members of families without men 18–30 years | 67 | 33 | — |
| OCT 31 '45 RESULTS BY SELECTED GROUPS | | | |
| Veterans | 80% | 18% | 2% |
| Union members | 76 | 19 | 5 |
| NOV 21 '45 RESULTS BY SELECTED GROUPS | | | |
| World War II veterans | 80% | 18% | 2% |
| Parents of boys between 12–18 years | 60 | 36 | 4 |
| Union members | 71 | 25 | 4 |
| NOV 21 '45 RESULTS BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 68% | 29% | 3% |
| High school | 72 | 23 | 5 |
| Grade school or less | 69 | 25 | 6 |
| JULY 19 '40 RESULTS STATE BY STATE | | | |
| *New England* | | | |
| Maine | 77% | 23% | |
| New Hampshire | 74 | 26 | |
| Vermont | 74 | 26 | |
| Massachusetts | 71 | 29 | |
| Rhode Island | 72 | 28 | |
| Connecticut | 69 | 31 | |
| *Mid-Atlantic* | | | |
| New York | 68 | 32 | |
| New Jersey | 69 | 31 | |
| Pennsylvania | 65 | 35 | |
| Maryland | 69 | 31 | |
| Delaware | 62 | 38 | |
| West Virginia | 65 | 35 | |
| *East central* | | | |
| Ohio | 58 | 42 | |
| Indiana | 55 | 45 | |
| Michigan | 58 | 42 | |
| Illinois | 64 | 36 | |
| *West central* | | | |
| Wisconsin | 60 | 40 | |
| Minnesota | 57 | 43 | |
| Iowa | 58 | 42 | |
| Missouri | 64 | 36 | |
| North Dakota | 71 | 29 | |
| South Dakora | 66 | 34 | |
| Nebraska | 69 | 31 | |
| Kansas | 56 | 44 | |
| *South* | | | |
| Virginia | 73 | 27 | |
| North Carolina | 68 | 32 | |
| South Carolina | 72 | 28 | |
| Georgia | 79 | 21 | |
| Florida | 75 | 25 | |
| Alabama | 76 | 24 | |
| Mississippi | 87 | 13 | |
| Kentucky | 72 | 28 | |
| Tennessee | 72 | 28 | |
| Arkansas | 67 | 33 | |
| Louisiana | 72 | 28 | |

| | *Yes, in favor* | *No, oppose* | *Don't know; no opinion; undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Texas | 80% | 20% | |
| Oklahoma | 72 | 28 | |
| *West* | | | |
| Colorado | 57 | 43 | |
| Wyoming | 70 | 30 | |
| Montana | 64 | 36 | |
| Idaho | 73 | 27 | |
| Utah | 57 | 43 | |
| Nevada | 70 | 30 | |
| New Mexico | 63 | 37 | |
| Arizona | 71 | 29 | |
| California | 68 | 32 | |
| Oregon | 74 | 26 | |
| Washington | 67 | 33 | |

**5.** (US Mar 8 '39 to May 29 '41, dates listed below) Should the Constitution be changed to require a national vote before the country could draft men to fight overseas? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mar 8 '39 | 61% | 39% | = 100% | 10% | |
| *Aug 30 '39 | 51 | 49 | = 100 | 9 | |
| **Jan 10 '40 | 60 | 40 | = 100% | | |
| (1) Jan 19 '40 | 67 | 29 | | 4 | = 100 |
| (2) May 23 '40 | 38 | 52 | | 10 | = 100 |
| (3) Dec 16 '40 | 52 | 48 | = 100 | 5 | |
| (3) May 29 '41 | 56 | 44 | = 100 | 6 | |

* The question was: Should the Constitution of the United States be changed to require a national vote before Congress could draft men for war overseas?

** Should the Constitution be changed to require a national vote before Congress could draft men for war overseas? A comparable cross-section was asked the question about "a vote of the people." Results were combined.

(1) Should a vote of the people be required before Congress can draft men for war overseas? A comparable cross-section was asked the question about a "national vote." Results were combined.

(2) Should the Constitution be changed to require a vote of the people before Congress could draft men for war overseas? A comparable cross-section was asked the question about a "national vote." Results were combined.

(3) Should a vote of the people be required before Congress can send men to fight overseas?

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | |
| Women Aug '39 | 58% | 42% |
| Men Aug '39 | 44 | 56 |
| 21–36 year-old men Dec '40 | 52 | 48 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| *New England* | | |
| Aug '39 | 51% | 49% |
| *New England and mid-Atlantic* | | |
| Jan '40 | 60 | 40 |
| *East central* | | |
| Aug '39 | 57 | 43 |
| Jan '40 | 62 | 38 |
| *West central* | | |
| Aug '39 | 56 | 44 |
| Jan '40 | 63 | 37 |
| *South* | | |
| Aug '39 | 37 | 63 |
| Jan '40 | 50 | 50 |
| *West* | | |
| Aug '39 | 47 | 53 |
| Jan '40 | 59 | 41 |
| AUG '39 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic | 47% | 53% |
| Republican | 52 | 48 |

**6.** (Great Britain Apr '39) Should compulsory national service be enforced immediately? (Dec 19 '41) Do you approve of conscripting for national service? Asked of a national cross-section of men up to fifty years old. (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '39 | 48% | 45% | 7% |
| Dec '41 | 82 | 13 | 5 |

**7.** (Great Britain Apr '39) It has been decided to enlarge the British army to thirty-three field divisions. Are you in favor of obtaining the necessary recruits on a planned and compulsory basis or of leaving it to individuals to enroll voluntarily? (BIPO)

Planned 39% Voluntarily 53% No opinion 8%

**8.** (Great Britain May '39) Do you approve of the government's decision to apply conscription, or are you in favor of leaving it to individuals to enroll voluntarily? (BIPO)

Conscription 58% Voluntarily 38% No opinion 4%

**9.** (US June '39) Do you think our government should or should not make every adult male spend at least two years in the army? (FOR)

Should 18.3% Should not 75.6%
Don't know or depends 6.1%

**10.** (Great Britain July '39) Conscription applies now to men between twenty and twenty-one years of age. Should it be abolished altogether, left as it is, or should the age limits be extended? (BIPO)

Abolished 18%
Left as it is 42
Extended 34
Don't know 6

**11.** (France July '39) Do you think that conscription in England will help the cause of European peace? (FIPO)

Yes 91% No 6% No answer 3%

**12.** (US Dec '39) Would you favor a term of compulsory military service for all young men of eighteen or nineteen? (FOR) (Sept 15 '42 and Oct '13 '42) Would you approve or disapprove of drafting young men eighteen and nineteen years old for the forces now? The Sept '42 sample was asked of a national cross-section of young men seventeen to nineteen years, and the phrase "for the forces now" was omitted in the sentence. (AIPO)

| | *Yes, approve* | *Yes, if necessary* | *No, disapprove* | *Don't know; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '39 | 31.3% | 11.6% | 48.8% | 8.3% |
| Sept '42 | 81 | — | 15 | 4 |
| Oct '42 | 67 | — | 26 | 7 |
| 1939 RESULTS BY SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| Southeast | 40.9% | 12.8% | 35.2% | 11.1% |
| Northwest plains | 18.6 | 9.0 | 66.9 | 5.5 |
| OCT '42 RESULTS BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 73% | | 21% | 6% |
| Women | 60 | | 32 | 8 |

The 48.8% of the 1939 sample who were not in favor of compulsory military service gave these reasons for their opposition:

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't believe in compulsion | 21.6% |
| Not democratic; un-American; free country | 11.6 |
| Too much like dictatorship; like Germany | 11.5 |
| Too much like Europe | 3.0 |
| Not necessary; no immediate danger | 19.7 |
| Plenty of volunteers | 3.9 |
| Creates war spirit; makes youth war-minded | 11.0 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Too young | 8.0% |
| Interferes with education and career | 3.8 |
| Other | 6.8 |
| Don't know | 2.0 |
| | 102.9%* |

* Percentages are based on 48.8% of the sample who were opposed to compulsory military service and add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**13.** (US June 11 '40) The United States wants to increase the strength of its regular army to 400,000 men. If enough men do not volunteer, would you favor drafting men until this figure is reached? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 72% | 28% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic | 77% | 23% |
| Republican | 69 | 31 |
| BY TYPE OF FAMILY | | |
| Members of families with men 18–30 years | 71% | 29% |
| Members of families without men 18–30 years | 74 | 26 |

**14.** (US July 31 '40) If the compulsory military training act is passed, would you be willing to serve, or would you ask to be excused from serving? Asked of a national cross-section of men under sixty-five. 26% of the men who said they would ask to be excused were asked: For what reason would you ask to be excused? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Would be willing to serve | 66% |
| Qualified answers to first question | 4 |
| Undecided as to whether or not would serve | 4 |
| Ask to be excused because of dependents | 10 |
| Because too old | 2 |
| Because of poor health | 2 |
| Against such infringement of personal rights in peacetime | 2 |
| Because of disabilities | 1 |
| Married or going to be | 1 |
| Because don't believe in war | 1 |
| Because of financial status | 1 |
| In last war | 1 |
| Other reasons | 4 |
| Didn't say why would ask to be excused | 1 |

**15.** (US July 31 '40) President Roosevelt has asked Congress for authority to call the National Guard for one year of military training. Do you approve or disapprove of calling the National Guard for one year of training? A comparable cross-section was asked the question in the following form: Do you think the National Guard should be called for one year of military training? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Approve 85% Disapprove 15% = 100% Undecided 9%

**16.** (US Aug 15 '40) If the draft law is passed, will you, personally, have any objection to spending a year in some branch of military service? Asked of a national cross-section of men sixteen to twenty-four years old. (AIPO)

| | *No* | *Yes* |
|---|---|---|
| Men: 21–24 years | 68% | 32% |
| Men: 16–21 years | 81 | 19 |

**17.** (US Oct '40) Are you in favor of the selective draft in principle? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 84.1% | 9.7% | 6.2% |
| BY SELECTED AREAS | | | |
| New York City | 89.5% | 4.5% | 6.0% |
| Midwest | 78.3 | 15.0 | 6.7 |

**18.** (US Oct '40) Will the selective draft have a seriously adverse effect upon the operation of your business? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 6.0% |
| To some extent | 60.2 |
| No | 27.7 |
| Don't know or no answer | 6.1 |

**19.** (US Dec 16 '40) Do you think the draft is a good thing? (AIPO)

Yes 89% No 11% = 100% Don't know 3%

**20.** (US Dec 16 '40, May 6 '41, Apr 15 '42, May 6 '42, Sept 3 '42, Oct 27 '42, Dec 15 '43, May 29 '45) Do you think the draft is being handled fairly in your (this) community? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '40 | 92% | 8% = 100% | 11% |
| May '41 | 93 | 7 = 100 | 11 |
| Apr '42 | 74 | 10 | 16 = 100% |
| May '42 | 93 | 7 = 100 | 11 |
| Sept '42 | 79 | 21 = 100 | 5 |
| Oct '42 | 82 | 18 = 100 | |
| Dec '43 | 75 | 25 = 100 | |
| May '45 | 79 | 21 = 100 | |
| DEC '43 RESULTS BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 77% | 23% | |
| Women | 74 | 26 | |
| APR '42 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 88% | 12% | |
| East central | 85 | 15 | |
| West central | 84 | 16 | |
| South | 90 | 10 | |
| Far West | 91 | 9 | |
| Apr '42 vote of those who have a member of the family in service | 85 | 15 | |

**21.** (US Apr 15 '42, Oct 27 '42, Dec 15 '43) In what way is the draft not being handled fairly? Asked of 10% of the Apr '42 sample; 18% of the Oct '42 sample, 25% of the Dec '43 sample who thought the draft was not being handled fairly in their community. (AIPO)

APR '42 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Some deferments look queer | 4% |
| Drafting men who should be in industry | 1 |
| Men going in who should be out | 1 |
| Should take men without dependents first | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 10% |

OCT '42 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Favoritism shown; money and politics talk | 5% |
| Drafting married men when single still around | 3 |
| System of drafting faulty; quotas uneven; etc. | 3 |
| Drafting too many farm boys | 3 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Drafting older men when young ones still around | 1% |
| Others | 2 |
| Didn't say | 1 |
| | 18% |

DEC '43 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Drafting fathers ahead of single men | 5% |
| Drafting fathers ahead of unmarried defense workers | 1 |
| Drafting fathers | 2 |
| Draft boards not thorough enough; failure to look into special cases; illogical to draft some and defer others; etc. | 5 |
| Favoritism shown; money and politics talk | 5 |
| Drafting older men when younger still around | 1 |
| Faulty method of selection; too many taken from some families and none from other families | 1 |
| Drafting too many farm boys | 1 |
| System not uniform throughout the country; some places drafting fathers and other places still drafting single men; etc. | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| | 25% |

**22.** (US Dec 31 '40) Do you think that boys between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, who are out of high school, should spend one year in a training camp learning things useful to our defense program? (AIPO)

Yes 79% No 14% Don't know 7%

**23.** (US Apr 25 '41) At present, men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one are not drafted. Do you think the law should be changed so that men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one would be included in the draft along with those from twenty-one to thirty-five? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 51% | 44% | 5% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 53% | 41% | 6% |
| East central | 56 | 38 | 6 |
| West central | 53 | 44 | 3 |
| South | 45 | 51 | 4 |
| West | 47 | 49 | 4 |

**24.** (US Apr 25 '41) At present, men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-five are being drafted. Should the law be changed so that only men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-three would be included in the draft? (AIPO)

Yes 33% No 61% No opinion 6%

**25.** (US Apr 25 '41) Should the men who are being drafted be kept in the army for two years instead of one? (AIPO)

Yes, two years 27% No, only one 65% No opinion 8%

**26.** (US Apr 25 '41) If the army is increased to about three million men, do you think you will be drafted into the army (or navy)? Asked of a national cross-section of men under thirty-six years old. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 54% |
| No | 23 |
| Already in service | 2 |
| Will volunteer | 3 |
| Uncertain | 18 |

**27.** (US Apr 25 '41) Are there any men in your immediate family who are now in any branch of the army or navy? Men under thirty-six who thought they would be drafted were excluded from the cross-section. (AIPO)

Yes 19% No 81%

**28.** (US Apr 25 '41) If the army is increased to three million men, are there any men of military age in your immediate family who you think will be drafted into the army? Men under thirty-six who thought they would be drafted and people who had members of their immediate family in the service were excluded from the cross-section. (AIPO)

Yes 44% Uncertain 12% No 44%

**29.** (US July 9 '41 and July 22 '41) The army has asked Congress to change the law which says drafted men cannot be sent to fight outside the Western Hemisphere. Do you think Congress should give the army power to send drafted soldiers to points outside the Western Hemisphere? (July 29 '41, Aug 19 '41, Oct 7 '41, Nov 25 '41) The army has asked Congress to change the law which says drafted men cannot be sent to fight outside of North or South America or this country's possessions. Do you think Congress should give the army power to send drafted soldiers to any part of the wotld? The Oct '41 and Nov '41 samples used the words "the right" instead of "power." (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion; undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| July 9 '41 | 37% | 50% | 13% |
| July 22 '41 | 39 | 53 | 8 |
| July 29 '41 | 40 | 52 | 8 |
| Aug '41 | 35 | 59 | 6 |
| Oct '41 | 42 | 53 | 5 |
| Nov '41 | 42 | 53 | 5 |
| OCT '41 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republican | 38% | 58% | 4% |
| Democratic | 48 | 47 | 5 |
| OCT '41 RESULTS BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 49% | 48% | 3% |
| Women | 36 | 58 | 6 |

**30.** (US July 22 '41) Do you think drafted men should be kept in active service for longer than one year, or should they be released at the end of one year? A comparable cross-section was asked the question in the following form: Do you think drafted men should be released at the end of one year, or should they be kept in active service for longer than one year? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Longer than one year | 50% |
| Released | 45 |
| No opinion | 5 |

**31.** (US Oct 7 '41) Should all workers in defense industries who have been deferred from the draft because they are defense workers be drafted if they go on strike? (AIPO)

Yes 76% No 20% No opinion 4%

**32.** (US Dec 10 '41) Do you approve or disapprove of Congress giving the army the right to send drafted soldiers to any part of the world? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve | 77% |
| Disapprove | 17 |
| Qualified answers | 1 |
| No opinion | 5 |

**33.** (US Dec 18 '41) What do you think is the youngest age at which men should be drafted for active military service? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 2% |
| Less than 18 years | 1 |
| 18 years | 20 |
| 19 years | 12 |
| 20 years | 21 |
| 21 years | 41 |
| More than 21 years | 3 |

**34.** (US Dec 18 '41) What do you think is the top age at which men should be drafted for active military service? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 5% |
| Under 30 years | 3 |
| 30 years | 4 |
| 31–34 years | 1 |
| 35 years | 16 |
| 36–39 years | 3 |
| 40 years | 19 |
| 41–43 years | 1 |
| 44–45 years | 37 |
| More than 45 years | 11 |

**35.** (US Feb 10 '42) Young men with dependent families are now exempt from the draft. Do you think the government should provide money for dependent families so that these young men could be drafted? (AIPO)

Yes 50% No 37% No opinion 13%

**36.** (Canada Feb 14 '42) Do you think the government is right in calling for this plebiscite or national vote [on conscription]? (CIPO)

| | *Right* | *Wrong* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 31% | 54% | 15% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 31% | 58% | 11% |
| Women | 32 | 49 | 19 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Liberal | 38% | 50% | 12% |
| Conservative | 19 | 71 | 10 |

**37.** (Canada Feb 21 '42, Mar 14 '42, Apr 4 '42) When the national vote is taken, will you vote for or against freeing the government from any pledges it has made on restricting the methods of raising men for military service? The Mar '42 and Apr '42 samples omitted the phrase "when the national vote is taken" from the question. (CIPO)

| | *Vote to free* | *Vote against freeing* | *Won't vote* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '42 | 56% | 23% | 6% | 15% |
| Mar '42 | 64 | 28 | — | 8 |
| Apr '42 | 62 | 27 | — | 11 |
| FEB '42 RESULTS BY SELECTED PROVINCES | | | | |
| Quebec | 31% | 49% | 4% | 16% |
| Ontario | 69 | 12 | 7 | 12 |
| Mar '42 Quebec only | 25 | 75 | — | — |
| MAR '42 RESULTS BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–35 years | 63% | 37% | — | — |
| Over 36 years | 73 | 27 | — | — |
| APR '42 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper | 72% | 20% | — | 8% |
| Middle | 70 | 21 | — | 9 |
| Lower | 54 | 34 | — | 12 |
| APR '42 RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Farm | 57% | 29% | — | 14% |
| Small town | 59 | 30 | — | 11 |
| Urban | 68 | 23 | — | 9 |

| | *Vote to free* | *Vote against freeing* | *Won't vote* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| APR '42 RESULTS BY PROVINCES* | | | | |
| Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island | 80% | 20% | | |
| New Brunswick | 65 | 35 | | |
| Quebec | 26 | 74 | | |
| Ontario | 88 | 12 | | |
| Manitoba | 90 | 10 | | |
| Saskatchewan | 82 | 18 | | |
| Alberta | 81 | 19 | | |
| British Columbia | 91 | 9 | | |

* Released Apr 11 '42.

**38.** (US Feb 23 '42) Do you think young men who have dependents should be drafted? (AIPO)

Yes 25% No 68% No opinion 7%

**39.** (US Feb 23 '42) If the government provides money for the families of young men with dependents, do you think these young men should be drafted? (AIPO)

Yes 71% No 23% No opinion 6%

**40.** (US Feb 23 '42) If men with dependents are drafted, should the government provide money for the dependents? (AIPO)

Yes 87% No 3% No opinion 10%

**41.** (Canada dates as listed below) If you were asked to vote today on the question of conscription of men for overseas service, would you vote for it or against it? (CIPO)

| | *For* | *Against* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec 6 '41 | 53% | 35% | 12% |
| Dec 12 '41 | 60 | 30 | 10 |
| Dec 30 '41 | 57 | 34 | 9 |
| Jan 31 '42 | 55 | 35 | 10 |
| Feb 25 '42 | 52 | 37 | 11 |
| Mar 13 '42 | 55 | 37 | 8 |
| Apr 20 '42 | 55 | 36 | 9 |
| May 30 '42* | 59 | 33 | 8 |
| Aug 29 '42 | 62 | 32 | 6 |
| Aug 14 '43 | 61 | 32 | 7 |
| Nov 13 '43 | 57 | 36 | 7 |
| Dec 30 '44 | 60 | 33 | 7 |
| MAR AND APR '42 RESULTS BY PROVINCES | | | |
| | *For* | *Against* | *Undecided* |
| *Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island* | | | |
| Mar '42 | 63% | 25% | 12% |
| Apr '42 | 63 | 29 | 8 |
| *New Brunswick* | | | |
| Mar '42 | 50 | 36 | 14 |
| Apr '42 | 45 | 40 | 15 |
| *Quebec* | | | |
| Mar '42 | 20 | 76 | 4 |
| Apr '42 | 18 | 79 | 3 |
| *Ontario* | | | |
| Mar '42 | 68 | 22 | 10 |
| Apr '42 | 71 | 22 | 7 |
| *Manitoba* | | | |
| Mar '42 | 78 | 13 | 9 |
| Apr '42 | 78 | 15 | 7 |
| *Saskatchewan* | | | |
| Mar '42 | 68 | 24 | 8 |
| Apr '42 | 70 | 25 | 5 |

| | For | Against | Undecided |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Alberta* | | | |
| Mar '42 | 65% | 24% | 11% |
| Apr '42 | 64 | 27 | 9 |
| *British Columbia* | | | |
| Mar '42 | 69 | 26 | 5 |
| Apr '42 | 72 | 25 | 3 |

OPINION IN QUEBEC IN NOV '43 AND DEC '44 IN COMPARISON WITH THE REST OF THE COUNTRY

| | For | Against | Undecided |
|---|---|---|---|
| Quebec Nov '43 | 17% | 80% | 3% |
| Quebec Dec '44 | 19 | 77 | 4 |
| Rest of Canada Nov '43 | 71 | 21 | 8 |
| Rest of Canada Dec '44 | 74 | 17 | 9 |

NOV '43 OPINION BY AGE

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 21–29 years | 44% | 50% | 6% |
| 30–49 years | 58 | 35 | 7 |
| 50 years and over | 61 | 31 | 8 |

APR, MAY, AND AUG '42 RESULTS BY LANGUAGE SPOKEN

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *English-speaking, Apr '42* | 68% | 22% | 10% |
| May '42 | 75 | 15 | 10 |
| Aug '42 | 78 | 15 | 7 |
| *French-speaking, Apr '42* | 9 | 88 | 3 |
| May '42 | 6 | 91 | 3 |
| Aug '42 | 6 | 90 | 4 |

APR '42 RESULTS BY THE VOTE IN THE CONSCRIPTION PLEBISCITE

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Those who voted in favor | 83% | 11% | 6% |
| Those who voted against | 10 | 86 | 4 |
| With Quebec eliminated: | | | |
| Those who voted in favor | 84 | 10 | 6 |
| Those who voted against | 23 | 72 | 5 |
| Quebec only: | | | |
| Those who voted in favor | 69 | 25 | 6 |
| Those who voted against | 1 | 97 | 2 |

* All dates before Aug 29 '42 refer to the time the survey was concluded.

**42.** (Canada Mar 21 '42) As you understand it, what is the question which the people will vote on in the plebiscite? (CIPO)

| | *To free government's hands* | *For or against conscription* | *Miscellaneous; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 45% | 42% | 13% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 51% | 39% | 10% |
| Women | 39 | 46 | 15 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Average | 49% | 40% | 11% |
| Above average | 59 | 32 | 9 |
| Below average | 38 | 45 | 17 |

**43.** (Canada May 2 '42) If a majority of the people vote "yes" in the plebiscite—that is, vote to free the government from its pledges—do you think the government is then likely to conscript men for overseas service? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 68% | 16% | 16% |
| BY PROVINCES | | | |
| Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island | 80% | 9% | 11% |
| New Brunswick | 57 | 22 | 21 |
| Quebec | 72 | 13 | 15 |
| Ontario | 66% | 17% | 17% |
| Manitoba | 66 | 18 | 16 |
| Saskatchewan | 77 | 13 | 10 |
| Alberta | 66 | 19 | 15 |
| British Columbia | 64 | 17 | 19 |

**44.** (Canada May 6 '42) Do you approve or disapprove of conscription for overseas service? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 64% | 36% | — |
| BY VOTING INTENTIONS AT THE PLEBISCITE | | | |
| Will vote for | 83% | 11% | 6% |
| Will vote against | 10 | 86 | 4 |
| THE VOTING INTENTIONS IN QUEBEC IN COMPARISON WITH THE REST OF THE COUNTRY | | | |
| *With Quebec eliminated* | | | |
| Will vote for | 84% | 10% | 6% |
| Will vote against | 23 | 72 | 5 |
| *Quebec only* | | | |
| Will vote for | 69 | 25 | 6 |
| Will vote against | 1 | 97 | 2 |

**45.** (US May 30 '42) Do you think young men eighteen and nineteen years old should be drafted for military service? A comparable cross-section was asked the question in the following form: Do you think young men eighteen and nineteen years old should be drafted for military service, or should they continue to be exempt? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 42% No 52% No opinion 6%

**46.** (Canada June 10 '42) Do you think conscription for overseas service would mean that you, or any member of your immediate family, would be conscripted for military service? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48% | 45% | 7% = 100% |
| BY OPINIONS ON CONSCRIPTION | | | |
| *Excluding Quebec* | | | |
| For conscription | 69% | 67% | 57% |
| Against conscription | 24 | 23 | 29 |
| Don't know | 7 | 10 | 14 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| *Quebec only* | | | |
| For conscription | 16% | 16% | 13% |
| Against conscription | 81 | 79 | 81 |
| Don't know | 3 | 5 | 6 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% |

**47.** (Canada June 20 '42) Do you think the results of the recent plebiscite meant that the people wanted conscription for overseas right away, or did it mean that they wanted the government to have a free hand to use its own judgment? (CIPO)

| | *Conscription right away* | *Free hands of government* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 37% | 58% | 5% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Quebec | 21% | 72% | 7% |
| Rest of Canada | 42 | 54 | 4 |
| BY OPINIONS ON CONSCRIPTION | | | |
| Those for conscription | 49% | 49% | 2% |
| Those against conscription | 19 | 73 | 8 |

**48.** (US July 14 '42, July 29 '42, Aug 29 '42) If the government has to choose between drafting eighteen- and nineteen-year-old men or married men without children, which should it choose? The July 29 '42 and Aug '42 samples said "with children" instead of "without children." (AIPO, NORC) (Canada Oct 21 '42) If the government has to choose between calling eighteen- and nineteen-year-old men for military service or calling married men without children, which should it choose? (CIPO)

| | *18–19 years* | *Married men without children* | *Married men with children* | *Undecided; no opinion; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| AIPO July 14 '42 | 43% | 47% | — | 10% |
| AIPO July 29 '42 | 77 | — | 13% | 10 |
| NORC Aug '42 | 80 | — | 11 | 9 |
| CIPO Oct '42 | 41 | 46 | — | 13 |

**49.** (US Aug '42 and Nov '42) When the war is over, do you think the (our) government should or should not make every man take some military training even in peacetime? Asked of a national cross-section of high-school students. (July '44) After the war do you think the United States should draft all young men for a certain amount of army training during peacetime? (FOR) (US May 31 '45 and June 13 '46) When the war is over, do you think the United States should or should not draft all young men for a certain amount of military training during peacetime? The 1946 question omitted the phrase "when the war is over." (NYHT)

| | *Yes, should* | *No, should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '42 | 70.7% | 26.0% | 3.3% |
| Nov '42 | 68.9 | 27.1 | 4.0 |
| July '44 | 69.1 | 21.1 | 9.8 |
| May '45 | 69.6 | 23.0 | 7.4 |
| June '46 | 65.2 | 24.9 | 9.9 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| *Men* | | | |
| May '45 | 69.2% | 26.3% | 4.5% |
| June '46 | 67.4 | 25.9 | 6.7 |
| *Women* | | | |
| May '45 | 69.9 | 20.4 | 9.7 |
| June '46 | 63.3 | 23.9 | 12.8 |
| 1946 RESULTS BY AGE | | | |
| 21–34 years | 69.4% | 23.2% | 7.4% |
| 35–49 years | 67.1 | 23.6 | 9.3 |
| 50 years and over | 59.9 | 27.7 | 12.4 |
| 1946 RESULTS BY EDUCATION | | | |
| Grade school | 55.3% | 27.6% | 17.1% |
| High school | 69.7 | 23.1 | 7.2 |
| College | 72.1 | 23.5 | 4.4 |
| 1946 RESULTS BY VETERAN STATUS | | | |
| No veteran in household | 63.4% | 25.6% | 11.0% |
| Veteran in household | 67.9 | 24.3 | 7.8 |
| Respondent a veteran | 73.7 | 23.1 | 3.2 |
| 1946 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Normally Republican | 64.7% | 26.9% | 8.4% |
| Normally Democratic | 69.1 | 23.4 | 7.5 |
| Independent | 72.5 | 24.3 | 3.2 |
| Sometimes one, sometimes other | 59.6 | 27.6 | 12.8 |
| 1946 RESULTS BY ATTITUDE TOWARD RUSSIA | | | |
| Those who thought Russia was out to dominate the world | 67.2% | 26.2% | 6.6% |
| Those who had no fears of Russian aggression | 70.4 | 23.6 | 6.0 |

**50.** (US Aug 29 '42) Do you think it will be necessary to draft eighteen- and nineteen-year-old men before the war is over? (NORC)

Yes 70% No 16% Don't know 14%

**51.** (US Oct 21 '42) In the country as a whole, do you feel that any particular groups of men have been drafted before they should have been? 36% of the sample who felt that some groups were being drafted too early were asked: What particular groups of men have been drafted before they should have been? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| None drafted too early | 55% |
| Don't know whether or not some have been drafted too early | 9 |
| Farmers drafted too early | 10 |
| Married men with dependents | 9 |
| Married men without dependents | 8 |
| Older men | 6 |
| Defense workers | 3 |
| Other men with dependents | 2 |
| Men with defects | * |
| Miscellaneous groups | 3 |
| Didn't say what groups | * |
| | 105%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**52.** (US Oct 21 '42) What groups of men do you think should have been taken instead? Asked of 36% of the sample who felt that some particular groups of men had been drafted before they should have been. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Single men with dependents | 15% |
| Young men; men 20–35 years | 7 |
| Men in unessential industries | 5 |
| Men without children or dependents | 4 |
| 18–19 year olds | 3 |
| Unemployed; men with diseases | 3 |
| Defense workers | 1 |
| Other | 5 |
| Nor ascerrainable | 3 |
| | 46%* |

* Percentages add to more than 36 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**53.** (US Oct 21 '42) Who do you think is chiefly to blame for this situation—officials in Washington or the local draft boards? Asked of 36% of the sample who felt that some particular groups of men had been drafted before they should have been. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Washington officials | 14% |
| Local draft boards | 16 |
| Don't know | 6 |
| | 36% |

**54.** (US Oct 21 '42) Do you think most people have a clear idea of when the various groups will be drafted, or do you think that most people are pretty confused about this? 60% of the sample who thought most people were pretty confused about the issue were asked: What do you think has caused this confusion? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| No confusion | 30% |
| Don't know whether or not people are confused | 10 |
| Specifically blame government officials | 13 |
| Blame local draft boards | 5 |
| Lack of uniformity of draft boards | 5 |
| Blame changing of rules | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Blame politics and personal favors | 2% |
| General statements of confusing information having to do with officials | 9 |
| Blame newspapers and magazines | 9 |
| Blame radio | 3 |
| Blame rumors | 3 |
| Blame indifference of the public | 2 |
| Blame miscellaneous things or groups | 4 |
| Didn't say who or what to blame | 10 |
| | 107%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**55.** (Australia Nov '42) Should youths of sixteen and seventeen be given military cadet training? (Feb '43) Should compulsory cadet training of youths of sixteen and seventeen begin immediately? (July '43) Should compulsory military training for young men be continued after the war? (June–July '45) After the war, would you favor compulsory military training for young men of eighteen? (Dec '45–Jan '46) Do you favor or oppose compulsory military training for young men of about eighteen? (May 4 '46) Do you favor or oppose compulsory military training for young men of eighteen? (Nov 23 '46) Do you favor or oppose compulsory military training? (APOP)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *Undecided; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '42 | 83% | 13% | 4% |
| Feb '43 | 79 | 16 | 5 |
| July '43 | 79 | 14 | 7 |
| June–July '45 | 74 | 24 | 2 |
| Dec '45–Jan '46 | 78 | 19 | 3 |
| May '46 | 76 | 19 | 5 |
| Nov '46 | 73 | 20 | 7 |

**56.** (US Jan 21 '43) What is your opinion of the way the draft has been handled? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Very good; very successful | 5.4% |
| Favorable; fair; OK; all right; no criticism; no fault to find | 40.1 |
| All right now but they woke up too late to help many farmers | 1.3 |
| Unfavorable because of farm labor policies | 26.8 |
| Unfavorable for other reasons | 12.4 |
| Unfavorable, no reasons given | 4.4 |
| No opinion | 9.6 |

**57.** (Canada Mar 3 '43, Aug 30 '44, Nov 29 '44, Sept 21 '46) After the war is over, do you think every able-bodied young man should be required to serve one year in the army, navy, or air force? (CIPO)

| | *Yes, approve* | *No, disapprove* | *Undecided; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '43 | 56% | 34% | 10% |
| Aug '44 | 46 | 40 | 14 |
| Nov '44 | 60 | 32 | 8 |
| Sept '46 | 66 | 27 | 7 |
| 1943 RESULTS BY SELECTED PROVINCES | | | |
| Quebec | 52% | 40% | 8% |
| Ontario | 59 | 31 | 10 |

**58.** (Great Britain Apr 4 '43) Would you approve or disapprove if military conscription were continued after the war? (Sept 29 '45) Would you approve or disapprove of one year's conscription for all young men in peacetime? (Mar '46) Do you approve or disapprove of compulsory military service for men in peacetime? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '43 | 48% | 35% | 17% |
| Sept '45 | 65 | 27 | 8 |
| Mar '46 | 55 | 37 | 8 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| *Men* | | | |
| Sept '45 | 68% | 25% | 7% |
| Mar '46 | 62 | 33 | 5 |
| *Women* | | | |
| Sept '45 | 61 | 30 | 9 |
| Mar '46 | 49 | 40 | 11 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| *21–29 years* | | | |
| Sept '45 | 59% | 31% | 10% |
| Mar '46 | 52 | 39 | 9 |
| *30–49 years* | | | |
| Sept '45 | 65 | 27 | 8 |
| Mar '46 | 58 | 35 | 7 |
| *50 years and over* | | | |
| Sept '45 | 67 | 26 | 7 |
| Mar '46 | 53 | 37 | 10 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| *Higher* | | | |
| Sept '45 | 77% | 17% | 6% |
| Mar '46 | 64 | 32 | 4 |
| *Middle* | | | |
| Sept '45 | 67 | 28 | 5 |
| Mar '46 | 62 | 34 | 4 |
| *Lower* | | | |
| Sept '45 | 63 | 28 | 9 |
| Mar '46 | 52 | 38 | 10 |
| 1946 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative and National Liberal | 68% | 26% | 6% |
| Labor | 52 | 40 | 8 |
| Liberal | 49 | 43 | 8 |
| Other | 44 | 41 | 15 |
| Did not vote | 46 | 42 | 12 |

**59.** (Great Britain Mar '46) What length of service should be required? Asked of 55% of the 1946 sample who said they approved of compulsory military service for men in peacetime. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 6 months to one year | 24.5% |
| 18 months to 2 years | 24.5 |
| 3 years | 5.0 |
| 5 years | 1.0 |
| | 55.0% |

**60.** (US Apr 6 '43) Movies are widely used to entertain men in the armed forces. Some people think Hollywood stars can do as much for the country by making movies as by going into the service. Do you think movie stars should be drafted, or should they be deferred? (AIPO)

Drafted 61% Deferred 29% No answer 1%
No opinion 9%

**61.** (US Apr 6 '43) At the same time as the preceding question a comparable cross-section was asked: Should movie stars be drafted or should they be deferred? (AIPO)

Drafted 77% Deferred 15% No answer 1%
No opinion 7%

**62.** (US Apr 6 '43) What about radio stars and band leaders and others who have been going to the front to entertain the

men—do you think they should be drafted, or should they be deferred? (AIPO)

Drafted 54% Deferred 38% No answer 1%
No opinion 7%

**63.** (Denmark May 9 '43) Are you yourself willing to serve as a soldier for several years? Asked of people eighteen to twenty-five years old. (DGI)

Yes 62.9% No 33.4% Don't know 3.7%

**64.** (Canada Aug 14 '43) Should men conscripted for military service be sent overseas or kept in Canada as at present? (CIPO)

| | *Sent overseas* | *Some sent overseas* | *Kept in Canada* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46% | 15% | 32% | 7% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| Quebec | 15% | 15% | 66% | 4% |
| All of Canada excluding Quebec | 56 | 15 | 21 | 8 |

**65.** (Canada Aug 14 '43) If these [conscripted] men are not sent overseas, do you think they should be put to work on farms, or should they be kept for military work only? (CIPO)

Work on farms 28%
Some to work on farms 37
Military work only 18
Undecided 17

**66.** (US Aug 24 '43) If the army needs more men, who do you think should be drafted first—single men who are employed in essential war industries or fathers who are not employed in essential war industries? (AIPO)

Single men 68% Fathers 24% No opinion 8%

**67.** (US Mar 29 '44) At present men between thirty-eight and forty-five years of age are not being drafted into the army. Do you think these men should be taken into the army to be placed in jobs in war industries in order to free young men in war plants for military combat service? (AIPO)

Yes 67% No 23% No opinion 10%

**68.** (US Mar 29 '44) Do you think that men who are turned down by the army because they are not physically fit for fighting, but who are able to work in war plants, should be taken into the army and given war jobs in order to free young men in war plants for combat service? (Apr 12 '44) Do you think that men who are turned down by the army, because they are not physically fit for fighting but able to take a war job, should be drafted for work in war plants? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '44 | 78% | 15% | 7% |
| Apr '44 | 64 | 30 | 6 |

**69.** (US Apr 25 '44) Every time a farm worker is deferred by the draft a worker in some other industry must be taken. Do you think more or fewer farm workers should be drafted for military service this year? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

More 9% Fewer 70% Same 15% Undecided 6%

**70.** (US May 9 '44) A law has been proposed which would require every man of draft age in a war job to get permission from his draft board before he can quit his present war job. If he quits without permission, he would be drafted into the army. Do you think this law should be passed? (Feb 20 '45) The War Department has suggested that all men workers under thirty-eight who leave war jobs without permission or refuse to take war jobs be drafted into the army to work in war plants at army pay. Do you approve or disapprove of this? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| May '44 | 56% | 32% | 12% |
| Feb '45 | 74 | 18 | 8 |

**71.** (US May 9 '44) If 4F's (men who are physically unfit for fighting but able to work) refuse to take jobs in war industries, should they be drafted into a special division of the army for useful service work around army camps? (AIPO)

Yes 72% No 17% No opinion 11%

**72.** (US May 18 '44) Which do you feel is more important—to draft farmers under twenty-six, or to keep them on the farm to raise food? 19% of the sample who thought they should be drafted were asked: Why? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Keep them on the farm | 71% |
| Don't know whether or not they should be drafted | 10 |
| Draft them because older men or other men can do the jobs | 11 |
| Young men are needed in the army | 4 |
| Only fair that they should be drafted | 3 |
| War needs are primary | 2 |
| Young men on farms are trying to escape the draft | 1 |
| Miscellaneous reasons why they should be drafted or didn't say | 1 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**73.** (US May 23 '44) The army and navy want a draft law passed which would give local draft boards the right to draft some men between eighteen and forty-five unless they take war jobs. Do you favor or oppose such a law? A comparable cross-section was asked simultaneously: Would you favor or oppose having a draft law passed which would give local draft boards the right to draft some men between eighteen and forty-five unless they take war jobs? (AIPO)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| First cross-section | 59% | 30% | 11% |
| Second cross-section | 55 | 33 | 12 |

**74.** (US May 23 '44) Would you favor or oppose a law which would permit local draft boards to draft any man between the ages of eighteen and forty-five who goes on strike? (AIPO)

Favor 68% Oppose 23% No opinion 9%

**75.** (Sweden June '44) How much military service have you done since 1939? Asked of a national cross-section of men who had been called up. (SGI)

| | *6 months or less* | *7–12 months* | *13–18 months* | *19–24 months* | *Over 24 months* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 28% | 40% | 19% | 8% | 5% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Upper class | 31% | 38% | 20% | 5% | 6% |
| Middle | 31 | 40 | 17 | 8 | 4 |
| Workers | 25 | 40 | 21 | 9 | 5 |

**76.** (Sweden June '44) Have you suffered any considerable break in your work or training on account of doing military service? Asked of a national cross-section of men who had been called up. (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 36% | 63% | 1% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper | 40% | 57% | 3% |
| Middle | 36 | 62 | 2 |
| Workers | 36 | 62 | 2 |

**77.** (Sweden June '44) In what way [have you suffered a break in your work or training because of military service]? Asked of 36% of a sample of men who had been called up who said they had suffered a considerable break. (SGI)

| | *Economical* | *Difficulties in civil work* | *Studies hindered* | *Other difficulties* | *Nothing serious* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24% | 9% | 2% | 1% | 64% = 100% of those questioned |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Upper | 25% | 7% | 8% | — | 60% |
| Middle | 20 | 12 | 2 | 2% | 64 |
| Workers | 27 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 64 |

**78.** (Sweden June '44) Have you incurred debts because of military service? Asked of a national cross-section of men who had been called up. (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No definite answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 15% | 81% | 4% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper | 5% | 93% | 2% |
| Middle | 9 | 85 | 6 |
| Workers | 20 | 76 | 4 |

**79.** (US July '44) After the war, do you think the United States should draft all young men for a certain amount of army training during peacetime, or should we go back to the regular army system of taking volunteers only? (FOR) (Aug 9 '45) After the war, do you think the United States should draft all young men for a certain amount of military training during peacetime, or should we go back to the regular army and navy system of taking volunteers only? Asked of a cross-section of navy personnel from the Atlantic and Pacific theaters. The survey was made by the United States navy. (NYHT)

| | *Draft* | *Volunteers* | *Don't know; no answer* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| July '44 | 61.4% | 29.4% | 9.2% | — |
| Aug '45 | 63.1 | 29.4 | .2 | 7.3% |
| 1945 RESULTS BY AGE | | | | |
| 17–18 years | 50.3% | 39.5% | — | 10.2% |
| 19–20 years | 59.9 | 32.3 | .1% | 7.7 |
| 21–22 years | 60.7 | 31.8 | .5 | 7.0 |
| 23–24 years | 64.4 | 29.2 | .1 | 6.3 |
| 25–29 years | 64.3 | 28.3 | .1 | 7.3 |
| 30 years and over | 69.4 | 23.1 | .2 | 7.3 |
| 1945 RESULTS BY EDUCATION | | | | |
| Some grade school | 58.4% | 27.3% | — | 14.3% |
| Finished grade school | 59.5 | 31.4 | .2% | 8.9 |
| Some high school | 60.8 | 31.2 | .2 | 7.8 |
| Finished high school | 66.3 | 28.7 | .2 | 4.8 |
| Some college | 70.3 | 22.5 | — | 7.2 |
| Finished college | 61.2 | 24.5 | — | 14.3 |
| 1945 RESULTS BY COMBAT DUTY STATUS AND VOLUNTEER VS. DRAFTEE | | | | |
| Has had combat duty | 63.2% | 29.6% | .2% | 7.0% |
| Has not had combat duty | 62.7 | 29.2 | .1 | 8.0 |
| Volunteer | 64.0 | 29.1 | .3 | 6.6 |
| Draftee | 60.9 | 30.0 | .1 | 9.0 |
| Women only July '44* | 56 | 29 | 15 | — |

* Breakdown from *New York Herald Tribune* Jan 18 '45.

**80.** (US July '44) If all young men in the United States were to be given military training, how long do you think this training should last? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| About six months | 7.5% |
| About one year | 46.9 |
| About one and one-half years | 5.2 |
| About two years | 16.7 |
| More than two years | 12.3 |
| Don't know | 11.4 |

**81.** (US July '44) If all young men in the United States were to be given military training, at about what age do you think this training should begin? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Before 18 years of age | 32.1% |
| At 18 years of age | 43.8 |
| At 19 years of age | 5.0 |
| At 20 years of age | 5.0 |
| At 21 years of age | 5.6 |
| After 21 years of age | 1.9 |
| Don't know | 6.6 |

**82.** (Canada Aug 16 '44) Do you think men of military age who go on strike should be drafted into the army? (CIPO)

| | *Drafted* | *Not drafted* | *Undecided* | *Qualified* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48% | 34% | 11% | 7% |
| BY SELECTED PROVINCES | | | | |
| Ontario | 57% | 27% | 8% | 8% |
| Quebec | 29 | 54 | 16 | 1 |

**83.** (US Sept '44) If the United States did pass a law that required our boys to take military training, do you think other countries would be more likely or less likely to require military training for their boys? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More likely | 71% |
| Less likely | 3 |
| Make no difference | 19 |
| Don't know | 7 |

**84.** (US Sept '44) If the United States and other countries had laws requiring their boys to take military training, do you think it would be more likely or less likely that there would be wars in the future, or wouldn't it make any difference? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More likely | 14% |
| Less likely | 31 |
| Make no difference | 48 |
| Don't know | 7 |

**85.** (France Dec 1 '44) If the European war isn't over by winter, should France have a general troop mobilization? (FIPO)

Yes 70% No 23% No opinion 7%

**86.** (Canada Dec 9 '44) The government is sending overseas as reinforcements some of the men who were drafted for home defense. Do you approve of this, or do you think greater efforts should have been made to get enough reinforcements through voluntary enlistment? (CIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Volunteer* | *All draftees* | *Miscellaneous* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 50% | 33% | 9% | 4% | 4% |
| BY RACIAL ORIGIN | | | | | |
| British | 66% | 16% | 12% | 3% | 3% |
| French | 8 | 77 | 3 | 8 | 4 |
| Other | 55 | 29 | 8 | 4 | 4 |

**87.** (Canada Dec 20 '44) Have you, yourself, had any reason to do business with an office of National Selective Service?

33% of the sample who said they had were asked: Were you ever dissatisfied with the way you were treated? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Never did any business with them | 67% |
| Dissatisfied | 13 |
| Not dissatisfied | 20 |

**88.** (France Jan 1 '45) Do you favor mobilization of three age classes?* (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *Yes, qualified* | *Pre-mature measure* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Paris | 56% | 15% | 8% | 14% | 7% |
| Provinces | 48 | 22 | 7 | 14 | 9 |

* On Nov 15 '44 the press published the news that two or three age classes would be called to military service. Next day the War Ministry denied it.

**89.** (US Jan 17 '45 and Apr 4 '45) Do you think a military training law should be passed now, or should this wait until after the war? In Jan '45, 69% of a national sample who thought that after the war every young man should be required to take military or naval training for one year were questioned. 22% of the sample who were against the idea and 9% who had no opinion on the subject were excluded from the cross-section. In Apr '45, 70% of a national sample who favored postwar compulsory military training were questioned. 24% of the sample who were against the idea and 6% who had no opinion were excluded from the cross-section. (May 29 '45) Do you think Congress should pass a law within the next year which would require every able-bodied young man to take military and naval training for one year, or should this wait until later? (June 12 '45) Congress is now considering passing a law to take effect after the war, which would requite every able-bodied young man to have one year's military training. What is your opinion about passing this law now? (June 12 '45 and June 27 '45) There is a bill in Congress which would require every able-bodied young man to have one year's military training after the war. Which of these statements expresses your feeling about this law—pass the law now to go into effect after the war; pass the law after the war; don't pass the law at all? Each respondent was given a card with the three statements printed on it. (AIPO)

| | *Pass now* | *Wait* | *Not questioned* | *Don't pass Law at all* | *Miscellaneous* | *No answer* | *No opinion; undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Jan '45 | 37 | 25 | 31 | — | — | — | 7 |
| Apr '45 | 33 | 30 | 30 | — | — | — | 7 |
| May '45 | 55 | 35 | — | — | — | — | 10 |
| June 12 '45 first cross-section | 65 | 11 | — | 16 | 3 | 5 | — |
| June 12 '45 second cross-section | 52 | 21 | — | 20 | — | — | 7 |
| June 27 '45 | 51 | 23 | — | 19 | — | — | 7 |

**90.** (Great Britain Mar '45) In general, do you think it would be a good thing or a bad thing if young people were required to spend a year in some sort of national service, military or non-military? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Boys | 22% |
| Girls | 1 |
| Both | 45 |
| Neither | 25 |
| Don't know | 7 |

**91.** (Canada Mar 3 '45) After the war, do you think every able-bodied young man eighteen years of age should be forced to spend a year taking part in a health-building and youth-training program directed by the government? 76% of the sample who thought such a program should be put into operation were asked: Would you favor this even if it meant these young men would have to leave their homes for the year? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Against such a program | 13% |
| Undecided as to whether or not such a program should be adopted | 8 |
| Qualified answers to the first question | 3 |
| Would still approve if young men had to leave home | 64 |
| Wouldn't approve if young men had to leave home | 10 |
| Undecided about approval if young men had to leave home | 2 |

**92.** (Canada Mar 3 '45) Should such a [youth-training] course include military training or not? Asked of 76% of the sample who thought that after the war every eighteen-year-old should be required to spend a year taking a training program. (CIPO)

Yes 60% No 12% No opinion 4% = 76%

**93.** (US Mar 7 '45) A United States Senator says that eighteen-year-old men in the armed forces should be trained in this country for one year before being sent overseas to fight. Do you approve or disapprove of this? (AIPO)

Approve 85% Disapprove 10% No opinion 5%

**94.** (US Mar 7 '45) Why [should or shouldn't eighteen-year-old men in the armed forces be trained in this country for one year before being sent overseas]? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Need at least a year of training to be good fighters; less chance of mistakes at front; the better trained the more useful they will be; better adjusted; gain experience; gain emotional maturity; can accept responsibility; better physical condition. | 55% |
| Too young; just babies; they should be a year older; give them an extra year of happiness; nearer home and family for extra year | 24 |
| Less chance of being killed or wounded if thoroughly trained and in good shape | 2 |
| Need more than a year | 1 |
| Didn't say why they approved | 3 |
| | 85% |
| If need them sooner, take them; national emergency should govern | 4% |
| Army knows best; army must be allowed to carry out program | 2 |
| Young men are ready to go; too restless in training | 1 |
| Basic training is all that is needed; army can get them ready quickly | 1 |
| Many already sent, might as well send others | * |
| Army feels young men more adapted to war conditions; make better soldiers | 1 |
| Didn't say why they disapproved | 1 |
| | 10% |
| No opinion | 5% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**95.** (US Mar 7 '45) Do you think young men eighteen years of age in the armed forces should be trained for one year in this country before being sent overseas to fight, or is it all right to send them sooner if the army thinks they have had enough training? (AIPO)

| | *One year* | *Sooner* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total.... | 68% | 26% | 6% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men..... | 62% | 31% | 7% |
| Women..... | 73 | 22 | 5 |

**96.** (US Apr '45) Have your friends or any people you know asked you recently for your ideas about such [postwar compulsory] military training? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes..... | 21% |
| No, or don't remember..... | 76 |
| Heard about it, discussed it without being asked for an opinion..... | 3 |

**97.** (US Apr '45) If the government had two billion dollars a year to spend, would you rather have it spent on a program of better regular education in the schools or on a program of compulsory military training in the army or the navy? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Regular education..... | 56% |
| Military training..... | 25 |
| Neither or both..... | 11 |
| Don't know..... | 8 |

**98.** (US June '45) Suppose we have compulsory training after the war, and you had a brother or a son about to begin his training. So far as you are concerned, which branch of the service—the army, or the navy, or the air service—would you rather see him go into? (Of course, the choice would really be up to him, but we want to know how you feel about it.) (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Army..... | 18.5% |
| Navy..... | 39.7 |
| Air services..... | 22.7 |
| No difference.... | 12.0 |
| Don't know..... | 7.1 |

**99.** (US June '45) The 22.7% of the sample who said they would like a brother or son to go into the air services in the event of compulsory military training after the war, were asked whether they would prefer the army or the navy air service, with the following results: (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Army air service..... | 10.4% |
| Navy air service..... | 7.2 |
| No difference..... | 4.3 |
| Don't know..... | .8 |
| | 22.7% |

**100.** (Denmark July 8 '45) Do you think that it is good or bad for the young to do military service? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good..... | 92.8% |
| Bad..... | 2.5 |
| Other answers..... | 0.8 |
| Don't know..... | 3.9 |

**101.** (US Aug 22 '45 and Sept 6 '45) Two comparable cross-sections were questioned in Aug and two in Sept. The first in each case was asked: Do you think we should continue to draft young men for the army, or should we rely on volunteers for occupation forces? The second Aug cross-section was asked: Do you think we should continue to draft young men for the army, or should we rely on volunteers to supply men to occupy the defeated countries? The second Sept cross-section was asked: Should we continue to draft young men for the armed services to police Germany and Japan, or should we try to get volunteers for this job? (AIPO)

| | *Draft* | *Volunteers* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '45 first cross-section... | 43% | 46% | 11% |
| Aug '45 second cross-section. | 48 | 42 | 10 |
| Sept '45 first cross-section... | 44 | 47 | 9 |
| Sept '45 second cross-section. | 33 | 59 | 8 |

**102.** (US Sept 6 '45) If the government decides to continue the draft to obtain men for occupation forces, should we draft young men eighteen years old or should the age be set higher? (AIPO)

| | *18 years old* | *Draft age higher* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 39% | 53% | 8% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years..... | 46% | 45% | 9% |
| 30–49 years..... | 41 | 52 | 7 |
| 50 years and over..... | 32 | 60 | 8 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men..... | 41% | 51% | 8% |
| Women..... | 35 | 56 | 9 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College..... | 47% | 49% | 4% |
| High school..... | 46 | 47 | 7 |
| Grade school..... | 33 | 57 | 10 |

**103.** (US Sept 6 '45) What should the lowest age be? Asked of 53% of the sample who thought that the draft age for the men of the occupation forces should be set higher than eighteen. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 19 years and under..... | 3% |
| 20 years..... | 21 |
| 21 years..... | 40 |
| 22 years..... | 9 |
| 23 years..... | 4 |
| 24 years..... | 5 |
| 25 and 26 years..... | 10 |
| 27–30 years..... | 3 |
| Over 30 years..... | 2 |
| No answer..... | 3 |
| | 100% |

of those questioned

Median 20 years

**104.** (US Sept 6 '45) What do you think should be the youngest age at which men are drafted to be sent to police Germany and Japan? Asked of a cross-section comparable to that used for the two preceding questions. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 17 years and under..... | 1% |
| 18 years..... | 21 |
| 19 years..... | 3 |
| 20 years..... | 15 |
| 21 years..... | 34 |
| 22 years..... | 3 |
| 23 years..... | 1 |
| 24 years..... | 1 |
| 25 years..... | 10 |
| 26 years..... | 1 |
| 27 years..... | 1 |
| 28–29 years..... | 1 |
| 30 years..... | 3 |
| 31–35 years..... | 1 |
| 38 years and over..... | * |
| Don't know..... | 4 |

Median 21 years

* Less than 0.5%.

**105.** (Australia Sept-Oct '45) If Australia is to have a peacetime army, should it consist of only compulsory part-time trainees—or should there also be a permanent standing army? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Favor standing army | 76% |
| Part-time army only | 17 |
| Oppose any army | 2 |
| No opinion | 5 |

**106.** (Canada Oct 27 '45) It has been suggested that every young man should be required to put in one complete year of training—a sort of peacetime draft—for military training, health, and physical fitness, and to help in developing Canada's natural resources. Would you approve or disapprove if this were done? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve | 71% |
| Disapprove | 18 |
| Undecided and qualified | 11 |

**107.** (Canada Oct 27 '45) If this [peacetime draft] were done, would you favor placing the main emphasis on military training, or on health and physical fitness, or on work in developing Canada's natural resources? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Health and physical fitness | 33% |
| Equal emphasis on all three | 25 |
| Work in developing natural resources | 19 |
| Military training | 14 |
| Don't want it at all | 5 |
| Undecided | 4 |

**108.** (US Oct 31 '45) Why do you feel that way [about military training]? 75% of the sample had expressed themselves as being in favor of compulsory military training in response to an earlier question, 21% were against it, and 4% had no opinion on the subject. (AIPO)

*In favor of military training*

| | |
|---|---|
| Should be prepared | 33% |
| Good discipline; healthy for boys; etc. | 26 |
| Good discipline, etc. and preparedness | 10 |
| Help employment situation | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |

*Opposed to military training*

| | |
|---|---|
| Encourages war | 3% |
| Waste of money | * |
| Not necessary; waste of time; can mobilize when necessary | 5 |
| Atomic bomb changes need for armed forces | 1 |
| Not democratic; volunteer method better | 2 |
| Inconvenient age; men too young; interferes with education; etc. | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 6 |
| No answer (including those who had no opinion at all on the subject) | 8 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**109.** (US Oct 31 '45) Do you feel interested enough in this [compulsory military training in the future] to give your Congressman your views about it? (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 36% No answer 4%

**110.** (US Oct 31 '45) Do you think that giving military training in this country will result in a group being formed of military men who will try to have too much power? (AIPO)

Yes 21% No 62% No opinion 17%

**111.** (US Oct 31 '45) A cross-section comparable to that used for the preceding question was asked at the same time: Do you think that giving military training in this country will result in military men forming a group which will have too much power? (AIPO)

Yes 19% No 60% No opinion 21%

**112.** (Australia Nov '45) If men are required to relieve garrisons in the Pacific Islands should they be volunteers or compulsory trainees? (APOP)

Volunteers 81% Compulsory 14% No opinion 5%

**113.** (US Nov '45) Which of these do you think is the main reason we should have compulsory military training—should we have it mostly for an occupation army, or mostly to defend our country, or mostly as good training for the boys? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Occupation | 1% |
| Defense | 31 |
| Training | 38 |
| Not questioned because of unfavorable attitude or no opinion about compulsory military training | 27 |
| Don't know | 3 |

**114.** (US Nov '45) Which of these would you rather see our government do first—pass a law requiring boys over eighteen to take a year of military training in the future, or try to get the world organization to abolish military training in every country in the world? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Pass a law | 57% |
| Get world organization | 36 |
| Don't know | 7 |

**115.** (US Nov '45) What do you think are the chances of the world organization being able to abolish military training in every country in the world—does it have a good chance, a fair chance, or no chance at all? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good chance | 11% |
| Fair chance | 29 |
| No chance | 48 |
| Don't know | 12 |

**116.** (US Nov '45) Some people say that now that the atomic bomb has been discovered, compulsory military training would not defend our nation enough to bother with it. Do you think we should have compulsory military training or not? (NORC)

Yes 68% No 23% Don't know 9%

**117.** (US Nov '45) Some people say that now the atomic bomb has been discovered, compulsory military training is even more important than it was before. Do you think we should have compulsory military training or not? (NORC)

Should 71% Should not 21% Don't know 8%

**118.** (US Dec 5 '45 and Feb 13 '46) It has been suggested that in the future every able-bodied young man should be required to take four months of military training. Do you approve or disapprove of this? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Qualified* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '45 | 64% | 20% | 11% | 5% |
| Feb '46 | 69 | 19 | 7 | 5 |

**119.** (Australia Dec 1 '45) What do you think about making it [compulsory military training] a full year's continuous training in camp instead of several years' spare-time training with short annual camps? Asked of a cross-section of people who favored compulsory military training. 78% of a national sample is represented. (Nov 23 '46) If we do have compulsory military training, should it be a full year's continuous camp or spare-time training with short annual camps? (APOP)

| | *Favor full year* | *Oppose full year* | *Spare time* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '45 | 37% | 57% | — | 6% = 100% of those questioned |
| Nov '46 | 23 | — | 67% | 10 |

**120.** (Netherlands Feb 25 '46) Are you in favor or not in favor of compulsory military service? (NIPO)

| | *Favor* | *Against* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total.... | 61% | 30% | 9% |
| Workers only.... | 47 | 40 | 13 |
| | BY SEX | | |
| Men..... | 66% | 28% | 6% |
| Women..... | 55 | 33 | 12 |

**121.** (US Mar 13 '46 and Apr 24 '46) The Selective Service Draft Law expires (ends) in May. Do you think Congress should or should not vote to continue the Draft Law for another year? (AIPO)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '46..... | 65% | 27% | 8% |
| Apr '46..... | 63 | 29 | 8 |

**122.** (US Mar 13 '46) If the draft law is continued, what is the youngest age at which young men should be drafted? The oldest age? (AIPO)

| *Youngest age* | | *Oldest age* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 17 years or under..... | 3% | Under 21 years..... | 4% |
| 18 years..... | 58 | 21 to under 25 years.... | 13 |
| 19 years..... | 4 | 25 years..... | 22 |
| 20 years..... | 10 | Over 25 to under 30 years | 13 |
| 21 years..... | 18 | 30 years..... | 18 |
| 22 years..... | 1 | Over 30 to under 35 years | 3 |
| Over 22 years..... | 1 | 35 years..... | 13 |
| End of high school.... | 1 | Over 35 years..... | 8 |
| Miscellaneous answers.. | 1 | No answer; don't know. | 6 |
| No answer; don't know. | 3 | | |
| Median 18 years old | | Median Over 25 to under 30 years | |

**123.** (US Mar 13 '46) How long should men who go into the service now be required to serve? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer; don't know..... | 6% |
| Under 1 year..... | 3 |
| 1 year..... | 48 |
| Over 1 year to under 2 years..... | 9 |
| 2 years to under 3 years..... | 24 |
| 3 years to under 4 years..... | 7 |
| 4 years to under 5 years..... | 1 |
| As long as necessary..... | 1 |
| Miscellaneous..... | 1 |
| Median 1 year | |

**124.** (US Apr 24 '46) The House of Representatives has passed a bill which forbids the drafting of anyone under twenty years of age. Do you think the Senate also should pass this bill? (AIPO)

Should 60% Should not 33% No opinion 7%

**125.** (US Apr 24 '46) If the draft law is continued, would you approve or disapprove of keeping young men eighteen and nineteen years old in this country, sending older men overseas to serve in occupied countries? (AIPO)

Approve 57% Disapprove 35% No opinion 8%

**126.** (US Apr 24 '46) The House of Representatives has passed a bill postponing drafting of any men from May to October to see if enough volunteers will join the army and make the draft unnecessary. Do you think enough people will volunteer? (AIPO)

Yes 37% No 52% No opinion 11%

**127.** (US May 15 '46) If a law is passed requiring young men to spend eighteen months in the service, including time here and abroad, at what age do you think they should be drafted into the service? A comparable cross-section was asked: What is the youngest age at which you think they should be drafted? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 18 years..... | 2% |
| 18 years..... | 41 |
| 19 years..... | 5 |
| 20 years..... | 19 |
| 21 years..... | 24 |
| 22–24 years..... | 3 |
| 25–30 years..... | 2 |
| 30 years and over..... | 1 |
| No answer..... | 3 |

**128.** (US May 27 '46 and May 29 '46) President Truman has proposed that employers and employees who refuse to run strike-bound industries taken over by the government be drafted into the armed forces and sent back to their jobs. Do you approve or disapprove of this? The May 27 results are based on a telegraphic survey. On May 29, a comparable cross-section was asked the question with the term "service" substituted for "armed forces." Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| May 27 '46.... | 53% | 38% | 9% |
| May 29 '46.... | 47 | 43 | 10 |

## MILK

**1.** (US Mar 7 '40) Does your family use fresh milk every day? 85% of the sample who said they used fresh milk were asked: How much? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Do not use any fresh milk..... | 15% |
| Less than one quart..... | 7 |
| One quart..... | 29 |
| Two quarts..... | 25 |
| Three quarts..... | 7 |
| Four quarts..... | 8 |
| Five quarts..... | 1 |
| Six quarts..... | 1 |
| Eight quarts..... | 2 |
| Ten quarts or over..... | 1 |
| Use fresh milk but didn't say how much.... | 4 |

**2.** (US Mar 7 '40) Did you, yourself, happen to drink any fresh milk yesterday? 53% of the sample who had had fresh milk the day before being interviewed were asked: How many glasses? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't drink any milk..... | 47% |
| One glass (or cup)..... | 21 |
| Two glasses (or cups)..... | 18 |
| Three glasses..... | 7 |
| Four glasses..... | 4 |
| Five or more glasses (or cups)..... | 2 |
| Drank milk but didn't say how much..... | 1 |

**3.** (US Nov 19 '40) We have been asked to make a check-up on the amount of milk being consumed every day in the United States—did you happen to drink any milk (either fresh or canned) yesterday? (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 40%

**4.** (US Nov 19 '40) Did your family buy any fresh milk yesterday? 74% of the sample who had bought fresh milk the previous day were asked: How much? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| None | 26% |
| Didn't say how much | 3 |
| Bought 1 pint and under | 4 |
| Bought 1 quart | 29 |
| Bought 1½ quarts | 2 |
| 2 quarts | 20 |
| 3 quarts | 6 |
| 4 quarts | 6 |
| 5 quarts and over | 4 |

Median 1 quart

**5.** (US Nov 19 '40) Did your family buy any canned milk yesterday? (AIPO)

Yes 18% No 82%

**6.** (US Nov 13 '41) Did you use any fresh milk for yourself or your family yesterday? How much fresh milk? Asked of a national cross-section of housewives. (AIPO)

Median of all, including non-users, 1.2 quarts

**7.** (US Nov 13 '41) Do you happen to know how much milk the government recommends that each child should have every day? Each adult? 65% of the sample who said they knew how much each child should have and 53% of the sample who said they knew how much each adult should have every day were asked: How much? (AIPO)

CHILD

| | *1 pint* | *1 quart* | *More than a quart* | *Don't know how much recommended* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 4% | 59% | 2% | 35% |
| Families having one or more members under 21 years old | 4 | 62 | 3 | 31 |

ADULT

| | |
|---|---|
| ½ pint | 1% |
| 1 pint | 42 |
| More than 1 pint | 10 |
| Don't know how much recommended | 47 |

**8.** (US Dec '41) After the war is over, do you think there will be more, the same, or less government regulation of milk distribution? (FOR)

More 33.4% Same 27.3% Less 8.8% Don't know 30.5%

All those with an opinion on the subject were asked whether they thought this would be a good or bad thing. (FOR)

| | *More* | *Same* | *Less* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Good | 67.7% | 77.8% | 71.3% |
| Bad | 25.9 | 10.6 | 19.4 |
| Don't know or no answer | 6.4 | 11.6 | 9.3 |

**9.** (US Dec 28 '44 and Canada Feb 28 '45) Do you (or your family) buy or use fresh milk (not canned)? 92% of the sample who used fresh milk were asked: Is the milk your family uses pasteurized? In Canada the question was: Is the milk your family uses pasteurized? (AIPO, CIPO)

| | *Don't use fresh milk* | *Use pasteurized milk* | *Use milk not pasteurized* | *Don't know whether or not milk is pasteurized* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| United States | 8% | 62% | 28% | 2% |
| Canada | 4 | 62 | 32 | 2 |

**10.** (US Dec 28 '44 and Canada Feb 28 '45) Can any possible harm result from drinking milk that is not pasteurized (raw milk)? 64% of the sample who said harm could result from drinking raw milk were asked: What harm? In Canada everyone was asked: Do you think any possible harm results from drinking milk that is not pasteurized, that is, raw milk? (AIPO, CIPO)

UNITED STATES RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Drinking raw milk can cause no harm | 17% |
| Don't know whether or not raw milk can cause harm | 19 |
| Can cause undulant fever, Bang's disease, Malta fever | 12 |
| Can cause tuberculosis | 12 |
| Typhoid fever | 3 |
| Undulant fever and tuberculosis | 4 |
| Undulant fever and typhoid fever | 1 |
| Tuberculosis and typhoid fever | 1 |
| Undulant fever, tuberculosis, and typhoid | 1 |
| Incorrect diseases: scarlet fever, cancer, cowpox, etc. | 1 |
| General answers: disease, illness, infection, fever | 19 |
| Unsanitary conditions; uncleanliness; germs; bacteria | 9 |
| Didn't say what harm might result | 5 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

CANADIAN RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| No, no harm | 42% |
| Yes, harm | 49 |
| Undecided | 9 |

**11.** (US Dec 28 '44) Do you think a law should be passed which would prevent the sale of any milk that is not pasteurized (raw milk)? (AIPO)

Yes 50% No 34% No opinion 16%

**12.** (Australia Apr 28 '45) Would you like zoning of milk to continue after the war? Asked of a national cross-section of people living in districts where milk deliveries were zoned. (APOP)

Opposed 48% In favor 32% Indifferent 20%

**13.** (Australia Oct 20 '45) Would you mind if zoning of milk continues? Asked of a national cross-section of people living in areas where the delivery of milk was zoned. (APOP)

| | *Opposed* | *In favor* |
|---|---|---|
| Men | 58% | 42% |
| Women | 42 | 58 |

**14.** (Sweden Feb '46) Do you think that farmers should be paid more for milk? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 53% | 37% | 10% |
| Farmers only | 77 | 16 | 7 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper | 57% | 28% | 15% |
| Middle | 64 | 27 | 9 |
| Workers | 44 | 45 | 11 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Right party | 67% | 25% | 8% |
| Liberal | 56 | 33 | 11 |
| Agrarian | 93 | 2 | 5 |
| Social Democratic | 40 | 51 | 9 |
| Communist | 49 | 43 | 8 |

**15.** (Sweden Feb '46) Do you think that farmers are justified in threatening to stop milk supplies if they do not get higher prices? (SGI)

| | *Justified* | *Not justified* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 31% | 57% | 12% |
| Farmers only | 59 | 29 | 12 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper | 24% | 67% | 9% |
| Middle | 40 | 48 | 12 |
| Workers | 25 | 63 | 12 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Right party | 37% | 53% | 10% |
| Liberal | 31 | 58 | 11 |
| Agrarian | 79 | 11 | 10 |
| Social Democratic | 18 | 70 | 12 |
| Communist | 31 | 63 | 6 |

**16.** (Belgium July–Oct '46) When buying milk are you aware of, or do you take note of, the official price (maximum legal price)? (INSOC)

| | *Always* | *Often* | *Rarely* | *Never* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48.8% | 6.6% | 6.0% | 23.3% | 15.3% |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | | | | |
| Urban | 48.1% | 6.8% | 5.1% | 22.7% | 17.3% |
| Rural | 45.6 | 6.5 | 7.5 | 28.3 | 12.1 |
| Industrial | 54.7 | 6.3 | 5.6 | 17.2 | 16.2 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Farmers | 40.7% | 6.7% | 10.0% | 30.4% | 12.2% |
| Workers | 47.2 | 5.6 | 4.9 | 21.2 | 21.1 |
| White-collar | 41.8 | 8.8 | 6.6 | 23.7 | 19.1 |
| Business | 44.4 | 5.4 | 4.4 | 25.8 | 20.0 |
| Professional | 32.9 | 2.4 | 9.4 | 32.9 | 22.4 |
| Living on income | 59.8 | 8.8 | 3.8 | 17.6 | 10.0 |
| Housewives | 61.2 | 7.3 | 5.8 | 21.4 | 4.3 |

**17.** (Belgium July–Oct '46) When buying [milk] with ration stamps or certificates of entitlement, do you ever have to pay more than the fixed official price (maximum legal price)? (INSOC)

| | *Always* | *Often* | *Rarely* | *Never* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 7.1% | 6.2% | 5.7% | 58.0% | 23.0% |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | | | | |
| Urban | 5.3% | 5.5% | 5.5% | 58.3% | 25.4% |
| Rural | 9.7 | 6.4 | 6.8 | 57.3 | 19.8 |
| Industrial | 6.8 | 7.3 | 4.7 | 58.3 | 22.9 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Farmers | 6.2% | 4.0% | 8.0% | 60.6% | 21.2% |
| Workers | 7.9 | 6.3 | 6.0 | 51.8 | 28.0 |
| White-collar | 6.4 | 6.7 | 3.9 | 55.0 | 28.0 |
| Business | 5.4 | 6.8 | 4.5 | 57.0 | 26.3 |
| Professional | 9.9 | 3.7 | 1.2 | 50.6 | 34.6 |
| Living on income | 7.6 | 10.1 | 6.3 | 60.8 | 15.2 |
| Housewives | 7.1 | 5.8 | 6.4 | 68.3 | 12.4 |

**18.** (Belgium July–Oct '46) Did you ever buy [milk] without ration stamps or certificates? (INSOC)

| | *Often* | *Rarely* | *Never* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43.1% | 16.3% | 33.8% | 6.8% |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | | | |
| Urban | 47.8% | 15.6% | 28.2% | 8.4% |
| Rural | 36.9 | 15.5 | 42.7 | 4.9 |
| Industrial | 42.6 | 19.0 | 31.8 | 6.6 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Farmers | 25.7% | 11.8% | 57.5% | 5.0% |
| Workers | 39.9 | 18.6 | 32.2 | 9.3 |
| White-collar | 49.5 | 14.1 | 27.2 | 9.2 |
| Business | 47.4 | 17.2 | 25.9 | 9.5 |
| Professional | 48.3 | 22.5 | 19.1 | 10.1 |
| Living on income | 45.3 | 13.7 | 34.8 | 6.2 |
| Housewives | 49.8 | 16.3 | 32.9 | 1.0 |

**19.** (Canada Oct 19 '46) What do you think is the real reason for increasing milk prices? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Higher production costs; needs and demands of farmers; lack of farm labor | 28% |
| Shortage of milk; milk products export commitments | 4 |
| Result of government policy | 2 |
| Higher distribution costs; needs and demands of dairies | 4 |
| General rise in cost of living | 3 |
| Removal of federal subsidy | 14 |
| Various other reasons | 10 |
| Don't know any reason | 35 |

# MINES AND MINERAL RESOURCES

## Government Ownership

**1.** (US Nov 20 '36) Do you favor government ownership of coal mines? (Sept 6 '45) Do you think the government should own the mines in this country? A comparable cross-section was asked the same question about coal mines. (Dec 31 '46) Do you think the United States government should own the coal mines in this country? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion; undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '36 | 27% | 64% | 9% |
| Sept '45 first cross-section | 25 | 64 | 11 |
| Sept '45 second cross-section | 29 | 59 | 12 |
| Dec '46 | 33 | 61 | 6 |
| Sept '45 second cross-section, union members only | 38 | 49 | 13 |

**2.** (Australia Mar–Apr '42) Do you approve or disapprove the drastic steps proposed by the federal government to keep coal mines working? (APOP)

Approve 85% Disapprove 8% Undecided 7%

**3.** (Australia June '42) Do you think the Commonwealth government should take over the coal mines, or should the owners be left in charge? (July '43) During the war, should the coal mines be operated by the government, or should the owners be left in charge? (July '43) After the war, do you think the coal mines should be owned and operated by the government or by the present owners? (Nov '46) Do you favor government or private ownership of coal mines? (APOP)

| | *Government* | *Government during war* | *Favor private ownership* | *Undecided; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| June '42 | 25% | 37% | 24% | 14% |
| July '43* | — | 62 | 24 | 14 |
| July '43** | 37 | — | 46 | 17 |
| Nov '46 | 39 | — | 42 | 19 |

| | *Government* | *Government during war* | *Favor private ownership* | *Undecided; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| JULY '43** RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Labor voters | 49% | — | 33% | 18% |
| Non-labor | 26 | — | 61 | 13 |
| NOV '46 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Executives | 20% | — | 67% | 13% |
| Farmers | 22 | — | 62 | 16 |
| White-collar | 36 | — | 45 | 19 |
| Artisans | 50 | — | 31 | 19 |
| Unskilled labor | 49 | — | 28 | 23 |

* During the war.
** After the war.

**4.** (US July '42) After the war is over, do you think the government should own and operate all coal mines, only regulate them, or leave them entirely alone? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Leave alone | 37.7% |
| Regulate | 37.3 |
| Own and operate | 8.5 |
| Don't know | 16.5 |

**5.** (US Feb '43) After the war is over would you like to see the government own and operate coal mines, only regulate them, or leave them alone? Asked of a national cross-section of factory workers. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Leave alone | 34.9% |
| Regulate | 34.4 |
| Own and operate | 19.1 |
| Don't know | 11.6 |

**6.** (Great Britain Nov 20 '43) If the mines were now put permanently under public ownership and control, do you think that the output of coal would increase, decrease, or remain the same? (BIPO)

Increase 48% Decrease 14% Same 21% Don't know 17%

**7.** (Great Britain Mar '44) Should the working of the coal mines be taken out of the hands of the present ownership and be placed under public control? (BIPO)

Yes 60% No 16% Don't know 24%

**8.** (France Dec 1 '44) Do you favor nationalization of the mines? (FIPO)

Yes 58% No 19% No opinion 21% Yes, qualified 2%

**9.** (Australia Sept–Oct '45) Who do you think should own and operate the New South Wales coal mines, the government or the present owners? (APOP)

| | *The government* | *Present owners* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 47% | 37% | 16% |
| BY THE REFERENDUM VOTE* | | | |
| Yes | 67% | 19% | 14% |
| No | 32 | 50 | 18 |

* Referendum to give the Commonwealth extra powers for five years after the war.

**10.** (Hungary Jan '46) Will the effect on production of the nationalization of the coal mines be favorable, unfavorable, or have no effect at all? (HIPOR)

| | *Favorable* | *Disadvantageous* | *Indifferent* | *Other answers* | *Undecided; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total in Budapest | 54.4% | 23.4% | 14.1% | 5.0% | 3.1% |
| BUDAPEST OPINION BY SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX | | | | | |
| *Educated class* | | | | | |
| Men | 45.0% | 32.5% | 15.0% | 4.9% | 2.6% |
| Women | 48.0 | 32.0 | 13.4 | 5.9 | 0.7 |
| *Small bourgeoisie* | | | | | |
| Men | 44.7 | 31.2 | 16.3 | 7.1 | 0.7 |
| Women | 45.4 | 25.2 | 18.3 | 7.4 | 3.7 |
| *Workmen* | | | | | |
| Men | 66.5 | 13.4 | 10.6 | 8.1 | 1.4 |
| Women | 56.0 | 21.7 | 13.4 | 1.3 | 7.6 |
| COUNTRY TOWNS AND VILLAGES BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| *Trans-Danubia* | | | | | |
| Towns | 48.5% | 16.8% | 30.6% | — | 4.1% |
| Villages | 52.4 | 10.6 | 31.0 | — | 6.0 |
| *Area between Danube-Tisza* | | | | | |
| Towns | 61.5 | 15.8 | 18.8 | — | 3.9 |
| Villages | 62.3 | 27.0 | 9.8 | — | 0.9 |
| *North* | | | | | |
| Towns | 76.4 | 14.6 | 6.6 | — | 2.4 |
| Villages | 67.6 | 5.9 | 22.8 | — | 3.7 |
| *Beyond Tisza* | | | | | |
| Towns | 70.6 | 12.0 | 14.1 | — | 3.3 |
| Villages | 77.4 | 7.5 | 13.2 | — | 1.9 |

**11.** (Belgium Apr–June '46) Are you in favor of the nationalization of the mines? (INSOC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 35% | 36% | 29% |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | | |
| Urban | 36% | 37% | 27% |
| Rural | 27 | 41 | 32 |
| Industrial | 44 | 26 | 30 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farm and farm labor | 22% | 46% | 32% |
| Workers | 49 | 21 | 30 |
| White-collar | 39 | 43 | 18 |
| Business | 25 | 61 | 14 |
| Professional | 29 | 68 | 3 |
| Living on income | 40 | 41 | 19 |
| Housewives | 24 | 29 | 47 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 42% | 41% | 17% |
| Women | 25 | 30 | 45 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–34 years | 37% | 35% | 28% |
| 35–49 years | 33 | 37 | 30 |
| 50–64 years | 31 | 38 | 31 |
| 65 years and over | 40 | 35 | 25 |

**12.** (Hungary Dec '46) Do you approve placing the mines under state administration? (HIPOR)

Yes 67% No 31% Uncertain 2%

## MINORITIES

**1.** (France Dec '38) Does the presence of a number of Italians in Tunisia give Italy the rights over this French possession? (FIPO)

Yes 6% No 89% No opinion 5%

**2.** (US Sept '39) Is there any one group—racial, religious, economic, or social—in your community which represents an important problem? (FOR)

Yes 22.5% No 59% Don't know 18.5%

**3.** (US Nov '42) A national cross-section of high-school students were asked: Which of the following groups would be your last choice as a roommate; which, if any, of those groups would you refuse to work with side by side in a position of equality and, which, if any, would you refuse to marry? (NYHT)

| | *Last choice roommate* | *Would not work with* | *Would not marry* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Swedes | 5% | — | 9% |
| Protestants | 4 | — | 9 |
| Negroes | 78 | 21% | 92 |
| Catholics | 9 | 1 | 16 |
| Jews | 45 | 7 | 51 |
| Irish | 3 | — | 5 |
| Chinese | 38 | 5 | 73 |
| Makes no difference | 5 | 69 | 1 |
| Don't know | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| | 190%* | 106%* | 258%* |

* Since the respondents were asked to name more than one group if they wished, percentages add to more than 100.

**4.** (US Nov '42) A national cross-section of factory workers were asked: Which of the following groups would you least like to see move into your neighborhood? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Swedes | 3% |
| Protestants | 2 |
| Negroes | 72 |
| Catholics | 4 |
| Jews | 42 |
| Irish | 2 |
| Chinese | 28 |
| Makes no difference | 13 |
| Don't know | 5 |
| | 171%* |

* Since the respondents were asked to name more than one group if they wished, percentages add to more than 100.

**5.** (US Nov '42) Are there any on this list that you'd refuse to work with on a job if they had an equal position to yours and worked side by side with you? (FOR)

| | *Negroes* | *Jews* | *Chinese* | *Catholics* | *Protestants, Irish, Swedes* | *Makes no difference* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| High-school students | 21.4 | 7.0 | 5.0 | .5 | .6 | 69.0 | 3.1 | = 106.6* |

HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS BY SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS

| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| West | 12.5 | 4.4 | 8.1 | .3 | .6 | 84.7 | .3 | = 110.9* |
| South | 49.3 | 6.2 | 8.2 | .8 | 1.4 | 41.1 | 5.2 | = 112.2* |

OPINIONS OF LABORERS AND FARMERS**

| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Laborers | 25 | 6 | 6 | — | — | 66 | 4 | = 107* |
| Farmers | 19 | 10 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 64 | 9 | = 117* |

Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

** From *New York Herald Tribune* Feb 15 '45.

**6.** (US Nov '43 and Feb 15 '45) Are there any organizations or groups of people in this country you feel might be harmful to the future of the country unless they are curbed? The Feb '45 question read "any groups of people" instead of "any organization or groups of people" and was asked in Sept '43. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '43 | 58.5% | 21.8% | 19.7% |
| Feb '45* | 32 | 36 | 32 |

* Results from *New York Herald Tribune* Feb 1 '45.

**7.** (US Nov '43 and Feb 15 '45) 32% of the Sept '43 sample (released Feb '45) and 58.5% of the Nov '43 sample who thought that some groups might be harmful to the country were asked which groups. (NYHT)

NOV '43 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Labor unions, leaders, labor | 36.6% |
| CIO | 13.4 |
| AFL | 2.2 |
| Coal miners | .8 |
| Communists | 16.2 |
| German bunds, Nazi organizations | 15.0 |
| Negroes | 8.6 |
| Jews | 7.7 |
| Ku Klux Klan | 5.2 |
| Jehovah's Witnesses | 5.0 |
| Japs | 5.1 |
| America Firsters | 2.4 |
| Fascists | 2.2 |
| Isolationists | 2.0 |
| Others | 25.8 |
| Don't know | 10.7 |
| | 158.9%* |

FEB '45 RESULTS (SEPT '43 SAMPLE)

| | |
|---|---|
| Negroes | 16% |
| Jews | 14 |
| Germans (Bund) | 10 |
| Japanese | 9 |
| Foreigners, aliens | 6 |
| Jehovah's Witnesses | 6 |
| Labor unions | 5 |
| | 66%** |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who thought there were groups that might be harmful to the future of the country unless curbed, and add to more than 100 because many respondents named more than one group.

** Percentages add to more than 32 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**8.** (US Nov '44) Are there any groups you think are sometimes apt to cause trouble when mixed in with other workers? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Negroes | 34% |
| Jews | 7 |
| Communists | 3 |
| Others | 16 |
| None or don't know | 48 |
| | 108%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (US June 12 '45) Do you favor or oppose a law in this state which would require an employer to hire a person if he is qualified for the job, regardless of his race or color? (AIPO)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 44% | 13% |

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 58% | 31% | 11% |
| East and west central | 41 | 43 | 16 |
| South | 30 | 60 | 10 |
| Far West | 41 | 46 | 13 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 55% | 34% | 11% |
| 30–49 years | 42 | 45 | 13 |
| 50 years and over | 38 | 48 | 14 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Business and professional | 43% | 48% | 9% |
| White-collar | 41 | 51 | 8 |
| Farmers | 25 | 57 | 18 |
| Manual workers | 52 | 35 | 13 |

**10.** (US June 12 '45) Would you favor or oppose a law which would require employees to work along side persons of any race or color? (AIPO)

Favor 34% Oppose 56% No opinion 10%

**11.** (US Sept '45) Do you think there are any racial or religious groups that have too much power in this country? 27% of the sample who thought such groups existed were asked: Which ones? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| None have too much power | 62% |
| Don't know whether or not any such groups exist | 11 |
| Catholics have too much power | 9 |
| The Jews | 13 |
| Protestants | 1 |
| White race | 2 |
| Negroes | 4 |
| Others including non-religious groups | 2 |
| Don't want to say; would rather not say | 1 |
| Specified religious groups | 1 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**12.** (Canada Jan 9 '46) When someone is given a license to run a place of entertainment, like a dance hall or skating rink, should he have the right to keep our certain races, say Negroes (Jews), or should he be compelled to admit everyone as long as they behave themselves? (CIPO)

| | *Have right to keep out* | *Admit everyone* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Negroes | 19% | 77% | 4% |
| Jews | 12 | 86 | 2 |

**13.** (Brazil Sept '46) Following are the results of a study of racial preferences of a cross-section of the population of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. (IBOPE)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Would you like to have a Japanese* | | | |
| As a neighbor? | 2% | 79% | 19% |
| As a friend? | 4 | 81 | 15 |
| In your family? | 1 | 90 | 9 |
| As a partner? | 2 | 88 | 10 |
| As an employee? | 6 | 83 | 11 |
| As your boss? | 2 | 87 | 11 |
| *Would you like to have an Italian* | | | |
| As a neighbor? | 39 | 32 | 29 |
| As a friend? | 42 | 33 | 25 |
| In your family? | 30 | 45 | 25 |
| As a partner? | 33 | 44 | 23 |
| As an employee? | 40% | 37% | 23% |
| As your boss? | 30 | 47 | 23 |
| *Would you like to have a German* | | | |
| As a neighbor? | 18 | 63 | 19 |
| As a friend? | 18 | 64 | 18 |
| In your family? | 10 | 73 | 17 |
| As a partner? | 15 | 69 | 16 |
| As an employee? | 20 | 64 | 16 |
| As your boss? | 12 | 71 | 17 |
| *Would you like to have a Portuguese* | | | |
| As a neighbor? | 70 | 15 | 15 |
| As a friend? | 72 | 15 | 13 |
| In your family? | 67 | 20 | 13 |
| As a partner? | 67 | 20 | 13 |
| As an employee? | 72 | 17 | 11 |
| As your boss? | 60 | 27 | 13 |

## MONASTICISM AND RELIGIOUS ORDERS

**1.** (Denmark Mar 26 '44) Do you think that women should be allowed to take holy orders? (DGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 38% | 34% | 28% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 41% | 33% | 26% |
| Women | 36 | 35 | 29 |

**2.** (Denmark Mar 26 '44) Why? Asked of 38% of the sample who thought that women should be allowed to take holy orders. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Women just as fit | 39% |
| They should be men's equals | 31 |
| Women better able to talk to people | 3 |
| They are better spiritual advisers | 3 |
| There ought to be women clergymen in prisons, etc. | 2 |
| Women think more deeply than men | 1 |
| Other reasons | 11 |
| Don't know | 10 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

## MONEY

**1.** (US Jan 25 '36) Are you in favor of currency inflation? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 73% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic | 10% | 90% |
| Republican | 40 | 60 |
| Third party | 41 | 59 |
| Socialist | 32 | 68 |

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 18% | 82% |
| Mid-Atlantic | 23 | 77 |
| East central | 28 | 72 |
| West central | 28 | 72 |
| South | 35 | 65 |
| Mountain | 30 | 70 |
| Pacific coast | 17 | 83 |

**2.** (US June 12 '36) Who should determine the gold content of the dollar? (AIPO)

Congress 79% The President 13% No opinion 8%

**3.** (US Nov 13 '36) Should Congress renew the President's power to regulate the amount of gold in the dollar? (AIPO)

Yes 48% No 52% = 100% No opinion 28%

**4.** (US Sept '42) In the years following the war, do you feel your dollar volume (at 1939 value of dollar) will be much greater, somewhat more, the same, or less than your 1939 volume? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Much greater | 11.3% |
| Somewhat more | 44.2 |
| Same | 16.0 |
| Less | 28.5 |

**5.** (Denmark Oct 8 '44) Do you think that the buying power of our money will increase or decrease after the war? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Increase | 7.8% |
| Decrease | 47.9 |
| Neither | 6.9 |
| Don't know | 37.4 |

**6.** (Denmark Oct 8 '44) How much do you think money will devaluate? Asked of 47.9% of the sample who thought that the buying power of their money would decrease after the war. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| One-quarter | 7.3% |
| One-third | 10.1 |
| Half | 23.1 |
| More than half | 9.1 |
| Don't know | 50.4 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned |

**7.** (France Apr 16 '45) Do you favor the idea of issuing stamped currency?* (FIPO)

Yes 57% No 23% No opinion 20%

* One measure suggested for halting inflation was to hand in all paper currency for notes stamped with a valuation greater or less than that of the notes handed in.

**8.** (France May 16 '45) Would you approve or disapprove of the stamping of currency? (FIPO)

Approve 66% Disapprove 18% No opinion 16%

**9.** (US Aug 8 '45) It has been suggested that the paper money bills of different values be printed in different colors. Do you think this is a good idea or a poor idea? (AIPO)

| | *Good idea* | *Poor idea* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 42% | 16% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 49% | 46% | 5% |
| High school | 45 | 41 | 14 |
| Grade school or less | 38 | 42 | 20 |

**10.** (US Nov 21 '45) Can you tell me what part of a dollar 10 per cent (23 per cent, 66 per cent) is? (AIPO)

| | *Correct* | *Don't know; incorrect* |
|---|---|---|
| 10 per cent | 87% | 13% |
| 23 per cent | 73 | 27 |
| 66 per cent | 73 | 27 |

**11.** (France Feb 1 '46) Do you know approximately what the value of an English pound was in francs right after the liberation? (FIPO)

Correct 19% Incorrect 20% No answer 61%

**12.** (France Feb 1 '46) Do you know what its value [the English pound in francs] is at the present time? (FIPO)

Correct 37% Incorrect 24% No answer 39%

**13.** (France Feb 1 '46) Do you believe the franc will retain its value in relation to the English pound? (FIPO)

| | *Franc will fall* | *Keep value* | *Rise* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 44% | 22% | 7% | 27% |
| Informed opinion | 49 | 24 | 8 | 19 |

**14.** (France Feb 1 '46) In your opinion, what should be done to assure the srability of the franc? (FIPO)

| | *National total* | *Informed opinion* |
|---|---|---|
| Work and produce | 26% | 32% |
| Take economic and financial measures aimed at stopping the rise of prices and lessening the circulation of money | 14 | 15 |
| Produce to develop exports | 13 | 17 |
| Balance the budget and reduce the number of bureaucrats | 3 | 5 |
| Work toward nationalization | 1 | — |
| Decrease the debt and start anew | 1 | 1 |
| Other | 6 | 6 |
| No answer | 29 | 18 |
| Fight against the black market and the dealers | 7 | 6 |

**15.** (Germany Feb 14 '46, May 8 '46, June 7 '46, Oct '46, Oct 28 '46) Do you think that the reichsmark will be worth as much in six months as it is at present? The Oct '46 question was asked in the French zone of Germany. (OMGUS, GMZFO)

| | *Yes, surely* | *Yes, fairly surely* | *No* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '46 | 7% | 21% | 49% | 22% | 1% |
| May '46 | 18 | 29 | 27 | 26 | * |
| June '46 | 15 | 19 | 34 | 31 | 1 |
| Oct '46 | 43 | — | 39 | 18 | — |
| Oct 28 '46 | 15 | 24 | 43 | 18 | * |

Both the 34% who believed in June '46 that the mark would retain its value and the 34% who believed that it would not were asked: Why?

*Reasons why the mark will retain its value*

| | |
|---|---|
| As long as economy stays as it is, so will the mark; if prices do not go up, mark will keep its value; price and wage control will stabilize the money | 4% |
| Everybody will do everything possible to prevent inflation | 4 |
| The government has great interest in controlling the mark | 5 |
| Devaluation of the mark would hurt other countries' dealings with Germany; other countries don't want inflation in Germany | * |

| | |
|---|---|
| Have read or heard that there will be no inflation | 1% |
| Because of taxes or other withdrawal of currency | 5 |
| Other answers | 1 |
| Don't know; can't say | 3 |
| If mark is not held at present level, we will have chaos; inflation means ruin; etc. | 6 |
| No answer | 5 |
| | 34% |

*Reasons why the mark will not retain its value*

| | |
|---|---|
| Value of the reichsmark has gone down; reichsmark worth less or nothing; reichsmark is worth only half of its value | 5% |
| Prices are going up; everything costs more | 9 |
| There is not backing for the currency; the reichsmark has no longer anything behind it | 4 |
| Inflation has already begun; nothing to buy | 1 |
| Because of the black market | 2 |
| Too much money in circulation | 3 |
| Because of the high taxes | * |
| Reparations too high | 1 |
| Other answers | * |
| Don't know; can't say | 1 |
| I think so; people say so; you hear it everywhere, gossip and rumor; it cannot go on like this, can't stay on this level; world-wide situation | 5 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 34% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**16.** (Germany July 1 '46) Have you, by any chance, more than fifty marks on you or at home, besides the amount you have in bank? (OMGUS)

Yes 78% No 22% No answer *

* Less than 0.5%.

**17.** (Germany July 1 '46) Could you tell me how much [money] you have on you? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 20 marks | 4% |
| 20–40 marks | 10 |
| 40–50 marks | 5 |
| 50–70 marks | 6 |
| 70–100 marks | 8 |
| 100–150 marks | 13 |
| 150–200 marks | 8 |
| 200–300 marks | 14 |
| 300–500 marks | 16 |
| More than 500 marks | 12 |
| No answer; don't know | 4 |

**18.** (Germany July 1 '46) There is ten times as much money in circulation in Germany today as there was before the war. In your opinion, where is all this extra money? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| It is evenly distributed among the people | 12% |
| It is mainly among black market dealers | 66 |
| It is from Nazis and people who profited by war | 33 |
| It is from occupation troops | 5 |
| Don't know, no opinion | 17 |
| No answer | * |
| | 133%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**19.** (Germany July 1 '46) Do you think there should be a new currency in order to clear up the money situation? 36% of the sample who favored a new currency were asked: What should the new money value be—the new mark equal to 50, 20, 10, or 1 old pfennigs? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't say whether or not should revise currency | 1% |
| Yes, should revise currency | 2 |
| No, don't revise | 40 |
| Don't know whether should revise | 23 |
| New value should be 50 pfennigs | 16 |
| New value should be 20 pfennigs | 4 |
| New value should be 10 pfennigs | 3 |
| New value should be 1 pfennigs | * |
| Don't know what new value should be | 11 |

**20.** (Germany July 1 '46) How should the adjustment be carried out—by freezing of bank accounts regardless of their size, or by freezing of bank accounts over a certain amount, or should there be no freezing? Asked of 40% of the sample who thought there should not be new currency. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Freezing of all bank accounts | 4% |
| Freezing of bank accounts over a certain amount | 28 |
| No freezing at all | 4 |
| Don't know | 3 |
| Others | 5 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 40% |

**21.** (Germany July 1 '46) Should there be such an adjustment [of currency] immediately, or should one wait until economic conditions have improved, or until a new German government has been formed? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Immediately | 44% |
| One should wait until economic conditions have improved | 12 |
| One should wait until a new German government has been formed | 16 |
| No opinion | 26 |
| Wait until economic conditions have improved and a new German government has been formed | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |

**22.** (Germany Oct 28 '46) In which money do you have more trust, the allied military currency or the German mark? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Allied | 16% |
| Mark | 17 |
| No difference | 55 |
| No opinion | 12 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

## MONOPOLIES

**1.** (US Oct '36) Do you think that a business monopoly is beneficial, more beneficial than harmful, more harmful than beneficial, or harmful? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Beneficial | 12.1% |
| More beneficial than harmful | 12.9 |
| More harmful than beneficial | 22.3 |
| Harmful | 44.7 |
| Don't know | 8.0 |

**2.** (US Oct '36) And if [monopolies] are on the harmful side, for which reasons? Asked of 67% of the sample who thought monopolies were harmful. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Oppression of small competitors | 35.5% |
| Higher prices | 21.6 |
| Concentration of wealth | 19.8 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Restriction of buyers' liberty in purchasing | 8.7% |
| Corruption of lawmakers | 8.1 |
| Suppression of new ideas | 5.8 |
| All of these | 0.5 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned |

**3.** (US Jan 18 '38) Have you an opinion on holding companies? (AIPO)

Yes 38% No 60% No answer 2%

**4.** (US Jan 18 '38) President Roosevelt has suggested that all holding companies be forced to dissolve. Do you agree? (AIPO)

Yes 22% No 24% No opinion 31% No answer 23%

**5.** (US Jan 18 '38) Do you think stricter regulation of holding companies is needed at this time? (AIPO)

Yes 38% No 6% No opinion 33% No answer 23%

**6.** (US Apr '38) Do you believe, as has been charged recently, that sixty families control most of the economic life of this country? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *Partly* | *Maybe not sixty, but a very small number* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 28.9% | 10.2% | 13.5% | 22.1% | 25.3% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 21.2% | 10.4% | 11.7% | 42.7% | 14.0% |
| Poor | 33.6 | 8.1 | 10.8 | 16.1 | 31.4 |
| BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS | | | | | |
| Executives | 9.7% | 8.0% | 7.1% | 68.1% | 7.1% |
| Professors | 9.5 | 15.7 | 18.9 | 37.0 | 18.9 |
| Truck drivers | 44.5 | 7.0 | 14.9 | 18.7 | 14.9 |

**7.** (US Apr 27 '38) Do you think any industry (industries) in this country is (are) becoming too much of a monopoly? A comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think any industries in this country are becoming too much like monopolies? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, emphatically | 24% |
| Yes | 19 |
| No | 14 |
| No, emphatically | 11 |
| No opinion and no answer | 32 |

**8.** (US Dec '40) Today the Department of Justice is following almost exactly the opposite policy from NRA on price fixing, and Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold has launched the greatest campaign in history to enforce the anti-trust laws and prevent price-fixing agreements. He says, "The first concern of every democracy is the maintenance of a free market." Do you agree with Mr. Arnold? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *In most cases* | *In a few cases* | *No* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 27.7% | 31.0% | 18.3% | 23.0% |
| | 58.7% | | 41.3% | |
| Commercial and retail executives | 33.3% | 31.8% | 16.9% | 18.0% |
| | 65.1% | | 34.9% | |
| Utility and railroad executives | 21.4% | 33.0% | 21.0% | 24.6% |
| | 54.4% | | 45.6% | |

**9.** (US Apr 8 '41) Do you think there is too much power in the hands of a few rich men and large corporations in the United States? (AIPO)

Yes 59% No 27% No opinion 14%

**10.** (Denmark Dec 2 '44) Do you think that the state should have a monopoly in foreign trade and different commodities, e.g. coffee, or do you think that such monopolies should not be introduced in this country? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Monopoly | 17% |
| No monopoly | 51 |
| In some cases | 3 |
| Don't know | 29 |

**11.** (Denmark Dec 2 '44) Do you think that the old importers should have the right to control the entire import, or do you think that other businessmen should be allowed to partake? Asked of 51% of the sample who were against the state having monopoly in foreign trade and different commodities. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Old importers alone | 7% |
| Other businessmen partake | 84 |
| Free import for all | 1 |
| Don't know | 8 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**12.** (Great Britain June 26 '45) Some people say that prices are kept up by monopolies or combines in this country. Do you believe that this is true or untrue? (BIPO)

| | *True* | *Untrue* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 17% | 27% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 65% | 20% | 15% |
| Women | 46 | 15 | 39 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 48% | 16% | 36% |
| 30–49 years | 59 | 16 | 25 |
| 50 years and over | 54 | 16 | 30 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 40% | 51% | 9% |
| Middle | 57 | 24 | 19 |
| Lower | 56 | 14 | 30 |

**13.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statement: National Socialism permitted cartels and monopolies which made millions such as the Krupp industries. (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| American zone and Berlin | 83% | 5% | 12% |
| Berlin only | 89 | 6 | 5 |

## MORAL CONDITIONS

**1.** (US Jan '37) Do you think that sexual moral standards in this country are better or worse than they were a generation ago? (FOR)

Better 17.1% Worse 45.0% Same 27.8%
Don't know 10.1%

**2.** (US Apr '37) Do you think it is all right for either or both parties to a marriage to have had previous sexual experience? (FOR)

| | *Both* | *Man only* | *Woman only* | *Neither* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 22.3% | 7.6% | 0.1% | 56.2% | 13.8% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 27.9% | 10.2% | 0.1% | 47.5% | 14.3% |
| Women | 16.8 | 5.1 | 0.2 | 64.8 | 13.1 |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| Under forty | 26.7% | 9.2% | — | 51.4% | 12.7% |
| Over forty | 18.0 | 6.2 | .2% | 60.8 | 14.8 |
| BY SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL SECTIONS | | | | | |
| Mountain states | 41.3% | 9.3% | — | 46.0% | 3.4% |
| Southwest | 13.8 | 12.4 | — | 65.6 | 8.2 |
| Pacific coast | 33.1 | 1.2 | — | 49.4 | 16.3 |

**3.** (US Nov '39) Do you consider it all right, unfortunate, or wicked when young girls have sexual relations before marriage? Asked of a national cross-section of men. Do you consider it all right, unfortunate, or wicked when young men have sexual relations before matriage? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (FOR)

MEN ANSWERING ABOUT WOMEN

| | *All right* | *Unfortunate* | *Wicked* | *Depends* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 10.9% | 52.4% | 27.9% | .4% | 8.4% |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| Under forty | 15.0% | 54.6% | 22.9% | .3% | 7.2% |
| Over forty | 7.0 | 50.3 | 32.7 | .5 | 9.5 |

WOMEN ANSWERING ABOUT MEN

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9.7% | 35.4% | 47.3% | .4% | 7.2% |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| Under forty | 14.5% | 38.4% | 38.6% | .5% | 8.0% |
| Over forty | 5.3 | 32.4 | 55.4 | .4 | 6.5 |

WOMEN ANSWERING ABOUT MEN BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cities over 1,000,000 | 28.6% | 40.0% | 17.1% | — | 14.3% |
| Rural | 9.0 | 30.0 | 54.5 | .3% | 6.2 |

**4.** (US Nov '39) The recent public charges made by Governor Dickinson of Michigan have raised the question of whether businessmen and politicians in the East often have immoral relations with their secretaries. Do you think so? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 19.4% | 38.0% | 42.6% |
| Negroes only | 21.2 | 16.4 | 62.4 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 21.2% | 38.9% | 39.9% |
| Women | 17.5 | 37.1 | 45.4 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Executives | 17.7% | 51.4% | 30.9% |
| Prosperous | 20.5 | 50.5 | 29.0 |
| Farm labor | 23.4 | 17.9 | 58.7 |

**5.** (Sweden May '42) Do you think that the relations of young boys and girls nowadays are healthy and proper, or would you like to limit their association with one another? Asked of a national cross-section of parents. (SGI)

| | *All right* | *Would limit* | *Don't know* | *Might be increased* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| FATHERS' OPINIONS | | | | |
| National total | 56% | 19% | 24% | 1% |
| FATHERS' OPINIONS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Towns and provinces | 56% | 22% | 21% | 1% |
| Country | 57 | 15 | 28 | — |
| MOTHERS' OPINIONS | | | | |
| National total | 42% | 25% | 32% | 1% |
| MOTHERS' OPINIONS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Towns and provinces | 42% | 31% | 27% | — |
| Country | 42 | 16 | 41 | 1% |

**6.** (US Dec '42) Roughly, about what per cent of high-school fellows in your class neck when they go out on dates? What pet cent of the high-school girls in your class? What per cent of the fellows drink? What pet cent of the girls? Asked of a national cross-section of high-school students. (FOR)

| | NECK | | DRINK | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Boys* | *Girls* | *Boys* | *Girls* |
| Under 20% | 7.6% | 9.3% | 49.9% | 60.1% |
| 20–49% | 6.9 | 9.6 | 13.6 | 10.0 |
| 50–79% | 25.5 | 31.3 | 13.1 | 4.9 |
| 80–100% | 41.5 | 30.9 | 3.9 | 1.0 |
| Don't know | 18.5 | 18.9 | 19.5 | 24.0 |
| Average percentage named | 70.9% | 63.3% | 21.0% | 10.6% |

**7.** (US Dec '42) Which of these comes closest to being your own attitude on necking by high-school students? on drinking? Asked of a national cross-section of high-school students. (FOR)

| | *Necking* | *Drinking* |
|---|---|---|
| On the whole it does a little harm | 30.0% | 2.5% |
| It may not hurt some, but most would be better off if they didn't | 38.4 | 19.5 |
| It would be much better if no one in high school did it | 28.1 | 75.9 |
| Don't know | 3.5 | 2.1 |

| | *Does little harm* | *Hurts some* | *Is undesirable* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| OPINIONS ON NECKING BY SEX | | | | |
| Boys | 41.8% | 33.4% | 20.6% | 4.2% |
| Girls | 18.1 | 43.4 | 35.6 | 2.9 |
| OPINIONS ON NECKING BY RELIGION | | | | |
| Protestants | 27.6% | 38.3% | 30.0% | 4.1% |
| Non-churchgoers | 52.5 | 27.9 | 14.7 | 4.9 |

**8.** (US Aug '43) Do you think that during the past ten years women in general have become more strict in their morals, less strict, or stayed about the same? Asked of a national cross-section of women between the ages of twenty and thirty-five. (FOR)

More strict 11.1% Less strict 51.4% No change 32.3%
Don't know 5.2%

**9.** (US Aug '43) Do you think that women generally should have more strict morals, less strict, or about the same as they are now? Asked of a national cross-section of women between the ages of twenty and thirty-five. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should be more strict | 66.3% |
| Should be less strict | 1.3 |
| Should stay the same | 27.8 |
| Don't know | 4.6 |

**10.** (US Aug '43) Do you feel women's morals should be more strict, less strict, or about the same as men's? Asked of a national cross-section of women between the ages of twenty and thirty-five. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| More strict than men's | 60.0% |
| Less strict than men's | 2.0 |
| Same as men's | 34.2 |
| Don't know | 3.8 |

**11.** (US Aug '43) Do you think that most men require virginity in a girl for marriage? Asked of a national cross-section of women between the ages of twenty and thirty-five. (FOR)

Yes 59.1% No 31.3% Don't know 9.6%

**12.** (US Aug '43) Do you think women should require virginity in men? Asked of a national cross-section of women between the ages of twenty and thirty-five. (FOR)

Yes 45.1% No 45.0% Don't know 9.9%

**13.** (US Aug '43) By and large, do you think that many, only a few, or practically no married men are untrue to their wives at some time or another? Asked of a national cross-section of women between the ages of twenty and thirty-five. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Many husbands are untrue | 47.8% |
| Only a few are untrue | 43.2 |
| Practically none are untrue | 4.6 |
| Don't know | 4.4 |

**14.** (US Aug '43) By and large, do you think that many, only a few, or practically no married women are untrue to their husbands at some time or another? Asked of a national cross-section of women between the ages of twenty and thirty-five. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Many wives are untrue | 28.3% |
| Only a few are untrue | 56.1 |
| Practically none are untrue | 11.0 |
| Don't know | 4.6 |

**15.** (Denmark Jan 17 '44) Do you think the morals of young people today are better, just as good, or worse than they were about ten years ago? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 6.9% |
| Just as good | 53.1 |
| Worse | 28.4 |
| Don't know | 11.6 |

**16.** (Denmark Jan 17 '44) What do you think has caused this change [of morals] in the young? Asked of 28.4% of the sample who thought the morals of young people were worse and 6.9% who thought they were better than ten years ago. (DGI)

*Morals worse because of*

| | |
|---|---|
| The war | 27.9% |
| Free education | 26.7 |
| The present time | 11.8 |
| Amusements | 6.8 |
| Too much free time | 3.8 |
| Too much money | 3.5 |
| A lack of Christianity | 1.9 |
| Too well informed | 1.1 |
| Children are spoiled | 1.1 |
| The dole | 0.7 |
| Young people too free with each other | 0.7 |
| Don't know | 11.0 |
| No answer | 3.0 |
| | 100.0% |

of those who thought the present day morals were worse than those of ten years ago

*Morals better because of*

| | |
|---|---|
| Better informed | 16.6% |
| The war has matured young people | 10.7 |
| Freer association of the two sexes | 9.5 |
| Youth is more honest and responsible | 5.4 |
| Better education | 4.2 |
| Sport and open air life | 4.2 |
| Better living conditions | 2.4 |
| Coed schools | 0.6 |
| More zest for work | 0.6 |
| Democratic freedom | 0.6 |
| Don't know and no answer | 45.2 |
| | 100.0% |

of those who thought present-day morals were better than those of ten years ago

## MORALE

**1.** (US Aug 19 '41) From what you have heard or read, do you think the spirit (morale) of drafted men in the army is good or poor? (AIPO)

Good 39% Fair 22% Poor 25% Don't know 14%

**2.** (US Aug 26 '41) Do you think the American people are as stirred up as they should be about this war? (AIPO)

Yes 44% No 51% No opinion 5%

**3.** (US Aug 26 '41) President Roosevelt says the country is not as stirred up as it should be about the war. Do you agree or disagree with this? (AIPO)

Agree 52% Disagree 41% No opinion 7%

**4.** (US Feb 10 '42) A Washington writer says that the people of this country are not alarmed enough about the war. Do you agree or disagree? (AIPO)

Agree 69% Disagree 21% Don't know 10%

**5.** (US Mar 2 '42, Apr 28 '42, May 30 '42, June 20 '42, July 1 '42, July 18 '42, Aug 21 '42, Nov 27 '42, June 18 '43, Oct 2 '43, Apr 8 '44) In general, do you feel that the people in this country are taking the war seriously enough? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '42 | 31% | 64% | 5% |
| Apr '42 | 39 | 56 | 5 |
| May '42 | 44 | 52 | 4 |
| June '42 | 42 | 51 | 7 |
| July 1 '42 | 41 | 54 | 5 |
| July 18 '42 | 40 | 54 | 6 |
| Aug '42 | 41 | 54 | 5 |
| Nov '42 | 50 | 47 | 3 |
| June '43 | 47 | 48 | 5 |
| Oct '43 | 40 | 54 | 6 |
| Apr '44 | 47 | 47 | 6 |

**6.** (US Oct 2 '43) In your opinion, what are some of the things that have made people take the war seriously? Asked of 40% of the Oct '43 sample who felt that the people in this country were taking the war seriously enough. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| The draft | 20% |
| Drafting of fathers | 2 |
| Casualties | 7 |
| Shortages | 6 |
| Rationing | 6 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Bonds | 2% |
| High taxes | 2 |
| Realization of seriousness of war | 2 |
| Labor situation | 1 |
| Atrocity stories | 1 |
| Americanism; patriotism | 1 |
| High cost of living | 1 |
| Attack on Pearl Harbor | 1 |
| More news and propaganda through various media | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 2 |
| | 59%* |

* Percentages add to more than 40 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**7.** (US Oct 2 '43) In your opinion, what are some of the things that would make people take the war more seriously? Asked of 54% of the Oct '43 sample who felt that the people in this country were not taking the war seriously enough. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Enemy attacks on United States | 14% |
| Better, more realistic news about the fighting | 10 |
| More sacrifices on the home front | 8 |
| Having relatives in the armed forces; father draft | 5 |
| More casualties | 3 |
| Stricter control over manpower | 2 |
| Realistic pictures | 2 |
| More bond buying | 2 |
| Having less money to spend | 1 |
| Better leadership in government | 1 |
| Returning veterans or wounded soldiers | 1 |
| There isn't any way | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| Not ascertainable | 7 |
| | 62%* |

* Percentages add to more than 54 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**8.** (Great Brirain May '42 and US July 14 '42) Can you suggest anything which would make people still keener to work and to fight this war? In the United States the question was worded "to work harder and fight harder to win this war." (BIPO, AIPO)

BRITISH OPINION

| | |
|---|---|
| The prospects of a better postwar world, free from wars; a full statement of our war aims | 11% |
| Improve workers' conditions by reducing hours; more holidays paying higher wages; reducing income tax; allow bigger food rations, improve conditions in forces | 11 |
| More equality of sacrifice; more equality of treatment for all; protect, increase the liberties of the ordinary man and woman | 11 |
| Government should play its part better, organize the country more completely; rope in the slackers | 9 |
| Invading continent | 3 |
| Seeing more prospects of victory | 4 |
| More speeches by Churchill; more detailed accounts of real position | 7 |
| The public is keen enough already | 5 |
| Nationalization of the country's resources; introduction of Socialism | 3 |
| Miscellaneous; no reply | 36 |

AMERICAN OPINION

| | |
|---|---|
| Having war brought closer home | 11% |
| Call halt to politics | 4 |
| More unvarnished truth from the government | 9% |
| More action; offensive action | 2 |
| Less confusion in Washington; more efficiency | 1 |
| Campaign to build up patriotism, interest | 4 |
| Total mobilization | 1 |
| Greater efforts in educating the people to the fact United States faces long hard war | 2 |
| Keep people satisfied; set fair wage scale | 2 |
| Equalize hardships; make all sacrifice in same degree | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 23 |
| No answer | 42 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (US Apr 12 '44) Soldiers back from the war fronts say most people in this country do not take the war seriously enough. Do you think this is true? A comparable cross-section was asked the question in the following form: Soldiers back from the war fronts say most people in this country go about their business and pleasure just as if there were no war. Do you think this is true? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 66% No 26% No opinion 8%

**10.** (US Apr 12 '44) What do you think should be done about this situation, if anything? Asked of 66% of the sample who thought people in this country were not taking the war seriously enough. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Educate people by means of movies, lectures, radio programs, hospital visits, etc. | 10% |
| Give people more war information, more war news | 8 |
| Put everyone into war work; labor draft | 6 |
| Scare people out of their indifference; have blackouts, bombs dropped; etc. | 3 |
| Force people to buy more bonds; conscript money; more taxation | 3 |
| Stop people from driving cars; refuse non-essential gasoline | 2 |
| Close amusement spots altogether | 1 |
| Other answers | 8 |
| Nothing should be done about it; it's up to the people themselves | 6 |
| Can't do anything about it | 11 |
| Don't know | 42 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**11.** (Canada July 5 '44) Some soldiers back from overseas say too many people in this country do not take the war seriously enough. Do you think this is true or not? (CIPO)

| | *True* | *Not true* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 34% | 10% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Quebec | 35% | 48% | 17% |
| Rest of Canada | 63 | 30 | 7 |

**12.** (Czechoslovakia Oct '46) Is the morale of workers higher, lower, or the same as a year ago? (CZIPO)

| | *Higher* | *Lower* | *The same* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 20% | 23% | 15% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Workers | 48% | 17% | 21% | 14% |
| White-collar | 41 | 23 | 23 | 13 |
| Business | 39 | 18 | 29 | 14 |
| Farmers | 30 | 27 | 25 | 18 |

**13.** (Czechoslovakia Oct '46) What steps should the government take to improve working morale? (CZIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Force and punitive measures must be applied | 27% |
| Work must be properly rewarded | 21 |
| Organization of work must be improved | 8 |
| People must be taught how to work | 6 |
| Everyone should work at his proper place | 3 |
| Concrete proposals and specific ideas | 20 |
| No opinion | 24 |
| | 109%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents made more than one suggestion.

## MOVING PICTURE PLAYS

**1.** (US Jan 25 '39) When *Gone with the Wind* comes out as a movie, what are the chances of your seeing it? 58% of the sample who said their chances of seeing the picture were almost certain, probable, or better than even, were asked: What are the chances of your seeing it if it is shown in two parts, the second part coming a week or two after the first part? (AIPO)

| | *National total* | *If shown in two parts* |
|---|---|---|
| Almost certain | 38% | 27% |
| Fifty-fifty | 10 | 4 |
| Probably | 17 | 14 |
| Less than even | 6 | 3 |
| Better than even | 3 | 3 |
| Probably not | 22 | 6 |
| No answer | 4 | 1 |
| | | 58% |

**2.** (US Jan 25 '39) Would you rather see it [*Gone with the Wind*] in colors, or rather see it if it is not in colors? Asked of a national cross-section of people who intend to see *Gone with the Wind*. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Colors | 57% |
| Not in colors | 21 |
| No preference | 22 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**3.** (US Aug 18 '43) Have you seen the movie *Mission to Moscow*? (AIPO)

Yes 11% No 89%

## MOVING PICTURES

**1.** (US Apr '36) How often do you go to the movies? Those with children were also asked: How often do they go to the movies? (FOR)

| | *Adults* | *Children* |
|---|---|---|
| More than once a week | 13.0% | 17.8% |
| Once a week | 24.9 | 38.6 |
| More than once a month | 12.1 | 9.7 |
| Once a month | 13.2 | 10.6 |
| Less than once a month | 21.1 | 16.2 |
| Never | 15.7 | 7.1 |

**2.** (US Nov 30 '36) Do you go to the movies? (AIPO)

Yes 80% No 17% No answer 3%

**3.** (US Mar 1 '37, July 19 '37, Oct 8 '38) Would you rather go to a movie in color, or rather go to see it if it wasn't in color? The Mar '37 question was asked only of a national cross-section of people who have gone to the movies during the past month. (AIPO)

| | *Color* | *Not in color* | *No preference; no difference* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '37 | 30% | 36% | 31% | 3% |
| July '37 | 27 | 34 | 39 | — |
| Oct '38 | 33 | 29 | 38 | — |

**4.** (US May 3 '37) Did you happen to go to the movies during the past month? 66% of the sample who had gone to the movies during the preceding month were asked: Do you object to movie scenes of women smoking? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, object | 16% |
| Don't object | 48 |
| No opinion | 2 |
| Not asked about smoking | 34 |

**5.** (US May 3 '37) Do you object to movie scenes of women drinking? Asked of 66% of the sample who had gone to the movies during the preceding month. (AIPO)

Yes 28% No 36% No opinion 2% = 66%

**6.** (US July '37) Which do you prefer—double features or one feature and some short subjects? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Double features | 21.7% |
| One feature and some good short subjects | 63.9 |
| No preferences | 3.1 |
| Don't go to movies | 11.3 |

**7.** (US Aug 9 '37) Did you happen to go to the movies during the last month or so? 67% of the sample who had attended movies during the preceding month were asked: If a movie in color was at one theater, and the same movie not in color was at another theater, which would you be more likely to go to? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Color | 33% |
| Not in color | 19 |
| No preference | 12 |
| Didn't say what they preferred | 3 |
| Hadn't been to movies in preceding month | 33 |

**8.** (Great Britain Dec '37) Have you ever seen a colored film? Do you like them? Do you prefer them to ordinary films? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Have seen colored film | 69% | 31% = 100% | 1% | |
| Liked them | 46 | 25 | 29 | = 100% |
| Prefer them | 16 | 39 | 45 | = 100 |

**9.** (US Dec 13 '37 and Jan 11 '38) Would you rather go to a movie showing a double feature (two full-length plays) or a single feature (one full-length play)? (July 11 '40 and Aug 13 '42) Would you rather go to a theater showing one full-length picture or two full-length pictures? A comparable cross-section was asked the question in the following form: Would you rather go to a motion picture theater showing a single feature or to one showing a double feature? Results were combined. Children were included in the cross-section. (AIPO)

| | *Double* | *Single* | | *Makes no difference* | *No answer; no opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '37 | 30% | 45% | | 23% | 2% | = 100% |
| Jan '38 | 40 | 60 | = 100% | — | 20 | |
| July '40 | 43 | 57 | = 100 | — | — | |
| Aug '42 | 48 | 52 | = 100 | — | — | |

1940 RESULTS BY AGE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6–12 years | 77% | 23% |
| 12–17 years | 58 | 42 |
| 24 years and over | 32 | 68 |

1940 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Upper income | 25% | 75% |
| Middle income | 37 | 63 |
| Lower income | 53 | 47 |
| On relief | 58 | 42 |

1940 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 57% | 43% |
| Middle Atlantic | 45 | 55 |
| East central | 38 | 62 |
| West central | 43 | 57 |
| South | 42 | 58 |
| Rocky Mountain | 38 | 62 |
| Pacific coast | 44 | 56 |

**10.** (Great Britain Jan '38) When was the last time you attended the cinema? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 days ago | 15% |
| 1 week ago | 26 |
| 2 weeks or 1 month ago | 43 |
| More than 1 month | 16 |
| | 100% |
| No answer | 28% |

**11.** (Great Britain Jan '38) About how many times a month do you go [to the cinema]? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than once a month | 3% |
| Once or twice a month | 38 |
| Every week or 10 days | 47 |
| More than once a week | 12 |
| | 100% |
| No answer | 29% |

**12.** (Great Britain Feb '38) If the seats were the same price, would you go more to the theater than to the cinema? (BIPO)

Yes 39% No 43% Same 18% = 100% No opinion 11%

**13.** (US Aug 16 '38) Are you going to the movies more often or less often now than you did six months ago? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 13% |
| Less | 51 |
| No answer | 9 |
| Don't know | 10 |
| Never go | 17 |

**14.** (Great Britain Nov '38) How often do you go to the cinema? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Once a week | 31% |
| Once a month | 9 |
| Twice a week | 13 |
| 3 times a week | 3 |
| 4 times a week or more | 2 |
| Once a fortnight | 9 |
| Occasionally | 21 |
| Never | 12 |

**15.** (US June '39) Do you think our government should or should not establish a bureau to supervise what should be produced in moving pictures? (FOR)

Should 26.8% Should not 60.3%
Don't know or depends 12.9%

**16.** (Great Britain Jan '41) How often do you go to the cinema? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Never | 21% |
| Occasionally | 26 |
| Once a month | 7 |
| Once a fortnight | 7 |
| Once a week | 27 |
| Twice a week | 10 |
| More often | 2 |

**17.** (Great Britain Jan '41) Is this as much [cinema attendance] as before the war? (BIPO)

Yes 61% No 38% Don't know 1%

**18.** (Great Britain Jan '41) What do you do instead [of going to the cinema]? Asked of 38% of the sample who said they did not go to the cinema as often as before the war. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Reading | 19% |
| Listening to radio | 14 |
| Knitting | 14 |
| Other answers | 17 |
| Other social activities | 8 |
| National service | 16 |
| Working longer hours | 12 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**19.** (Great Britain Apr '41) Do you approve or disapprove of people being able to go to cinemas on Sundays in wartime? (BIPO)

Approve 71% Disapprove 23% Don't know 6%

**20.** (Great Britain May '42) Has the Budget changed your habits in cinema going? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't ever go | 21% |
| Stopped | 1 |
| Go less | 17 |
| Same | 61 |

**21.** (Sweden May '42) Which film seen recently did you like best? Asked of a national cross-section of young people. (SGI)

| | *Boys* | *Girls* |
|---|---|---|
| Historical films (Gone with the Wind, etc.) | 18% | 21% |
| Adventures and love stories with the war as background (The Bridge of the Fogs, The Foreign Correspondent) | 12 | 15 |
| Adventure films (Northwest Passage, The Macao Gambling Hell) | 11 | 4 |
| Serious films (Rebecca, Boys Town) | 10 | 12 |
| Problem films (The Case of Ingegerd Bremsen, Who Judges) | 7 | 11 |
| Farces and burlesques (Fransson the Terrible, Marx Brothers) | 8 | 4 |
| Comedies (Schoolma'am on the Spree, Semester in Miami) | 2 | 3 |
| Aviation films | 4 | 1 |
| Dancing films | 4 | 3 |
| Others; none; don't know; no answer | 24 | 26 |

**22.** (US Aug 13 '42) Did you happen to go to the movies during the seven days ending last Saturday night? (AIPO)

| | *Yes, didn't say how often* | *Yes, once* | *Yes, twice* | *Yes, three times* | *Yes, four times or more* | *No* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total. | 4% | 25% | 6% | 1% | 1% | 63% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | |
| Men..... | 3% | 23% | 6% | 1% | 1% | 66% |
| Women..... | 5 | 26 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 59 |

**23.** (US Aug 13 '42) About how many times a month do you go to the movies at this time of year? (AIPO)

| | *Less than once a month to once every 6 months* | *Once a week to once a month* | *More than 4 to 10 times a month* | *11 times a month to 30 times a month* | *Never go at this time* | *Never go to the movies* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 6% | 52% | 8% | 1% | 16% | 7% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | |
| Men..... | 6% | 51% | 7% | 1% | 18% | 7% | 10% |
| Women..... | 7 | 53 | 9 | 2 | 12 | 6 | 11 |

**24.** (US Aug 13 '42) It has been suggested that the government issue an order forbidding double feature movies for the duration of the war in order to save film. Would you favor or oppose such an order? (AIPO)

Favor 71% Oppose 11% No opinion 18%

**25.** (Sweden Dec '42) Which is the best film you have seen this year? (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Problem films..... | 16% | 14% | 18% |
| Films with war as background..... | 9 | 7 | 10 |
| Historical films..... | 8 | 9 | 7 |
| Light comedy..... | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Drama, tragedy..... | 3 | 3.5 | 3 |
| Popular farce..... | 3 | 4 | 2 |
| Dance, operetta..... | 1.5 | 2 | 1 |
| Adventure, detective films..... | 1 | 1.5 | 0.5 |
| Others..... | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know..... | 11.5 | 12 | 11 |
| Have not seen any films this autumn | 24 | 23 | 24.5 |
| Have never been to the cinema or seen films..... | 18 | 19 | 18 |

**26.** (Denmark Apr 5 '43) How often do you go to the cinema? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Several times a week..... | 9.4% |
| Once a week..... | 22.0 |
| Once a fortnight..... | 22.2 |
| Once a month..... | 21.2 |
| More seldom..... | 24.5 |
| Never..... | 0.7 |

**27.** (US Apr 6 '43) Do you think movies are important to the morale of the armed forces? (AIPO)

Yes 82% No 10% Don't know and no answer 8%

**28.** (Canada June 23 '43) Do you approve or disapprove of allowing moving picture theaters in your community to remain open on Sunday? (CIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 44% | 50% | 6% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years..... | 63% | 32% | 5% |
| 30–39 years..... | 54 | 40 | 6 |
| 40–49 years..... | 38 | 56 | 6 |
| 50 years and over..... | 32 | 63 | 5 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| 10,000 population and over.. | 56% | 39% | 5% |
| Under 10,000..... | 36 | 57 | 7 |

**29.** (Great Britain Sept '43) If your local cinema is featuring a war film do you feel more inclined or less inclined to go? (BIPO)

More 29% Less 54% Don't know 17%

**30.** (Sweden Dec '43) How many times has he/she [the children] been to the movies during the last fortnight? Asked of a national cross-section of adults in families with children from 11 to 14 years of age. (SGI)

| | *Not at all* | *Once* | *Twice* | *Three times* | *Four times or more* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Boys..... | 60% | 24% | 13% | 2% | 1% |
| Girls..... | 66 | 23 | 9 | 2 | — |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | |
| Town..... | 40% | 33% | 21% | 4% | 2% |
| Country..... | 76 | 18 | 5 | 1 | — |

**31.** (Sweden Dec '43) What film did they [the children] see last? Asked of a national cross-section of adults in families with children from 11 to 14 years of age. (SGI)

| | *Adventure film* | *Comedy* | *Fairy-tale film* | *Popular film* | *Love film* | *Problem film* | *Other answers* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *National total 11–14 years* | | | | | | | | |
| Boys..... | 24% | 13% | 8% | 7% | 6% | 2% | 12% | 28% |
| Girls..... | 6 | 22 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 8 | 16 | 23 |
| BY SEX AND AGE | | | | | | | | |
| *11 years* | | | | | | | | |
| Boys..... | 19% | 19% | 11% | 5% | 11% | 4% | 11% | 20% |
| Girls..... | 4 | 33 | 11 | 10 | 11 | — | 11 | 20 |
| *12 years* | | | | | | | | |
| Boys..... | 45 | 9 | 6 | 6 | — | 3 | 10 | 21 |
| Girls..... | 7 | 33 | 6 | 13 | — | 7 | 14 | 20 |
| *13 years* | | | | | | | | |
| Boys..... | 15 | 22 | 15 | 5 | 5 | — | 16 | 22 |
| Girls..... | 8 | 26 | 13 | 11 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 23 |
| *14 years* | | | | | | | | |
| Boys..... | 21 | 5 | 2 | 10 | 5 | — | 16 | 41 |
| Girls..... | 8 | 8 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 15 | 20 | 33 |

**32.** (US Jan 4 '44) Should newspapers and newsreels show war pictures with men dead or wounded on battlefields, or should such pictures not be shown? (AIPO)

Show them 56% Not be shown 36% Undecided 8%

**33.** (Great Britain Jan 18 '44) Do you approve or disapprove during wartime of the Sunday opening of cinemas? Theaters? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cinemas..... | 67% | 28% | 5% |
| Theaters..... | 58 | 34 | 8 |

**34.** (Great Britain Jan 18 '44) If the law has to be changed to allow Sunday opening, would you approve or disapprove of the law being changed? (BIPO)

Approve 60% Disapprove 31% Don't know 9%

**35.** (Australia Feb–Mar '44) Should picture shows be open or closed on Anzac Day? (Apr–May '46) On Anzac Day, in the afternoon, should picture shows be open or closed? (APOP)

| | *Open* | *Closed* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1944 | 56% | 34% | 10% |
| 1946 | 58 | 37 | 5 |

**36.** (Sweden Apr '44) How many times have you been to the cinema during the last four weeks? (SGI)

| | *Once* | *Twice* | *3 times* | *4–5 times* | *6 times or more* | *Not at all* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 19% | 13% | 6% | 8% | 3% | 51% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | |
| Men | 18% | 13% | 6% | 8% | 4% | 51% |
| Women | 19 | 13 | 6 | 7 | 3 | 52 |
| BY AGE | | | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 18% | 21% | 11% | 16% | 10% | 24% |
| 30–49 years | 23 | 12 | 6 | 7 | 2 | 50 |
| 50–64 years | 17 | 10 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 66 |
| 65 years and over | 7 | 3 | 1 | 2 | — | 87 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | | |
| Country | 17% | 10% | 4% | 5% | 1% | 63% |
| Town | 21 | 16 | 9 | 12 | 6 | 36 |

**37.** (Sweden Apr '44) Which do you prefer to see—Swedish or foreign films? (SGI)

| | *Swedish* | *Foreign* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 61% | 17% | 22% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 58% | 20% | 22% |
| Women | 64 | 14 | 22 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 49% | 32% | 19% |
| 30–49 years | 60 | 20 | 20 |
| 50–64 years | 74 | 6 | 20 |
| 65 years and over | 57 | 1 | 42 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Country | 63% | 14% | 23% |
| Town | 57 | 23 | 20 |

**38.** (Sweden Apr '44) Why do you prefer to see Swedish films? Asked of 61% of a national sample who said they preferred Swedish films. (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Easier to follow | 65% |
| Swedish films funnier | 24 |
| Other replies | 8 |
| Don't know | 3 |
| | 100% of those who preferred Swedish films |

**39.** (Sweden Apr '44) Why do you prefer to see foreign films? Asked of 17% of a national sample who said they preferred foreign films. (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Foreign films superior | 30% |
| Better action | 27 |
| Better instruction | 15 |
| Better actors | 12 |
| Prefer foreign languages | 1 |
| Other replies | 8 |
| Don't know | 7 |
| | 100% of those who preferred foreign films |

**40.** (Sweden Apr '44) What is it that you don't like in Swedish films? Asked of 17% of a national sample who said they preferred foreign films. (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Swedish films weaker altogether | 9% |
| Action too weak | 26 |
| Bad morals; too much beer drinking | 16 |
| Weak actors | 7 |
| Too little spent on staging | 2 |
| Love scenes particularly bad | 1 |
| Other replies | 16 |
| Don't know | 24 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages are based on those who preferred foreign films and add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**41.** (Denmark Aug 13 '44) Have you ever seen a short film? 45.1% of the sample who had seen such a film were asked: Do you prefer it to be educational or purely entertaining? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Never saw a short film | 46.2% |
| Don't know whether or not had seen a short film | 8.7 |
| Prefer educational subjects | 28.0 |
| Prefer entertaining subjects | 9.5 |
| No preference | 7.6 |

**42.** (Denmark Aug 13 '44) Has any short film interested you particularly? Asked of 45.1% of the sample who had seen a short film. (DGI)

Yes 16.8% No 17.6% Don't know 10.7% = 45.1%

**43.** (Denmark Aug 13 '44) Which short film did you like particularly? Asked of 16.8% of the sample who said some short films interested them particularly. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Nature film | 16.2% |
| Horsebreeding in Denmark | 12.3 |
| Mother's help | 11.6 |
| The Blicher film | 5.6 |
| Production film | 2.8 |
| Denmark film | 2.8 |
| Work in the Peat | 2.3 |
| L.A.B.** | 2.3 |
| Drivers' film | 2.1 |
| Fishing film | 1.9 |
| Others | 14.0 |
| | 73.9%* |

* Percentages add to more than 45.1 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

** Private organization to combat unemployment.

**44.** (Australia Aug–Sept '44) Would you like picture theaters in this district to be open on Sunday evenings? (APOP)

Yes 40% No 50% No opinion 10%

**45.** (France Dec '44 and Oct 16 '46) On the whole which do you prefer, French or American movies? (FIPO)

| | *French* | *American* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '44 | 66% | 12% | 22% |
| Oct '46 | 56 | 10 | 34 |

**46.** (France Dec 1 '44) Did you see the movie of the liberation of Paris? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 44% |
| BY AGE | | |
| 20–34 years | 62% | 38% |
| 35–49 years | 57 | 43 |
| 50–64 years | 49 | 51 |
| 65 years and over | 33 | 67 |

**47.** (France Dec 1 '44) Did you like it [the movie of the liberation of Paris]? Asked of 56% of the sample who had seen the movie. (FIPO)

Yes 47% No 6% No opinion 3% = 56%

**48.** (Canada Mar 28 '45) On the whole, do you think the movies are a good influence or a bad influence on young people? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good influence | 40% |
| Bad influence | 38 |
| Undecided | 22 |

**49.** (US May 2 '45) Do you think it would be a good idea or a bad idea to have movie theaters throughout the country to show pictures of all the horrible things that have happened in prison camps run by Germans? 60% of the sample who thought it would be a good idea were asked: Would you like to see them? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, would like to see them | 39% |
| Wouldn't like to see them | 10 |
| Have already seen them | 10 |
| Don't know whether or not would like to see them | 1 |
| Bad idea | 35 |
| No opinion on whether the idea is good or bad | 5 |

**50.** (US May 2 '45) Do you think such pictures [of concentration-camp atrocities] should be shown to all German prisoners of war in camps in the United States? (AIPO)

Yes 87% No 9% No opinion 4%

**51.** (US May 2 '45) Do you think such pictures [of concentration-camp atrocities] should be shown to all German people in Germany? (AIPO)

Yes 89% No 8% No opinion 3%

**52.** (Australia Sept-Oct '45) Do you think picture shows should be open on Sunday evenings at weekday prices? (APOP)

Yes 37% No 57% No opinion 6%

**53.** (Australia Nov '45) On the whole, do you think movies have a good influence or a bad influence on those under twenty-one? (APOP)

| | *Good* | *Bad* | *No effect* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 28% | 40% | 16% | 16% |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 33% | 38% | 13% | 16% |
| 30–39 years | 33 | 35 | 18 | 14 |
| 40–49 years | 28 | 38 | 15 | 19 |
| 50–59 years | 26 | 41 | 16 | 17 |
| 60 years and over | 21 | 48 | 16 | 15 |

**54.** (Germany Nov 19 '45) Do you go to the movies? 29% of the sample who identified themselves as movie-goers were asked: Would you go if you knew beforehand that a picture about concentration camps would be shown? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Never go to the movies | 38% |
| No movies in community | 33 |
| Would still go if atrocity films were being shown | 21 |
| Would not go if atrocity films were being shown | 8 |

The 8% who said they would not go to the movies if an atrocity film were being shown were asked: Why not?

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't like to see atrocity and/or propaganda films | 6% |
| Too sick, old, blind, deaf, incapacitated, etc | 1 |
| Irrelevant answers | 1 |
| | 8% |

**55.** (Germany Feb 21 '46) Is there a moving picture theater in this town? (OMGUS)

Yes 33% No 67%

**56.** (Germany Feb 21 '46) Would you like to see some old German movies again? 63% of the sample who said they would like to see some were asked: Why? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| No interest in seeing old German films | 28% |
| Didn't say whether or not would like to see some | 9 |
| Would like to see old German movies because of language; dislike subtitles | 14 |
| Prefer German themes | 4 |
| Know the actors | 2 |
| Prefer German tone, speaks to me; were more beautiful; makes more sense | 29 |
| Like music better | 1 |
| Less propaganda than American films; don't like American films; prefer German | 4 |
| Other answers | 4 |
| Didn't say why they would like to see old German films again | 6 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**57.** (US Apr 24 '46) Have you been asked to give money fot any national drives in motion-picture theaters? 57% of the sample who said they had been were asked: For which drives? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Red Cross | 41% |
| Infantile paralysis | 24 |
| Cancer | 19 |
| Tuberculosis | 2 |
| USO | 1 |
| Community fund | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| Didn't say what | 2 |
| Haven't been asked | 43 |
| | 138%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**58.** (US Apr 24 '46) Do you think this [raising money in movies] is a good or a poor way to collect part of the money for such drives as the Red Cross, infantile paralysis, and other things? (AIPO)

Good 46% Poor 9% No opinion 2%
Haven't been asked to contribute 43%

**59.** (US Apr 24 '46) Have you been asked to give money for any national drives in motion-picture theaters? Asked of a cross-section comparable to the one used for the preceding questions. 65% of the sample who said they had been were asked: Do you personally object to being asked to give money for these drives in motion-picture theaters? (AIPO)

Yes 15% No 50% Haven't been asked 35%

**60.** (US Apr 24 '46) Which one of these causes are you most willing to give money for in a motion-picture theater—Red Cross, infantile paralysis, or cancer fund? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Red Cross | 14% |
| Infantile paralysis | 20 |
| Cancer | 19 |
| All equally | 40 |
| No opinion | 7 |

**61.** (Hungary May '46) How often do you go to the movies? Asked of Budapest and suburban adults. (HIPOR)

| | EDUCATED CLASS | | SMALL BOURGEOISIE | | WORKERS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| *Weekly* | | | | | | |
| Once | 24.4 | 27.3 | 32.9 | 29.3 | 22.5 | 19.0 |
| Twice | 5.6 | 4.3 | 4.7 | 9.0 | 8.3 | 6.0 |
| Three times | 3.1 | 1.0 | 3.8 | 4.2 | 3.3 | 3.0 |
| Four times | — | — | 1.6 | 2.0 | 0.4 | — |
| *Monthly* | | | | | | |
| Once | 21.2 | 20.7 | 15.7 | 20.2 | 27.9 | 23.0 |
| Twice | 16.9 | 16.5 | 20.6 | 16.0 | 20.8 | 29.0 |
| Three times | 4.4 | 9.8 | 5.1 | 6.5 | 5.4 | 2.0 |
| Four times | — | — | 0.5 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 2.0 |
| *Yearly* | | | | | | |
| Once | 0.6 | — | 3.2 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 3.0 |
| Twice | 4.4 | 1.0 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 1.3 | 1.0 |
| Three times | 3.8 | 3.3 | 1.6 | 2.7 | 2.1 | 2.0 |
| Four times | 2.5 | 1.0 | 3.5 | 1.3 | 0.4 | 2.0 |
| Five times | 1.8 | 5.5 | 0.5 | 3.6 | — | — |
| Six times | 1.3 | 2.1 | 1.0 | — | 0.4 | — |
| More than six times | 1.2 | 1.0 | 1.5 | — | 0.8 | 1.0 |
| Do not go; no answer | 8.8 | 6.5 | 3.3 | 2.0 | 3.8 | 7.0 |

**62.** (Hungary June '46) Do you like educational pictures? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Other* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Educated class* | | | |
| Men | 50.0% | 44.0% | 6.0% |
| Women | 47.3 | 48.1 | 4.6 |
| *Small bourgeoisie* | | | |
| Men | 44.4 | 48.8 | 6.8 |
| Women | 49.0 | 47.0 | 4.0 |
| *Workers* | | | |
| Men | 51.2 | 43.6 | 5.2 |
| Women | 55.5 | 40.7 | 3.8 |

**63.** (Hungary June '46) What would you like most to see in the newsreels? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

| | EDUCATED CLASS | | SMALL BOURGEOISIE | | WORKERS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Foreign political facts | 28.4 | 26.5 | 24.1 | 19.8 | 30.3 | 30.2 |
| Facts about home affairs | 14.2 | 22.2 | 19.1 | 15.8 | 18.5 | 22.6 |
| Other actual events | 10.7 | 6.7 | 15.2 | 13.6 | 15.0 | 10.4 |
| Scientific events | 10.6 | 8.7 | 9.8 | 11.8 | 9.8 | 7.1 |
| Artistic events | 14.5 | 17.4 | 11.7 | 16.4 | 13.7 | 12.1 |
| Sports | 12.3 | 12.1 | 15.2 | 16.4 | 9.2 | 13.4 |
| Other; no answer | 9.3 | 6.4 | 4.9 | 6.2 | 3.5 | 4.2 |

**64.** (Czechoslovakia July '46) How often do you go to the cinema? (CZIPO)

| | *More than once a week* | *Generally once a week* | *Generally once a fortnight* | *Occasionally* | *Never* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 8% | 25% | 16% | 44% | 7% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| White-collar | 9% | 32% | 22% | 34% | 3% |
| Laborers | 8 | 28 | 18 | 40 | 6 |
| Farmers | 1 | 13 | 9 | 65 | 12 |

**65.** (Czechoslovakia July '46) How far is your nearest cinema? (CZIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 1 kilometer | 55% |
| 1–2 kilometers | 20 |
| More than 2 kilometers | 25 |

**66.** (Czechoslovakia July '46) Would you attend moving pictures more frequently if your cinema were nearer? (CZIPO)

Yes 22% No 49% Don't know 20% No answer 9%

**67.** (Czechoslovakia July '46) Are the newsreels shown at your cinema out of date? (CZIPO)

Often 22% Sometimes 29% Didn't notice 49%

**69.** (Czechoslovakia July '46) Do you lose interest in newsreels which are out of date? (CZIPO)

Yes 22% No 46% No opinion 32%

**69.** (France Oct 16 '46) What is the best movie you have seen this year? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| La Bataille du Rail | 8% |
| Les Enfants du Paradis | 3 |
| La Cage aux Rossignols | 3 |
| Dernière Chance | 2 |
| Pinocchio | 2 |
| Jericho | 2 |
| Other films | 41 |
| No answer | 39 |

**70.** (US Nov 27 '46) Did you happen to go to any movies during the last three weeks? four weeks? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Three weeks | 54% | 46% |
| Four weeks | 58 | 42 |

**71.** (US Nov 27 '46) About how many times a month do you usually go to the movies at this time of the year? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Never go | 23% |
| Once every 6 months | 2 |
| Once every 2–5 months | 2 |
| Once every month or two | 1 |
| Once a month | 20 |
| 1–2 times a month | 17 |
| 2–3 times a month | 7 |
| 3–5 times a month | 17 |
| 5–6 times a month | 2 |
| 6–8 times a month | 4 |
| 8–10 times a month | 1 |
| 10–30 times a month | 1 |
| No answer | 3 |

**72.** (US Nov 27 '46) Can you remember what the price of your [movie] ticket was (including tax)? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 25 cents | 2% |
| Over 25 to 30 cents | 4 |
| Over 30 to 35 cents | 10 |
| Over 35 to 40 cents | 12 |
| Over 40 to 45 cents | 9 |
| Over 45 to 50 cents | 14 |
| Over 50 to 55 cents | 6 |
| Over 55 to 60 cents | 7 |
| Over 60 to 65 cents | 4 |
| Over 65 to 70 cents | 2 |
| Over 70 to 80 cents | 4 |
| Over 80 to 90 cents | 2 |
| Over 90 to $1.00 | 2 |
| Over $1.00 | 1 |
| No answer | 21 |

## MUNITIONS

**1.** (US Feb 1 '36) Should the manufacture and sale of war munitions for private profit be prohibited? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 82% | 18% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Republican | 79% | 21% |
| Democratic | 85 | 15 |
| Socialist | 91 | 9 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 78% | 22% |
| Middle Atlantic | 81 | 19 |
| East central | 82 | 18 |
| West central | 83 | 17 |
| South | 82 | 18 |
| Mountain | 82 | 18 |
| Pacific | 88 | 12 |

**2.** (US Feb 15 '36) Should the government build its own battleships and manufacture its own war materials, or should this be left to private concerns? (AIPO)

Government 72% Private concerns 28% = 100%
No opinion 7%

**3.** (US Nov 20 '36 and Dec 17 '36) Do you favor government ownership of munitions industry? The December sample used "the war-munition industry" in the question. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '36 | 69% | 31% = 100% | 7% |
| Dec '36 | 78 | 22 = 100 | 13 |

**4.** (Great Britain Apr 3 '37) Should the manufacture of armaments be in the hands of the Government? (BIPO)

Yes 86% No 14% = 100% No opinion 1%

**5.** (US July 31 '40, Sept 3 '40, Sept 30 '40) Are you satisfied with the present rate of production of airplanes, tanks, warships, and guns for our national defense program? (AIPO)

| | *Satisfied* | *Not satisfied* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| July '40 | 32% | 40% | 28% = 100% |
| Sept 3 '40 | 40 | 41 | 19 = 100 |
| Sept 30 '40 | 55 | 45 = 100% | 20 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| *Democratic* | | | |
| July '40 | 35% | 37% | 28% |
| Sept '40 | 46 | 36 | 18 |
| *Republican* | | | |
| July '40 | 29 | 42 | 29 |
| Sept '40 | 32 | 48 | 20 |
| JULY '40 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 34% | 41% | 25% |
| East central | 27 | 42 | 31 |
| West central | 37 | 33 | 30 |
| South | 27 | 42 | 31 |
| West | 33 | 39 | 28 |

**6.** (US Sept 3 '40 and Sept 30 '40) Whose fault do you think it is? Asked of 41% of the total Sept 3 sample and 45% of the Sept 30 sample with opinions who were dissatisfied with the rate of production of airplanes, tanks, warships, and guns. (AIPO)

| | *Sept 3 '40* | *Sept 30 '40* |
|---|---|---|
| Administration; Roosevelt; the government | 14% | 20% |
| Congress; the politicians | 11 | 5 |
| Industry and business | 3 | 2 |
| Public apathy; the people themselves | 2 | 2 |
| Government red tape | — | 2 |
| Lack of cooperation between government and business | — | 1 |
| Lack of organization | — | 1 |
| All others | 3 | 2 |
| No reply; no answer | 8 | 10 |
| | 41% | 45% |

**7.** (US July 31 '40) Do you happen to know whether or not the production of tanks has already been substantially increased? (AIPO)

Yes, it has 19% No, it has not 6% Don't know 75%

**8.** (US Dec 16 '40) Should President Roosevelt appoint one man as head of the Defense Commission and put him in full charge of defense production? (AIPO)

Yes 43% No 43% No opinion 14%

**9.** (Great Britain Jan '41) Do you think all is being done that can be done to increase war production in this country? (BIPO)

Yes 40% No 36% Don't know 24%

**10.** (Great Britain Jan '41) What more could be done? Asked of 36% of the sample who did not think everything possible was being done to increase war production in Great Britain. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| All unemployed and those not now working should be put to work | 23% |
| Conscript property and employers; socialize industry | 13 |
| Closer control over government contracts | 10 |
| Restrict unessential work | 9 |
| Let women take a greater part in industry | 8 |
| Other reasons | 37 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**11.** (US Mar 7 '41, July 22 '41, Dec 10 '41) Do you think America's production of arms, airplanes, and other war mate-

rials is going ahead fast enough? The Dec '41 sample used the word "country's" instead of "America's." (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '41 | 30% | 53% | 17% |
| July '41 | 39 | 43 | 18 |
| Dec '41 | 45 | 45 | 10 |

MAR '41 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 30% | 50% | 20% |
| East central | 30 | 57 | 13 |
| West central | 35 | 47 | 18 |
| South | 21 | 63 | 16 |
| West | 29 | 53 | 18 |

**12.** (US Mar 7 '41, July 22 '41, Dec 10 '41) What do you think is the chief reason why production isn't going ahead faster? Asked of 53% of the Mar '41 sample, 43% of the July '41 sample, and 45% of the Dec '41 sample who thought America's production of arms, airplanes, and other war material wasn't going ahead fast enough. (AIPO)

MAR '41 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Strikes; unions; labor troubles; difficulties between labor and industry | 52% |
| Politics; red tape; regulations | 11 |
| Lack of organization; lack of strong central authority; etc | 5 |
| Lack of plants; equipment; etc | 6 |
| Lack of skilled labor | 3 |
| Lack of enthusiasm; cooperation; people's ignorance of seriousness of situation | 4 |
| Profiteering | 2 |
| Fifth column; sabotage | 3 |
| Others | 2 |
| Don't know | 12 |
| | 100% |

of those questioned

JULY '41 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Strikes and labor disputes | 48% |
| Lack of coordination in administering the program | 18 |
| Fifth column activities and sabotage | 6 |
| Lack of materials | 4 |
| Sending too much material abroad | 3 |
| Lack of plants and equipment | 3 |
| Lack of enthusiasm and cooperation in the defense plants | 3 |
| Graft | 2 |
| Started expanding too late | 1 |
| Small plants not getting enough contracts | 1 |
| Other reasons | 8 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 100% |

of those questioned

DEC '41 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Lack of men | 5% |
| Lack of material | 10 |
| Government red tape | 8 |
| Lack of time | 8 |
| Strikes | 46 |
| Indifference; complacence | 8 |
| Too few hours | 4 |
| All others | 15 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who thought our country's production was not going ahead fast enough and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**13.** (Great Britain July '41) Do you think that we are producing in our factories the greatest possible amount of war material? (BIPO)

Yes 21% No 54% Don't know 25%

**14.** (Great Britain Oct '41) What steps do you think could be taken to speed up production? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| More efficient planning and supervision inside factories | 10% |
| Comb out inefficient managements | 7 |
| Encourage, organize workmen's initiative | 6 |
| Cut out red tape, decrease government control | 5 |
| Better organization of supply of raw materials | 3 |
| Extend three-shift system | 2 |
| Abolish cost plus ten per cent | 1 |
| Conscript women | 10 |
| Conscript every able-bodied man and woman | 9 |
| Use the old, the idlers, internees | 8 |
| Draft skilled men from the army back into industry | 4 |
| Make people work harder | 5 |
| Pay by results | 3 |
| Tighten up against absentees | 2 |
| Conscript wealth; nationalize factories | 7 |
| Cut out non-essential industries | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 15 |
| | 100% |
| No suggestions | 41% |

**15.** (Great Britain Feb '42) Are you satisfied with the government's new plans for war production? (BIPO)

Yes 38% No 28% Don't know 34%

**16.** (US Feb 21 '42, Feb 6 '43, June 18 '43) Do you think the government is giving the public as much information as it should about our production program here in the United States? The two 1943 samples used the words "of war materials" instead of "program" in the question. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '42 | 63% | 27% | 10% |
| Feb '43 | 76 | 11 | 13 |
| June '43 | 72 | 15 | 13 |

**17.** (US Feb 21 '42) Do you think the news the government does release about our production program is accurate, or that it makes the situation look better than it really is, or makes it look worse than it really is? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Accurate | 47% |
| Looks better | 26 |
| Looks worse | 12 |
| Don't know | 15 |

**18.** (US Feb 21 '42) Do you think the government could give us more information about our production program without helping the enemy? (NORC)

Yes 29% No 62% Don't know 9%

**19.** (Great Britain Mar '42) Complaints have been made that factories are not turning out all the war supplies they might. Do you believe these complaints are justified or unjustified? (BIPO)

Justified 57% Unjustified 16% Don't know 27%

**20.** (US Mar 28 '42) Would you say that right now the United States is producing more war material than Japan, together with her conquered territories, or not as much? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 62% |
| Same | 5 |
| Not as much | 10 |
| Don't know | 23 |

**21.** (US Mar 28 '42) Would you say that right now the United States is producing more war material than Germany, together with her conquered territories, or not as much? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 40% |
| Same | 10 |
| Not as much | 24 |
| Don't know | 26 |

**22.** (US Mar 28 '42) Would you say that right now the United States is producing more war material than Japan and Germany put together or not as much? Asked of 35% of the sample who said they thought the United States was producing more war material than either Germany or Japan. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 13% |
| Same | 4 |
| Not as much | 12 |
| Don't know | 6 |
| | 35% |

**23.** (US Apr 28 '42) Do you think the news about war production has or has not given a good idea of how the program is coming along? (NORC)

Has 69% Has not 16% Don't know 15%

**24.** (US Apr 28 '42) From what you have heard, do you think this country will produce this year as much war material as it planned to? (NORC)

Yes 84% No 7% Don't know 9%

**25.** (US May 30 '42, July 18 '42, Aug 13 '42, Aug 21 '42, Aug 29 '42, Oct 21 '42, Nov 23 '42, Nov 27 '42, June 18 '43) In general, do you think that production of war materials in this country is going along very well, only fairly well, or poorly? (NORC)

| | *Very well* | *Only fairly well* | *Poorly* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| May '42 | 67% | 23% | 2% | 8% |
| July '42 | 50 | 40 | 4 | 6 |
| Aug 13 '42 | 43 | 43 | 9 | 5 |
| Aug 21 '42 | 40 | 50 | 4 | 6 |
| Aug 29 '42 | 53 | 41 | 3 | 3 |
| Oct '42 | 45 | 42 | 4 | 9 |
| Nov 23 '42 | 53 | 38 | 3 | 6 |
| Nov 27 '42 | 53 | 43 | 2 | 2 |
| June '43 | 59 | 34 | 4 | 3 |

**26.** (US May 30 '42, Aug 29 '42, June 18 '43) What do you think is the chief reason why war production is not going as well as it might? Asked of 25% of the May '42 sample, 44% of the Aug 29 '42 sample, and 38% of the June '43 sample who thought that war production in the United States was going along only fairly well or poorly. (NORC)

MAY '42 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Strikes; unions; labor; labor leaders; etc. | 6% |
| Management; the rich; etc. | 1 |
| Selfishness; lack of cooperation; indifference | 7 |
| Lack of organization; inefficiency; etc. | 6 |
| Late getting started | 1 |
| Shortage of material | 2 |
| Shortage of labor | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 5 |
| | 30%** |

AUG '42 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| General indifference of the public | 3% |
| Labor differences; strikes; self-interest of workers | 19 |
| Labor-management difficulties | 2% |
| Profiteering and politics | 6 |
| Discrimination against certain groups | * |
| Poor leadership and organization | 7 |
| Shortage or poor allocation of materials | 6 |
| Tardy and inadequate preparations | 2 |
| Shortage of labor | 2 |
| Sabotage | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 3 |
| | 52%** |

JUNE '43 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Strikes and self-interest of workers | 24% |
| General indifference and selfishness of the public | 4 |
| Self-interest of business and/or politicians | 4 |
| Poot leadership and organization | 3 |
| Shortages of labor | 2 |
| Labor-management difficulties | 1 |
| Shortages or poor allocation of materials | 1 |
| Willful sabotage | 1 |
| Discrimination against certain groups | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 2 |
| | 44%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 25, 44, and 38 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**27.** (US May 30 '42) Is your work connected in any way with war production? Asked of a national cross-section of employers and employees. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, directly | 10% |
| Yes, indirectly | 13 |
| No | 77 |

**28.** (US May 30 '42) Could your company produce more than it is now producing? Asked of a national cross-section of employees and employers whose work was connected with war production. (AIPO)

Yes 51% No 27% Don't know 22%

**29.** (US May 30 '42) How [could your company produce more]? Asked of 51% of the sample of employees or employers, whose work was connected with war production, who thought their company could produce more than it was producing. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better management | 5% |
| More personnel | 8 |
| Overtime | 7 |
| More equipment | 5 |
| More material | 5 |
| More contracts | 5 |
| No reason given | 28 |
| No answer | 29 |
| Other reasons | 9 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who thought their company could produce more and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**30.** (US July 15 '42) How about the arms factories now under German control? Do you think they are producing more or less than the factories Germany had when the war first began? (OPOR)

More 37% Less 34% Same 6% Don't know 23%

**31.** (US Aug 13 '42) Do you think the United States is getting its money's worth out of what is being spent for war materials? (AIPO)

Yes 34% No 45% No opinion 21%

**32.** (US Aug 21 '42, Nov 27 '42, June 18 '43) From what you've heard, would you say the United States is producing less than half or more than half of the war material used by the Allies? (NORC)

| | *Less than half* | *About half* | *More than half* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '42 | 12% | 18% | 51% | 19% |
| Nov '42 | 11 | 18 | 54 | 17 |
| June '43 | 7 | 18 | 59 | 16 |

**33.** (US Aug 21 '42) Would you say the United States is producing practically all of it? Asked of 51% of the sample who thought the United States was producing more than half of the war material used by the Allies. (NORC)

Yes 18% No 29% Don't know 4% = 51%

**34.** (Great Britain Sept 20 '42) If your work is connected with war production do you feel that your firm could produce more than it is producing? (BIPO)

Yes 61% No 30% Don't know 9%

**35.** (US Jan '43) How do you feel about the speed with which we are producing war materials—would you say there are some ways production can be made to go faster, or that on the whole production is now going along about as fast as it can? Asked of factory and personal service workers. (FOR)

| | *Factory workers* | *Personal service* |
|---|---|---|
| Production could be faster | 48.3% | 34.0% |
| Production now as fast as possible | 46.3 | 54.8 |
| Don't know | 5.4 | 11.2 |

**36.** (US Jan '43) By what one or two ways can production be made to go faster? Asked of a cross-section of factory workers. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| More efficient operation of plants, scheduling, flow of materials; elimination of waste; etc. | 33.7% |
| Draft labor; employ more people; hire women; work longer week; etc. | 18.1 |
| Clamp down on unions; stop strikes; prevent loafing; etc. | 17.3 |
| Give workers more of a voice, better conditions, more time off | 6.8 |
| Other | 38.9 |
| Don't know | 12.5 |
| | 127.3%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**37.** (US Apr '44) How do you think Japan's steel industry compares in size with ours—would you say it is larger, about the same, or smaller? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Larger | 6.5% |
| Smaller | 62.0 |
| Same | 11.2 |
| Don't know | 20.3 |

**38.** (US Apr '44) Do you feel that Japanese industry in an equal length of time can produce more goods per workman than American industry, about the same, or less? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 10.3% |
| Less | 66.0 |
| Same | 11.2 |
| Don't know | 12.5 |

**39.** (US Apr 4 '45) Are you working in a war plant? 20% of the sample of employed people who were working in war plants were asked: What types of products used in the war effort are made in your plant? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| War products | 13% |
| Questionable war products | 5 |
| Non-war products | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |
| Not employed in a war plant | 80 |

**40.** (US June 27 '45) In general, would you rate the job that the army has done in the following matters as excellent, good, or poor? How about providing the best equipment, has the army done an excellent, good, or poor job? (AIPO)

Excellent 62% Good 32% Poor 1% Don't know 5%

## MUSIC

**1.** (US Aug 16 '38 and Mar 21 '39) Do you like swing music? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '38 | 62% | 38% = 100% | 9% |
| Mar '39 | 56 | 44 = 100 | 8 |
| 1939 RESULTS BY AGE | | | |
| Under 30 years | 74% | 26% | |
| 30–49 years | 56 | 44 | |
| Over 50 years | 35 | 65 | |

**2.** (US Aug 16 '38 and Mar 21 '39) Do you think its [swing music's] popularity is increasing or decreasing? (AIPO)

| | *In-creasing* | *De-creasing* | *Neither* | *Don't know* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '38 | 53% | 19% | 8% | 19% | 1% |
| Mar '39 | 57 | 43 | — | — | — |

**3.** (US Oct 18 '39) Do you think orchestras and bands in this country should play German music? (AIPO)

Yes 81% No 19%

**4.** (US Oct 18 '39) At the same time as the preceding question, a comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think orchestras and bands in this country should stop playing German music? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 9% | 91% |
| BY AGE | | |
| Under 30 years | 4% | 96% |
| 30–49 years | 8 | 92 |
| 50 years and over | 13 | 87 |

**5.** (Hungary Mar '46) What kind of music do you like best? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | EDUCATED CLASS | | SMALL BOURGEOISIE | | WORKERS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Men* % | *Women* % | *Men* % | *Women* % | *Men* % | *Women* % |
| Chamber music; piano; violin; song | 17.3 | 21.1 | 10.4 | 15.7 | 10.2 | 10.7 |

| | EDUCATED CLASS | | SMALL BOURGEOISIE | | WORKERS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Men* % | *Women* % | *Men* % | *Women* % | *Men* % | *Women* % |
| Orchestral works; symphonies | 23.3 | 21.4 | 8.7 | 9.0 | 4.6 | 2.1 |
| Choruses; sacred music | 9.4 | 14.7 | 5.2 | 8.4 | 6.2 | 6.4 |
| Opera | 20.9 | 21.1 | 10.0 | 16.2 | 6.6 | 4.8 |
| Musical comedy | 7.0 | 6.1 | 21.1 | 14.8 | 19.4 | 13.9 |
| Gypsy music | 4.9 | 6.1 | 16.4 | 12.1 | 23.0 | 26.8 |
| Light music | 8.5 | 2.5 | 12.6 | 9.0 | 9.9 | 11.7 |
| Dance music | 8.5 | 6.1 | 15.2 | 13.6 | 19.4 | 22.6 |
| All kinds | — | 0.3 | — | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.5 |
| Undecided; no answer | 0.2 | 0.6 | 0.4 | 0.6 | 0.1 | 0.5 |

**6.** (Hungary Mar '46) Do you attend concerts regularly? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Other; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Educated class* | | | |
| Men | 37.5% | 55.6% | 6.9% |
| Women | 38.2 | 59.0 | 2.8 |
| *Small bourgeoisie* | | | |
| Men | 18.4 | 78.1 | 3.5 |
| Women | 18.2 | 78.4 | 3.4 |
| *Workers* | | | |
| Men | 8.7 | 89.1 | 2.2 |
| Women | 6.2 | 92.8 | 1.0 |

**7.** (Hungary Mar '46) All those Budapest residents who said they did not attend concerts regularly were asked: Why don't you go to concerts regularly? (HIPOR)

| | *No wish* | *Lack of money* | *Lack of time* | *Poor transportation* | *Other; no answer* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Educated class* | | | | | | |
| Men | 6.6% | 28.6% | 23.4% | 6.6% | 34.8% | = 100%* |
| Women | 5.8 | 29.9 | 24.5 | 4.7 | 35.1 | = 100* |
| *Small bourgeoisie* | | | | | | |
| Men | 26.1 | 28.4 | 23.1 | 6.2 | 16.2 | = 100* |
| Women | 10.6 | 35.4 | 26.5 | 8.5 | 19.0 | = 100* |
| *Workers* | | | | | | |
| Men | 30.2 | 29.1 | 24.7 | 6.2 | 9.8 | = 100* |
| Women | 25.0 | 38.3 | 25.9 | 5.0 | 5.8 | = 100* |

* 100% of those who did not attend concerts regularly.

**8.** (Hungary Mar '46) Should there be an explanatory talk before the concert? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Others; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Educated class* | | | |
| Men | 47.0% | 38.8% | 14.2% |
| Women | 59.0 | 34.0 | 7.0 |
| *Small bourgeoisie* | | | |
| Men | 43.0 | 38.6 | 18.4 |
| Women | 48.6 | 43.3 | 8.1 |
| *Workers* | | | |
| Men | 54.6 | 28.3 | 17.1 |
| Women | 41.7 | 41.7 | 16.6 |

**9.** (Hungary Mar '46) What would you like most to hear at concerts? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | EDUCATED CLASS | | SMALL BOURGEOISIE | | WORKERS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Men* % | *Women* % | *Men* % | *Women* % | *Men* % | *Women* % |
| Old music | 8.7 | 10.2 | 1.8 | 5.3 | 3.5 | 3.1 |
| Classical music | 22.5 | 25.5 | 12.8 | 14.7 | 5.9 | 6.9 |
| Romantic music | 15.1 | 18.7 | 16.4 | 16.9 | 11.8 | 13.2 |
| Neo-romantic music | 18.8 | 18.3 | 15.5 | 21.3 | 11.8 | 11.4 |
| Modern foreign music | 14.3 | 9.0 | 10.9 | 9.7 | 8.6 | — |
| Modern Hungarian music | 12.5 | 10.2 | 11.9 | 10.9 | 14.6 | 15.1 |
| Occasional light music | 7.7 | 5.7 | 29.7 | 16.6 | 36.8 | 44.0 |
| Other; all of them | 0.4 | 2.1 | 0.5 | 4.3 | 1.9 | 3.1 |
| None; no answer | — | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 5.1 | 3.2 |

**10.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statements: (OMGUS)

| | AMERICAN ZONE AND BERLIN | | | BERLIN ONLY | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
| A musical composition can be excellent regardless of the racial origins of the composer | 91% | 5% | 4% | 95% | 2% | 3% |
| The music of Jewish composers is inferior | 8 | 84 | 8 | 7 | 91 | 2 |

**11.** (Czechoslovakia Oct '46) Have you been to a concert this year? (CZIPO)

| | *Several times* | *Once* | *Never* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 20% | 20% | 60% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 22% | 21% | 57% |
| Women | 19 | 19 | 62 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–29 years | 24% | 23% | 53% |
| 30–49 years | 22 | 20 | 58 |
| 50 years and over | 16 | 17 | 67 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Laborers | 15% | 20% | 65% |
| White-collar | 32 | 23 | 45 |
| Farmers | 8 | 15 | 77 |
| Business | 30 | 20 | 50 |

**12.** (Czechoslovakia Dec '46) Do you like singing or hearing Slovak songs? (CZIPO)

Yes 80% No 8% Other answers 12%

**13.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Can a piece of music be considered excellent regardless of the racial background of the composer? (OMGUS)

Yes 91% No 1% No opinion 8% No answer *

* Less than 0.5%.

## MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

**1.** (Sweden Apr '42) Do you, or anyone else in your home, play a musical instrument? If so, which one? (SGI)

| | *Piano* | *Violin* | *Organ* | *Concertina* | *Guitar* | *Others* | *None* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total. | 16% | 8% | 6% | 6% | 4% | 5% | 66% | = 111%* |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | | | | |
| Towns..... | 24% | 7% | 3% | 6% | 4% | 6% | 63% | = 113% |
| Country..... | 11 | 9 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 69 | = 111 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | | |
| Upper class.... | 58% | 7% | 5% | 2% | 2% | 4% | 39% | = 117% |
| Lower class.... | 22 | 10 | 10 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 61 | = 115 |
| Others..... | 8 | 7 | 4 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 75 | = 111 |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (Great Britain May '46) In your home, is there a piano? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 49% | 51% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Higher..... | 73% | 27% |
| Middle..... | 64 | 36 |
| Lower..... | 41 | 59 |

**3.** (Great Britain June '46) Have you ever had lessons in playing a musical instrument? 46% of the sample who said they had had lessons were asked: Do you still play? (BIPO)

| | *Still play* | *No longer play* | *Never learned to play* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 25% | 21% | 54% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men..... | 24% | 17% | 59% |
| Women..... | 27 | 24 | 49 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years..... | 33% | 18% | 49% |
| 30–49 years..... | 26 | 23 | 51 |
| 50 years and over..... | 22 | 19 | 59 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher..... | 46% | 19% | 35% |
| Middle..... | 34 | 33 | 33 |
| Lower..... | 20 | 16 | 64 |

**4.** (Great Britain June '46) Which instrument(s)? Asked of 46% of the sample who said they had had lessons in playing a musical instrument. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Piano..... | 28% |
| Violin..... | 5 |
| Piano and violin..... | 2 |
| Piano, violin, and others..... | 0.5 |
| Piano and others..... | 2 |
| Violin and others..... | 0.5 |
| Other stringed instruments..... | 1 |
| Organ or harmonium..... | 1 |
| Brass instruments..... | 4 |
| Not specified..... | 2 |
| | 46% |

# NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

## American

**1.** (US Aug 23 '37) What is your greatest interest in life? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Family and home..... | 13% |
| Making a living..... | 6 |
| Taking care of my children and educating them | 4 |
| Working..... | 3 |
| Making a home..... | 3 |
| To be an outstanding success..... | 3 |
| To have good health..... | 3 |
| Business or vocation..... | 3 |
| Farming..... | 2 |
| Obtaining a good job..... | 2 |
| Other answers..... | 46 |
| No answer..... | 12 |

**2.** (US Feb 27 '41) In general, what subjects do you think are most often talked about among your men (women) friends and acquaintances these days? Men were asked about their male associates and women about their female associates. (AIPO)

| | BY SEX | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Men* | *Women* |
| War..... | 68% | 48% |
| Work and business..... | 16 | — |
| Politics and government... | 16 | 8 |
| Sports..... | 9 | — |
| Women..... | 7 | — |
| Draft..... | 8 | 12 |
| Lend-lease aid to Britain.. | 5 | — |
| Money; cost of living..... | 14 | 8 |
| Farming..... | 6 | — |
| Labor; strikes..... | 4 | — |
| Family; children..... | — | 14 |
| Cultural interests..... | — | 8 |
| Clothing; fashions..... | — | 15 |
| Household activities..... | — | 13 |
| Gossip..... | — | 7 |
| Religion..... | — | 6 |
| All others..... | 34 | 55 |
| No answer..... | 73 | 67 |
| | 260%* | 261%* |

* Percentages include second and third choices.

**3.** (US June '42) Here are a few statements that have been made about people in the United States. Do you agree or disagree with them? The question was asked of Canadians in Canada. (FOR)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| They place more emphasis on making money than we do, and less emphasis on the finer things of life..... | 59.5% | 28.8% | 11.7% |
| They are a more democratic people than we are..... | 39.7 | 51.2 | 9.1 |
| They are a more democratic people than the British..... | 48.3 | 41.0 | 10.7 |
| They are a fine people, and we would be better off if we were more like them in many respects. | 53.9 | 34.6 | 11.5 |

| | *Agree* | *Dis-agree* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| They take a superior attitude toward the rest of the world for which they have no grounds | 34.6% | 55.9% | 9.5% |
| They are too willing to let other people fight for them | 28.5 | 63.0 | 8.5 |

**4.** (US Nov '42) What one or two things about present-day America are you least proud of? Asked of a national cross-section of high-school students. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Specific criticisms | 87.3% |
| None | 12.9 |
| Don't know | 17.8 |
| | 118.0%* |

BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION

| | *Well-informed students* | *Uninformed students* |
|---|---|---|
| Strikes; labor unions; labor leaders; etc. | 28.2% | 12.8% |
| Politics; graft; waste; New Deal; etc. | 20.8 | 8.9 |
| People's attitude toward the war; lack of interest; lack of patriotism; profiteering | 10.6 | 7.8 |
| Morals; rackets; murders; drinking | 9.6 | 9.2 |
| Minority problems; race prejudice; intolerance | 8.4 | 2.7 |
| Prosecution of war; unpreparedness; slowness | 8.3 | 5.6 |
| Social problems; slums; inequalities | 7.9 | 6.8 |
| Other answers | 17.4 | 17.0 |
| None or don't know | 15.3 | 40.8 |
| | 126.5%* | 111.6%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some students made more than one criticism.

**5.** (US Mar '43) Consider people living in the country, in a small town, or in a large city. Which do you feel generally are kindest to neighbors; are healthiest; get most satisfaction out of life; have the most fun? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

| | *Country* | *Small town* | *City* | *No difference or don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kindest to neighbors | 70.7% | 9.4% | 0.4% | 19.5% |
| Healthiest | 81.1 | 3.5 | 1.7 | 13.7 |
| Get most satisfaction | 70.3 | 4.5 | 3.8 | 21.4 |
| Have the most fun | 38.5 | 13.0 | 20.1 | 28.4 |

**6.** (US Mar 27 '46) What do you think are the chief faults that city people have? Asked of a national cross-section of farm residents. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer; don't know | 22% |
| None; nothing | 19 |
| Selfish | 5 |
| Proud; feel superior | 11 |
| Lazy | 5 |
| Stay to themselves; don't see farmers' viewpoint | 22 |
| Night clubs; live too fast | 7 |
| Organized labor | * |
| Mind other people's business | 2 |
| Disregard for cost of food production | 3 |
| Tear around too much | 1% |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| | 101%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**7.** (US Mar 27 '46) What do you think are the chief faults of people who live on farms? Asked of a national cross-section of people residing in cities of over 20,000 population. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer; don't know | 42% |
| None; no faults | 17 |
| Narrow-minded; bigoted | 6 |
| Too self-centered; too sectional | 7 |
| Not aggressive; backward | 5 |
| Not well-informed; not well-educated; isolated | 7 |
| Poor managers; lack of organization; should produce more | 4 |
| Stubborn; know it all | 1 |
| Discontented | 3 |
| Work too hard | 2 |
| Get too much money for farm products | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**8.** (US June 26 '46) What do you regard as the ideal height for a man? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 5 feet 3 inches and under | 1% |
| 5 feet 4 inches | * |
| 5 feet 5 inches | 1 |
| 5 feet 6 inches | 3 |
| 5 feet 7 inches | 2 |
| 5 feet 8 inches | 8 |
| 5 feet 9 inches | 6 |
| 5 feet 10 inches | 22 |
| 5 feet 11 inches | 12 |
| 6 feet | 37 |
| 6 feet 1 inch | 2 |
| 6 feet 2 inches | 3 |
| 6 feet 3 inches and over | 1 |
| Don't know, no answer | 2 |
| Median | 5 feet 11 inches |

* Less than 0.5%.

**9.** (US June 26 '46) What do you regard as the ideal height for a woman? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 5 feet 1 inch and under | 5% |
| 5 feet 2 inches | 5 |
| 5 feet 3 inches | 7 |
| 5 feet 4 inches | 17 |
| 5 feet 5 inches | 22 |
| 5 feet 6 inches | 26 |
| 5 feet 7 inches | 7 |
| 5 feet 8 inches | 6 |
| 5 feet 9 inches | 1 |
| 5 feet 10 inches | 1 |
| 5 feet 11 inches and over | 1 |
| Don't know, no answer | 2 |
| Median | 5 feet 5 inches |

**10.** (US June 26 '46) About how tall are you? (AIPO)

BY SEX

| | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| 5 feet and under | 1% | 6% |
| 5 feet 1 inch | * | 5 |
| 5 feet 2 inches | 1 | 12 |

| | *Men* | *Women* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 feet 3 inches | 2% | 13% | |
| 5 feet 4 inches | 3 | 18 | |
| 5 feet 5 inches | 4 | 14 | |
| 5 feet 6 inches | 7 | 12 | |
| 5 feet 7 inches | 10 | 8 | |
| 5 feet 8 inches | 14 | 6 | |
| 5 feet 9 inches | 13 | 3 | |
| 5 feet 10 inches | 13 | 1 | |
| 5 feet 11 inches | 13 | | |
| 6 feet | 9 | | |
| 6 feet 1 inch | 4 | 1 | (between |
| 6 feet 2 inches | 3 | | 5'11" and |
| 6 feet 3 inches and over | 2 | | 6'3") |
| No answer, don't know | 1 | 1 | |

Median Men 5 feet 9 inches
Median Women 5 feet 4 inches

ACTUAL HEIGHT COMPARED WITH DESIRED HEIGHT

| | |
|---|---|
| Shorter | 56% |
| Same height | 19 |
| Taller | 22 |
| No answer | 1 |
| No comparison possible, either question not answered | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**11.** (US June 26 '46) As you know, everyone has some faults or shortcomings. What would you say is your chief fault or shortcoming? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No faults | 2% |
| High temper | 14 |
| Too easy going; too lenient | 7 |
| Extravagant | 5 |
| Lack of patience; intolerance | 6 |
| Worry too much | 4 |
| Away from home too much | 1 |
| Can't work with people; can't get along with people | 2 |
| Talk too much | 3 |
| Drink too much | 3 |
| Too moody | * |
| Stubborn | 2 |
| Procrastination | 3 |
| Too frank; truthfulness | 2 |
| Laziness | 4 |
| Carelessness | 2 |
| Inconsiderate | 3 |
| Lack of self-confidence | 4 |
| Nagging | 1 |
| Lack of knowledge; lack of education | 1 |
| Have too many | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 20 |
| Don't know; no answer | 12 |
| | 103%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**12.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) What is your impression of the Americans now in Germany—do you believe they are average Americans, or do you think they are different from the average American man? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| As other American men | 51% |
| Different from the average American | 9 |
| Impossible to decide | 38 |
| No answer | 2 |

**13.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) In what way [are the Americans in Germany different from the average American man]? Asked of 9% of the sample who thought they were different. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| They came voluntarily to this continent to make a great deal of money | 30% |
| They are mainly soldiers trying to make the best of their time | 8 |
| They are not very civilized and cultured | 22 |
| They are extremely intelligent people | 6 |
| The front-line troops were better in behavior and treatment toward the Germans | 14 |
| Most of them are gangsters | 3 |
| Mainly young men | 6 |
| The real American is better | 3 |
| No opinion; don't know; too international | 5 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**14.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) Here are some words that are sometimes used to describe the Americans who are now in Germany. Which of these do you think most closely fit them? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Decent | 60% |
| Snobbish | 6 |
| Friendly | 34 |
| Generous | 17 |
| Good-natured | 28 |
| Intelligent | 16 |
| Cultured | 13 |
| Naive | 9 |
| Strict | 10 |
| Uneducated | 11 |
| Undisciplined | 17 |
| No answer | 6 |
| | 227%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because respondents chose more than one term.

**15.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) Like everyone else, Americans have good and bad qualities. What good and what bad qualities do you think you have observed in the Americans you have seen here during the past year? (OMGUS)

*Good qualities*

| | |
|---|---|
| Kind; helpful; good-natured; friendly; courteous; neat | 47% |
| Don't show hatred; haven't behaved like enemies | 3 |
| Fond of children | 10 |
| Comradelike; they were good comrades; disciplined | 2 |
| They behave as human beings; they are humorous; take life easier than we do | 1 |
| Naive; childlike | 1 |
| Generous | 7 |
| Other answers | 1 |
| No good qualities | 1 |
| No opinion; don't know; I only saw a few of them; don't get in touch with Americans; don't know anyone | 33 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 109%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

*Bad qualities*

| | |
|---|---|
| Wasteful | 5% |
| Like alcohol; go with German girls; undisciplined | 14 |
| Irresponsible; not dependable | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Treat us as a secondary people; should have proved themselves more as liberators; bad treatment of the workers; inconsiderate | 4% |
| They think of themselves first | 1 |
| Uneducated; without culture; rude | 5 |
| Shameless; noisy | 4 |
| Reserved | 2 |
| No bad qualities | 48 |
| Other answers | 2 |
| No opinion; don't know; don't know an American; can't judge | 10 |
| No answer | 7 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**16.** (Brazil Nov '46) Do you think the American people really live as comfortably as is shown in the movies? (IBOPE)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 37% | 50% | 13% |
| BY CITIES | | | |
| Rio de Janeiro | 46% | 44% | 10% |
| São Paulo | 27 | 56 | 17 |

## British

**1.** (US June 3 '42) From the list on this card, which words seem to you to describe the English people best? Select as many as you wish and call off the words and the letters that go with them. (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Courageous | 60%* |
| Imaginative | 9 |
| Snobbish | 50 |
| Selfish | 32 |
| Generous | 13 |
| Dumb | 6 |
| Artistic | 52 |
| Stuffy | 21 |
| Friendly | 23 |
| Clever | 23 |
| Conservative | 54 |
| Liberal | 6 |
| Arrogant | 28 |
| Loyal | 48 |
| Rude | 10 |
| Stubborn | 40 |
| Honest | 32 |
| Industrious | 39 |
| Efficient | 24 |
| Unreliable | 9 |
| Grasping | 18 |
| Sportsmanlike | 42 |
| Unimaginative | 19 |
| Cowardly | 7 |
| Cold | 25 |
| Other answers | 4 |
| No answer | 3 |

* Since respondents were asked to pick as many descriptive terms as they liked, percentages add to considerably more than 100.

## Canadian

**1.** (Canada May 5 '45) From what you have heard, or experienced yourself, which of these two groups is more friendly and sociable—people who live on the prairies and in British Columbia or people in the rest of Canada? (CIPO)

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | *Think West more friendly* | *Think East more friendly* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Quebec and Maritime Provinces | 22% | 37% | 41% |
| Ontario | 56 | 16 | 28 |
| Western Canada | 80 | 5 | 15 |

## Chinese

**1.** (US July 15 '42) From the list of words on this card, which seem to you to describe the Chinese people best? Select as many as you wish and call off the letters and the words that go with them. (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hard-working | 69%* |
| Intelligent | 24 |
| Ordinary | 18 |
| Radical | 2 |
| Warlike | 4 |
| Practical | 23 |
| Artistic | 21 |
| Conceited | 1 |
| Quick-tempered | 4 |
| Lazy | 6 |
| Unimaginative | 10 |
| Sly | 8 |
| Treacherous | 4 |
| Aristocratic | 9 |
| Cruel | 3 |
| Ignorant | 22 |
| Rude | 2 |
| Dull | 10 |
| Brave | 48 |
| Religious | 33 |
| Arrogant | 1 |
| Progressive | 14 |
| Honest | 52 |
| Impossible to characterize | 9 |
| No answer | 3 |

* Since respondents were asked to pick as many descriptive terms as they liked, percentages add to considerably more than 100.

## Czechoslovakian

**1.** (Czechoslovakia Dec '46) Do you believe that Slovaks differ in character substantially from the Czechs, or do you believe that they are roughly of the same disposition as the Czechs? (CZIPO)

Differ in character 66% Same disposition 17% Don't know 17%

**2.** (Czechoslovakia Dec '46) Do you consider the Czechs and Slovaks to be two branches of the same nation or two nations? (CZIPO)

Branches of one nation 65% Two nations 21% Don't know 14%

**3.** (Czechoslovakia Dec '46) If you were introducing yourself to a foreigner, would you say that you are a Czech or a Czechoslovakian? (CZIPO)

Czech 52% Czechoslovakian 45% Don't know 3%

## French

**1.** (France June 16 '46) What do city people object to most in country people? (FIPO)

BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY

| | *Under 2,000 population* | *2,000 to 20,000* | *20,000 to 40,000* | *Over 40,000* | *Paris* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Indifference or hostility to city people; egoism | 37% | 36% | 49% | 35% | 35% |
| They thrive at the expense of city people | 23 | 23 | 20 | 19 | 24 |
| Greed | 11 | 15 | 18 | 22 | 20 |
| Backward and unprogressive | 5 | 4 | 2 | 8 | 7 |
| They always complain | — | 1 | — | 1 | 1 |
| Other objections | 5 | 9 | 3 | 8 | 6 |
| No opinion | 19 | 12 | 8 | 7 | 7 |

**2.** (France June 16 '46) What do country people object to most in city people? (FIPO)

BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY

| | *Under 2,000 population* | *2,000 to 20,000* | *20,000 to 40,000* | *Over 40,000* | *Paris* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| They have an easy life; they amuse themselves; they are immoral | 32% | 28% | 26% | 32% | 28% |
| Their work is less laborious; they are lazy | 19 | 19 | 15 | 13 | 16 |
| They despise country people, believing themselves superior and never work on the land | 17 | 17 | 17 | 13 | 19 |
| They are extravagant | 6 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 4 |
| They worry the country people so that they will buy their products | 4 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 2 |
| Other objections | 8 | 9 | 9 | 6 | 10 |
| No opinion | 14 | 19 | 23 | 26 | 21 |

## German

**1.** (US Dec '39) Which of these statements comes closest to your own idea of Germany? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| The German people have always had an irrepressible fondness for brute force and conquest which makes the country a menace to world peace so long as it is allowed to be strong enough to fight | 19.6% |
| The German people are essentially peace-loving and kindly, but they have been unfortunate in being misled too often by ruthless and ambitious rulers | 66.6 |
| The needs of Germany's expanding population compel her to seek to conquer because other jealous powers try to keep her from expanding in a normal way | 4.2 |
| The best way for peace in Europe is to allow Germany, with her great organizing ability, to integrate the small nations of Central Europe | 1.8 |
| Don't know | 7.8 |

**2.** (Great Britain Apr '41) Which of the following statements expresses most nearly your personal opinion of Germany and the German people? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| The Germans are a barbarous and uncivilized people, and I hate them all | 18% |
| Some Germans are not bad, but as a nation Germany is dangerous to the peace of the world | 52 |
| The German people are all right, it is only their leaders who are evil | 30 |

**3.** (US Feb '42, June '43, Feb '44, Nov 26 '44,* Dec '44, July '45, Nov '45, May '46) Which of the following statements comes closest to describing how you feel, on the whole, about the people who live in Germany? Each respondent was handed a card bearing the following statements: (1) The German people will always want to go to war to make themselves as powerful as possible. (2) The German people may not like war, but they have shown that they are too easily led into war by powerful leaders. (3) The German people are like any other people. If they could really choose the leaders they want, they would become good citizens of the world. The wording for statement 3 was used only in Feb '42. Subsequent questions used this statement: The German people do not like war. If they could have the same chance as people in other countries, they would become good citizens of the world. (NORC)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '42 | 21% | 30% | 42% | 7% |
| June '43 | 21 | 44 | 32 | 3 |
| Feb '44 | 24 | 45 | 28 | 3 |
| Nov 26 '44* | 27 | 43 | 25 | 5 |
| Dec '44 | 35 | 36 | 25 | 4 |
| July '45 | 39 | 37 | 19 | 5 |
| Nov '45 | 30 | 42 | 24 | 4 |
| May '46 | 31 | 44 | 21 | 4 |

* Release date. Results have been re-percentaged to include those who didn't know.

**4.** (US July 15 '42) From the words on this card, which seem to you to describe the German people best? Select as many as you wish and call off the letters and the words that go with them. (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hard-working | 62%* |
| Intelligent | 41 |
| Ordinary | 9 |
| Radical | 23 |
| Warlike | 67 |
| Practical | 21 |
| Artistic | 8 |
| Conceited | 32 |
| Quick-tempered | 25 |
| Lazy | 1 |
| Unimaginarive | 8 |
| Sly | 21 |
| Treacherous | 42 |
| Aristocratic | 8 |
| Cruel | 57 |
| Ignorant | 12 |
| Rude | 19 |
| Dull | 7 |
| Brave | 30 |
| Religious | 7 |
| Arrogant | 31 |
| Progressive | 32 |
| Honest | 10 |
| Impossible to characterize | 5 |
| No answer | 1 |

* Since respondents were asked to pick as many descriptive terms as they liked, percentages add to considerably more than 100.

**5.** (US Mar '45) Do you think there will or will not be enough of the right kind of Germans within Germany to re-educate the people along democratic lines? (FOR)

Will be enough 22.3% Will not be enough 57.2%
Don't know 20.5%

**6.** (US Mar '45 and Canada May 19 '45) Do you believe it would be possible for Germany to become a good nation within

twenty years or so after the war, do you think it would take longer than that, or do you think she never can? (FOR, CIPO)

| | *United States* | *Canada* |
|---|---|---|
| Within twenty years | 21.8% | 28% |
| Longer | 37.1 | 39 |
| Never can | 30.6 | 33 |
| Don't know | 10.5 | — |

**7.** (US May 15 '45) Which people do you think are more cruel at heart, the Germans or the Japanese? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germans | 13% |
| Japanese | 51 |
| Equally cruel | 33 |
| No opinion | 3 |

**8.** (US Aug '45 and Dec '45) Do you think Germany will really learn a lesson by this war and give up her ideas of ruling the world, or do you think she will just wait for a chance to try again? (FOR)

| | *Learn a lesson* | *Try again* | *Depends* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '45 | 19.7% | 60.8% | 13.5% | 6.0% |
| Dec '45 | 36.4 | 46.0 | 10.9 | 6.7 |

**9.** (US Dec '45) Do you regard the majority of the German people as being naturally cruel and brutal, if they have the chance, or do you think that it is only a small part of the population that is like that? (FOR)

A majority 38.9% A small part 53.7%
Don't know 7.4%

**10.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statement: In general, the Germans are acknowledged as being the cleverest workers in the world. (OMGUS)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| American zone and Berlin | 54% | 39% | 7% |
| Berlin only | 63 | 34 | 3 |

**11.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statement: The mass of the people is stupid and is unable to form its own opinion. (OMGUS)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| American zone and Berlin | 42% | 52% | 6% |
| Berlin only | 49 | 50 | 1 |

**12.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) Here are three statements which are often heard in the United States: (1) The German people will always want to go to war to make themselves as powerful as possible. (2) The German people may not like war, but they have shown that they are easily led into war by powerful leaders. (3) The German people do not like war. If they could have the same chance as people in other countries, they would become good citizens of the world. Which one of these do you think most Americans believe? Which one of these statements describes most nearly the attitude of the German people as you know them? (OMGUS)

| | *Americans believe* | *Germans actually are* |
|---|---|---|
| Statement 1 | 21% | 1% |
| Statement 2 | 31 | 13 |
| Statement 3 | 26 | 75 |
| No opinion | 20 | 9 |
| No answer | 2 | 2 |

**13.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The Germans are, in general, recognized as the best and most industrious workers. (OMGUS)

Agree 87% Disagree 9% No opinion 4% No answer *

* Less than 0.5%.

## Japanese

**1.** (US Feb '42, June '43, Feb '44, Nov 26 '44,* Dec '44, July '45, Nov '45, May '46) Which of the following statements comes closest to describing how you feel, on the whole, about the people who live in Japan? Each respondent was handed a card bearing the following statements: (1) The Japanese people will always want to go to war to make themselves as powerful as possible. (2) The Japanese people may not like war, but they have shown that they are too easily led into war by powerful leaders. (3) The Japanese people are like any other people. If they could really choose the leaders they want, they would become good citizens of the world. The wording for statement 3 was used only in Feb '42. Subsequent questions used this statement: The Japanese people do not like war. If they could have the same chance as people in other countries, they would become good citizens of the world. (NORC)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '42 | 41% | 27% | 18% | 14% |
| June '43 | 57 | 25 | 11 | 7 |
| Feb '44 | 52 | 28 | 12 | 8 |
| Nov 26 '44* | 46 | 29 | 12 | 13 |
| Dec '44 | 56 | 24 | 10 | 10 |
| July '45 | 52 | 29 | 12 | 7 |
| Nov '45 | 45 | 32 | 16 | 7 |
| May '46 | 35 | 39 | 19 | 7 |

* Release date. Results have been re-percentaged to include those who didn't know.

**2.** (US July 15 '42) From the list of words on this card, which seem to you to describe the Japanese people best? Select as many as you wish and call off the letters and the words that go with them. (OPOR)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 5 | Hard-working | 39%* |
| 7 | Intelligent | 25 |
| 19 | Ordinary | 6 |
| 15½ | Radical | 12 |
| 4 | Warlike | 46 |
| 17 | Practical | 9 |
| 11½ | Artistic | 19 |
| 6 | Conceited | 27 |
| 9½ | Quick-tempered | 21 |
| 22 | Lazy | 3 |
| 18 | Unimaginative | 7 |
| 2 | Sly | 63 |
| 1 | Treacherous | 73 |
| 20½ | Aristocratic | 4 |
| 3 | Cruel | 56 |
| 14 | Ignorant | 16 |
| 15½ | Rude | 12 |
| 20½ | Dull | 4 |
| 8 | Brave | 24 |
| 13 | Religious | 18 |
| 9½ | Arrogant | 21 |
| 11½ | Progressive | 19 |
| 23 | Honest | 2 |
| | Impossible to characterize | 5 |
| | No answer | 2 |

Med = 12 = 19%

* Since respondents were asked to pick as many descriptive terms as they liked, percentages add to considerably more than 100.

**3.** (Canada May 19 '45 and US Oct 4 '45) Do you believe it would be possible for Japan to become a good nation within twenty years or so after the war, do you think it would take longer than that, or do you think she never can? (CIPO, NYHT)

| | *Canada* | *United States* |
|---|---|---|
| Within twenty years | 18% | 14.0% |
| Longer | 31 | 26.0 |
| Never can | 51 | 46.7 |
| Don't know | — | 13.3 |

**4.** (US Oct 4 '45) Do you think there will or will not be enough of the right kind of Japanese to educate their people along democratic lines? (NYHT)

Will be enough 16.1% Will not be enough 60.8% Don't know 23.1%

**5.** (US Dec '45) Do you regard the majority of Japanese people as being naturally cruel and brutal, if they have the chance, or do you think it is only a small part of the population that is like that? (FOR)

A majority 55.9% A small part 34.1% Don't know 10.0%

## Russian

**1.** (US July 15 '42) Now look at the list again and select the words that you think describe the Russian people best. Each respondent was handed a card with descriptive terms. (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hard-working | 61%* |
| Intelligent | 16 |
| Ordinary | 25 |
| Radical | 25 |
| Warlike | 14 |
| Practical | 18 |
| Artistic | 10 |
| Conceited | 3 |
| Quick-tempered | 10 |
| Lazy | 5 |
| Unimaginative | 14 |
| Sly | 7 |
| Treacherous | 10 |
| Aristocratic | 3 |
| Cruel | 9 |
| Ignorant | 20 |
| Rude | 6 |
| Dull | 13 |
| Brave | 48 |
| Religious | 10 |
| Arrogant | 2 |
| Progressive | 24 |
| Honest | 19 |
| Impossible to characterize | 16 |
| No answer | 2 |

* Since respondents were asked to pick as many descriptive terms as they liked, percentages add to considerably more than 100.

**2.** (US Sept '45) Would you describe Russia as a peace-loving nation, willing to fight only if she thinks she has to defend herself, or as an aggressive nation that would start a war to get something she wants? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Peace-loving | 38.6% |
| Aggressive | 37.8 |
| Both (volunteered) | 8.4 |
| Don't know | 15.2 |

**3.** (US Feb '46) With which of these statements about Russia do you come closest to agreeing: (1) Russia has proved herself to be one of the really good nations of the world. (2) While Russia may have some serious faults, on the whole she is a good reliable nation. (3) Although Russia may have a few good points, she will always try to get away with more than she should if she isn't watched closely. (4) Russia is a dangerous nation and can't be trusted? (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 7.7% | 27.3% | 39.9% | 12.2% | 12.9% |
| Anti-Semites* | 7.7 | 21.3 | 49.8 | 16.7 | 4.5 |

* Comprising 8.8% of the sample who took one or both opportunities to identify themselves as Anti-Semites in answer to other questions on the ballot.

## South American

**1.** (US Dec 10 '40 and Jan 16 '42) From the list on this card, which words seem to you to describe best the people who live in Central and South America? Select as many as you wish and call off the words and the letters that go with them. (OPOR)

| | *Dec '40* | *Jan '42* |
|---|---|---|
| Dark-skinned | 80%* | 59%* |
| Intelligent | 15 | 22 |
| Shrewd | 16 | 18 |
| Imaginative | 23 | 21 |
| Ignorant | 34 | 22 |
| Lazy | 41 | 29 |
| Generous | 12 | 14 |
| Honest | 13 | 16 |
| Proud | 26 | 26 |
| Friendly | 30 | 32 |
| Efficient | 5 | 6 |
| Progressive | 11 | 14 |
| Religious | 45 | 42 |
| Dirty | 28 | 17 |
| Brave | 12 | 12 |
| Suspicious | 32 | 21 |
| Quick-tempered | 49 | 41 |
| Emotional | 47 | 38 |
| Backward | 44 | 33 |
| No opinion | — | 12 |
| No answer | 4 | 1 |

* Since respondents were asked to pick as many descriptive terms as they liked, percentages add to considerably more than 100.

# NATIONAL SOCIALISM

**1.** (US Oct 24 '39) Do you think most of the people in Germany are in favor of Hitler? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 34% | 66% = 100% | 17% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper | 43% | 57% | |
| Middle | 34 | 66 | |
| Lower | 30 | 70 | |

**2.** (Great Britain Sept '39) Should we continue to fight till Hitlerism goes? (BIPO)

Yes 89% No 7% No opinion 4%

**3.** (US Nov 19 '41) Some people say that the biggest job facing this country today is to help defeat the Nazi government. Do you agree or disagree? 22% of the sample who disagreed

with the statement were asked: What do you think is the biggest job facing this country today? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Agreed that defeating Nazism was biggest job | 72% |
| No opinion as to whether or not defeating Nazism was biggest job | 6 |
| Tend to our own problems | 4 |
| Take care of our poor | 1 |
| Straighten out own government | 1 |
| Settle labor problems here | 3 |
| Solve unemployment here | 1 |
| Take care of our own defenses | 3 |
| National unity | 1 |
| We must preserve democracy here | 1 |
| Reconstruction after the war | 1 |
| Keep out of war | 2 |
| Miscellaneous problems | 3 |
| Didn't say what was biggest problem | 1 |

**4.** (US July 15 '42) Have you heard of the German Gestapo? 81% of the sample who said they had heard of the German Gestapo were asked: Can you tell me which of the following men is at the head of it—Rommel, Goering, or Himmler? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hadn't heard of Gestapo | 19% |
| Rommel is head | 3 |
| Goering | 15 |
| Himmler | 45 |
| Don't know | 18 |

**5.** (US Oct 6 '42) The way things look now, do you think there is a good chance of the German people revolting against Hitler in the next year? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 37% |
| No | 42 |
| Depends | 7 |
| Don't know | 14 |

**6.** (US Feb '44) Do you think that most of the people living in Germany would like to get rid of their Nazi leaders now or not? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 64% |
| No | 19 |
| Qualified answers | 2 |
| Don't know | 15 |

**7.** (US Feb '44) Do you think that German people could get rid of their Nazi leaders if they wanted to? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 31% |
| No | 53 |
| Qualified answers | 2 |
| Don't know | 14 |

**8.** (US Mar '45) Do you think Nazi ideas have been so firmly fixed in the minds of most German soldiers that they cannot be changed, or that most of them can be made to realize how bad these ideas are? (FOR)

Cannot be changed 55.3% Can be made to realize 33.8%
Don't know 10.9%

**9.** (US Apr '45) After Germany has been beaten, do you think there's a real danger that their Fascist ideas of government will spring up again somewhere in the world to threaten democracy, or do you think their Fascist ideas will largely die out? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Real danger | 58% |
| Ideas will die | 23 |
| Real danger unless supervised | 2 |
| Die out if supervised | 2 |
| Don't know | 15 |

**10.** (US Apr '45) In what countries do you think there is any danger of these Fascist ideas springing up? Asked of 58% of the sample who thought that after the Germans had been beaten, there was a real danger that their Fascist ideas would spring up again. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany | 28% |
| Italy | 8 |
| Japan | 4 |
| Russia | 9 |
| United States | 7 |
| Argentina | 13 |
| Spain | 7 |
| Britain, England, Great Britain | 1 |
| Other specific European countries or Europe in general | 8 |
| Other South or Central American countries | 6 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Everywhere; anywhere; no special place | 5 |
| Don't know | 5 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who thought there was a real danger and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**11.** (Great Britain July '45) Now that Germany has been beaten, do you feel that there is a real danger that Fascist ideas of government will spring up elsewhere, or do you think that Fascist ideas will die out? (BIPO)

| | *Spring up* | *Die out* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 44% | 39% | 17% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 46% | 41% | 13% |
| Women | 43 | 36 | 21 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 52% | 33% | 15% |
| 30–49 years | 47 | 39 | 14 |
| 50 years and over | 39 | 40 | 21 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 49% | 40% | 11% |
| Middle | 49 | 38 | 13 |
| Lower | 43 | 38 | 19 |

**12.** (Netherlands July '45) What is the principal reason for your aversion to the National Socialist Association? Asked only in the three western provinces. (NFS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Bad patriotism (high treason; un-Dutch attitude; etc.) | 39% |
| Wrong principles (dictatorship and terror; racial theory; anti-semitism; anti-Christianity; etc.) | 39 |
| Quality and conduct of its members | 15 |
| Other reasons | 7 |

**13.** (Netherlands Oct '45) Now for a question about women who have been members of the National Socialist Association and have young children. What do you think of the following possibilities? (NFS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Such women should be detained as long as other National Socialists and be deprived of parental rights as being unfit for bringing up children | 14% |
| They should be detained as long as other National Socialists, but thereafter may bring up their children | 24 |
| They should be released as soon as possible under certain supervision in order to be able to devote themselves to the education of their children | 60 |
| No opinion | 2 |

**14.** (Sweden Sept '45) During and since the war, do you think a proper purge of such persons as have shown a distinct sym-

pathy for the German "new order" ideas has taken place in Sweden, or do you think this process should be more far-reaching? (SGI)

CONCERNING OFFICERS AND POLICE FORCE

| | *Should be more far-reaching* | *Sufficient* | *Too far already* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total.... | 51% | 10% | 1% | 38% |

OPINION ABOUT OFFICERS AND POLICE FORCE BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Upper class..... | 45% | 18% | — | 37% |
| Middle class..... | 48 | 12 | 1% | 39 |
| Workers..... | 54 | 8 | 1 | 37 |

CONCERNING LEADERS OF SPORTS, ABSTENTION MOVEMENT, ETC.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total.... | 39% | 13% | 1% | 47% |

OPINION ABOUT LEADERS BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Upper class..... | 35% | 22% | 1% | 42% |
| Middle class..... | 36 | 14 | 1 | 49 |
| Workers..... | 42 | 11 | — | 47 |

**15.** (Germany Nov 5 '45) Do you think the Americans have made a good or a bad start in eradicating Nazism and militarism? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good..... | 76% |
| Bad..... | 10 |
| No opinion..... | 12 |
| No answer..... | 2 |

**16.** (Germany Nov 5 '45) How could the Americans do more toward denazification and eradication of militarism? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| By punishing Nazi activists and leaders only..... | 10% |
| By investigating all Germans (party member does not equal guilt)..... | 5 |
| By punishing all party members..... | 13 |
| By exchanging prisoners of war for party members..... | 5 |
| Military government is doing well now..... | 13 |
| Through re-education..... | 6 |
| By encouraging German anti-fascist activity..... | 1 |
| Others..... | 11 |
| No answer..... | 1 |
| No opinion..... | 39 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**17.** (Germany Nov 5 '45 to Dec 10 '46, dates listed below) Do you think National Socialism was a bad idea, or rather a good idea badly carried out? (OMGUS)

| | *Bad idea* | *Good idea, but badly executed* | *Partly good, partly bad* | *No answer* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nov 5 '45..... | 43% | 44% | 11% | 2% | — |
| Dec 11 '45..... | 41 | 53 | 3 | — | 3% |
| Dec 27 '45..... | 39 | 51 | — | 1 | 9 |
| Feb 21 '46..... | 38 | 43 | 3 | 1 | 15 |
| Mar 29 '46..... | 38 | 54 | — | — | 8 |
| June 7 '46..... | 41 | 46 | 2 | * | 11 |
| July 25 '46..... | 48 | 42 | 1 | * | 9 |
| Aug 9 '46..... | 42 | 46 | — | 1 | 11 |
| Oct 4 '46..... | 38 | 47 | 1 | 1 | 13 |
| Dec 10 '46..... | 36 | 53 | — | * | 11 |

| | *Bad idea* | *Good idea, but badly executed* | *Partly good, partly bad* | *No answer* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| OCT 14 '46 RESULTS BY RADIO LISTENING | | | | | |
| Radio listeners... | 44% | 43% | 1% | * | 12% |
| Non-listeners..... | 42 | 37 | 2 | * | 19 |

38% of the Feb '46 sample who thought National Socialism was a bad idea were asked: Why was it bad? and 43% who thought it was a good idea badly executed were asked: Why good?

*Bad idea because*

| | |
|---|---|
| Coercion and regimentation in everyday life: violation of rights (free speech, etc.)..... | 10% |
| Lies and deception by leaders; betrayal..... | 7 |
| Attacks on religion..... | 5 |
| Persecution of the Jews..... | 2 |
| Mass murders; concentration camps..... | 1 |
| Made enemies for us throughout the world; wanted to conquer and dominate the world..... | 3 |
| Corruption, favoritism, graft in the party..... | 1 |
| The war they brought was bad, but everything else was OK..... | 1 |
| Everything was bad..... | 3 |
| Brought misery and suffering to Germany..... | 2 |
| Other reasons..... | 4 |
| No answer..... | 2 |
| | 41%** |

*Good idea because*

| | |
|---|---|
| Brought employment and jobs..... | 16% |
| Welfare organizations..... | 6 |
| Workers' vocations; Strength-Through-Joy movement. | 1 |
| National unity; order..... | 4 |
| Public works; roads..... | 1 |
| Everything good but war, persecution of the church and Jews..... | 8 |
| Don't really know exactly why; generally good; think it was good; believe so; it was all I know..... | 1 |
| Other reasons..... | 7 |
| No answer..... | 3 |
| | 47%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 38 and 43 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**18.** (Germany Nov 26 '45 to Dec 13 '46, dates listed below) In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way denazification is being carried out? (Sept 3 '46) In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with denazification? (OMGUS)

| | *Satisfied* % | *Not satisfied* % | *Not satisfied, too strong* % | *Not satisfied, too mild* % | *Partly satisfied, partly unsatisfied* % | *Qualified answers* % | *No opinion* % | *No answer* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nov 26 '45..... | 50 | 41 | — | — | — | — | 9 | — |
| Mar 8 '46..... | 54 | 33 | — | — | 1 | — | 12 | — |
| Mar 15 '46..... | 57 | 30 | — | — | — | — | 13 | — |
| June 7 '46..... | 46 | — | 21 | 14 | — | — | 18 | 1 |
| Sept 3 '46..... | 45 | 32 | — | — | — | — | 23 | * |
| Oct 4 '46..... | 44 | 34 | — | — | * | — | 21 | 1 |
| Oct 28 '46..... | 35 | — | 20 | 24 | — | 9 | 12 | * |
| Dec 10 '46..... | 34 | — | 19 | 13 | — | 13 | 20 | 1 |
| Dec 13 '46..... | 50 | 41 | — | — | 2 | — | 7 | — |

41% of the Nov '45 sample, 33% of the Mar 8 '46 sample, and 32% of the Sept '46 sample who were not satisfied with the way denazification was being carried out were asked: Why?

| | *Nov '45* | *Mar '46* | *Sept '46* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Not enough distinction between activists and nominal party members; many forced into party; little man should be given another chance | 26% | 21% | 45% |
| Denazification aggravates shortage of specialists who could aid in reconstruction of Germany | 1 | — | 2 |
| Denazification too stringent (no further elaboration) | 3 | 2 | — |
| Denazification not so stringent in other zones | — | — | * |
| Denazification is not thorough going enough or hard enough | 9 | 8 | 17 |
| Should be in hands of Germans | — | — | * |
| Exchange prisoners of war for party members | — | 1 | 2 |
| Denazification too strict, unjust | — | — | 26 |
| Too slow | — | — | 16 |
| Other answers | — | 1 | * |
| Irrelevant answers | 1 | — | — |
| No opinion; can't say | — | — | * |
| No answer | 1 | — | 2 |
| | 41% | 33% | 110%** |

41% of the Dec 13 '46 sample who were not satisfied with denazification were also asked: Why?

| | |
|---|---|
| Must be stronger | 4% |
| Too slow; not enough control | 1 |
| Must be stronger (especially against activists); still a lot of Nazis in jobs, still in houses | 5 |
| Unfair; favors post-'37 Nazis; etc | 4 |
| Too hard on little party members; many people had to join the party | 15 |
| Basis should be considered on individual basis; too bureaucratic | 8 |
| Causes too much unemployment, hardship | 2 |
| Party members should be exchanged for prisoners of war | 1 |
| My case for example | 2 |
| No opinion; can't say | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 44%† |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages are based on the number of respondents who were not satisfied with denazification and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

† Percentages add to more than 41 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**19.** (Germany Nov 26 '45) What is your opinion of the special denazification board that is to try cases based on law No. 8? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good innovation | 43% |
| Good if right people serve on committees | 10 |
| Just a formality, won't dispense justice | 4 |
| Must work strictly | 5 |
| Others | 3 |
| Never heard of it | 14 |
| Don't know; no opinion | 23 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**20.** (Germany Dec 6 '45) Do you know which are the organizations whose members are automatically arrested solely because of membership? 48% of the sample who said they did know were asked: Which ones? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know which organizations | 50% |
| Didn't say whether or not knew the organization | 2 |
| Elite Guard | 38 |
| Stormtroopers Organization | 8 |
| General staff | 2 |
| Party security police | 22 |
| Nazi motor corps | 3 |
| National Socialist party | 5 |
| Nazi leaders | 2 |
| Political leaders | 3 |
| Higher officers of the Elite Guard | 4 |
| Other organizations | 6 |
| | 145%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**21.** (Germany Dec 6 '45) Have you heard of it [members of certain organizations being automatically arrested solely because of membership]? (OMGUS)

Yes 38% No 61% Don't know 1%

**22.** (Germany Dec 6 '45) Do you think it right that such people [automatically arrested party members] should be released or not? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Just; right | 53% |
| Not just; not right | 9 |
| Right, if they are really not guilty | 12 |
| Right, if kept under supervision | 1 |
| Other | 9 |
| No opinion | 16 |

**23.** (Germany Dec 13 '45) What do you think of the denazification in the local schools? Is it not strong enough or too strong? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not strong enough | 4% |
| Too strong | 30 |
| All right as it is | 43 |
| No opinion | 23 |

**24.** (Germany Mar 15 '46) Which of the following denazification procedures would seem best to you? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Denazification carried out by American officials without German help | 13% |
| Denazification carried out primarily by American authorities with German advice and assistance | 22 |
| Denazification carried out primarily by German officials with supervision by the American authorities | 39 |
| Denazification carried out by German authorities alone without supervision by American officials | 9 |
| No opinion | 16 |
| No answer | 1 |

**25.** (Germany Mar 15 '46) Why [would the denazification procedure you have just mentioned seem best to you]? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Americans will do it better; more just; most impartial | 15% |
| Germans don't trust each other; have no confidence in German authorities; Germans won't be strict enough | 10 |
| Americans and Germans should or will cooperate | 5 |
| Germans and Americans should work together; Germans need American help; wouldn't be strong enough alone; are a defeated people and too weak | 5 |
| Germans and Americans should work together; Germans know situation better, but need American supervision; Americans should have responsibility | 32 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Will be stronger, more efficient, better this way; better this way if the right people are doing it | 3% |
| Germans should do it all; know Germany better; it's the German's job | 10 |
| Don't know; no opinion | 4 |
| No answer | 16 |

**26.** (Germany Mar 15 '46) Which of the above named denazification procedures is ordered by the new law? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Denazification carried out by American officials without German help | 5% |
| Denazification carried out primarily by American authorities with German advice and assistance | 4 |
| Denazification carried out primarily by German officials with supervision by American authorities | 36 |
| Denazification carried out by German authorities alone without supervision by American officials | 5 |
| No opinion | 49 |
| No answer | 1 |

**27.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statement: The mass of the German people profited most from National Socialism. (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| American zone and Berlin | 27% | 68% | 5% |
| Berlin only | 42 | 55 | 3 |

**28.** (Germany June 7 '46) Have you heard that a new denazification law has been promulgated which provides for some changes in the denazification methods used so far? (OMGUS)

Yes 61% No 39% No answer *

* Less than 0.5%.

**29.** (Germany June 7 '46) Which of these denazification measures does the new law provide for? Each respondent was handed a card with the statements listed below. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Denazification carried out by the American authorities without German participation | 2% |
| Denazification carried out chiefly by the Americans with German advice and assistance | 9 |
| Denazification carried out chiefly by German authorities under American supervision | 44 |
| Denazification carried out by German authorities alone without American supervision | 11 |
| No opinion | 31 |
| No answer | 3 |

**30.** (Germany June 7 '46) There will be about eight hundred denazification boards established throughout the American zone. Do you think that these boards will do a good job or a poor job? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good job | 43% |
| Bad job | 9 |
| Qualified | 1 |
| No opinion | 45 |
| No answer | 2 |

43% of the sample who thought the denazification boards would do a good job were asked: Why?

| | |
|---|---|
| The results prove it (general); they are doing a good job; think they are doing well | 9% |
| Goes more quickly this way | * |
| Justice is being done; decisions are more fair this way; unbiased, strong but just | 7 |
| Centralized, orderly, efficient system | 1 |
| Because the new denazification law is good | * |
| Because they want to do a good job; have the will to do justice, good work | 5 |
| Depends on members of the board | 5 |
| Misunderstanding of the situation | 2% |
| Other answers | 4 |
| Hope so | 8 |
| Don't know; can't say | * |
| No answer | 1 |
| | * = 1 |
| | 43% |

**31.** (Germany June 7 '46) Do you expect to be penalized in any way under this new [denazification] law? 19% of the sample said they did expect to be penalized, and 2% said they did not. These two groups were asked: In general, everyone who is brought before one of these boards will be placed in one of five categories—major offender, offender, lesser offender, follower, or exonerated. In which of these categories do you think you might be placed? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't expect to be penalized | 79% |
| Expect to be classed as offender (activists, militarist, or profiteer) | 1 |
| Lesser offender or probationer | 2 |
| Follower | 9 |
| Exonerated | 4 |
| Can't say what classification will be | 5 |

**32.** (Germany June 7 '46) The Americans say that it is necessary to carry through the denazification program in order to teach the German people that they are individually responsible for the acts of their government. Do you think that the denazification program serves this purpose or not? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, it does | 57% |
| No, it does not | 22 |
| Both yes and no | * |
| No opinion | 20 |
| No answer | 1 |

**33.** (Germany Aug 9 '46) Do you think National Socialism was a good or a bad idea? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good idea | 29% |
| Bad idea | 53 |
| Both good and bad | 4 |
| No opinion | 13 |
| No answer | 1 |

53% of the sample who thought National Socialism was a bad idea were asked: Do you think it was a bad idea because of what it did for the German people before the war, or because it proved incapable of winning the war, or for what other reasons?

| | |
|---|---|
| What it did before the war | 21% |
| Because it was incapable of winning the war | 5 |
| Idea bad all through | 6 |
| Compulsion; suppression; no opposition suffered; no freedom of speech; brute force | 7 |
| Militarism; rearmament; warmongery; isolation from outside world | 7 |
| Lied to us from beginning; did not help us; did not keep promises made to workers; no Socialism; financial exploitation of the people | 5 |
| Race policy; programs; atrocities | 3 |
| No religious freedom; fight against the church | 2 |
| Folly of grandeur; self-glorification; utopia | 2 |
| Others | * |
| No opinion; don't know | * |
| | 58%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 53 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**34.** (Germany Sept 3 '46) Has denazification been more or less severe than you expected? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| More severe than expected | 27% |
| Less severe than expected | 40 |
| Both | 2 |
| Just as expected | 1 |
| No opinion | 30 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**35.** (Germany Sept 3 '46) Is there a denazification board operating in this area? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 78% |
| No | 7 |
| No opinion | 15 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**36.** (Germany Sept 3 '46) Can you tell me something about how the denazification board system works? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| The Germans are responsible fot the denazification boards | 2% |
| Ministers for special tasks are responsible | 1 |
| Local government is responsible | * |
| Americans responsible | 1 |
| Activists are punished first; it has to be proved in what way everyone was active | 2 |
| They started it first | 1 |
| Denazification board consists of public accusers, judge, defender | 1 |
| Not the slightest ideas; I am not informed; no | 83 |
| Irrelevant answers | 9 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**37.** (Germany Sept 3 '46) What is your impression of the work being done by the denazification boards as fat as you know about it? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Act justly according to their directions | 3% |
| It is good, just, humane; it seems to run all right | 14 |
| It is just in the beginning; it is going too slowly; there is no experience; lack of lawyers | 9 |
| Too strict; public accuser too sharp; not just | 2 |
| Verdicts show too much difference | 7 |
| Too much "paper-war"; hinders reconstruction | * |
| Too mild; incorrect; just like a show | 3 |
| Others | * |
| No opinion | 59 |
| No efficiency; haven't accomplished anything | 2 |
| No answer | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**38.** (Germany Sept 3 '46) In your judgment, would you say that these denazification boards are efficient or inefficient? just or unjust? impartial or biased and corrupt? (OMGUS)

| | *Favorable answers* | *Unfavorable answers* | *Both* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Efficient or unefficient | 32% | 9% | * | 58% | 1% |
| Just or unjust | 36 | 11 | 1% | 51 | 1 |
| Impartial or biased and corrupt | 31 | 9 | * | 59 | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**39.** (Germany Sept 3 '46) Do you think most of the verdicts given so far have been just or unjust? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Just | 40% |
| Unjust | 12 |
| Both | 2% |
| No opinion | 46 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**40.** (Germany Sept 3 '46) Has the [denazification] trial procedure so far been fair to the defendants? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 29% |
| No | 9 |
| Both | 1 |
| No opinion | 61 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**41.** (Germany Oct 4 '46 and Dec 10 '46) Do you think that the German people are at least partly guilty for the actions of the Hitler regime by having supported it? (OMGUS)

| | *Partly* | *No* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '46 | 51% | 42% | 6% | 1% |
| Dec '46 | 63 | 31 | 6 | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**42.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) Who bears the greatest guilt for actions of the party, those who were members of the Nazi party before May 1, 1937 or those who joined the party after May 1, 1937? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Before May 1, 1937 | 33% |
| After May 1, 1937 | 18 |
| No difference | 33 |
| No opinion | 15 |
| No answer | 1 |

**43.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) Do you believe that officials of the party and other Nazi organizations bear more or less guilt for the actions of the Hitler regime than the little members of these organizations? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Are more guilty | 77% |
| Less guilty | 1 |
| No difference | 11 |
| No opinion | 10 |
| No answer | 1 |

**44.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) Should the present measures taken against activists—such as interning the Elite Guard and former active party members, etc.—last over a long period, or do you think these measures should be only temporary? 69% of the sample who thought they should be only temporary were asked: How long do you think the activists should be handled in this way? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Measures should be lasting | 10% |
| No opinion as to how long they should last | 20 |
| Didn't say whether or not should be lasting | 1 |
| Measures should not continue after suffering the just punishment; all depends on the guilt of the individual; everybody should be sentenced according to his guilt; they have to be sentenced according to their position, function | 50 |
| If they are not guilty, they ought to be released; one should shorten it; release them soon | 23 |
| After proving themselves good, allow them to go back among people; one could give them a chance to get better; release them according to behavior | 8 |
| As long as they have changed their minds; until they get rid of the Nazi idea; until they have learned acting and thinking democratically | 8 |
| Until all prisoners of war have returned | 2 |
| Until reconstruction has been finished; until there will be peace | 3 |

No opinion as to how long measures should last; don't know; can't decide ..... 6%
Didn't say how long measures should continue ..... 1

132%*

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**45.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Have you heard or read that General Clay criticized the manner of denazification before the Congress? 47% of the sample who had heard of the criticism were asked: Do you think this criticism was justified? (OMGUS)

Haven't heard of the criticism ..... 53%
Criticism was just ..... 34
Criticism was unjust ..... 4
No opinion as to whether or not it was just .. 9

**46.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Have you noticed any change in the manner of denazification since General Clay spoke about these things? (OMGUS)

Yes ..... 13%
No ..... 74
No opinion ..... 10
No answer ..... 3

## NATIONAL SONGS

**1.** (US Feb 2 '39) It has been suggested that "The Star Spangled Banner" be played at the end of every movie performance and when radio stations sign off at night. Do you favor this idea? (AIPO)

Yes 48% No 52% = 100% No opinion 7%

**2.** (US Feb 2 '39) Do you think that people should stand when "The Star Spangled Banner" is played in public? (AIPO)

Yes 94% No 6% = 100% No opinion 4%

**3.** (US Feb 2 '39) We are interested in learning how many people know the name of the official national anthem (song) of the United States. Do you happen to know what it is? (AIPO)

"The Star Spangled Banner" ..... 68%
"America" ..... 11
Others ..... *
Don't know ..... 21

* Less than 0.5%.

**4.** (US Feb 2 '39) Do you happen to know all the words of all the verses [of "The Star Spangled Banner"]? Asked of 68% of the sample who said they knew "The Star Spangled Banner" was the national anthem. (AIPO)

Yes 19% Only part 76%
None 5% = 100% of those questioned

**5.** (Sweden Aug '43) Are you satisfied with "Du gamla Du fria" as a national anthem? (SGI)

Yes 89% No 6% Don't know 5%

**6.** (Sweden Aug '43) Why not? Asked of 6% of a national sample who said they were not satisfied with "Du gamla Du fria" as a national anthem. (SGI)

Tune difficult to sing; sleepy ..... 36%
Text unsuitable; sad ..... 20
There are better ones ..... 26
Not sufficiently Swedish ..... 5
Other reasons ..... 4%
Don't know ..... 9

100% of those questioned

**7.** (Australia Dec '43) Are you in favor of playing "Advance, Australia Fair" with "God Save the King"? (APOP)

Favor 58% Oppose 33% Undecided 9%

## NATIONALISM AND NATIONALITY

**1.** (France Apr 16 '45) If you were able to choose your nationality which would you choose? (FIPO)

French ..... 74%
Swiss ..... 9
American ..... 3
English ..... 2
Russian ..... 2
Swedish ..... 1
Other ..... 2
No answer ..... 7

**2.** (Australia July '46) Under international law, the nationality of Australians is British. Does that suit you, or would you prefer our legal nationality to be Australian? (APOP)

British 60% Australian 37% No opinion 3%

## NEGROES

### Education

**1.** (US June 20 '42) Would you say that, on the whole, Negroes in this part of the country have the same chance as white people to get a good education? (NORC)

Yes 75% No 22% Don't know 3%

**2.** (US June 20 '42) Are there any (other) parts of the country where you feel that Negroes do not have the same chance as white people to get a good education? (NORC)

Yes 54% No 18% Don't know 28%

**3.** (US June 20 '42) Do you think white students and Negro students should go to the same schools or to separate schools? (NORC)

Same schools 30% Separate schools 66%
Don't know 4%

**4.** (US June 20 '42) Did you ever go to school with Negroes? (NORC)

Yes 32% No 68%

**5.** (US May '44) Generally, do you think Negroes in the United States are as well educated as white people? 77% of the sample who thought they were not were asked: Why do you think this is? (NORC)

Negroes as well educated as whites ..... 18%
Don't know whether or not they are as well educated .. 4
Qualified answers to the first question ..... 1
Not as well educated because:
Don't have same opportunity ..... 11
Not enough schools and poor quality ..... 8
Prejudice of whites prevents interest in condition .... 13

| | |
|---|---|
| Lack of capacity to learn | 8% |
| Negro lacks ambition | 34 |
| Lower economic status | 13 |
| Other reasons | 3 |
| Don't know why they are not as well educated | 2 |
| | 115%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (US May '44) Do you think the Negroes in this town have the same chance as white people to get a good education? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 85% |
| No | 10 |
| Qualified answers | 1 |
| Don't know | 4 |

**7.** (US May '44) Do you think the Negroes in this town should have the same chance as white people to get a good education? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 89% |
| No | 6 |
| Qualified answers | 3 |
| Don't know | 2 |

**8.** (US May '44) Have you ever known a Negro with about the same education as you have? (NORC)

Yes 55% No 42% Don't know 3%

**9.** (US July '44) A national cross-section of college students was asked to comment on a selection of statements about international policies. Among others was: Our postwar policy should be to end discrimination against the Negro in schools, colleges, and universities. (FOR)

Approve 68% Uncertain 14% Disapprove 18%

## Employment

**1.** (US May 30 '42) Do they hire Negroes at the place where you (or your husband or wife) work? 49% of the sample who worked in places where Negroes were hired were asked: In what kind of jobs? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| No Negroes hired | 43% |
| Don't know whether or not Negroes are hired | 8 |
| Negroes hired for personal and public service | 18 |
| Unskilled labor | 18 |
| Skilled labor | 3 |
| Clerical, sales, and commercial | 3 |
| Domestic service | 2 |
| Professional and semi-professional | 1 |
| All jobs; no discrimination | 2 |
| Didn't say what kind of jobs | 5 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (US May 30 '42) Do you think they [your employers] should hire Negroes? (NORC)

Yes 61% No 31% Don't know 8%

**3.** (US June 20 '42) In general, do you feel that right now Negroes have just as good a chance as white people to get defense jobs or not? 39% of the sample who thought Negroes did not have the same chance to get defense jobs as white people were asked: Who do you think is most to blame for the fact that there aren't more Negroes employed as skilled laborers in defense industries—the managers, the Negroes themselves, or someone else? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Negroes' chances as good as whites | 47% |
| Don't know whether or not Negroes' chances are as good | 14 |
| Think managers to blame | 9 |
| Labor unions to blame | 7 |
| Government to blame | 2 |
| Negroes themselves to blame | 11 |
| Others to blame | 8 |
| Don't know who is to blame | 4 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**4.** (US June 20 '42) Generally speaking, if a Negro has the same training as a white person, do you think he can do a particular job just as well as a white person? (NORC)

Yes 63% No 31% Don't know 6%

**5.** (US June 20 '42) Do you think a Negro doing the same work as a white person should get the same pay? (NORC)

Yes, same pay 87% No, less pay 10% Don't know 3%

**6.** (US June 20 '42) Suppose you were working in an office or factory and a Negro was hired to work alongside of you, would it make any difference to you? (NORC)

Yes 39% No 55% Don't know 6%

**7.** (US June 20 '42) Have you ever had any Negroes work for you? (NORC)

Yes 45% No 55%

**8.** (US June 20 '42) Have you ever been in a job where you worked with Negroes? (NORC)

Yes 27% No 73%

**9.** (US Oct 21 '42) In general, do you feel that right now Negroes have an equal chance to get good war jobs, or do you think white people usually have the best chance? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Negroes have equal chance | 22% |
| Whites have best chance | 70 |
| Negroes have best chance | 1 |
| Don't know | 7 |

**10.** (US Oct 21 '42) Do you think that's the way it [the employment situation of Negroes vs. whites] ought to be? The 7% who didn't know and 9% Negro part of the sample were excluded from the cross-section. (NORC)

| | *Whites have best chance* | *Negroes have equal chance* | *Negroes have best chance* |
|---|---|---|---|
| That's the way it ought to be | 41% | 71% | * |
| That's not the way it ought to be | 55 | 23 | * |
| Not ascertainable | 4 | 6 | * |
| | 100%** | 100%** | * |

* Base too small to calculate percentages.
** 100% of those questioned.

**11.** (US May '44) Do you feel that Negroes in the United States have just as good a chance as white people to get any kind of job? 71% of the sample who felt that Negroes did not have the same chance were asked: Why do you think this is so? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Think Negroes have the same chance | 21% |
| Don't know whether or not they have the same chance | 6 |
| Qualified answers to the first question | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't have same chance because: | |
| Racial prejudice | 27% |
| Negroes are not prepared | 8 |
| White supremacy; past history | 13 |
| Negro is mentally incompetent | 5 |
| Employers won't hire Negroes | 7 |
| Employees won't work with Negroes | 6 |
| Customers and patrons won't be served by Negroes | 2 |
| Negroes undesirable employees because they are not dependable | 6 |
| Whites fear social equality | 1 |
| Negroes' appearance repulsive | 1 |
| Whites are educated | * |
| Whites superior race; whites should come first | 1 |
| Whites more intelligent | * |
| Unions won't admit Negroes | 1 |
| Whites get preference; whites come first | 5 |
| Whites don't want Negro boss | 1 |
| Whites work better; more dependable | * |
| Other reasons | 1 |
| Don't know why Negroes don't have the same chance | 1 |
| | 115%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**12.** (US May '44) After the war, if Negroes could get more kinds of jobs than they can now, do you think there would be fewer jobs for white people? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, would be fewer | 40% |
| No, would not be fewer | 45 |
| Don't know | 13 |
| Qualified answers | 2 |

**13.** (US May '44 and May '46) Do you think Negroes should have as good a chance as white people to get any kind of job, or do you think white people should have the first chance at any kind of job? (NORC)

| | *As good chance* | *White people first* | *Don't know* | *Qualified answers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1944 results | 42% | 52% | 6% | * |
| 1946 results | 51 | 46 | 3 | — |
| 1946 RESULTS BY RACE | | | | |
| White | 47% | 49% | 4% | — |
| Negro | 92 | 5 | 3 | — |

* Less than 0.5%.

**14.** (US May '44 and May '46) 52% of the 1944 sample and 46% of the 1946 sample who thought white people should come first were asked: Why do you think so? (NORC)

| | *May 1944* | *May 1946* |
|---|---|---|
| Race prejudice | 7% | 4% |
| White supremacy; whites superior race | 15 | 9 |
| Whites are more educated, trained | 3 | 3 |
| Whites are more intelligent, more capable | 4 | 4 |
| Whites are more dependable, responsible | 3 | 2 |
| There are more whites than Negroes | 2 | 2 |
| This is a white man's country | 4 | 3 |
| White man was here first | 5 | 2 |
| Whites are not ready to accept Negro | 2 | 4 |
| Other answers | 3 | 2 |
| Negro is not prepared, educated | 1 | 1 |
| Negro is unmoral, arrogant, generally obnoxious | 3 | 7 |
| Negro is undependable, lazy | 2 | 2 |
| Negro not capable; can't learn some jobs | 2 | 2 |
| Negro prefers manual work, is happier | * | * |
| Negro is not ready for equality | * | * |
| Negro is inferior race | * | 1% |
| Would lead to social equality | * | * |
| Fear of competition in jobs and wages | 1% | 2 |
| Should be separate, in own community | 1 | 2 |
| Don't know | 1 | 2 |
| | 59%** | 54%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 52 and 46 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**15.** (US May '44) If a Negro with the same training had the same kind of job as you at the place where you worked, would it be all right with you, or wouldn't you like it? 51% of the sample said it would be all right and 3% said they didn't know. These two groups were asked further: If a Negro with more training had a better job than you at the place where you worked, would it be all right with you, or wouldn't you like it? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Wouldn't like it if a Negro had the same kind of a job | 43% |
| Qualified answers to the first question | 3 |
| All right if a better trained Negro had a better job | 43 |
| Wouldn't like it if better trained Negro had a better job | 7 |
| Don't know whether or not would like a better trained Negro to have a bettet job | 3 |
| Qualified answers to the second question | 1 |

**16.** (US May '44 and May '46) If you were sick in a hospital, would it be all right with you if you had a Negro nurse, or wouldn't you like it? (NORC)

| | *All right* | *Wouldn't like it* | *Don't know* | *Qualified answers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1944 | 53% | 42% | 1% | 4% |
| 1946 | 52 | 47 | 1 | — |
| 1946 RESULTS BY RACE | | | | |
| White | 47% | 51% | 2% | — |
| Negro | 97 | 3 | * | — |

* Less than 0.5%.

**17.** (US May '44) If a Negro is qualified to be a railroad engineer, do you think he should be given a chance at this job? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 72% |
| No | 20 |
| Qualified answers | 3 |
| Don't know | 5 |

**18.** (US May '44) If Negroes could get more kinds of jobs than they can now, do you think they would want to go more places white people go? 65% of the sample who thought Negroes would want to go to more places white people go were asked: Would this be all right with you, or wouldn't you like it? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Negroes wouldn't want to go more places where whites go | 22% |
| Don't know whether or not they would want to go more places | 12 |
| Qualified answers to the first question | 1 |
| Would be all right if they did want to go more places where whites go | 22 |
| Wouldn't like it if they wanted to go more places | 39 |
| Don't know whether or not it would be all right if they wanted to go more places | 2 |
| Qualified answers to the second question | 2 |

# NETHERLANDS

## Foreign Relations (East Indies)

**1.** (Netherlands Nov 8 '45; Feb '46, Mar '46) Do you or don't you agree with the attitude of the government regarding the Soekarno affair? (NIPO)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '45 | 48% | 23% | 29% |
| Feb '46 | 38 | 31 | 31 |
| Mar '46* | 36 | 30 | 34 |

* After government declaration.

**2.** (Netherlands Nov 8 '45) 48% of the sample who agreed with the attitude of the government regarding the Soekarno affair were asked their motives. (NIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Express their satisfaction with the government's policy | 23% |
| Were against negotiations with Soekarno | 16 |
| Think the policy that has been pursued best | 6 |
| Trust the government without restrictions | 5 |
| Think in that way violence will be avoided | 3 |
| Think Indies not ripe for independence | 3 |
| Other motives | 10 |
| | 66%* |

* Percentages add to more than 48 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (Netherlands Jan '46) Have you formed an opinion about the relation between the Netherlands and the Netherlands-Indies? (NFS)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 73% | 27% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 84% | 16% |
| Women | 63 | 37 |

**4.** (Netherlands Jan '46) How are relations between the Netherlands and the Indies now to be fixed? Asked of 73% of the sample who had an opinion about the relations between the Netherlands and the Netherlands Indies. (NFS)

| | *Total* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| In the same way as before the war | 17% | 14% | 21% |
| With a considerable strengthening of Indonesian influence | 70 | 73 | 67 |
| The East Indies independent of the Netherlands | 11 | 12 | 9 |
| No opinion | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| | 100%* | 100%* | 100%* |

* 100% of those who had an opinion on the subject.

**5.** (Netherlands Jan '46) Is the Indonesian element to turn the scale in foreign affairs? Asked of 70% of the sample who wanted Indonesian influence considerably strengthened. (NFS)

Yes 11% No 77%
No opinion 12% = 100% of those questioned

**6.** (Netherlands Jan '46) Is the Indonesian element to turn the scale in home affairs? Asked of 70% of the sample who wanted Indonesian influence considerably strengthened. (NFS)

Yes 65% No 26%
No opinion 9% = 100% of those questioned

**7.** (Netherlands Mar '46) In your opinion, what should become the new situation in the Netherlands East Indies? (NIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dominion status | 19% |
| Restriction; restricted independence with Dutch supervision or help | 47 |
| Complete independence | 17 |
| The same as before the war | 11 |
| Don't know | 6 |

**8.** (Netherlands June '46) Have you ever heard or read about Sjahrir? 88% of the sample who said they had heard of Sjahrir were asked: What is Sjahrir's function? (NIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hadn't heard of Sjahrir | 12% |
| Knew what his function was | 47 |
| Answered incorrectly | 16 |
| Didn't know function | 25 |

**9.** (Netherlands June '46) Do you think Sjahrir is a man with whom Holland can or cannot work together well? (NIPO)

Yes 33% No 22% Don't know 45%

**10.** (Netherlands July '46 and Nov 12 '46) Do you agree or disagree with sending our soldiers to the Netherlands East Indies? (NIPO)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| July '46 | 44% | 42% | 14% |
| Nov '46 | 46 | 39 | 15 |
| JULY '46 RESULTS BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 50% | 41% | 9% |
| Women | 36 | 44 | 20 |
| JULY '46 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Catholic People's party | 47% | 36% | 17% |
| Labor | 39 | 46 | 15 |
| Anti-Revolutionary | 68 | 22 | 10 |
| Communist | 6 | 91 | 3 |
| Christian-Historic | 50 | 34 | 16 |
| Liberal | 58 | 32 | 10 |

**11.** (Netherlands Nov 12 '46) Would you agree [to sending our troops] if only volunteers were going to Indonesia? (NIPO)

Agree 51% Disagree 25% Don't know 24%

**12.** (Netherlands Nov 12 '46) For what purpose do out soldiers go to Indonesia? (NIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Restoring order and safety; replace the British | 34% |
| To liberate Indonesia; help population against extremists and cooperate with the willing elements | 7 |
| To protect our countrymen against extremists | 3 |
| To serve the country's interests; rehabilitation of overseas Empire | 6 |
| In order not to lose Indonesia | 5 |
| To keep the colonies | 5 |
| To safeguard commercial interests, raw materials | 4 |
| To strengthen our hand in the negotiations; show our power | 2 |
| To stimulate and safeguard capitalistic interests | 9 |
| For a colonial war of exploitation | 7 |
| No opinion | 18 |

**13.** (Netherlands Nov 29 '46) Have you heard or read about the agreement between the Indonesians and the Dutch Commission General (Schemerhorn, Van Poll, de Boer, and van Mook)? 89% of the sample who had heard of the agreement were asked: What does this agreement boil down to, in your opinion? (NIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hadn't heard of the agreement | 11% |
| Indonesia becomes independent, Holland will have no influence whatever left there | 38 |
| Indonesia becomes independent in fact, but a bond and cooperation with Holland will remain | 33 |

Holland and the East Indies remain united with greater liberty for the Indonesians..... 8%
Don't know what the agreement boils down to..... 10

**14.** (Netherlands Nov 29 '46) What would you do if you were a member of the Second Chamber, support this [Dutch-Indonesian] agreement or vote against it? (NIPO)

| | *Support* | *Against* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 38% | 36% | 26% |
| BY INTERPRETATIONS OF THE AGREEMENT | | | |
| Holland and Indonesia will remain united | 76% | 13% | 11% |
| Cooperation will remain | 71 | 19 | 10 |
| All Dutch influence will be removed | 23 | 67 | 10 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Catholic People's party | 30% | 33% | 37% |
| Labor | 56 | 19 | 25 |
| Anti-Revolutionary | 18 | 67 | 15 |
| Communist | 72 | 12 | 16 |
| Christian-Historic | 32 | 48 | 20 |
| Liberal | 12 | 77 | 11 |

## Politics and Government

**1.** (Netherlands Feb '46) Are you satisfied with the handling of affairs by Dr. Hubertus J. van Mook, the lieutenant-general-governor, or are you dissatisfied? (NIPO)

Satisfied 35% Dissatisfied 26%
No opinion and no answer 39%

**2.** (Netherlands Apr 19 '46) Of late it is said that certain provinces of our country are neglected. Is that also your impression or not? (NIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 32% | 26% | 42% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| North and South Holland and Utrecht | 20% | 34% | 46% |
| Overijssel and Gelderland | 34 | 24 | 42 |
| Groningen, Friesland, and Drenthe | 57 | 13 | 30 |

**3.** (Netherlands Apr '46) In your opinion, which provinces are neglected? Asked of 32% of the sample who said that certain provinces of the country were neglected. (NIPO)

Limburg..... 42%
North Brabant..... 35
Gelderland and Overijssel..... 26
Zeeland..... 19
Friesland, Groningen, and Drenthe..... 18
North Holland, South Holland, and Utrecht.. 7

147%*

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who thought some provinces were neglected and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**4.** (Netherlands May '46) It is now about a year since our country was entirely liberated. In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with progress since then? (NIPO)

| | *Satisfied* | *Dissatisfied* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 57% | 34% | 9% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Low income | 56% | 35% | 9% |
| Middle income | 60 | 29 | 11 |
| High income | 63 | 32 | 5 |

**5.** (Netherlands May '46) Why [are you satisfied with the progress of the country since it was liberated]? Asked of 57% of the sample who were satisfied with the progress of the country. (NIPO)

There is enough food now..... 10%
Progress was very quick..... 41
Other..... 1
No opinion..... 5

57%

**6.** (Netherlands May '46) Why [are you dissatisfied with the progress of the country since it was liberated]? Asked of 34% of the sample who were dissatisfied with the progress of the country. (NIPO)

Clothing, shoes, furniture, etc. too scarce..... 4%
Everything is too expensive..... 4
Bureaucracy..... 3
Adjudication political delinquents too slow..... 3
You cannot buy everything..... 2
Corruption, etc..... 2
Dissatisfied because goods aren't properly distributed; rationing system unfair; etc..... 1
No reason..... 15

34%

## NEUTRALITY

**1.** (Great Britain May 6 '37 and June 29 '37) If another major European war breaks out do you think Great Britain will be drawn into it? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| May '37.... | 83% | 17% = 100% | 1% |
| June '37.... | 75 | 25 = 100 | 4 |

**2.** (Great Britain Jan '38) Do you think that the dominions will fight with the British people in the case of another war? (BIPO)

Yes 71% No 4% No opinion 25%

## NEWS AGENCIES

**1.** (US Mar 30 '39 and Apr 6 '39) Do you listen to any of the following: Press Radio Bureau, Esso Reporter, Transradio, Associated Press, United Press? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Press Radio Bureau* | | | |
| Mar '39 | 49% | 51% | — |
| Apr '39 | 41 | 40 | 19% |
| *Esso Reporter* | | | |
| Mar '39 | 36 | 64 | — |
| Apr '39 | 26 | 53 | 21 |
| *Transradio* | | | |
| Mar '39 | 30 | 70 | — |
| Apr '39 | 25 | 52 | 23 |
| *Associated Press* | | | |
| Mar '39 | 68 | 32 | — |
| Apr '39 | 58 | 27 | 15 |
| *United Press* | | | |
| Mar '39 | 55 | 45 | — |
| Apr '39 | 46 | 35 | 19 |

**2.** (US Mar 30 '39 and Apr 6 '39) Have you heard of the National Wire Service, Associated Press, International News Service, United Press, Transradio Press? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *National Wire Service* | | | |
| Mar '39 | 17% | 78% | 5% |
| Apr '39 | 16 | 84 | — |
| *Associated Press* | | | |
| Mar '39 | 89 | 10 | 1 |
| Apr '39 | 89 | 11 | — |
| *International News Service* | | | |
| Mar '39 | 70 | 28 | 2 |
| Apr '39 | 73 | 27 | — |
| *United Press* | | | |
| Mar '39 | 78 | 19 | 3 |
| Apr '39 | 82 | 18 | — |
| *Transradio Press* | | | |
| Mar '39 | 41 | 55 | 4 |
| Apr '39 | 43 | 57 | — |

**3.** (US Mar 30 '39 and Apr 6 '39) Which of these radio press services do you like best? (AIPO)

| | *Mar '39* | *Apr '39* |
|---|---|---|
| Esso Reporter | 5% | 6% |
| Press Radio Bureau | 7 | 7 |
| Transradio | 3 | 5 |
| Associated Press | 21 | 22 |
| United Press | 7 | 7 |
| Others | 1 | — |
| No answer | 56 | 54 |
| | | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**4.** (US Mar 30 '39 and Apr 6 '39) Which [radio press service] do you think is the most reliable? (AIPO)

| | *Mar '39* | *Apr '39* |
|---|---|---|
| Esso Reporter | 4% | 3% |
| Press Radio Bureau | 5 | 4 |
| Transradio | 2 | 2 |
| Associated Press | 17 | 22 |
| United Press | 6 | 6 |
| No answer | 66 | 64 |
| | | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**5.** (US Mar 30 '39 and Apr 6 '39) Do you have any impressions as to which is the most reliable news service? (AIPO)

| | *Mar '39* | *Apr '39* |
|---|---|---|
| Associated Press | 31% | 29% |
| United Press | 6 | 7 |
| International News Service | 4 | 3 |
| Transradio | 2 | 2 |
| All others | 1 | 3 |
| No answer | 57 | 56 |
| | 101%* | |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (US Mar 30 '39, Apr 6 '39, Mar 13 '40, July 1 '42, June 20 '44) Do you happen to know the names of any news services or press organizations that gather national and foreign news? Comparable cross-sections were asked in July '42 and June '44 the same question about war news. (AIPO)

NATIONAL AND FOREIGN NEWS

| | *Mar '39* % | *Apr '39* % | *Mar '40* % | *July '42* % | *June '44* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Associated Press | 34 | 20 | 43 | 42 | 42 |
| United Press | 14 | 5 | 26 | 27 | 24 |
| International News Service | 18 | 16 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| Associated Press and United Press | — | 24 | — | — | — |
| Transradio | 4 | 3 | 2 | — | — |
| Reuters News Service | — | — | — | 5 | 4 |
| Columbia Broadcasting System | — | — | — | 4 | 3 |
| National Broadcasting Company | — | — | — | 5 | 3 |
| National Editorial Association | — | — | — | 2 | — |
| Tass Agency | — | — | — | — | 1 |
| Other news services | 22 | 9 | 17 | 8 | 13 |
| Those who did not mention a news service, but named newspapers, magazines, newsletters, commentators, radio stations, sponsors, and newsreels | — | — | — | 11 | 6 |
| No | 46 | 47 | 46 | 46 | 48 |
| Percentages | 138** | 124** | 148** | 164** | 158** |

WAR NEWS

| | *July '42* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Associated Press | 40% | 43% |
| United Press | 25 | 30 |
| International News Service | 11 | 15 |
| Reuters News Service | 4 | 4 |
| Transradio Press | 1 | — |
| Columbia Broadcasting System | 3 | 3 |
| National Broadcasting Company | 3 | 4 |
| National Editorial Association | 2 | — |
| Tass Agency | — | * |
| Other news services | 7 | 14 |
| Those who did not mention a news service, but named newspapers, magazines, newsreels | 13 | 10 |
| No | 47 | 43 |
| | 156%** | 166%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**7.** (US Mar 30 '39 and Apr 6 '39) Do you have any impression as to which news service covers world news most completely? (AIPO)

| | *Mar '39* | *Apr '39* |
|---|---|---|
| Associated Press | 23% | 24% |
| United Press | 5 | 6 |
| International News Service | 11 | 11 |
| Transradio Press | 3 | 3 |
| All others | 1 | 2 |
| No | 58 | 54 |
| | 101%* | |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**8.** (US Mar 13 '40) Do you happen to know the name of the news-gathering organization which furnishes the news for this broadcast [that you like best]? Asked of a national cross-section of radio owners who listened regularly to news broadcasts. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Associated Press | 14% |
| United Press | 7 |
| International News Service | 2 |
| Transradio Press | 2 |
| Named sponsors, stations, etc | 10 |
| All others | 7 |
| Press radio | 1 |
| No answer | 61 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of radio owners who listened to news broadcasts regularly and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

## NEWSPAPERS

**1.** (US July '36) Do you think the influence of the Hearst papers upon national politics is good or bad? (FOR)

| | *Good influence* | *Bad influence* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 10.7% | 27.6% | 61.7% |
| In places having Hearst papers | 10.5 | 43.3 | 46.2 |

**2.** (US Sept 26 '36) Does the newspaper which you read support Roosevelt or Landon? (AIPO)

Roosevelt 38% Landon 62%

**3.** (US Jan '37) Have you a favorite newspaper columnist? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No and no answer* |
|---|---|---|
| National toral | 30.0% | 70.0% |
| BY EXTREMES IN ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Prosperous | 37.0% | 63.0% |
| Poor | 20.4 | 79.6 |

**4.** (US Jan '37, Jan '40, Mar 2 '42) Who [is your favorite newspaper columnist]? 30% of the Jan '37 sample who had a favorite columnist were asked the question. The Mar '42 sample was asked: Who is your favorite newspaper columnist on current events? (FOR, NORC)

| | *FOR Jan '37* | *FOR Jan '40* | *NORC Mar '42* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Walter Winchell | 9.7% | 17.9% | 7% |
| Westbrook Pegler | 4.1 | 4.7 | 6 |
| Walter Lippmann | 3.6 | 5.9 | 2 |
| Arthur Brisbane | 19.0 | — | — |
| O. O. McIntyre | 13.1 | — | — |
| Dorothy Dix | 4.0 | — | — |
| Dorothy Thompson | — | 9.5 | — |
| Boake Carter | — | 6.1 | — |
| Heywood Broun | — | 5.0 | — |
| David Lawrence | — | 4.7 | — |
| All others | 46.5* | 46.2** | 25 |
| No answer | — | — | 1% |
| Don't know | — | — | 59 |
| | 100.0% of those quesrioned | | |

1940 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Prosperous* | *Lower middle class* | *Poor* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Walter Winchell | 8.5% | 20.6% | 27.3% |
| Westbrook Pegler | 5.6 | 4.3 | 4.8 |
| Walter Lippmann | 11.4 | 5.3 | 1.6 |
| Dorothy Thompson | 15.2 | 8.0 | 3.6 |
| Boake Carter | 5.6 | 5.6 | 7.2 |
| Heywood Broun | 4.4 | 4.6 | 4.8 |
| David Lawrence | 4.6 | 5.1 | 2.8 |
| Others | 44.7 | 46.5 | 47.9 |

* National writers who were only in the minor leagues of popularity were, in order of the number of times they were mentioned: Heywood Broun, Frank Kent, Mark Hellinger, Mark Sullivan, Paul Mallon, Elsie Robinson, Eleanor Roosevelt, Franklin P. Adams, Hugh S. Johnson. These added up to about 8% of the lesser favorites. Most of the others mentioned were scores of local sages writing home-town gossip.

** Chief mentions among "other" were Hugh Johnson, Pearson and Allen of the Merry-Go-Round, Charles Driscoll, official successor to O. O. McIntyre, Edwin C. Hill, Eleanor Roosevelt, Raymond Clapper, and the Sullivans, Mark and Ed. The rest were mostly local seers.

**5.** (US Apr '37) Do you have a favorite comic strip? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 51.4% | 48.6% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 50.5% | 49.5% |
| Women | 52.2 | 47.8 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 20–40 years | 58.8% | 41.2% |
| Over 40 | 43.9 | 56.1 |

51.4% of the sample who had a favorite comic strip were asked: Which one?

| | |
|---|---|
| Little Orphan Annie | 11.6% |
| Popeye | 9.5 |
| Dick Tracy | 7.0 |
| Bringing Up Father | 6.5 |
| The Gumps | 4.4 |
| Blondie | 4.0 |
| Moon Mullins | 3.5 |
| Joe Palooka | 3.1 |
| Li'l Abner | 2.4 |
| Tillie the Toiler | 2.3 |
| Dan Dunn | 2.3 |
| Gasoline Alley | 1.9 |
| Henry | 1.9 |
| Out Our Way | 1.8 |
| Miscellaneous* | 37.8 |
| | 100.0% of those who had a favorite comic strip |

* These others include 132 miscellaneous strips, divided by subject thus: 21.8% the doings of adults, 6.7% juvenile, 3.4% adventure and detective, 5.9% animals and miscellaneous.

**6.** (US, Great Britain, Sweden, Germany, Finland, Belgium Apr 19 '37 to Oct 28 '46, dates listed below) Do you usually read a daily newspaper? (Organizations listed below)

| | | | Yes; yes regularly | No; never | Three or four times a week | Once in a while; sometimes; occasionally | Weekly | Club or trade | No answer; don't know | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AIPO | Apr | '37 | 90% | 9% | — | 1% | — | — | — | % |
| *AIPO | Sept | 13 '38 | 88 | 8 | — | — | 4% | — | — | |
| †AIPO | Mar | 30 '39 | 79 | 8 | — | 13 | — | — | — | |
| †AIPO | Apr | 6 '39 | 80 | 7 | — | 13 | — | — | — | |
| †AIPO | Mar | 13 '40 | 74 | 8 | — | 18 | — | — | — | |
| (1) BIPO | Jan | '41 | 70 | 17 | — | 13 | — | — | — | |
| (2) BIPO | Jan | '41 | 71 | 15 | — | 14 | — | — | — | |
| †AIPO | Jan | 22 '41 | 81 | 8 | — | 11 | — | — | — | |
| (3) SGI | Feb | '42 | 95 | — | — | — | 63 | 49% | — | = 207%** |
| (4) AIPO | May | 30 '42 | 79 | 21 | — | — | — | — | — | |
| †AIPO | July | 1 '42 | 74 | 9 | — | 17 | — | — | — | |
| (5) NORC | Oct | 2 '43 | 76 | — | 8% | 15 | — | — | 1% | |
| †AIPO | June | 20 '44 | 79 | 6 | — | 15 | — | — | — | |
| *AIPO | July | 12 '45 | 84 | 16 | — | — | — | — | — | |
| (6) OMGUS | Oct | 26 '45 | 90 | 10 | — | — | — | — | — | |
| (7) OMGUS | Jan | 21 '46: | | | | | | | | |
| | Radio listeners | | 81 | 3 | — | 16 | — | — | — | |
| | Non-listeners | | 71 | 6 | — | 23 | — | — | — | |
| (8) FGI | Jan | 25 '46 | 83 | 16 | — | — | — | — | 1 | |
| (7) INSOC | Apr–June | '46 | 79 | 21 | — | — | — | — | — | |
| (7) OMGUS | Oct | 14 '46: | | | | | | | | |
| | Radio listeners | | 73 | 6 | — | 21 | — | — | — | |
| | Non-listeners | | 53 | 11 | — | 36 | — | — | — | |
| (6) OMGUS | Oct | 28 '46 | 83 | 17 | — | — | — | — | — | |

* The question was: Do you read a daily newspaper?
† Do you read a daily newspaper regularly?
(1) Do you read a morning paper regularly?
(2) Did you read a morning paper regularly before the war?
(3) Do you read a daily newspaper, a weekly or club paper, a union or trade paper regularly?
(4) Do you happen to read a daily newspaper regularly?
(5) Would you say you read a newspaper every day, three or four times a week, or only occasionally?
(6) Do you read a newspaper?
(7) Do you read a newspaper regularly?
(8) Do you read regularly, or practically every day, one or more daily newspapers?

BELGIAN RESULTS BY SEX

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| Men | 65% | 35% |
| Women | 35 | 65 |

BELGIAN RESULTS BY AGE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 20–34 years | 81% | 19% |
| 35–49 years | 82 | 18 |
| 50–64 years | 72 | 28 |
| 65 years and over | 78 | 22 |

BELGIAN RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Urban | 83% | 17% |
| Rural | 71 | 29 |
| Industrial | 84 | 16 |

BELGIAN RESULTS BY OCCUPATION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Farm and farm labor | 65% | 35% |
| Workers and artisans | 80 | 20 |
| White-collar | 92 | 8 |
| Merchants, manufacturers, and foremen | 92 | 8 |
| Professional | 99 | 1 |
| Living on income | 85 | 15 |
| Housewives | 68 | 32 |

SWEDISH OPINION BY SEX AND AGE

| | Daily newspaper | Weekly | Club or trade | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Older men | 98% | 56% | 65% | = 219%** |
| Younger men | 96 | 64 | 59 | = 219 |
| Older women | 95 | 64 | 37 | = 196 |
| Younger women | 90 | 71 | 31 | = 192 |

FINNISH RESULTS BY SEX

| | Read regularly | Do not read | No answer |
|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 89% | 10% | 1% |
| Women | 77 | 22 | 1 |

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

90% of the Oct '45 sample in Germany who said they read the newspapers were asked: How often do you read them? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Regularly | 61% |
| Once in a while | 26 |
| Never | 2 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 90% |

**7.** (US July 5 '37) Are the newspapers you read fair in their treatment of labor news? (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 40% = 100% No opinion 21%

**8.** (US July 5 '37, Mar 30 '39, Apr 6 '39) Are the newspapers you read fair in their treatment of political news? The two 1939 samples began the question "Do you think newspapers are fair, etc." (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | | No opinion | Don't read newspapers regularly | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| July '37 | 55% | 45% | = 100% | 15% | — | |
| Mar '39 | 22 | 47 | | 8 | 23% | = 100% |
| Apr '39 | 31 | 59 | | 10 | — | = 100 |

**9.** (US Oct '37) Is the press fair? (FOR)

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 66.2% | 26.5% | 7.3% |
| BY EXTREMES IN ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 73.5% | 24.1% | 2.4% |
| Poor | 62.6 | 27.8 | 9.6 |
| BY SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL SECTIONS | | | |
| Northeast | 71.9% | 24.1% | 4.0% |
| Mountain states | 49.7 | 45.0 | 5.3 |

**10.** (US Nov 30 '37) Which of these news events of 1937 interest you most? Please name three. (Nov 22 '38) Which two of these news events of 1938 interested you most? (Mar 27 '46) What one thing in the news, apart from local news, has interested you most in recent weeks? (France May 1 '46) The war with Germany ended a year ago. What, in your opinion, has been the most important event since that date? (AIPO, FIPO)

NOV '37 RESULTS IN UNITED STATES

| | National total | Men | Women |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ohio floods | 28.3% | 25% | 32% |
| Sino-Japanese War | 27.8 | 32 | 24 |
| Supreme Court fight | 27.5 | 33 | 22 |

| | National total | Men | Women |
|---|---|---|---|
| Windsor marriage | 25% | 12% | 39% |
| Amelia Earhart lost | 21 | — | 31 |
| Present business slump | 20 | 24 | 16 |
| Texas school explosion | 18 | 14 | 23 |
| Justice Black and the Klan | 16 | 19 | 14 |
| General Motors strike | 16 | 20 | 11 |
| Supreme Court decisions on New Deal | 13 | 18 | — |
| Coronation of George VI | — | — | 15 |
| Spanish Civil War | — | 12 | — |
| | 212.6%* | 209%* | 227%* |

NOV '38 RESULTS IN UNITED STATES

*First choice only*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Czech crisis | 23% | 22% | 24% |
| Nazi persecutions | 12 | 11 | 14 |
| Republican gains | 10 | 11 | 9 |
| Corrigan's flight | 7 | 6 | 7 |
| Wage and hour bill | 6 | 7 | 5 |
| New England hurricane | 5 | 4 | 7 |
| Business slump | 5 | 6 | 4 |
| World series | 5 | 6 | — |
| Struggle between Japan and China | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| CIO and AFL troubles | 4 | 5 | — |
| Others | 19 | 18 | 18 |
| $30-Every-Thursday | — | — | 4 |
| Roosevelt "purge" | — | — | 3 |

MAR '46 RESULTS IN UNITED STATES

| | |
|---|---|
| Nothing | 2% |
| UNO | 21 |
| Russian question | 18 |
| Russian-Iran situation | 9 |
| Russian walking out of UNO | 4 |
| Atom bomb | 3 |
| International affairs | 6 |
| Peace negotiations | 1 |
| Strikes | 10 |
| UAW strike | 1 |
| Coal strike | 1 |
| Housing shortage and problems | 1 |
| Food problems | 3 |
| Draft extension | 1 |
| OPA extension | 2 |
| Veterans bonus; education of GI's; return of GI's; etc. | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 9 |
| Don't know | 8 |
| | 102%* |

MAY '46 RESULTS IN FRANCE

| | |
|---|---|
| Domestic politics (De Gaulle's resignation, elections, nationalization, Pétain and Laval trials, etc.) | 31% |
| Foreign affairs (Iran, the UN organization, Indo-China, Franco, Roosevelt's death, conferences) | 17 |
| Scientific discoveries, chiefly atomic bomb, also penicillin | 14 |
| End of the war | 10 |
| Economic and financial affairs | 5 |
| Others | 1 |
| No opinion | 22 |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**11.** (US Dec 28 '37) Are the newspapers you read fair to the Roosevelt administration? (Sept 13 '38) In its news columns, do you think it [your newspaper] treats the Roosevelt administration fairly or unfairly? Asked of a national cross-section of people who read a daily newspaper. 88% of the sample is represented. (AIPO) (US Aug '39) Is your newspaper for or against the New Deal? (FOR) (US Jan 22 '41) Outside of election year, do you think the (name of each paper) gives fair treatment to the Roosevelt administration? (Jan 22 '41) Do you think the [name of each paper read] gives fair treatment to the Roosevelt administration at this time? The Jan '41 questions were asked of two comparable samples of daily newspaper readers. (AIPO)

| | Yes, fair | No, unfair | | Don't know; no opinion | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '37 | 73% | 27% | = 100% | 14% | |
| Sept '38 | 82 | 18 | = 100 | | |
| Jan 22 '41: | | | | | |
| First cross-section | 78 | 14 | | 8 | = 100% |
| Second cross-section | 82 | 10 | | 8 | = 100 |

SEPT '38 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | Yes fair | No unfair |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 87% | 13% |
| Middle Atlantic | 83 | 17 |
| East central | 77 | 23 |
| West central | 84 | 16 |
| South | 88 | 12 |
| Far West | 73 | 27 |

AUG '39 RESULTS

| | For | Against | Neither | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27.0% | 34.9% | 15.9% | 22.2% |

AUG '39 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Northeast | 19.9% | 41.0% | 19.9% | 19.2% |
| Midwest | 13.2 | 53.8 | 16.9 | 16.1 |
| Northwest plains | 17.5 | 36.6 | 21.0 | 24.9 |
| Southeast | 52.0 | 15.0 | 8.6 | 24.4 |
| Southwest | 39.4 | 8.8 | 11.2 | 40.6 |
| Mountain states | 21.6 | 43.0 | 11.1 | 24.3 |
| Pacific | 19.3 | 46.5 | 19.8 | 14.4 |

AUG '39 RESULTS BY OPINIONS ON ROOSEVELT

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Generally approving | 35.8% | 25.0% | 14.0% | 25.2% |
| Generally disapproving | 13.9 | 54.7 | 18.4 | 13.0 |
| Don't know | 18.2 | 29.6 | 18.9 | 33.3 |

**12.** (US Mar 21 '38) Do you consider it proper for the President of the United States to write for newspapers for pay? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with the phrase "if he gives the money to some charitable cause" added. (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| First cross-section | 23% | 70% | 7% |
| Second cross-section | 60 | 35 | 5 |

**13.** (US June 9 '38) Does the newspaper you most regularly read support or oppose President Roosevelt? (Sept 13 '38) Does your paper usually support President Roosevelt or oppose him? Asked of a national cross-section of people who read a daily newspaper. 88% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | Support | Oppose | Both | Neither | No answer | Don't know; don't read paper | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| June '38 | 24% | 40% | — | 23% | 6% | 7% | |
| Sept '38 | 24 | 37 | 25% | 1 | 1 | 12 | = 100% of those questioned |

**14.** (US Sept 13 '38) What annoys you most about this paper [daily paper respondent reads most regularly]? Asked of a national cross-section of those who read a daily newspaper. 88% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Nothing | 61% |
| News | 8 |
| Features | 7 |
| Sports | 2 |
| Typography | 1 |
| General disapproval of policy | 11 |
| Sensationalism | 5 |
| Political bias | 6 |
| Advertising | 3 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who read a daily newspaper and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**15.** (US Sept 13 '38) What changes in it [newspaper respondent reads most regularly] would make you want to spend more time reading it? Asked of a national cross-section of daily newspaper readers. 88% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No change | 61% |
| News | 13 |
| Features | 10 |
| Sports | 2 |
| Sensationalism | 3 |
| Style of writing | 1 |
| Typography | 2 |
| Less biasing of the news | 8 |
| More liberal—pro Roosevelt | 2 |
| Less liberal | 1 |
| General—definite stand | 2 |
| Advertising | 2 |
| | 107%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who read a daily newspaper and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**16.** (US Dec 23 '38) Do you think the advertisers in the newspapers you read influence the treatment of news? (Mar 30 '39 and Apr 6 '39) Do you think newspapers leave out news stories which are unfavorable to companies advertising in newspapers? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* | *Don't read newspapers regularly* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '38 | 65% | 35% | = 100% | 26% | 4% | |
| Mar '39 | 44 | 17 | | 16 | 23 | = 100% |
| Apr '39 | 53 | 23 | | 24 | = 100% | |

**17.** (US Apr '39) Do you read the columns in the newspapers about the radio stars and programs? (FOR)

Yes 31.7% Occasionally 33.5% No 34.8%

**18.** (US Apr '39) Do they [radio columns] help you to choose what you want to listen to on the radio? Asked of 75.2% of the sample who read the radio columns. (FOR)

Yes 53.0% Sometimes 25.9%
No 21.1% = 100.0% of the readers

**19.** (US Aug '39) In your experience, do newspaper headlines usually give you an accurate idea of what really happened or a misleading idea of what really happened? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Accurate idea | 59.1% |
| Misleading idea | 29.4 |
| Qualified or don't know | 11.5 |

**20.** (US Aug '39) Do you feel that the news story itself is almost always accurate as to its facts, is usually accurate as to its facts, is not accurate in many instances? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Always accurate | 23.3% |
| Usually accurate | 45.1 |
| Not accurate | 24.7 |
| Qualified and don't know | 6.9 |

**21.** (US Aug '39) Do you believe that newspapers furnish fair and unprejudiced news about politics and politicians, labor and labor leaders, business and businessmen, foreign affairs, religious and racial problems? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *Not always, depends* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Politics and politicians | 33.1% | 3.7% | 45.9% | 17.3% |
| Labor and labor leaders | 41.8 | 2.2 | 31.4 | 24.6 |
| Business and businessmen | 51.6 | 2.3 | 25.9 | 20.2 |
| Foreign affairs | 50.1 | 1.3 | 20.1 | 28.5 |
| Religious and racial problems | 59.3 | 1.1 | 15.5 | 24.1 |

**22.** (US Aug '39) In general, do you think the papers you read have been too friendly or too antagonistic toward people of wealth, toward labor, toward President Roosevelt, toward Communists, toward Nazis and Fascists? (FOR)

| | *Too friendly* | *Too antagonistic* | *Neither* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Toward people of wealth | 27.2% | 8.1% | 46.6% | 18.1% |
| Toward labor | 9.2 | 18.5 | 48.2 | 24.1 |
| Toward President Roosevelt | 12.9 | 23.1 | 48.2 | 15.8 |
| Toward Communists | 18.5 | 9.4 | 37.6 | 34.5 |
| Toward Nazis and Fascists | 18.4 | 8.4 | 37.4 | 35.8 |

**23.** (US Aug '39) In general, do you believe that the newspapers you read soft-pedal news that is unfavorable to friendly politicians, friends of publishers, big advertisers, business in general, labor unions? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *In some cases* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Friendly politicians | 49.2% | 16.6% | 14.8% | 19.4% |
| Friends of the publisher | 47.8 | 15.5 | 14.3 | 22.4 |
| Big advertisers | 40.8 | 19.8 | 18.5 | 20.9 |
| Business in general | 29.7 | 20.4 | 29.6 | 20.3 |
| Labor unions | 22.2 | 19.3 | 31.8 | 26.7 |

BY SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL SECTIONS

| | *Is soft-pedaled* | *Is not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Friendly politicians* | | | |
| Southwest | 54.4% | 12.1% | 33.5% |
| Pacific coast | 83.6 | 9.5 | 6.9 |
| *Friends of the publisher* | | | |
| Southwest | 54.3 | 10.7 | 35.0 |
| Pacific coast | 83.3 | 8.0 | 8.7 |
| *Big advertisers* | | | |
| Southwest | 54.6 | 15.0 | 30.4 |
| Pacific coast | 75.8 | 15.6 | 8.6 |
| *Business in general* | | | |
| Southwest | 40.4 | 29.1 | 30.5 |
| Pacific coast | 59.7 | 33.4 | 6.9 |
| *Labor unions* | | | |
| Southwest | 29.0 | 31.4 | 39.6 |
| Pacific coast | 57.8 | 33.3 | 8.9 |

**24.** (US Aug '39) Do you think a reporter's impartiality is apt to be affected by membership in a newspaper union, fear of displeasing his boss? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *In some cases, depends* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Membership in a newspaper union | 34.6% | 1.4% | 31.3% | 32.7% |
| Fear of displeasing boss | 55.6 | 2.7 | 20.9 | 20.8 |

**25.** (Great Britain Nov '39) If rising costs compel daily newspapers to make a change, which would you prefer: a paper with fewer pages, the price remaining at 1d; a paper with the same number of pages as at present, with the price increased to 1-½d? (BIPO)

1d 75% 1-½d 25%

**26.** (US Jan '40) How often do you read his (or her) [your favorite newspaper columnist's] column? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Daily | 52.0% |
| Several times weekly | 28.4 |
| Occasionally | 19.6 |

**27.** (US Aug 8 '40) Does the newspaper which you read support Willkie or Roosevelt? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Willkie | 45% |
| Roosevelt | 18 |
| Both | 14 |
| Neither | 6 |
| Read no news | 4 |
| Read several | 3 |
| All others | 1 |
| No answer | 9 |

**28.** (US Nov 19 '40) Do you think the newspapers were fair to both sides in their treatment of campaign news and issues? (Jan 22 '41) Do you think the [name of each paper read] gave both Roosevelt and Willkie an even break in its headlines and news accounts of the presidential campaign? Asked of a national cross-section of daily newspaper readers. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '40 | 47% | 40% | 13% |
| Jan '41 | 57 | 36 | 7 |

**29.** (US Jan 22 '41) Which candidate did it [name of paper read] seem to favor? Asked of 36% of the sample who thought the newspapers did not give both Roosevelt and Willkie an even break in headlines and news accounts of the presidential campaign. (AIPO)

Roosevelt 19% Willkie 76%
Don't know 5% = 100% of those questioned

**30.** (US Jan 22 '41) Can you recall definitely which presidential candidate the [name of each paper read] supported in its editorials? Asked of a national cross-section of regular daily newspaper readers. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 20% |
| Willkie | 48 |
| Can't remember | 22 |
| Didn't support any | 5 |
| Never read editorials | 5 |

**31.** (US Jan 22 '41) Outside of election years, do you think the [name of each paper read] gives fair treatment to the Republican party nationally? A comparable cross-section was asked the following question: Do you think the [name of each paper read] gives fair treatment to the Republican party, nationally, at this time? Both questions were asked of samples of daily newspaper readers. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| First cross-section | 82% | 6% | 12% |
| Second cross-section | 80 | 7 | 13 |

**32.** (Great Britain Aug 30 '41) Do you do a crossword [puzzle] in any daily paper? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Every day | 4% |
| Once or twice a week | 5 |
| Occasionally | 27 |
| Never | 64 |

**33.** (US May 30 '42) Do you happen to read any political writers' columns which appear regularly? Asked of a national cross-section of daily newspaper readers. (May 2 '45) Do you read regularly any newspaper columnist writing on national affairs? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| May '42 | 41% | 59% |
| May '45 | 41 | 59 |

41% of the May '45 sample who read newspaper columnists regularly were asked: Who? Those who mentioned more than one were asked: Which one do you like best?

| | *Read regularly* | *Like best* |
|---|---|---|
| Drew Pearson | 28% | 8% |
| Westbrook Pegler | 17 | 5 |
| Ernie Pyle | 15 | 5 |
| Walter Lippmann | 12 | 4 |
| Walter Winchell | 15 | 3 |
| Paul Mallon | 6 | 1 |
| David Lawrence | 9 | 3 |
| Dorothy Thompson | 7 | 3 |
| George Sokolsky | 4 | 2 |
| Childs | 2 | * |
| Graften | 5 | 2 |
| Raymond Clapper | * | * |
| George Dixon | 1 | — |
| Frank Kent | 1 | 1 |
| Eleanor Roosevelt | 2 | * |
| Cedric Adams | 1 | * |
| Miller | 1 | — |
| MacKenzie | 1 | 1 |
| All of them; lots of them | 3 | — |
| Miscellaneous | 39 | 12 |
| No answer | 6 | 50 |
| | 175%** | |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages are based on the number of those who read some newspaper columnists regularly and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**34.** (Great Britain June '42) Do you know about the ban on *The Daily Worker*? (BIPO)

Yes 79% No 21%

**35.** (Great Britain June '42) Should the ban continue or should *The Daily Worker* be allowed to appear? Asked of 79% of the sample who knew of the ban. (BIPO)

Continue ban 37% Publish 43%
Don't know 20% = 100% of those questioned

**36.** (Australia Sept '42) Should claims broadcast by enemy radio be published in Australian newspapers? (APOP)

Yes 53% No 34% Don't know 13%

**37.** (Sweden June '43) Do you think that your daily newspaper speaks too much of our social relief, our defense, or of foreign politics—or do you think that far too many things are hushed up? (SGI)

ABOUT SOCIAL RELIEF AND DEFENSE

| | *Too much information* | *All right as is* | *Hushed up too much* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9% | 54% | 23% | 14% |
| OPINION ON SOCIAL RELIEF AND DEFENSE BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 9% | 53% | 30% | 8% |
| Women | 8 | 56 | 15 | 21 |
| OPINION ON SOCIAL RELIEF AND DEFENSE BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Town | 9% | 50% | 26% | 15% |
| Country | 9 | 57 | 20 | 14 |
| OPINION ON SOCIAL RELIEF AND DEFENSE BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Working parties | 8% | 51% | 30% | 11% |
| Higher classes | 11 | 60 | 14 | 15 |
| ABOUT FOREIGN POLITICS | | | | |
| National total | 7% | 50% | 22% | 21% |
| OPINION ON FOREIGN POLITICS BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 8% | 49% | 30% | 13% |
| Women | 6 | 51 | 15 | 28 |
| OPINION ON FOREIGN POLITICS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Town | 7% | 46% | 28% | 19% |
| Country | 7 | 53 | 18 | 22 |
| OPINION ON FOREIGN POLITICS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Working parties | 6% | 49% | 29% | 16% |
| Higher classes | 9 | 56 | 16 | 19 |

**38.** (US Nov '43 and Nov '45) In peacetime, do you think the Socialist party should be allowed to publish newspapers in this country? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '43 | 57% | 25% | 18% |
| Nov '45 | 58 | 26 | 16 |

**39.** (US Apr 8 '44) In general, do you think newspapers and magazines should run battle pictures that show American soldiers suffering and dying? 43% of the sample who thought battle pictures of American soldiers should not be shown were asked: Why do you think so? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Battle pictures should be shown | 48% |
| Don't know whether or not battle pictures should be shown | 9 |
| Battle pictures should not be shown because: | |
| Hard on people with someone in the service | 16 |
| Makes people worry and suffer (no mention of relatives in service) | 14 |
| Doesn't do any good; is unnecessary | 5 |
| Bad for home-front morale | 3 |
| Bad for morale of armed forces | 3 |
| Bad for younger generation | 3 |
| Makes people hard | 1 |
| May not all be true; exaggerated | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 104%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**40.** (Denmark Sept 17 '44) How long do you spend daily on reading papers? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| A quarter of an hour | 25.4% |
| Half an hour | 33.1 |
| Three quarters of an hour | 8.2 |
| One hour | 20.5 |
| More than an hour | 6.8 |
| Varies | 2.1 |
| Do not read papers | 3.9 |

**41.** (Denmark Sept 17 '44) How many newspapers do you read? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| No paper | 5.1% |
| 1 paper | 69.1 |
| 2 papers | 20.4 |
| 3 papers | 3.4 |
| More than 3 papers | 2.0 |

**42.** (Denmark Sept 17 '44) How many people in your home read your copy of the paper? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 person | 7.7% |
| 2 persons | 48.8 |
| 3 persons | 23.3 |
| 4 persons | 12.9 |
| 5 or more persons | 7.3 |

**43.** (Denmark Sept 17 '44) How many people outside your home read your copy of the paper? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 person | 7.1% |
| 2 persons | 8.2 |
| 3 persons | 2.1 |
| 4 persons | 0.8 |
| 5 or more persons | 0.9 |
| No one | 80.9 |

**44.** (France Nov 16 '44) Would you like to see some of the 1939 newspapers that are no longer published come out again? 37% of the sample who said they would like to see some come out again were asked: Which newspapers? Asked of a national cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Would not like to see any paper published again | 48% |
| Had no opinion whether or not would like to see some of the newspapers come out again | 15 |
| Would like to see the Le Petit Parisien | 8 |
| Evening paper—L'Intransigeant or Paris-Soir | 8 |
| Le Journal | 5 |
| Le Temps | 4 |
| Le Matin | 3 |
| L'Oeuvre | 2 |
| No answer | 7 |

**45.** (Sweden Dec '44) Did you read the leading article in your paper yesterday? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Didn't read a paper* | *Don't remember* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 20% | 73% | 5% | 2% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 29% | 65% | 4% | 2% |
| Women | 11 | 81 | 6 | 2 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 13% | 79% | 6% | 2% |
| 30–49 years | 21 | 72 | 5 | 2 |
| 50–64 years | 24 | 69 | 4 | 3 |
| 65 years and over | 20 | 73 | 5 | 2 |

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Didn't read a paper* | *Don't remember* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 26% | 70% | 2% | 2% |
| Middle class | 23 | 70 | 4 | 3 |
| Workers | 17 | 76 | 5 | 2 |
| Wealthy | 25 | 67 | 5 | 3 |
| Working parties | 20 | 73 | 4 | 3 |
| Others | 15 | 78 | 6 | 1 |

**46.** (Denmark Feb 11 '45) Do you read political articles in the papers? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 56.0% |
| No | 42.2 |
| Don't know | 1.1 |
| No answer | 0.7 |

**47.** (US May 15 '45) Have you heard or read about the arguments over the Associated Press news report on Germany's surrender written by Edward Kennedy? (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 39%

**48.** (US May 15 '45) Do you think Kennedy of the Associated Press was right or wrong in sending the news report when he did? Asked of 61% of the sample who had heard or read about the arguments. (AIPO)

Right 21% Wrong 33% No opinion 7% = 61%

**49.** (US July '45) Do you think the newspapers you read tell you enough about what goes on in foreign countries, or do you think they should tell you more? How about the magazines you read? (NORC)

| *Newspapers* | | *Magazines* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Enough | 54% | Enough | 46% |
| Should tell more | 39 | Should tell more | 21 |
| Don't know | 7 | Don't read political magazines | 22 |
| | | Don't know | 11 |

**50.** (Great Britain Sept 29 '45) If you have a complaint against the British press in general, what is it? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too much dope; inaccurate reporting; distortion of facts; irresponsible; frivolous; too sensational | 17% |
| Too much propaganda | 8 |
| Too conservative in politics; biased in favor of the Right and big business | 2 |
| Not large enough, should be allowed more paper | 2 |
| Ownership too concentrated | 2 |
| Too many advertisements | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| No complaint | 53 |
| No reply; don't know | 11 |

**51.** (Germany Oct 26 '45) How do you like the newspapers? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Very good | 11% |
| Good | 51 |
| Pretty good | 24 |
| Not good | 4 |
| No answer | 9 |
| No opinion | 1 |

**52.** (Germany Nov 19 '45) Do you get the newspaper? (OMGUS)

Yes 85% No 15%

**53.** (Germany Nov 19 '45) What do you think of it [your newspaper]? Asked of 85% of sample who got a newspaper. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Excellent; very good | 34% |
| Fair; pretty good; good as can be expected; room for improvement | 23 |
| Poor; don't like it | 5 |
| Unbiased | 4 |
| Biased; contains propaganda | 6 |
| Nice to have something to read | 1 |
| Don't read much; no time; language difficulty; bad eyes; etc. | 8 |
| Paper hard to obtain | 2 |
| Other | 8 |
| No answer | 8 |
| Don't know; no opinion | 4 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 85 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**54.** (Germany Nov 19 '45) Does the paper give you all the news you want? (OMGUS)

Yes 61% No 26% No opinion 1% No answer 12%

26% of the sample who thought their newspapers did not cover all the news they wanted were asked: What else would you like to find in it?

| | |
|---|---|
| More features and fiction | 10% |
| Reconstruction news | 2 |
| News of other zones | 1 |
| Local news | 6 |
| More and/or clearer news | 1 |
| More about Germany's future | 2 |
| Announcements; rationing; trade regulations; classified ads; obituaries | 2 |
| True account of recent world events; how Nazis led Germany into war | 2 |
| Other | 2 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 29%* |

* Percentages add to more than 26 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**55.** (Germany Dec 6 '45) Do you read the *Neue Zeitung*? (OMGUS)

Yes 47% No 51% No answer 2%

47% of the sample who read the *Neue Zeitung* were asked: What do you think of this newspaper? Do you like it more or less than other newspapers that are now being printed?

| | |
|---|---|
| Like it less | 5% |
| Like it better | 34 |
| Don't get another paper | 4 |
| No answer | 4 |
| | 47% |

**56.** (Germany Dec 6 '45) Do you yourself buy a paper? (OMGUS)

Yes 79% No 20% No answer 1%

**57.** (Great Britain Dec 14 '45) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the present number of pages in your morning newspaper? What morning newspaper do you happen to read? (BIPO)

| | *Too few* | *Satisfied* | *Too many* | *None read* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 59% | 32% | 1% | 8% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 64% | 30% | 1% | 5% |
| Women | 54 | 34 | 1 | 11 |

| | *Too few* | *Satisfied* | *Too many* | *None read* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 60% | 32% | 1% | 7% |
| 30–49 years | 61 | 30 | 1 | 8 |
| 50 years and over | 57 | 33 | 1 | 9 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 59% | 41% | — | — |
| Middle | 63 | 33 | 1% | 3% |
| Lower | 58 | 30 | 1 | 11 |
| BY NEWSPAPERS READ | | | | |
| Mirror | 64% | 35% | 1% | |
| Telegraph | 59 | 41 | — | |
| Mail | 67 | 32 | 1 | |
| Worker | 63 | 25 | 12 | |
| Express | 68 | 31 | 1 | |
| Herald | 67 | 32 | 1 | |
| Chronicle | 68 | 32 | — | |
| Sketch | 65 | 35 | — | |
| Times | 42 | 58 | — | |
| Provincial Daily | 62 | 38 | — | |

**58.** (Denmark Feb 23 '46) Do you read the foreign political news in your paper? (DGI)

Yes 72% No 28%

**59.** (Denmark Feb 23 '46) Do you think your paper gives you sufficient information about events in the world? Asked of 72% of the sample who read the foreign political news in their paper. (DGI)

Yes 67% No 33% = 100% of those questioned

**60.** (France Apr 16 '46) In your opinion, are the newspapers generally better or worse than before the war? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 10% |
| Worse | 25 |
| No difference | 35 |
| Depends on individual paper | 12 |
| No opinion | 18 |

**61.** (Belgium Apr–June '46) Do you read several newspapers (dailies) regularly? (INSOC)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 34% | 66% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 40% | 60% |
| Women | 25 | 75 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 20–34 years | 33% | 67% |
| 35–49 years | 34 | 66 |
| 50–64 years | 35 | 65 |
| 65 years and over | 35 | 65 |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | |
| Urban | 41% | 59% |
| Rural | 22 | 78 |
| Industrial | 33 | 67 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | |
| Farm and farm labor | 15% | 85% |
| Workers and artisans | 24 | 76 |
| White-collar | 49 | 51 |
| Merchants, manufacturers and foremen | 58 | 42 |
| Professional | 76 | 24 |
| Living on income | 43 | 57 |
| Housewives | 26 | 74 |

**62.** (Belgium Apr–June '46) Do these newspapers have different opinions? Asked of 34% of the sample who said they read more than one newspaper regularly. (INSOC)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 45% = 100% of those questioned |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 61% | 39% |
| Women | 44 | 56 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 20–34 years | 54% | 46% |
| 35–49 years | 56 | 44 |
| 50–64 years | 57 | 43 |
| 65 years and over | 53 | 47 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | |
| Farm and farm labor | 32% | 68% |
| Workers and artisans | 47 | 53 |
| White-collar | 71 | 29 |
| Merchants, manufacturers, and foremen | 68 | 32 |
| Professional | 86 | 14 |
| Living on income | 54 | 46 |
| Housewives | 42 | 58 |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | |
| Urban | 60% | 40% |
| Rural | 42 | 58 |
| Industrial | 57 | 43 |

**63.** (Belgium Apr–June '46) Do you read the novel in your newspaper? (INSOC)

| | *Always* | *Sometimes* | *Rarely* | *Never* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 15% | 18% | 11% | 56% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 10% | 14% | 10% | 66% |
| Women | 25 | 24 | 11 | 40 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–34 years | 15% | 18% | 11% | 56% |
| 35–49 years | 16 | 19 | 11 | 54 |
| 50–64 years | 14 | 16 | 10 | 60 |
| 65 years and over | 21 | 17 | 9 | 53 |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | | | |
| Urban | 13% | 18% | 11% | 58% |
| Rural | 18 | 16 | 10 | 56 |
| Industrial | 18 | 21 | 9 | 52 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Farm and farm labor | 12% | 20% | 7% | 61% |
| Workers and artisans | 17 | 17 | 11 | 55 |
| White-collar | 9 | 17 | 14 | 60 |
| Merchants, manufacturers, and foremen | 7 | 14 | 6 | 73 |
| Professional | 1 | 10 | 8 | 81 |
| Living on income | 22 | 16 | 12 | 50 |
| Housewives | 26 | 23 | 11 | 40 |

**64.** (Belgium Apr–June '46) Do you read a weekly newspaper? (INSOC)

| | *Regularly* | *Sometimes* | *Rarely* | *Never* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48% | 17% | 6% | 29% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 51% | 17% | 6% | 26% |
| Women | 44 | 16 | 7 | 33 |

| | *Regularly* | *Sometimes* | *Rarely* | *Never* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–34 years | 51% | 17% | 7% | 25% |
| 35–49 years | 51 | 18 | 6 | 25 |
| 50–64 years | 44 | 15 | 6 | 35 |
| 65 years and over | 39 | 13 | 6 | 42 |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | | | |
| Urban | 51% | 18% | 6% | 25% |
| Rural | 41 | 15 | 6 | 38 |
| Industrial | 52 | 16 | 7 | 25 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Farm and farm labor | 37% | 13% | 5% | 45% |
| Workers and artisans | 42 | 14 | 8 | 36 |
| White-collar | 57 | 28 | 5 | 10 |
| Merchants, manufacturers, and foremen | 61 | 16 | 8 | 15 |
| Professional | 83 | 12 | 1 | 4 |
| Living on income | 39 | 15 | 5 | 41 |
| Housewives | 47 | 15 | 7 | 31 |

**65.** (Hungary May '46) Do you approve of the journalistic congress organized monthly in various country towns? The question was put to the participants of the Independent Smallholders, Farmworkers, and Middle Class party's general assembly and journalistic congress in Vác, the 12th of May 1946. (HIPOR)

Yes 93.4% No 3.1% Other 3.5%

**66.** (Hungary May '46) Are the press publications at present sufficient, excessive, or insufficient? The question was put to the participants of the Independent Smallholders, Farmworkers, and Middle Class party's general assembly and journalistic congress in Vác, the 12th of May 1946. (HIPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sufficient | 30.8% |
| Excessive | 22.5 |
| Insufficient | 43.2 |
| Other | 3.5 |

**67.** (Finland June 28 '46) What do you generally read or glance through in the daily newspaper? (FGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Local news; news in short; family events; death announcements | 60%* |
| News of national supply efforts | 50 |
| Foreign news | 42 |
| Short items | 41 |
| Leaders | 40 |
| Comic strips | 36 |
| Radio programs | 28 |
| Sports | 24 |
| Literarure and art | 21 |
| Special articles | 17 |
| Commercial news | 15 |
| Advertising | 59 |
| Don't know | 25 |

* Percentages add to considerably more than 100 because some respondents who read a newspaper regularly named more than one item.

**68.** (Great Britain Aug '46) Do you think there should or should not be a public inquiry on the British press? (BIPO)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 36% | 33% | 31% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 43% | 39% | 18% |
| Women | 28 | 27 | 45 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 38% | 27% | 35% |
| 30–49 years | 38 | 34 | 28 |
| 50 years and over | 31 | 35 | 34 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 25% | 59% | 16% |
| Middle | 39 | 44 | 17 |
| Lower | 35 | 27 | 38 |
| Very poor | 31 | 22 | 47 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative | 24% | 51% | 25% |
| Labor | 46 | 23 | 31 |
| Liberal | 31 | 36 | 33 |
| Other voters | 37 | 26 | 37 |
| Non-voters | 31 | 25 | 44 |

**69.** (US Aug 14 '46) Do you think that the newspapers you read are fair or not fair in their reporting of the following news, excluding the editorials? (AIPO) (Great Britain Sept 14 '46) Do you think that the daily newspaper you usually read is fair or unfair in reporting the following news? (BIPO)

UNITED STATES RESULTS

| | *Fair* | *Not fair* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Political news | 45% | 35% | 20% |
| Labor news | 49 | 31 | 20 |
| News of international affairs | 52 | 23 | 25 |
| News about Russia | 44 | 31 | 25 |
| News of Britain | 50 | 26 | 24 |

BRITISH RESULTS

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* | *21–29 years* | *30–49 years* | *50 years and over* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Politics* | | | | | | |
| Fair | 58% | 61% | 55% | 50% | 59% | 61% |
| Unfair | 22 | 28 | 16 | 29 | 24 | 17 |
| Don't know | 20 | 11 | 29 | 21 | 17 | 22 |
| *Industrial affairs* | | | | | | |
| Fair | 62 | 69 | 55 | 58 | 62 | 63 |
| Unfair | 14 | 17 | 10 | 15 | 15 | 12 |
| Don't know | 24 | 14 | 35 | 27 | 23 | 25 |
| *Russia* | | | | | | |
| Fair | 50 | 54 | 46 | 46 | 52 | 50 |
| Unfair | 22 | 26 | 17 | 25 | 23 | 20 |
| Don't know | 28 | 20 | 37 | 29 | 25 | 30 |
| *USA* | | | | | | |
| Fair | 64 | 71 | 58 | 63 | 66 | 62 |
| Unfair | 11 | 12 | 9 | 14 | 11 | 10 |
| Don't know | 25 | 17 | 33 | 23 | 23 | 28 |
| *International affairs* | | | | | | |
| Fair | 55 | 62 | 48 | 51 | 55 | 56 |
| Unfair | 14 | 17 | 11 | 17 | 15 | 12 |
| Don't know | 31 | 21 | 41 | 32 | 30 | 32 |

BRITISH RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Higher* | *Middle* | *Lower* | *Very poor* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Politics* | | | | |
| Fair | 73% | 67% | 54% | 48% |
| Unfair | 17 | 23 | 22 | 19 |
| Don't know | 10 | 10 | 24 | 33 |

| | Higher | Middle | Lower | Very poor |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Industrial affairs* | | | | |
| Fair | 80% | 68% | 58% | 48% |
| Unfair | 14 | 16 | 13 | 14 |
| Don't know | 6 | 16 | 29 | 38 |
| *Russia* | | | | |
| Fair | 61 | 58 | 47 | 39 |
| Unfair | 22 | 24 | 21 | 21 |
| Don't know | 17 | 18 | 32 | 40 |
| *USA* | | | | |
| Fair | 78 | 74 | 60 | 52 |
| Unfair | 9 | 13 | 10 | 8 |
| Don't know | 13 | 13 | 30 | 40 |
| *Industrial affairs* | | | | |
| Fair | 71 | 66 | 50 | 42 |
| Unfair | 16 | 16 | 13 | 12 |
| Don't know | 13 | 18 | 37 | 46 |

**70.** (Hungary Sept '46) Did the Hungarian press sympathize with the allied powers from the outbreak of war till Hungary entered the war? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | Total | Educated class | Other professions |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Until July '41* | | | |
| Yes | 95% | 96% | 95% |
| No | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| Other, no answer | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| *Until the German occupation, Mar '44* | | | |
| Yes | 90 | 92 | 85 |
| No | 6 | 7 | 10 |
| Other, no answer | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| *After the German occupation, Mar '44* | | | |
| Yes | 35 | 38 | 34 |
| No | 58 | 51 | 52 |
| Other, no answer | 7 | 11 | 14 |

**71.** (US Sept '46) Do you think the newspapers you read generally make Russia look better or worse than she really is? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Look better | 17% |
| Look worse | 42 |
| About as she is | 21 |
| Don't know | 20 |

**72.** (France Sept '46) Are you satisfied that the daily newspapers now appear on four pages? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Indifferent | 38% |
| Satisfied | 32 |
| Dissatisfied | 26 |
| No answer | 4 |

**73.** (France Oct 16 '46) Since the increase in the price of newspapers, do you buy just as many or fewer? (FIPO)

| | Buy as many | Buy fewer | Do not buy newspapers |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 33% | 18% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Business | 67% | 28% | 5% |
| Professional | 55 | 33 | 12 |
| Farmers | 54 | 25 | 21 |
| Living on income | 51 | 32 | 17 |
| Workers | 49 | 35 | 16 |
| White-collar | 45 | 38 | 17 |

**74.** (Germany Oct 28 '46) Do you think the newspaper is very good, good, fairly good, or poor? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Very good | 4% |
| Good | 35 |
| Fair | 32 |
| Poor | 5 |
| Qualified | 2 |
| No opinion | 21 |
| No answer | 1 |

**75.** (Germany Oct 28 '46) Do you think that the newspaper is too much under the influence of the local government or not? (OMGUS)

Yes 14% No 48% No opinion 37% No answer 1%

14% of the sample who thought the newspaper was too much under the influence of the local government were asked: Are you of the opinion that the newspaper is not critical enough of the local government?

Yes 7% No 5% No opinion 2% No answer * = 14%

* Less than 0.5%.

## NEWSPAPERS AND RADIO

**1.** (US Apr 12 '37) For news, do you depend upon the radio, more, less, or about the same as you do upon your newspaper? (AIPO)

More 23% Less 49% About same 28% = 100%
No opinion 10%

**2.** (US Apr 19 '37) If you could have only one (radio or newspaper) which would you prefer? (AIPO) (Oct '44) If you had to get all your news from just one of these, would you choose newspapers, magazines, radio, or talking to people? (NORC)

| | Radio | Newspapers | Magazines | Talking to people | Don't know; no opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '37 | 56% | 37% | — | — | 7% |
| Oct '44 | 40 | 46 | 4% | 9% | 1 |

**3.** (US May 3 '37) Would you prefer to get national news from a daily newspaper or from the radio? (Mar 30 '39, Apr 6 '39, Mar 13 '40, July 1 '42, June 20 '44) Do you prefer to get your national and foreign news over the radio or in the daily newspaper? The 1940 question was asked of radio owners who were regular newspaper readers, and a comparable cross-section was asked the question with the phrase "in the daily newspaper or on the radio." Results were combined. Comparable cross-sections of the 1942 and 1944 samples were asked the same question about war news. (AIPO) (Great Britain May '42) As between the newspapers and the wireless, have you any choice for war news? (BIPO)

NATIONAL AND FOREIGN NEWS

| | Newspaper | Radio | No answer; neither; both; no opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| May '37 | 50% | 40% | 10% |
| Mar '39 | 45 | 50 | 5 |
| Apr '39 | 40 | 51 | 9 |
| Mar '40 | 44 | 56 | — |
| July '42 | 34 | 62 | 4 |

WAR NEWS

| | Radio | Newspaper | Both | Other | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Great Britain | | | | | |
| May '42 | 41% | 30% | 27% | — | 2% |
| US July '42 | 63 | 31 | 6 | — | — |
| US June '44 | 63 | 28 | 9 | * | — |

**4.** (US Apr '38, Aug '39, Nov '41) From which source do you get most of your news—radio or newspapers? The Apr '38 (FOR) sample was asked about "daily news" with the alternatives, "the newspapers or radio news broadcasts." The Aug '39 (FOR) sample was asked from which "one" source they got their news "about what is going on." (FOR, NORC) (US Sept 22 '39) Do you get most of your news about the war from your radio or from your newspaper? (AIPO) (US Dec 24 '41, Jan 28 '42, Feb 21 '42, Mar 2 '42, Mar 28 '42, Apr 28 '42, May 6 '42, June 18 '43) Where do you get most of your news about the war—from talking to people, from the newspapers, or from the radio? The Mar 28 '42 sample was asked: Which do you depend on for your news—newspapers, radio, magazines, or talking to other people? (NORC) (US Nov '42 and Mar '45) Where do you get most of your news—from newspapers, radio, magazines, talking with people, or where? In the Mar '45 question, the last phrase was "from the radio or newspapers." The 1942 (FOR) question was asked of a national cross-section of high school students. (FOR, NORC) (Germany Jan 21 '46 and Oct 14 '46) What is your main source for the news you hear—radio, newspaper, or magazines? (OMGUS)

| | Talking to people; friends | Newspapers | Radio | Both newspapers and radio | Magazine | Neither | Other | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| FOR Apr '38 | — | 45.2 | 23.5 | 28.2 | — | 2.8 | — | .3 |
| FOR Aug '39 | 3.4 | 63.8 | 25.4 | 3.1 | 2.3 | — | 1.3 | .7 |
| AIPO Sept 22 '39 | — | 35 | 34 | 20 | — | 11 = 100% | | 12 |
| NORC Nov '41 | — | 35.8 | 36.8 | 24.6 | — | 2.5 | — | 0.3 |
| NORC Dec '41 | 4 | 24 | 61 | 8 | — | — | 2 | 1 |
| NORC Jan '42 | 5 | 28 | 56 | 8 | — | — | 1 | 2 |
| NORC Feb '42 | 4 | 33 | 56 | 3 | — | — | 3 | 1 |
| NORC Mar '42 | 6 | 36 | 63 | — | — | — | 1 | 1** |
| NORC Mar 28 '42 | 5 | 32 | 56 | — | — | 3 | — | 4 |
| NORC Apr '42 | 6 | 30 | 56 | — | — | — | 2 | 6 |
| NORC May '42 | 6 | 32 | 54 | — | — | — | 2 | 6 |
| FOR Nov '42 | 20.7 | 34.8 | 57.2 | — | 5.6 | — | 1.4** | |
| NORC June '43 | 5 | 33 | 55 | — | — | — | 2 | 5 |
| NORC Mar '45 | — | 35 | 47 | 15 | — | 3 | — | * |

AUG '39 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Prosperous | 1.1 | 70.7 | 17.8 | 4.0 | 4.5 | — | 1.2 | .7 |
| Upper middle | 1.2 | 70.0 | 21.0 | 3.5 | 2.7 | — | 1.1 | .5 |
| Lower middle | 2.5 | 63.6 | 26.8 | 3.1 | 1.9 | — | 1.5 | .6 |
| Poor | 4.8 | 58.1 | 31.3 | 2.7 | 1.3 | — | 1.0 | .8 |
| Negroes | 12.2 | 51.6 | 28.3 | 1.4 | 3.1 | — | 1.5 | 1.9 |

AUG '39 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Northeast | 1.8 | 65.5 | 27.4 | 2.2 | — | — | 3.1 | — |
| Southwest | 11.2 | 63.5 | 18.8 | 1.8 | — | — | 4.7 | — |
| Pacific coast | 1.6 | 56.8 | 33.1 | 3.6 | — | — | 4.9 | — |

NOV '42 RESULTS BY SEX

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Boys | 15.6 | 40.1 | 56.6 | | 6.4 | — | 1.4** |
| Girls | 25.8 | 29.4 | 57.7 | | 4.9 | — | 1.3** |

GERMAN RESULTS BY RADIO LISTENING

| | Jan '46 | | Oct '46 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Radio listeners | Non-listeners | Radio listeners | Non-listeners |
| Radio | 70% | 2% | 66% | 1% |
| Newspaper | 42 | 82 | 23 | 84 |
| Magazines | 1 | — | 1 | * |
| No opinion | 3 | 8 | 2 | 10 |
| Radio and newspaper | — | — | 8 | * |
| Newspaper and magazines | — | — | — | 1 |
| Radio and magazines | — | — | — | — |
| Other sources; people | — | — | * | 4 |
| No answer | — | 8 | * | * |
| | 116%** | | | |

23.5% of the (FOR) Apr '38 sample who preferred the radio for getting their daily news were asked: Why do you prefer the radio?

| | |
|---|---|
| Get news more quickly | 28.4% |
| Takes less time to find out what is going on | 19.5 |
| More interesting and entertaining | 11.9 |
| Just don't tead newspapers | 7.6 |
| Radio fairer than newspapers | 6.9 |
| Radio more complete than newspapers | 6.6 |
| Newspapers more confusing | 4.3 |
| No mistakes on radio | 3.3 |
| Work and listen at same time | 2.8 |
| Easier | 1.6 |
| Cheaper | 1.2 |
| All other | 5.3 |
| Don't know | .6 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**5.** (US Oct 17 '38) In the recent European crisis, were you more interested in the newspaper reports or the radio reports? (AIPO)

Newspaper 22% Radio 63% No difference 15% = 100%
No opinion 3%

**6.** (US Oct 17 '38) Did the radio news broadcast increase or decrease your interest in newspaper stories of the crisis? (AIPO)

Increase 42% Decrease 16% Made no difference 35%
No opinion 7%

**7.** (US Mar 30 '39, Apr 6 '39, Mar 13 '40, July 1 '42, June 20 '44) When an important event happens, do you usually learn about it first on the radio or from a newspaper? The 1940 question was asked of a national cross-section of radio owners who were regular newspaper readers. A comparable cross-section was asked the 1940 question with the phrase "on the radio" and "from a newspaper" reversed. Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | Radio | Newspaper | Other sources | No answer; neither; both |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '39 | 68% | 30% | — | 2% |
| Apr '39 | 69 | 25 | — | 6 |
| Mar '40 | 77 | 23 | — | — |
| July '42 | 82 | 17 | — | 1 |
| June '44 | 82 | 15 | 1% | 2 |

**8.** (US Mar 30 '39, Apr 6 '39, Mar 13 '40, July 1 '42, June 20 '44) When you hear news broadcast over the radio, do you usually try to get more of the details from the newspapers? The 1940 question was asked of a national cross-section of radio owners who were regular newspaper readers. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Mar '39..... | 80% | 20% |
| Apr '39..... | 80 | 20 |
| Mar '40..... | 85 | 15 |
| July '42..... | 77 | 23 |
| June '44..... | 77 | 23 |

**9.** (US Mar 30 '39, Apr 6 '39, Mar 13 '40, July 1 '42, June 20 '44) In case the facts in a news broadcast do not agree with those in the newspaper, are you more likely to believe the radio or the newspaper? The 1940 question was asked of a national cross-section of radio owners who were regular newspaper readers. A comparable cross-section was asked the 1940 question with the words "radio" and "newspaper" reversed. Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Radio* | *Newspaper* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '39..... | 36% | 42% | 22% |
| Apr '39..... | 38 | 43 | 19 |
| Mar '40..... | 41 | 38 | 21 |
| July '42..... | 40 | 38 | 22 |
| June '44..... | 39 | 38 | 23 |

**10.** (US Aug '39) Which of the two—radio or newspaper—gets news to you more quickly; gets news to you more fully; gets news to you more accurately; gives you news freer from prejudice? (FOR)

| | *Newspaper* | *Radio* | *Both same* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| More quickly..... | 12.9% | 83.0% | 2.0% | 2.1% |
| More fully..... | 79.6 | 13.2 | 3.8 | 3.4 |
| More accurately..... | 38.3 | 38.0 | 16.6 | 7.1 |
| Freer from prejudice... | 17.1 | 49.7 | 18.3 | 14.9 |

**11.** (US Aug '39) Which do you like best—radio commentators, newspaper editorials, or newspaper columnists? (FOR)

| | *Radio commentators* | *Newspaper editorials* | *Newspaper columnists* | *No choice* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 39.3% | 25.9% | 10.7% | 18.4% | 5.7% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men..... | 36.4% | 29.7% | 11.4% | 17.6% | 4.9% |
| Women..... | 42.1 | 22.0 | 10.1 | 19.3 | 6.5 |
| BY EXTREMES IN ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Prosperous..... | 34.0% | 33.0% | 17.3% | 13.5% | 2.2% |
| Poor..... | 43.6 | 19.6 | 7.5 | 22.6 | 6.7 |

**12.** (US Aug '39) If you heard conflicting versions of the same story from these sources, which would you be most likely to believe? (FOR)

| | *Total* | *North-east* | *South-west* | *Pacific coast* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A radio press bulletin..... | 22.7% | 28.8% | 15.9% | 10.1% |
| A radio commentator..... | 17.6 | 18.5 | 11.5 | 29.3 |
| An authority you heard speak | 13.0 | 13.5 | 12.0 | 7.5 |
| An editorial in a newspaper. | 12.4 | 14.8 | 11.2 | 13.7 |
| A news item in a newspaper | 11.1 | 8.3 | 17.2 | 4.4 |
| A columnist in a newspaper. | 3.4 | 2.6 | 3.0 | 4.8 |
| Depends on paper, writer, speaker..... | 11.6 | 7.9 | 11.3 | 26.1 |
| Don't know..... | 8.2 | 5.6 | 17.9 | 4.1 |

**13.** (US Sept 22 '39) Which of the two, radio or newspaper, do you think gives you more reliable reports about the war? (AIPO) (Nov '41) As a whole, which source do you think gives you the more accurate news concerning the war—radio or newspapers? (Apr 28 '42) Do you have more confidence in the war news on the radio or the war news in the newspaper? (Mar '45) As a whole, which do you think gives you the most accurare news—radio or the newspapers? (NORC) (Germany Jan 21 '46 and Oct 14 '46) Which presents the more accurate daily news—the radio or the newspaper? (OMGUS)

| | *Radio* | *Newspaper* | *Both* | *Neither* | *Don't know; no opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '39..... | 28% | 30% | 38% | 3% | 1% | — |
| Nov '41..... | 47.0 | 21.8 | 16.5 | 5.2 | 9.5 | — |
| Apr '42..... | 46 | 18 | — | — | 36 | — |
| Mar '45..... | 46 | 29 | 14 | 3 | 8 | — |
| Jan '46: | | | | | | |
| Radio listeners..... | 65 | 18 | — | — | 16 | 1% |
| Non-listeners..... | 16 | 38 | — | — | 45 | 1 |
| Oct '46: | | | | | | |
| Radio listeners..... | 55 | 24 | 6 | — | 15 | * |
| Non-listeners..... | 11 | 37 | 1 | — | 51 | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**14.** (US Nov 19 '40) Did you get your information about the recent political campaign and its issues chiefly from the newspapers or from the radio? (AIPO)

Newspapers 38% Radio 52% Both 4% Don't know 6%

**15.** (US Apr 28 '42) Which of these comes closest to the way you feel the press and radio should handle war news put out by the German and Japanese government—they should not publish or broadcast it at all; they should publish or broadcast it only if they label it enemy propaganda; they should be allowed to publish or broadcast it any way they want to? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not publish or broadcast it at all..... | 20% |
| Publish or broadcast it if they label it enemy propaganda. | 46 |
| They should publish or broadcast it any way they want to | 21 |
| Don't know..... | 13 |

**16.** (US Apr 28 '42) Who should see that this [restricting of war news] is carried out—the newspapers and broadcasters themselves or the government? Asked of 66% of the sample who favored complete or partial restriction of the press and radio in regard to German and Japanese war news. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Newspapers and broadcasters..... | 10% |
| Government..... | 52 |
| Don't know..... | 4 |
| | 66% |

**17.** (US Sept 15 '42 and Canada Dec 9 '42) Do you think American newspapers and radio stations should report enemy claims on the progress of the war? The Canadian sample asked about Canadian newspapers. (AIPO, CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| United States.... | 56% | 30% | 14% |
| Canada..... | 57 | 35 | 8 |

**18.** (US Feb 6 '43) Which do you think gives you the clearest picture of what's going on in the war, the radio or the newspapers? The 62% who thought the radio gave the clearest picture and 27% who thought the newspaper gave the clearest picture were asked: Why do you think that gives you a clearer picture? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know which gives clearer picture | 11% |
| Newspapers give clearer picture because: | |
| Newspapers give more details | 11 |
| Newspapers have reputation for greater accuracy, truth | 3 |
| Evanescence of oral word is a disadvantage | 8 |
| Illustrations, maps, etc. are possible in print | 1 |
| Dislike radio or don't listen | 3 |
| Radio news is frequently colored by one man's opinion | 1 |
| Newspapers have reporters on the spot | 1 |
| Radio technique too spectacular or emotional | * |
| Miscellaneous answers | 1 |
| Didn't say why newspapers were preferred | 2 |
| Radio gives clearer picture because: | |
| Radio news gives a personal touch; human voice | 11 |
| Radio news is briefer, more condensed | 9 |
| Radio news is more detailed, more fully explained | 8 |
| Radio news is quicker | 7 |
| Radio news is more accurate and reliable; newspapers inaccurate, unreliable | 6 |
| Radio news comes direct from the sources | 4 |
| Commentators, people who give the news have high prestige | 4 |
| Get more varied views of the news from the radio | 4 |
| Don't read newspapers | 7 |
| Radio news fits time pattern; can listen and work | 6 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Didn't say why radio was preferred | 4 |
| | 113%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**19.** (Great Britain June '44) Do you think that listening to war reports on the radio increases or decreases your interest in reading your newspaper? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Increases | 26% |
| Decreases | 24 |
| Unaffected | 44 |
| Don't listen or read | 6 |

**20.** (Germany Oct 14 '46) Which brings the more complete daily news, radio or the newspaper? (OMGUS)

| *Radio listeners* | | *Non-listeners* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Radio | 30% | Radio | 7% |
| Newspaper | 55 | Newspaper | 47 |
| No opinion | 12 | No opinion | 46 |
| Both | 3 | Both | * |
| No answer | * | No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

## NOBEL PRIZES

**1.** (Sweden Dec '44) Do you think it right that the Nobel prize for scientists and authors is distributed irrespective of nationality, or do you think it ought to be reserved for Swedes only? (SGI)

| | *Should be given irrespective of nationality* | *Only to certain nations outside Sweden* | *Only to Swedes* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 70% | 1% | 15% | 14% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 74% | 1% | 14% | 11% |
| Women | 66 | 1 | 15 | 18 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 76% | 1% | 11% | 12% |
| 30–49 years | 70 | 1 | 16 | 13 |
| 50–64 years | 71 | 1 | 14 | 14 |
| 65 years and over | 54 | 1 | 23 | 22 |

**2.** (Sweden Dec '44) Do you know when the Nobel prize was last presented? (SGI)

| | *1944* | *1943* | *Longer ago* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 68% | 1% | 3% | 28% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 75% | 1% | 3% | 21% |
| Women | 61 | 1 | 2 | 36 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 68% | 1% | 2% | 29% |
| 30–49 years | 71 | 1 | 2 | 26 |
| 50–64 years | 69 | 1 | 3 | 27 |
| 65 years and over | 56 | 1 | 6 | 37 |

**3.** (Sweden Dec '44) Do you remember who got the [Nobel] literature prize? Asked of 68% of the sample who knew that the prize was last awarded in 1944. (SGI)

| | *Johannes V. Jensen* | *A Dane* | *Wrong answer or no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 16% | 8% | 44% = 68% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 18% | 13% | 44% = 75% |
| Women | 13 | 6 | 42 = 61 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 17% | 10% | 41% = 68% |
| 30–49 years | 16 | 10 | 45 = 71 |
| 50–64 years | 18 | 10 | 41 = 69 |
| 65 years and over | 8 | 8 | 40 = 56 |

## NORWAY

### Defenses

**1.** (Norway Apr 12 '46) Is your attitude towards the national defense question the same today as before the war? (NGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 62% | 19% | 19% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 70% | 20% | 10% |
| Women | 56 | 18 | 26 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–25 years | 39% | 18% | 43% |
| 25–35 years | 59 | 21 | 20 |
| 35–50 years | 69 | 20 | 11 |
| 50 years and over | 72 | 17 | 11 |

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| High | 79% | 17% | 4% |
| Middle | 65 | 23 | 12 |
| Low | 61 | 19 | 20 |

**2.** (Norway Apr 12 '46) In your opinion, should Norway build up a strong defense? (NGI)

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 69% | 24% | 7% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 65% | 29% | 6% |
| Women | 72 | 19 | 9 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–25 years | 69% | 25% | 6% |
| 25–35 years | 64 | 28 | 8 |
| 35–50 years | 71 | 22 | 7 |
| 50 years and over | 70 | 21 | 9 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| High | 84% | 11% | 5% |
| Middle | 74 | 17 | 9 |
| Low | 67 | 26 | 7 |

## Politics and Government

**1.** (Norway Apr 26 '46) Do you think that the government till now has managed well, fairly well, or badly? (Nov 22 '46) Do you think that the present government has managed well, so-so, or badly up to the present time? (NGI)

| | Well | Fairly well; so-so | Badly | Don't know; no answer |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '46 | 40% | 35% | 6% | 19% |
| Nov '46 | 32 | 43 | 15 | 10 |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| *Men* | | | | |
| Apr '46 | 43% | 38% | 6% | 13% |
| Nov '46 | 36 | 46 | 14 | 4 |
| *Women* | | | | |
| Apr '46 | 37 | 33 | 6 | 24 |
| Nov '46 | 28 | 41 | 16 | 15 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| *18–25 years* | | | | |
| Apr '46 | 35% | 41% | 5% | 19% |
| Nov '46 | 28 | 50 | 12 | 10 |
| *25–35 years* | | | | |
| Apr '46 | 37 | 41 | 5 | 17 |
| Nov '46 | 34 | 42 | 15 | 9 |
| *35–50 years* | | | | |
| Apr '46 | 42 | 34 | 6 | 18 |
| Nov '46 | 34 | 43 | 15 | 8 |
| *50 years and over* | | | | |
| Apr '46 | 43 | 29 | 7 | 21 |
| Nov '46 | 30 | 41 | 18 | 11 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| *High* | | | | |
| Apr '46 | 36% | 44% | 9% | 11% |
| Nov '46 | 31 | 45 | 17 | 7 |
| *Middle* | | | | |
| Apr '46 | 38 | 35 | 8 | 19 |
| Nov '46 | 34 | 38 | 19 | 9 |
| *Low* | | | | |
| Apr '46 | 41 | 34 | 5 | 20 |
| Nov '46 | 32 | 44 | 15 | 9 |

## NUTRITION

**1.** (US Oct 6 '42) From what you know, is there a committee working on food and health problems in this community called a nutrition committee? (NORC)

Yes 20% No 42% Don't know 38%

**2.** (US Oct 6 '42) What sort of things have they [nutrition committees] done around here? Asked of 20% of the sample who knew there was a nutrition committee working on food and health problems in their community. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Classes and lectures | 8% |
| Meetings | 2 |
| Pamphlets, books | 1 |
| Surveys | * |
| Victory gardens | 1 |
| Demonstrations | 1 |
| General promotion of nutrition | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 7 |
| | 23%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 20 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (US Oct 6 '42) Have you noticed any posters they [nutrition committees] have put out? Asked of 20% of the sample who knew there was a nutrition committee working on food and health problems in their community. (NORC)

Yes 6% No 13% Don't know 1% = 20%

**4.** (US Oct 6 '42) Have you seen any other advertising by this [nutrition] committee? Asked of 20% of the sample who knew there was a committee working on food and health nutrition in their community. (NORC)

Yes 8% No 11% Don't know 1% = 20%

**5.** (US Oct 6 '42) What sort [of advertising]? Asked of 8% of the sample who had seen advertising other than posters on the nutrition committee in their community. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Signs | * |
| Pamphlets | 3% |
| Newspaper publicity | 4 |
| Letters | * |
| Radio skits and announcements | * |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| * = 1 | |
| | 8% |

**6.** (US Oct 6 '42) Have you heard any radio programs about the nutrition program—that is, programs telling people what to eat to keep healthy and that sort of thing? (NORC)

Yes 50% No 48% Don't know 2%

## OCCUPATIONS

**1.** (Great Britain Nov '37) Do you like the job you have at present? (Jan '39) Do you like your present job? (Mar '41) Are you satisfied with your present job? (BIPO) (Hungary June '46) Do you find pleasure in your work? Asked in Budapest

and suburbs. (HIPOR) (US Dec '46) Are you reasonably well satisfied with your present job? Asked of a national cross-section of employed World War II veterans. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Indifferent* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Britain Nov '37 | 68% | 7% | 25% | — |
| Britain Jan '39 | 73 | 15 | 12 | — |
| Britain Mar '41 | 76 | 20 | — | 4% |
| US Dec '46 | 83.1 | 14 | — | 2.9 |

DEC '46 RESULTS IN UNITED STATES BY RACE

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| White | 85.0% | 12.4% | 2.6% |
| Negro | 65.2 | 29.0 | 5.8 |

JUNE '46 RESULTS IN HUNGARY

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Other, no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Fixed income* | | | |
| Men | 63.0% | 36.3% | 0.7% |
| Women | 61.6 | 37.3 | 1.1 |
| *Free income* | | | |
| Men | 67.8 | 31.7 | 0.5 |
| Women | 69.5 | 28.5 | 2.0 |

HUNGARIAN RESULTS BY AGE AND SEX

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Under 40 years* | | | |
| Men | 64.4% | 34.8% | 0.8% |
| Women | 66.5 | 32.5 | 1.0 |
| *Over 40 years* | | | |
| Men | 65.6 | 34.4 | — |
| Women | 52.2 | 44.6 | 3.2 |

**2.** (Great Britain Nov '37) Would you like to start up in business on your own? (BIPO) (US Feb '40) Would you like to go into any kind of business for yourself? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Depends* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Britain Nov '37 | 33% | 67% | — | — |
| US Feb '40 | 50.7 | 38.1 | 7.6% | 3.6% |

UNITED STATES RESULTS BY MARITAL STATUS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Married men | 49.7% | 38.8% | 7.8% | 3.7% |
| Single men | 64.4 | 26.3 | 6.5 | 2.8 |
| Single women | 39.8 | 48.1 | 7.8 | 4.3 |

**3.** (Great Britain Nov '37) Have you any hopes of doing so [starting your own business]? (BIPO) (US Feb '40) Do you think you will ever actually try it [go into business for yourself]? Asked of 58.3% of the sample who said they would like to go into business for themselves or who gave qualified answers. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Depends* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Britain Nov '37 | 9% | 91% | — | — | |
| US Feb '40 | 46.5 | 20.6 | 25.0% | 7.9% | = 100% of those questioned |

UNITED STATES RESULTS BY MARITAL STATUS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Married men | 43.8% | 22.0% | 25.3% | 8.9% |
| Single men | 62.6 | 11.2 | 21.3 | 4.9 |
| Single women | 33.6 | 29.1 | 29.5 | 7.8 |

**4.** (US Jan '38) If you could go back to the age of eighteen and start life over again, would you choose a different career or occupation? (FOR)

| | *Yes, a different career* | *No* | *Depends on circumstances* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41.0% | 39.2% | 15.2% | 4.6% |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–40 years | 39.0% | 40.3% | 15.9% | 4.8% |
| Over 40 years | 43.0 | 37.9 | 14.6 | 4.5 |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 44.8% | 34.9% | 15.9% | 4.4% |
| Women | 37.0 | 43.5 | 14.6 | 4.9 |

**5.** (US Aug 14 '38) If you were given a chance to go on a farm where you could have a house and make enough to pay living expenses, would you take it? Asked of a national cross-section of people on relief. (AIPO)

Yes 52% No 48%

**6.** (US Aug 28 '38) Do you like your Works Progress Administration job? Asked of a national cross-section of people on relief. (AIPO)

Yes 72% No 28%

**7.** (US Aug 28 '38) Do you find work you are doing in Works Progress Administration harder or easier than your former job? Asked of a national cross-section of people on relief. (AIPO)

Harder 41% Easier 59%

**8.** (US Nov 5 '38) If you had your choice of occupation, what kind of work would you like to do? (AIPO) (Dec '42) What occupation are you planning to enter? Asked of a national cross-section of high-school students. (Aug '43) If you had your choice, what kind of work would you like to do? Asked of a national cross-section of women 21–35 years old. (FOR)

NOV '38 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Like present occupation | 28% |
| Professional | 19 |
| Skilled workers | 17 |
| Businessmen | 8 |
| Unskilled workers | 4 |
| Farmers | 2 |
| No answer | 22 |

DEC '42 RESULTS

| | *National total* | *Boys* | *Girls* |
|---|---|---|---|
| The professions in this order: engineering, nursing, teaching, arts, medicine, law | 35.8% | 36.1% | 35.5% |
| Business, mainly clerical and secretarial | 21.1 | 8.0 | 34.4 |
| Factory work, skilled trades, mechanics | 8.6 | 14.4 | 3.1 |
| Government work, mostly armed forces | 4.5 | 8.5 | .3 |
| Farming | 3.2 | 6.2 | .2 |
| Other | 11.4 | 12.2 | 10.4 |
| Don't know | 15.4 | 14.6 | 16.1 |

AUG '43 RESULTS

| | *All women* | *Grammar school only* | *Business or trade school* | *Attended college* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Office or clerical | 25.0% | 15.1% | 43.7% | 14.5% |
| Factory | 12.2 | 37.4 | 2.8 | 0.6 |
| Nursing | 9.5 | 8.2 | 8.8 | 4.2 |
| Civil service | 9.4 | 5.3 | 12.6 | 7.5 |
| Professional or executive | 9.0 | 1.6 | 7.7 | 21.1 |

| | *All women* | *Grammar school only* | *Business or trade school* | *Attended college* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Arts (theater, music, etc.) | 7.0% | 0.6% | 5.2% | 13.4% |
| Teaching | 6.8 | 1.3 | 2.8 | 17.8 |
| Sales | 3.9 | 5.3 | 1.7 | 0.9 |
| Personal service | 3.5 | 13.2 | 0.3 | 0.5 |
| Other | 14.2 | 12.6 | 14.4 | 19.5 |
| | 100.5%* | 100.6%* | | |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (US Oct '39) If you had a son twenty-two years old, what business or profession would you like to see him go into? Asked of a national cross-section of businessmen. (FOR) (Sept 19 '45) If you had a son with ability and he could have any training he wanted, what business, profession, trade, or occupation would you most like to have him take up if he wanted your advice? (AIPO) (Great Britain Dec 14 '45) If you had a son starting out in life, what kind of work would you like him to take up? (BIPO)

OCT '39 RESULTS IN UNITED STATES

| | |
|---|---|
| Chemistry | 9.5% |
| Engineering | 8.2 |
| Research | 4.1 |
| Electrical engineering | 1.3 |
| Medicine | 10.6 |
| Law | 8.9 |
| Teaching | 1.3 |
| Ministry | .7 |
| Retailing | 8.0 |
| Manufacturing | 5.5 |
| Selling | 3.1 |
| Aviation | 5.2 |
| Mechanical refrigeration | 1.9 |
| Television | .7 |
| Automobile | .5 |
| Civil Service | 1.0 |
| Army | .6 |
| Navy | .4 |
| Same as father's | 8.2 |
| Anything he wants | 8.8 |
| Other | 13.0 |
| Depends | 1.4 |
| Don't know | 5.7 |
| | 108.6%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

SEPT '45 RESULTS IN UNITED STATES

| | |
|---|---|
| Medicine | 22% |
| Engineering | 12 |
| Law | 7 |
| Farming | 5 |
| Clergy | 3 |
| Business, merchant | 3 |
| Teaching | 2 |
| Science | 2 |
| Mechanics | 3 |
| Electrician | 1 |
| Architecture | 1 |
| Radio | 1 |
| Salesman | 1 |
| Accountant | 1 |
| Air transport | 1 |
| Army | 1% |
| Dentistry | 1 |
| Banking | 1 |
| A profession | 1 |
| Own business | 1 |
| Carpenter | 1 |
| Doctor or lawyer | 2 |
| Government work | 1 |
| Doctor or dentist | 1 |
| Musician | 1 |
| Building contractor | 1 |
| Railroad engineer | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 11 |
| Let him decide | 5 |
| Don't know | 6 |

DEC '45 RESULTS IN GREAT BRITAIN

| | |
|---|---|
| Professional: medicine; law; teaching; the church (the liberal professions) | 25% |
| Science: engineering consultant; civil engineering; research (scientific profession) | 3 |
| Services: army, navy, air force | 2 |
| Civil service: local government; something with a pension | 5 |
| Other clerical work | 4 |
| Trade and commerce | 4 |
| Police; post office | 1 |
| Farming; market gardening | 4 |
| Skilled trades: building; engineering; carpenter; a good trade | 24 |
| What he is most suited for; let him choose for himself | 9 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| No choice mentioned | 14 |

The British sample of parents with sons not yet working was then asked: Do you think that, in fact, is what he is likely to do?

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 54% | 17% | 29% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 56% | 18% | 26% |
| Women | 52 | 16 | 32 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 44% | 13% | 43% |
| 30–49 years | 53 | 17 | 30 |
| 50 years and over | 60 | 18 | 22 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 73% | 9% | 18% |
| Middle | 57 | 15 | 28 |
| Lower | 52 | 18 | 30 |
| BY OCCUPATION CHOSEN | | | |
| Professional | 51% | 25% | 24% |
| Armed services | 55 | 18 | 27 |
| Skilled trades | 65 | 9 | 26 |
| Farming | 48 | 44 | 8 |
| Civil service | 50 | 15 | 35 |
| Other clerical | 50 | 11 | 39 |
| Police; post office | 67 | 33 | — |
| Trade; commerce | 71 | 6 | 23 |
| Let him choose | 50 | 10 | 40 |
| Scientific professions | 37 | 37 | 26 |
| Miscellaneous | 45 | 22 | 33 |
| No choice | 9 | — | 91 |

17% of the British sample who thought their sons would not take up the kind of work they wanted him to, were asked: What is the main reason?

| | |
|---|---|
| Lack of opportunity | 2% |
| Boy has made up his mind, wants other work | 5 |
| Too young to say | 1 |
| Lack of money | 7 |
| Lack of ability | 2 |
| | 17% |

**10.** (US Feb '40) If you had your choice, which would you prefer—a job that pays a high wage, but with a fifty-fifty chance of getting promoted or fired; a steady job earning just enough to get by on, but with no prospect for advancement? (Dec '42, Jan '43, Aug '43) Here are three different kinds of jobs. If you had your choice which would you pick—a job which pays quite a low income but which you were sure of keeping; a job which pays a good income but which you have a 50–50 chance of losing; a job which pays an extremely high income if you make the grade but in which you lose almost everything if you don't make it? The 1942 question was asked of a national cross-section of high-school students. The Jan '43 question was asked of a national cross-section of factory workers, and personal service workers. The Aug '43 question was asked of a national cross-section of young women. (FOR)

| | *Low-income, security* | *Good pay at 50–50 risk* | *All-or-nothing opulence* | *Depends* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '40 | 33.1% | 61.0% | — | 3.1% | 2.8% |
| Dec '42 | 47.0 | 29.5 | 22.4% | — | 1.1 |
| Aug '43 | 54.7 | 25.3 | 17.6 | — | 2.4 |
| OPINIONS OF MEN IN FEB '40 BY MARITAL STATUS | | | | | |
| Married men | 34.6% | 59.1% | — | 3.2% | 3.1% |
| Single men | 25.4 | 69.8 | — | 3.3 | 1.5 |
| FEB '40 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Executives | 8.1% | 87.0% | — | 3.7% | 1.2% |
| Factory labor | 44.8 | 52.6 | — | 0.9 | 1.7 |
| Unemployed | 45.0 | 51.3 | — | 2.1 | 1.6 |
| DEC '42 RESULTS BY SEX | | | | | |
| Boys | 41.3% | 30.2% | 27.8% | — | .7% |
| Girls | 52.9 | 28.8 | 16.8 | — | 1.5 |
| DEC '42 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Poor | 60.3% | 24.0% | 14.4% | — | 1.3% |
| Prosperous, upper middle | 33.7 | 36.1 | 29.1 | — | 1.1 |
| Negroes | 68.2 | 13.1 | 17.8 | — | .9 |
| DEC '42 RESULTS BY PARENTS' OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| From laboring parents | 58.6% | 23.8% | 16.3% | — | 1.3% |
| From executive and professional parents | 32.8 | 34.7 | 31.1 | — | 1.4 |
| DEC '42 RESULTS BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | | | |
| Uninformed | 60.0% | 22.9% | 16.5% | — | .6% |
| Well-informed | 28.6 | 38.5 | 30.5 | — | 2.4 |
| JAN '43 RESULTS BY TYPE OF WORKERS | | | | | |
| Factory workers | 55.2% | 27.2% | 15.2% | — | 2.4% |
| Personal-service workers | 67.2 | 23.4 | 8.3 | — | 1.1 |

**11.** (US Dec 16 '40, Mar 19 '41, Dec 10 '41) Is the work you are doing in any way connected with the national defense program? The Mar '41 sample was asked: "Is the work that you do . . . ?" The Dec '41 sample was asked "Is your regular work . . . ?" In both of these samples the last phrase was "national defense production program." (Dec 18 '41, Dec 19 '41, Feb 23 '42, Nov 10 '42) Is your regular job in any way connected with the war effort? (July 29 '42) Is your work in any way connected with war production? (AIPO) (Canada June 6 '42 and Dec 2 '42) Is your job directly connected with the war effort? (CIPO) (US Nov 23 '42) Are you (or your husband) doing any war work in your (his) business? (NORC) All questions were asked of a national cross-section of employers and employed people with the exception of the Nov 23 '42 question (NORC), which was asked of a regular cross-section.

| | *Yes, indirectly* | *Yes, directly* | *No, not connected* | *Armed forces* | *Don't know; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '40 | — | 14% | 85% | — | 1% |
| Mar '41 | 13% | 6 | 73 | — | 8 |
| Dec 10 '41 | 10 | 11 | 79 | — | — |
| Dec 18 '41 | 9 | 7 | 84 | — | — |
| Dec 19 '41 | 9 | 6 | 85 | — | — |
| Feb '42 | — | 21 | 79 | — | — |
| June '42 | 27 | 15 | 58 | — | — |
| July '42 | 17 | 15 | 68 | — | — |
| Nov 10 '42 | — | 29 | 71 | * | — |
| Nov 23 '42 | — | 42 | 57 | — | 1 |
| Dec '42 | 30 | 20 | 50 | — | — |

* Less than 0.5%.

**12.** (Great Britain Mar '41) Have you changed your job or occupation since the war started? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, new kind of job | 20% |
| Yes, but same kind of work | 12 |
| No | 68 |

**13.** (Great Britain Aug 30 '41) Do you feel that you would be of more use to the country doing different work? (BIPO) (Great Britain Feb '42 and Canada June 6 '42) Do you feel that you could be of more use to the country by doing some other kind of work? The Canadian question said "your country" and was asked of a national cross-section of employed persons who felt that their work was only indirectly or not at all connected with the war effort. (BIPO, CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Britain Aug '41 | 20% | 73% | 7% |
| Britain Feb '42 | 22 | 72 | 6 |
| Canada June '42 | 45 | 38 | 17 |

20% of the British '41 sample who thought they would be of more use doing different work were asked: What other work?

| | |
|---|---|
| Munitions | 36% |
| Work directly connected with war effort | 20 |
| The forces | 11 |
| The women's forces | 9 |
| Technical work | 7 |
| Nursing | 7 |
| Land work | 6 |
| | 96%* |

* Percentages add to more than 20 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**14.** (US Dec 10 '41) In your regular job, do you spend more of your time working outdoors, or do you work more of the time inside a building? Asked of 50% of a national cross-section who are employed full or part time. (AIPO)

Outdoors 26% Inside a building 65% Both 4%
No answer 5%

**15.** (US Jan 28 '42) Which of these statements best describes how you feel about your own regular job now? Each respondent was handed a card with the following statements on it. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| I feel that my job is directly connected with the war effort | 22.0% |
| I feel that my job is at least indirectly connected with the war effort | 33.5 |
| My job has very little if any connection with the war effort | 14.5 |
| I don't think my job has any connection at all with the war effort | 25.0 |
| Don't know | 5.0 |

**16.** (US Feb 23 '42) Would you be willing to take a job in a defense factory? Asked of a national cross-section of housewives. (AIPO)

Yes 49% No 50% Undecided 1%

**17.** (US Feb 23 '42) Would you be willing to change your job to one in a defense factory at whatever pay the defense job would give you? Asked of a national cross-section of employed people and farmers whose jobs were not connected with the war effort. (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 40% Undecided 3%

**18.** (US Feb 23 '42) Would you be willing to take a defense job in another city? Asked of a national cross-section of employed persons and farmers whose jobs were not connected with the war effort, and who were willing to take a defense job at whatever pay they could get. (AIPO)

Yes 38% No 50% No opinion 12%

**19.** (Canada Apr 1 '42) If you were offered a job that you could do in some war industry, would you be willing to leave what you are now doing and take the job? (CIPO)

Yes 48% No 37% No opinion 15%

**20.** (Sweden May '42) Have you a job which you yourself wanted, or did you take it for lack of a better? Asked of a national cross-section of employed young people. (SGI)

BY SEX

| | *Boys* | *Girls* |
|---|---|---|
| Wanted it | 51% | 59% |
| Lack of better | 35 | 29 |
| Did not want it in particular | 10 | 8 |
| Don't know | 4 | 4 |

**21.** (US May 30 '42) Are you (or your husband or wife) employed by anyone, or do you work for yourself? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Respondent employed | 33% |
| Wife or husband employed | 20 |
| Both employed | 1 |
| Not employed | 46 |

**22.** (US May 30 '42) How about your own salary or wages (or your husband's)—would you personally be willing to have it fixed where it is now for the duration of the war if prices, rents, and profits don't go any higher? Asked of 54% of the sample who were employed themselves or were married to an employed person. (NORC)

Yes 36% No and don't know 18% = 54%

**23.** (US May 30 '42) How do you feel about the work you (or your husband or wife) are doing—do you feel it is directly connected with the war effort, indirectly connected with the war effort, or not connected at all? Asked of the same sample as the preceding question. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Directly connected | 19% |
| Indirectly connected | 17 |
| Not at all connected | 17 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 54% |

**24.** (US May 30 '42) Do you think people where you (or your husband or wife) work feel they are now working mostly for the benefit of the war effort or mostly for the benefit of the man or company that owns the place? Asked of 36% of the sample of employed people whose work was directly or indirectly connected with the war effort. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| For the government | 20% |
| For the owner | 10 |
| Don't know | 6 |
| | 36% |

**25.** (Great Britain Sept 20 '42) Would anyone in your family be willing to do part-time paid war work if it could be arranged? (BIPO)

Yes 27% No 73%

**26.** (US Oct 21 '42) In which of these two ways do you think you yourself can help most to win the war—by continuing to do what you're doing now or by doing something else? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Continue what doing now | 71% |
| Do something else | 24 |
| Don't know | 5 |

**27.** (US Oct 21 '42) Suppose you had to take some kind of war job—what kinds of work do you think you could do best? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Already in war job | 10% |
| White-collar work: | |
| Professional, administrative, managerial | 12 |
| Clerical and other office | 17 |
| Skilled jobs: | |
| Machinist or mechanic | 4 |
| Other skilled | 8 |
| Semi-skilled: | |
| Machine operator | 7 |
| Other semi-skilled | 7 |
| Unskilled: | |
| Factory work | 5 |
| Other unskilled | 3 |
| No occupation mentioned | 21 |
| Farming | 6 |
| Other occupation mentioned | 17 |
| | 117%* |

* Percentages add to 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**28.** (US Oct 21 '42) Are you employed at the present time? (NORC)

Yes 58% No 42%

**29.** (US Oct 21 '42) Have you applied for any job directly connected with the war effort? Asked of 42% of the sample who were unemployed. (NORC)

Yes 3% No 38% No answer 1% = 42%

**30.** (US Oct 21 '42) Would you say your work is connected with the war effort? Asked of 58% of the sample who were employed. (NORC)

Yes 40% No 17% Don't know 1% = 58%

**31.** (US Oct 21 '42) [Is your work] Directly or indirectly [connected with the war effort]? Asked of 40% of a sample of employed people whose work was connected with the war effort in some way. (NORC)

Directly 21% Indirectly 18% Don't know 1% = 40%

**32.** (US Oct 21 '42) Do you like this job about as well as any you could probably get, or would you like to change to some other job? Asked of 58% of the sample who were employed. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Like this job | 46% |
| Would like change | 10 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 58% |

**33.** (US Nov 23 '42) What is your (or your husband's) specific occupation—line of business? type of job? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Line of business* | |
| Manufacturing | 25% |
| Agriculture | 19 |
| Trade and commerce | 18 |
| Domestic and personal service | 13 |
| Transportation, communication, public utilities | 9 |
| Cultural service | 4 |
| Federal government | 2 |
| State, local government | 2 |
| Mining | * |
| Unemployed | 5 |
| Unclassifiable | 3 |
| *Type of job* | |
| Professional | 8% |
| Semi-professional | 1 |
| Managerial, proprietary | 17 |
| Clerical and commercial | 14 |
| Skilled workers | 13 |
| Semi-skilled workers | 13 |
| Unskilled workers | 11 |
| Farmers | 16 |
| Farm labor | 2 |
| Unemployed | 5 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**34.** (US Dec 15 '42) Would you be willing to take a job in a war plant at your present rate of pay? Asked of a national cross-section of employed men not working in war plants. (AIPO)

Yes 49% No 40% Don't know 5% Qualified answers 6%

**35.** (US Jan '43) Which of these things will you probably try to do in the next five years? Asked of a national cross-section of factory workers. (FOR)

BY SEX

| | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| Stay in industry you are now in | 54.2% | 46.2% |
| Work for government in a civil-service job | 13.1 | 17.2 |
| Go into business for yourself | 10.9 | 3.6 |
| Change to a job in another industry | 8.8 | 10.4 |
| Go into farming | 5.5 | 1.0 |
| Change into some kind of white-collar job | 2.4 | 7.3 |
| Don't know | 6.0 | 14.3 |
| | 100.9%* | |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**36.** (US Jan 21 '43) Have you ever seriously considered giving up farming and taking a job in a war industry? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO) (Canada Mar 31 '43) Are you by any chance seriously considering giving up farming to take a job in a war industry? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| United States | 20% | 80% |
| Canada | 11 | 89 |

**37.** (Denmark Feb 28 '43) Did you decide for yourself what you were going to do, or did your parents choose for you? Asked of people 18 to 25 years old. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Decided myself | 80.1% |
| Parents decided | 9.1 |
| Don't know | 10.8 |

**38.** (Denmark Feb 28 '43) Was the choice of profession due to thinking on your part or just mere chance? Asked of people 18 to 25 years old. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Thinking | 50.3% |
| Chance | 44.7 |
| Don't know | 5.0 |

**39.** (Denmark Feb 28 '43) Are you happy about your present job, or do you work just to live? Asked of people 18 to 25 years old. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Happy about job | 69.2% |
| Work just to live | 24.4 |
| Don't know | 6.4 |

**40.** (Canada Mar 31 '43) Do you feel that you would be better off or worse off, financially, if you took a job in a war plant? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (CIPO)

Better 32% Worse 33% Same 13% Undecided 22%

**41.** (Sweden Apr '43) Do you think that you will be allowed to keep your present civilian job after the war? Asked of a national cross-section of employed persons. Wives without jobs were questioned about their husbands. (SGI) (Canada Apr 28 '43, Dec 16 '43; Great Britain Apr 28 '43) After the war is over, do you expect to be able to keep your present job, or will you have to look for a new job? The Dec '43 question was worded "After the war, do you expect, etc." (CIPO, BIPO) (US Aug '43) When the war is over, do you think you will probably keep on doing the same kind of work, get another kind of job, or stop working? Asked of employed women. (FOR) (US Apr 4 '45) Do you plan to look for another job soon after Germany surrenders, or do you plan to keep on in your present job? Asked of a national cross-section of employees or employers. (AIPO)

| | *Keep job* | *New job* | *Stop working* | *Don't know; no opinion; undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sweden Apr '43 | 91% | 3% | — | 6% |
| Canada Apr 28 '43 | 78 | 9 | — | 13 |
| Great Britain Apr 28 '43* | 58 | 21 | — | 21 |
| US Aug '43 | 47.8 | 16.9 | 29.2% | 6.1 |
| Canada Dec '43 | 68 | 17 | — | 15 |
| US Apr '45 | 80 | 7 | 4 | 9 |
| SWEDISH RESULTS BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 91% | 3% | — | 6% |
| Women | 92 | 2 | — | 6 |
| SWEDISH RESULTS BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 89% | 4% | — | 7% |
| 30–49 years | 92 | 2 | — | 6 |
| 50 years and over | 94 | 2 | — | 4 |

| | *Keep job* | *New job* | *Stop working* | *Don't know; no opinion; undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| SWEDISH RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Town | 89% | 4% | — | 7% |
| Country | 93 | 2 | — | 5 |
| SWEDISH RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 97% | 1% | — | 2% |
| Middle class | 95 | 2 | — | 3 |
| Workers | 88 | 4 | — | 8 |
| SWEDISH RESULTS BY MARITAL STATUS | | | | |
| Married | 38.4% | 8.6% | 47.5% | 5.5% |
| Single | 50.7 | 21.8 | 21.1 | 6.4 |

* Released in Canada.

**42.** (Sweden Apr '43) Did you (your husband) get the job you now have because of the critical time? Asked of a national cross-section of employed persons. (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 10% | 89% | 1% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 12% | 86% | 2% |
| 30–49 years | 9 | 90 | 1 |
| 50 years and over | 7 | 92 | 1 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY AND SEX | | | |
| Town men | 12% | 86% | 2% |
| Country men | 9 | 90 | 1 |
| Town women | 7 | 92 | 1 |
| Country women | 10 | 89 | 1 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 6% | 94% | — |
| Middle class | 8 | 91 | 1% |
| Workers | 11 | 88 | 1 |

**43.** (US Aug '43) Would you rather work for a man or for a woman, or wouldn't it make any difference to you? Asked of a national cross-section of women between the ages of twenty and thirty-five. (FOR)

| | *Man* | *Woman* | *No differences, or don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49.6% | 6.9% | 43.5% |
| BY ATTRACTIVENESS RATING OF RESPONDENT | | | |
| Attractive | 56.5% | 4.4% | 39.1% |
| Unattractive | 31.4 | 13.7 | 54.9 |

**44.** (US Sept 14 '43) If your draft board called you in and let you decide whether or not to sign up for a job running a machine in a war plant at forty dollars for a forty-eight-hour week in a city two hundred miles away, what would your reaction be—would you want to take it or not want to take it? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Want to take it | 16% |
| Not want to take it | 76 |
| Undecided | 8 |

**45.** (US Oct 22 '43) Are you employed at the present time? Full-time or part-time? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

Full-time 26% Part-time 8% Not employed 66%

**46.** (US Oct 22 '43) Would you be willing to take a full-time war job? Asked of 66% of the sample of women who were unemployed and 8% who were employed part-time. (NORC)

Yes 12% No 54% Don't know 1% Depends 7% = 74%

**47.** (US Oct 22 '43) Well, what would you say is the main reason why you haven't so far [taken a full-time war job]? Asked of 12% of a sample of women unemployed or employed part-time who were willing to take a full time war job? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Needed at home to care for family | 5% |
| Physically unable | 3 |
| Don't feel it necessary | 1 |
| Have registered, haven't been called | 1 |
| No defense work around here | * |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Not ascertainable | * |
| | 13%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 12 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**48.** (US Oct 22 '43) On what does it [your taking a full-time war job] depend? Asked of 7% of a sample of women, unemployed or employed part-time, who were willing with reservations to take a full-time war job. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| If could get help for the house | 2% |
| If really necessary | 2 |
| On hours of work or type | 1 |
| Whether husband goes to army | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| | 7% |

**49.** (US Oct 22 '43) Why [are you] not [willing to take a full-time war job]? Asked of 54% of a sample of women unemployed or employed part-time who were not willing to take a full-time war job. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Must take care of household | 32% |
| Physically unable | 18 |
| Already working; don't want to leave job | 6 |
| Just no time | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Not ascertainable | * |
| | 61%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 54 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**50.** (US Oct 22 '43) Do you think women who hold jobs as telephone operators, laundresses, and waitresses are as important to the war effort as those working in war plants? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 75% |
| Yes, necessary for war workers | 8 |
| Depends | 6 |
| No | 10 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |

**51.** (Australia Nov '43) If you were offered two similar positions—one in a government factory and the other in a private factory—which would you choose? (APOP)

| | *Prefer government* | *Prefer private* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 53% | 34% | 13% |
| BY SELECTED GROUPS | | | |
| Well-to-do people | 29% | 53% | 18% |
| White-collar | 55 | 33 | 12 |
| Skilled workers | 56 | 30 | 14 |
| Semi-skilled | 60 | 33 | 7 |
| Male munitions workers | 62 | 31 | 7 |

**52.** (US Nov '43 and Nov '45) If you had a son just getting out of school would you like to see him go into politics as a lifework? In 1945 the question was also asked with "become a lawyer." (NORC) (Great Britain Aug '44) Would you like a son or daughter of yours to take up politics as a lifework? (BIPO) (US Dec 28 '44) If you had a son would you like to see him go into politics as a life's work when he gets out of school? A comparable cross-section was asked: If you had a son, would you like him to go into political life as his work when he gets out of school? Results were combined. (AIPO) (Germany Apr 15 '46) If you had a son just getting out of school, would you welcome it if he chose a political career? (OMGUS) (US Dec 11 '46) Suppose a boy or a girl asks your advice about entering politics. Would you advise him or her to plan to enter politics or keep away from politics? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion; can't say; don't know* | *Qualified answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '43 | 18% | 69% | 12% | 1% |
| Aug '44 | 25 | 48 | 27 | — |
| Dec '44 | 21 | 68 | 11 | — |
| Nov '45: | | | | |
| Politics | 24 | 65 | 10 | 1 |
| Lawyer | 62 | 26 | 11 | 1 |
| Apr '46 | 14 | 76 | 10 | — |
| Dec '46 | 32 | 45 | 23 | — |

21% of the Dec '44 sample who said they would like a son to go into politics as his life's work and 68% who said they would not like a son to go into politics were asked: Why?

*Reasons why son should enter politics*

| | |
|---|---|
| Need clean-minded men in politics to supplant crooks in there now; need higher type; need men of character and education | 22% |
| Opportunity to take part in making a better world; could do a lot of good; could help others; important work; serve the country | 21 |
| Good business; good profession; interesting | 15 |
| Good salary; money in it | 12 |
| Someone has to fill the job; have to have politicians for our type of government | 4 |
| Opportunity to amount to something, make something of themselves | 4 |
| Not an answer to the question: if gifted or inclined; should have special training; etc. | 9 |
| No special reason | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 9 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

*Reasons why son should not enter politics*

| | |
|---|---|
| Politics are too crooked, unethical, corrupt, rotten, graft; no honest politicians | 30% |
| Temptations and influences too great; even good men become crooked; would be led astray by bad influences; many politicians are corrupted | 16 |
| Better positions elsewhere; not much of a future in it for the average man; better off in some other job | 16 |
| Insecure position; uncertainty of job; too indefinite a way of making a living | 10 |
| Too many headaches; not a happy life; not enough constructive accomplishment; hard work and little thanks | 5 |
| Unprofitable; can't make much of a living; takes too much money | 1 |
| Would make too many enemies; too much quarreling among themselves | 2 |
| Not a normal life; life not one's own; limelight; etc. | 2% |
| His race or color would be against him | * |
| No special reason, just don't like it | 9 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| No answer | 4 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

* Less than 0.5%.

**53.** (Sweden Feb '44) Have you permanent work all day at present, or do you work half-time or just temporarily, or are you an employer yourself? (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Permanent work all day | 36% | 53% | 20% |
| Substitute or similar, not full-time | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Half-time or occasional work | 5 | 5 | 4 |
| Several free lance jobs | 0.5 | 0.5 | 1 |
| Employer | 16 | 27.5 | 5 |
| Housewife | 32 | — | 64 |
| Son (or daughter) at home | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Other work | 1.5 | 3 | 1 |
| No work | 5 | 8 | 2 |

**54.** (Sweden Feb '44) How many jobs have you had since the first of January 1943? Asked of a national cross-section of employed people. (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| One job | 84% | 85% | 81% |
| Two jobs | 11 | 9 | 14 |
| Three-five jobs | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| More than five jobs | 1 | 2 | 1 |

**55.** (Sweden Feb '44) When did you get your present job? Asked of a national cross-section of employed people. (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| January 1944 | 5% | 5% | 5% |
| Oct–Dec 1943 | 8 | 7 | 11 |
| July–Sept 1943 | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| April–June 1943 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| January–March 1943 | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| 1940–1942 | 21 | 21 | 22 |
| 1935–1939 | 20 | 20 | 20 |
| Earlier than 1935 | 33 | 38 | 23 |

**56.** (Sweden Feb '44) How did you get your present job? Asked of a national cross-section of employed people. (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Own advertisement | 2% | 1% | 4% |
| Employer's advertisement | 15 | 12 | 22 |
| Work exchange | 6 | 6 | 7 |
| On trial | 28 | 32 | 18 |
| Related to employer | 12 | 10 | 15 |
| Through relation or connection outside the business | 10 | 9 | 12 |
| Called by employer | 13 | 14 | 11 |
| Recommended by former employer | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| Through training college | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Other ways | 9 | 10 | 7 |

**57.** (US May '44) If a young man looking for a start after the war had to choose between the following industries or fields, which would you advise him to make his first choice? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Total* | *Manufacturing* | *Finance* | *Commerce* | *Utilities* | *Other* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Chemical industry. | 50.6 | 53.7 | 53.4 | 39.8 | 58.1 | 45.4 |
| Merchandising.... | 18.3 | 17.0 | 14.4 | 26.8 | 11.0 | 19.4 |
| Foreign trade..... | 11.9 | 10.7 | 11.1 | 13.9 | 14.1 | 13.7 |
| Housing construction..... | 10.0 | 9.7 | 9.9 | 13.1 | 6.3 | 9.5 |
| Household appliances..... | 9.5 | 9.8 | 8.1 | 9.1 | 7.3 | 11.0 |
| Transportation.... | 8.8 | 8.1 | 8.6 | 9.2 | 12.0 | 10.3 |
| Radio manufacture | 5.2 | 4.9 | 6.3 | 5.5 | 4.7 | 5.5 |
| Finance..... | 2.4 | 1.7 | 5.1 | 2.3 | 3.7 | 2.3 |
| Publishing..... | 0.8 | 0.8 | 0.3 | 0.9 | 1.0 | 0.6 |
| Percentages.... | 117.5* | 116.4* | 117.2* | 126.2* | 118.2* | 117.7* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**58.** (US June 23 '44) And here's a question about jobs: John Smith works in a war plant making tanks for the army. He supports his wife and three children and his aged mother. He has a chance to leave his war job and take a job in a company that makes home furniture. He will make less money there, but he can be sure of his job when the war is over. In a case like this, do you think John Smith should stay on his war job or take the job in the furniture factory? (NORC)

Stay on war job 66% Take job in factory 25% Don't know 9%

**59.** (US Nov 29 '44) Have you made plans to take a job in a war plant? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who didn't have war jobs. (AIPO)

Yes 6% No 94%

**60.** (Sweden Apr '45 and Norway Apr 17 '46) Are you satisfied with your present occupation, or do you think that something else would suit you better? The Norwegian question began with the phrase "Do you feel satisfied, etc." (SGI, NGI) (US Oct '46) Do you like the business you are in, or do you feel that if you had the chance to do it over again, you would rather do something else? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Satisfied* | *As good as anything else* | *Some other job would be better* | *No job* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sweden Apr '45... | 62% | 10% | 16% | 5% | 7% |
| Norway Apr '46... | 85 | — | 12 | — | 3 |
| United States Oct '46..... | 94.2 | — | 5.8 | — | — |
| SWEDISH AND NORWEGIAN BY SEX | | | | | |
| *Men* | | | | | |
| Apr '45..... | 66% | 10% | 17% | 4% | 3% |
| Apr '46..... | 83 | — | 13 | — | 4 |
| *Women* | | | | | |
| Apr '45..... | 49 | 9 | 11 | 10 | 21 |
| Apr '46..... | 86 | — | 12 | — | 2 |
| NORWEGIAN RESULTS BY AGE | | | | | |
| 18–25 years..... | 72% | — | 21% | — | 7% |
| 25–35 years..... | 85 | — | 14 | — | 1 |
| 35–50 years..... | 86 | — | 12 | — | 2 |
| 50 years and over.. | 91 | — | 6 | — | 3 |
| SWEDISH AND NORWEGIAN BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| *Upper or high class* | | | | | |
| Apr '45..... | 79% | 5% | 3% | 6% | 7% |
| Apr '46..... | 93 | — | 6 | — | 1 |
| *Middle class* | | | | | |
| Apr '45..... | 64 | 8 | 11 | 8 | 9 |
| Apr '46..... | 88 | — | 9 | — | 3 |
| *Low or working class* | | | | | |
| Apr '45..... | 58 | 11 | 20 | 4 | 7 |
| Apr '46..... | 83 | — | 14 | — | 3 |
| SWEDISH RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | |
| Farmers..... | 61% | 12% | 9% | 6% | 12% |
| Others..... | 62 | 9 | 18 | 5 | 6 |

16% of the Swedish '45 sample who thought some other job would be better were asked: What have you against your job?

| | |
|---|---|
| Wages unsatisfactory..... | 20% |
| Too hard and fast..... | 21 |
| Too monotonous..... | 18 |
| Seasonal, unstable, or too little time off.. | 14 |
| Too unhealthy..... | 5 |
| Other reasons..... | 22 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**61.** (Sweden Apr '45) Did you have another occupation before [the present one]? Asked of a national cross-section of employed people. (SGI)

| | *Have not had* | *Have had* | *No answer; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 51% | 37% | 12% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men..... | 52% | 41% | 7% |
| Women..... | 49 | 30 | 21 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years..... | 55% | 35% | 10% |
| 30–49 years..... | 56 | 36 | 8 |
| 50–64 years..... | 43 | 37 | 20 |
| 65 years and over..... | 37 | 35 | 28 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class..... | 66% | 21% | 13% |
| Middle class..... | 54 | 32 | 14 |
| Workers..... | 48 | 41 | 11 |

**62.** (Sweden Sept '45) What do you consider to be the most important thing to enable you to enjoy your work? Asked of a national cross-section of employees and workers. (SGI) (Great Britain Jan 12 '46) Apart from wages and security, what do you need most in a job for making you feel contented whilst at work? (BIPO)

SWEDISH RESULTS

| | *National total* | *Women* | *Men* | *20–29 years* | *30–49 years* | *50–64 years* | *65 years and over* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Size of the pay..... | 64 | 58 | 66 | 56 | 67 | 68 | 81 |
| Security of the job..... | 56 | 44 | 61 | 50 | 60 | 59 | 45 |

| | National total | Women | Men | 20–29 years | 30–49 years | 50–64 years | 65 years and over |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Getting on with the management | 42 | 47 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 46 | 31 |
| Good pals | 30 | 38 | 28 | 35 | 28 | 25 | 39 |
| Hygiene in the work; good, clean localities | 19 | 25 | 16 | 21 | 20 | 19 | 7 |
| Communication | 16 | 13 | 17 | 24 | 16 | 6 | 6 |
| Chance of having own ideas and suggestions carried out | 14 | 9 | 15 | 14 | 13 | 13 | 9 |
| Short working day; long holidays | 13 | 14 | 12 | 12 | 11 | 16 | 19 |
| Good requisites (machinery, etc.) | 12 | 14 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 10 | 20 |
| Variety in work; not tiresome work | 9 | 12 | 8 | 11 | 6 | 12 | 18 |
| Work that needs thinking about | 7 | 9 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 11 | 10 |
| Work that does not need too much thinking about or attention | 7 | 10 | 7 | 9 | 8 | 9 | 5 |
| Percentages | 289* | 293* | 290* | 293* | 288* | 294* | 290* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

BRITISH RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Congenial surroundings | 5% |
| Good working conditions | 15 |
| Canteen; recreation or rest rooms | 6 |
| Shorter hours of work | 12 |
| Good holidays with pay | 4 |
| Interesting work; not monotonous jobs | 10 |
| Socially worthwhile work | 1 |
| Work of own choosing | 2 |
| Friendly atmosphere; cooperation between management and employee | 14 |
| Decent boss; appreciative employer | 10 |
| Creative work; satisfying work | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 8 |
| No answer; don't know | 10 |

**63.** (Germany Oct 26 '45 and Dec 27 '45) Did you hear of law No. 8 that prescribes the kind of work former party members may engage in? 73% of the Oct sample and 74% of the Dec sample who had heard of the law were asked: Do you think the law is justified or not? (OMGUS)

| | October | December |
|---|---|---|
| Have not heard of the law | 26% | 26% |
| No opinion on first question | 1 | — |
| Think law just | 51 | 49 |
| Think law unjust | 17 | 21 |
| Think law both just and unjust | — | 1 |
| No opinion whether law just or unjust | 4 | 2 |
| No answer to second question | 1 | 1 |

**64.** (Germany Oct 26 '45) Does this law [No. 8 of the military government] mean that party members can no longer earn their living? Asked of 73% of the Oct sample who had heard of the military government law No. 8. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 13% |
| No | 49 |
| No opinion | 9 |
| No answer | 2 |
| | 73% |

**65.** (Germany Oct 26 '45) How then can party members live? Asked of 49% of the Oct sample who thought the military government law No. 8 did not mean that party members could no longer earn their living. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct | 12% |
| Not clear | 3 |
| They can work as laborers | 23 |
| Find other jobs | 7 |
| Other | 2 |
| No opinion | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 49% |

**66.** (Germany Nov 5 '45) Military government law No. 8 provides that all party members may be employed only at ordinary labor, that is, work in which they have no control over other workers and no influence in determining business policy. What do you think this law is intended to accomplish? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Punishment | 13% |
| Prevent rebirth of Nazism | 11 |
| Completely eradicate Nazi influence from all aspects of German life | 42 |
| Keep the workers from being influenced by Nazis | 2 |
| Clear the way for the construction of a completely democratic Germany | 1 |
| Show Nazis what work is | 9 |
| Other | 7 |
| No opinion | 14 |
| No answer | 1 |

**67.** (US Nov 29 '45) In which one of these ways do you think a young man with ability and the necessary qualifications would be likely to make the best living over a period of time? (NYHT)

| | National total | Prosperous | Upper middle | Lower middle | Poor |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % |
| Working in a small company | 7.5 | 8.6 | 7.6 | 7.9 | 6.7 |
| Working in a large company | 14.3 | 17.2 | 14.0 | 14.2 | 13.9 |
| Going into business for himself | 39.4 | 41.8 | 42.2 | 41.5 | 33.7 |
| Becoming a doctor | 13.3 | 16.4 | 15.1 | 13.5 | 10.7 |
| Becoming a lawyer | 3.6 | 5.2 | 4.6 | 3.1 | 3.4 |
| Working for the government | 14.1 | 4.5 | 10.2 | 14.0 | 19.5 |
| Becoming a labor union leader | 3.8 | 4.1 | 4.5 | 2.9 | 4.4 |
| Don't know | 7.2 | 4.8 | 5.5 | 6.7 | 9.7 |
| Percentages | 103.2* | 102.6* | 103.7* | 103.8* | 102.0* |

BY OCCUPATION

| | Housewife % | Professional % | Executive % | White-collar % | Labor % | Farm % | Other % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Working in a small company | 7.1 | 5.1 | 9.5 | 7.5 | 8.4 | 4.7 | 12.3 |
| Working in a large company | 13.6 | 18.9 | 14.1 | 14.8 | 13.5 | 12.3 | 18.7 |
| Going into business for himself | 38.8 | 42.3 | 44.3 | 44.0 | 32.8 | 46.6 | 31.1 |
| Becoming a doctor | 12.5 | 17.3 | 12.6 | 14.7 | 12.9 | 13.8 | 12.3 |
| Becoming a lawyer | 2.9 | 4.1 | 3.1 | 4.4 | 4.3 | 4.1 | 4.3 |
| Working for the government | 16.2 | 9.2 | 6.9 | 10.9 | 18.0 | 14.4 | 8.9 |
| Becoming a labor union leader | 2.4 | 5.1 | 7.6 | 3.2 | 5.5 | 2.9 | 7.2 |
| Don't know | 8.9 | 2.6 | 5.7 | 5.1 | 7.6 | 6.5 | 6.4 |
| Percentages | 102.4* | 104.6* | 103.8* | 104.6* | 103.0* | 105.3* | 101.2* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**68.** (Australia May–June '46) If six jobs were offered, all with much the same wages but each having a different one of these advantages, which would be your first choice? And your second? (APOP)

| | Guaranteed regular employment | Good pensions at retirement | Better working conditions | A share of each year's profits | Bonuses for good production | Shorter working hours | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| First choice | 58% | 9% | 11% | 10% | 7% | 5% | |
| Total first and second choice | 70 | 34 | 28 | 23 | 23 | 13 | = 191%* |
| BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS | | | | | | | |
| Employers | 67% | 29% | 27% | 26% | 35% | 7% | = 191%* |
| Employees | 71 | 34 | 28 | 23 | 21 | 20 | = 197* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because respondents were asked to name two choices.

**69.** (Hungary June '46) Is there an increase of working discipline in your place of employment? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

| | Yes | No | Other; no answer |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX AND TYPE OF INCOME | | | |
| *Fixed income* | | | |
| Men | 61.9% | 36.9% | 1.2% |
| Women | 55.2 | 40.2 | 4.6 |
| *Variable income* | | | |
| Men | 50.6 | 44.6 | 4.8 |
| Women | 46.2 | 43.0 | 10.8 |
| BY SEX AND AGE | | | |
| *Over 40 years* | | | |
| Men | 59.1% | 38.9% | 2.0% |
| Women | 53.4 | 42.3 | 4.3 |
| *Under 40 years* | | | |
| Men | 55.5 | 41.2 | 3.3 |
| Women | 50.0 | 35.9 | 14.1 |

**70.** (US Aug '46) Do you think that the position of the head of the local chapter of the Red Cross should nearly always be held by a man or by a woman? (FOR)

BY SEX

| | Man | Woman | Either | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 25.2% | 45.5% | 20.4% | 8.9% |
| Women | 22.5 | 47.7 | 19.7 | 10.1 |

**71.** (US Aug '46) When men and women are given an equal chance, who do you think would generally make the best stenographers? (FOR)

BY SEX

| | Men | Women | No difference | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 5.4% | 85.6% | 5.1% | 3.9% |
| Women | 3.5 | 85.0 | 6.3 | 5.2 |

**72.** (US Aug '46) When men and women are given an equal chance, who do you think would generally make the best welders in a factory? (FOR)

BY SEX

| | Men | Women | No difference | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 82.5% | 4.5% | 6.8% | 6.2% |
| Women | 74.4 | 5.6 | 8.6 | 11.4 |

**73.** (US Aug '46) When men and women are given an equal chance, who do you think would generally make the best department-store executives? (FOR)

BY SEX

| | Men | Women | No difference | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 58.6% | 19.8% | 12.9% | 8.7% |
| Women | 50.7 | 22.8 | 16.0 | 10.5 |

**74.** (US Aug '46) When men and women are given an equal chance, who do you think would generally make the best lawyers? (FOR)

BY SEX

| | Men | Women | No difference | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 78.7% | 7.4% | 7.4% | 6.5% |
| Women | 75.2 | 8.8 | 7.9 | 8.1 |

**75.** (US Aug 28 '46) Do you think you would like to run for public office someday? (AIPO)

Yes 17% No 79% No opinion 4%

**76.** (Brazil asked in Nov '46) If you were looking for a job, would you like to work for an American company? (IBOPE)

Yes 49% No 31% No opinion 20%

**77.** (Sweden Nov 21 '46) Would you be interested in taking a regular part-time or whole-time day job outside of your home? (SGI)

BY SEX

| | Interested in whole-time work | Interested in part-time work | Interested in neither type | Don't know | Have regular work |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| All women | 2% | 12% | 46% | 9% | 31% |
| Married women | 1 | 16 | 55 | 8 | 20 |
| Men | 1 | 2 | 17 | 5 | 75 |

**78.** (US Dec 11 '46) Suppose a boy or a girl asks your advice about becoming a teacher. Would you advise him or her to plan to be a teacher or keep away from teaching? (AIPO)

Teacher 62% Keep away 23% No opinion 15%

**79.** (US Dec 11 '46) Suppose a boy or a girl asks your advice about becoming a lawyer. Would you advise him or her to plan to be a lawyer or keep away from the law profession? (AIPO)

Lawyer 61% Keep away 15% No opinion 24%

## OFFICE MANAGEMENT

**1.** (US Oct '46) Which of these responsibilities do you delegate to your secretary? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Does she keep track of your business engagements and remind you of them? | 75.4% | 24.6% |
| Does she answer routine letters in your name? | 58.5 | 41.5 |
| Does she write checks for your personal bills? | 36.8 | 63.2 |
| Does she do personal errands for you like buying shirts or theater tickets? | 29.5 | 70.5 |
| Does she control your appointment schedule? | 25.4 | 74.6 |
| Does she decide who is to talk to you over the phone? | 23.0 | 77.0 |

**2.** (US Oct '46) Practical conditions aside, do you think you might be able to do a better, more creative job if you could work just the way you wanted to? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Yes 60.0% No 35.7% Don't know 4.3%

**3.** (US Oct '46) During what part of the day do you generally do your best work? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Morning* | *Afternoon* | *Night* | *Makes little difference* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 52% | 7% | 3% | 38% |
| BY SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL SECTIONS | | | | |
| Greater New York | 44% | 8% | 3% | 45% |
| South | 61 | 6 | 4 | 29 |
| Far West | 62 | 2 | 6 | 30 |

**4.** (US Oct '46) While most people use all three, which of the following methods do you find most satisfactory for gathering information about your business? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Reading written reports from your subordinates | 23.0% |
| Calling in your subordinates for verbal reports | 55.6 |
| Making inspection tours | 37.0 |
| Holding scheduled staff meetings | 18.3 |
| | 133.9%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**5.** (US Oct '46) How do you usually remind yourself of things you have to do? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Make notes to yourself | 74.7% |
| Secretary reminds you | 43.0 |
| Just remember | 21.5 |
| | 139.2%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (US Oct '46) On days when you work at your office, about how much time do you usually spend in conference with people? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| An hour or less | 19.6% |
| Several hours | 69.5 |
| Most of the day | 10.9 |

**7.** (US Oct '46) On days when you work at your office, about how much time do you usually spend on the telephone? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *An hour or less* | *Several hours* | *Most of the day* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 68.0% | 31.0% | 1.0% |
| Sales executives only | 57.0 | 38.9 | 4.1 |

## OILS AND FATS

**1.** (US Jan 20 '43, Apr 28 '43, June 18 '43, Aug 27 '43, Jan 21 '44, Apr 8 '44) Have you heard anything about people being asked to turn in their waste kitchen fats and drippings? The Jan and Apr '43 samples were composed of women. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '43 | 92% | 8% | — |
| Apr '43 | 96 | 4 | — |
| June '43 | 96 | 4 | — |
| Aug '43 | 96 | 4 | * |
| Jan '44 | 97 | 3 | * |
| Apr '44 | 97 | 3 | — |

* Less than 0.5%.

**2.** (US Jan 20 '43, Apr 28 '43, June 18 '43, Jan 21 '44, Apr 8 '44, May 18 '44) Have you started to save any used fats yet? The June '43 question read: Have you or your family started, etc. The Jan and Apr '43 samples were women only. In Jan, Apr, and May '44 the question was: Are you (or your family) saving any now to be turned in? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Not questioned because unfamiliar with program* | *Don't know; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '43 | 59% | 33% | 8% | * |
| Apr '43 | 63 | 33 | 4 | — |
| June '43 | 69 | 25 | 4 | 2% |
| Jan '44 | 61 | 35 | 3 | 1 |
| Apr '44 | 62 | 30 | 3 | 5 |
| May '44 | 64 | 32 | — | 4 |

32% of the May '44 sample who said they were not saving fats were asked: Why not?

| | |
|---|---|
| Use in cooking; use all | 19% |
| Use to make soap | 3 |
| Don't cook; just started | 3 |
| Don't have any | 3 |
| Use less meat | 2 |
| Reduction in family; family too small | 1 |
| Lack correct information about campaign | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 33%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 32 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (US Jan 20 '43, Apr 28 '43, June 18 '43) Have you been able to turn any [waste fats] in yet? The Jan and Apr samples were composed of women. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Unfamiliar with program or hadn't started to save fats* | *Don't know or no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '43 | 31% | 28% | 41% | * |
| Apr '43 | 40 | 23 | 37 | — |
| June '43 | 49 | 18 | 31 | 2% |

23% of the Apr '43 sample of women who had not been able to turn in any waste fats were asked: Are you saving these fats to turn in to the government, or to use in some other way?
Government 14% Other way 7% Both 2% = 23%

40% of the Apr '43 sample of women who had turned in waste fats were asked: About how many times have you turned in waste fats?

| | |
|---|---|
| One | 9% |
| Two | 10 |
| Three | 8 |
| Four | 5 |
| Five | 2 |
| Six | 1 |
| Seven | * |
| Eight | 1 |
| Nine | — |
| Ten or more | 2 |
| Many times; several times; a few; etc. | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 40% |

Do you think you will be able to turn in waste fats just as often in the future as you have so far? Asked of 40% of the Apr '43 sample of women who had been able to turn in waste fats. 13% of the sample thought they would not be able to turn in as much in the future, and 2% said they didn't know. These two groups were asked: Why not?

| | |
|---|---|
| Expect to turn in as much in future | 25% |
| Will not be able to turn in as much because: | |
| Can't get fat meats | 4 |
| Can't get as much meat (unspecified) | 4 |
| Can't get fats on meat | * |
| Can't get butter, oil | 2 |
| Use them in cooking | 3 |
| Have little or no waste fats | 1 |
| Don't cook; cook very little | 1 |
| Miscellaneous reasons for not turning in as much | * |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 41%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 40 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**4.** (US Jan 20 '43 and Apr 28 '43) Did you have any difficulties in turning it [waste fats] in? Asked of women only. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Unfamiliar with program or hadn't turned in any fats* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '43 | 2% | 28% | 69% | 1% |
| Apr '43 | 2 | 38 | 60 | — |

**5.** (US Jan 20 '43 and Apr 28 '43) Is there any certain amount [of waste fat] you have to have before you can turn it in? 55% of the Jan '43 sample and 59% of the Apr '43 sample of women who thought a definite amount of fat had to accumulate to be acceptable were asked: What amount? (NORC)

| | *Jan '43* | *Apr '43* |
|---|---|---|
| Any amount acceptable | 18% | 20% |
| Don't know whether or not you have to have a certain amount | 19 | 17 |
| Must have one pound | 49 | 53 |
| Other amounts | 4 | 5 |
| Didn't say what amount | 2 | 1 |
| Not questioned because of unfamiliarity with program | 8 | 4 |

**6.** (US Jan 20 '43 and Apr 28 '43) What kind of container should a person keep these fats in? Asked of women only. (NORC)

| | *Jan '43* | *Apr '43* |
|---|---|---|
| Can | 71% | 73% |
| Other | 12 | 15 |
| Not questioned because of unfamiliarity with program | 8 | 4 |
| Don't know | 9 | 8 |

**7.** (US Jan 20 '43 and Apr 28 '43) Do you think people should be paid for the waste fats they turn in? Asked of women only. (NORC)

| | *Jan '43* | *Apr '43* |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 22% | 17% |
| No | 68 | 76 |
| Don't know | 2 | 3 |
| Not questioned because of unfamiliarity with program | 8 | 4 |

**8.** (US Jan 20 '43 and Apr 28 '43) Can people get paid for it [waste fats] now if they want to? Asked of women only. (NORC)

| | *Jan '43* | *Apr '43* |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 78% | 79% |
| No | 2 | 2 |
| Don't know | 12 | 15 |
| Not questioned because of unfamiliarity with program | 8 | 4 |

**9.** (US Jan 20 '43 and Apr 28 '43) What do you think these waste fats will be used for? Asked of women only. (NORC)

| | *Jan '43* | *Apr '43* |
|---|---|---|
| *Correct answers* | | |
| Ammunition, bullets, gunpowder, bombs, shells | 58% | 58% |
| Glycerine to make explosives | 9 | 13 |
| Glycerine | 14 | 14 |
| *Incorrect answers* | | |
| For the war | 4 | 2 |
| Soap | 3 | 2 |
| Greasing guns, etc. | 1 | 1 |
| To build morale | * | — |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 6 | 6 |
| Not questioned because of unfamiliarity with program | 8 | 4 |
| | 104%** | 102%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**10.** (US Jan 20 '43 and Apr 28 '43) Do you think there is a real need for people to turn in these waste fats? Asked of women. (NORC)

| | *Jan '43* | *Apr '43* |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 86% | 90% |
| No | 2 | 1 |
| Don't know | 4 | 5 |
| Not questioned because of unfamiliarity with program | 8 | 4 |

**11.** (US Jan 20 '43 and Apr 28 '43) Who should a person take these waste fats to? The Apr question added: "when she wants to turn them in." Both questions were asked only of women. (NORC)

| | *Jan '43* | *Apr '43* |
|---|---|---|
| Butcher | 74% | 76% |
| Other | 9 | 12 |
| Not questioned because of unfamiliarity with program | 8 | 4 |
| Don't know | 9 | 8 |

**12.** (US Apr 28 '43) So far as you know, does anyone come around in your neighborhood to collect waste fats that people save? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

Yes 11% No 89%

**13.** (US Apr 28 '43) Are you using these fats in any ways now that you didn't before? 23% of the sample of women who were using waste fats in new ways were then asked: In what ways? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| No new uses | 39% |
| Don't know whether or not new uses | 1 |
| Not questioned because of unfamiliarity with program or hadn't started to save fats | 37 |
| Using fats for: | |
| Frying | 10 |
| Baking | 4 |
| Seasoning; gravies; sauces | 3 |
| Cooking (unspecified) | 8 |
| Making soap | 1 |
| Never saved fats before | 1 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**14.** (US Apr 28 '43) Is there any cooking done in your home? 30% of the sample of women questioned who said they cooked at home were asked: Are there any fats and drippings left from the cooking done at your home? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not questioned because had already started to save fats or were unfamiliar with program | 67% |
| No cooking done in home | 3 |
| Have leftover fats and drippings | 10 |
| No leftover fats and drippings | 20 |

**15.** (US Apr 28 '43) 20% of the sample of women who said they had no leftover fats and drippings from cooking were asked: Why not? 10% who did have leftovers were asked: Do you save any of your fats and greases? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Save fats and greases | 8% |
| Don't save fats and greases | 2 |
| No leftovers because: | |
| Use for cooking (unspecified) | 10 |
| Use for flavoring or seasoning | 4 |
| For frying | 2 |
| For gravy | 1 |
| For baking | * |
| For miscellaneous cooking | 1 |
| Cooking methods do not yield much fats | 3 |
| No fats left since rationing | 1 |
| Miscellaneous reasons | 1% |
| Reason not ascertainable | * |
| | 33%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 30 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**16.** (US Apr 28 '43) Are you using leftover fats and greases in any ways now that you didn't before? Asked of 10% of the sample of women who said they had leftover waste fats from cooking. 5% of the sample said they were using the leftovers in new ways. This group was asked further: In what ways? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not using leftovers in new ways | 5% |
| New uses: | |
| Frying | 2 |
| Seasoning; sauces; gravies | 2 |
| Baking | 1 |
| Cooking (unspecified) | 2 |
| Making soap | * |
| | 12%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 10 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**17.** (US Aug 27 '43, Jan 21 '44, Apr 8 '44, May 18 '44) Have you (or your family) ever turned in any fats? The May '44 question asked about "waste kitchen fats and drippings" instead of "fats." (NORC)

| | *Aug '43* | *Jan '44* | *Apr '44* | *May '44* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yes | 52% | 56% | 62% | 65% |
| No | 44 | 40 | 32 | 33 |
| Don't know | — | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Not questioned because of unfamiliarity with program | 4 | 3 | 3 | — |

**18.** (US Aug 27 '43 and Jan 21 '44) Have you heard anything about a plan to give people extra ration points in return for their waste fats? The Jan '44 question asked about "the system of giving people extra ration points." (NORC)

| | *Aug '43* | *Jan '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 11% | 86% |
| No | 89 | 11 |
| Don't know | * | * |
| Not questioned because of unfamiliarity with program | — | 3 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**19.** (US Aug 27 '43 and Jan 21 '44) Do you think this [giving people extra ration points in return for their waste fat] would be a good idea? In 1944 "is" was substituted for "would be." (NORC)

| | *Aug '43* | *Jan '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 64% | 86% |
| No | 26 | 3 |
| Don't know | 10 | 8 |
| Not questioned because of unfamiliarity with program | — | 3 |

**20.** (US Aug 27 '43) Have you (or your family) been able to save as much fat this summer as you did last winter? 27% of the sample who said they were saving less were asked: Why is that? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not questioned because had never turned in any fats or were unfamiliar with program | 48% |
| Saving more fat than previously | 6 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Saving about same amount | 17% |
| Don't know whether more or less is being saved | 2 |
| Saving less because: | |
| Less meat (no explanation) | 8 |
| Less meat because of summer diet | 6 |
| Less meat due to change in meat situation (shortages, etc.) | 4 |
| Using fat | 6 |
| Summer household arrangements different | 3 |
| Miscellaneous reasons | 1 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**21.** (US Jan 21 '44) Are you now saving more or less fat than you were last fall? 24% of the sample who said they were saving more and 8% who were saving less were asked: Why? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not questioned because not saving or unfamiliar with program | 39% |
| Saving same amount as last fall | 26 |
| Don't know whether or not saving more | 3 |
| Saving more because: | |
| More careful now | 14 |
| Use more meat now | 7 |
| The meat has more fat on it now | 2 |
| Miscellaneous reasons | 2 |
| Don't know | * |
| Saving less because: | |
| Use fats for cooking purposes | 1 |
| Use fats for purposes other than cooking | 1 |
| Use less meat now | 3 |
| Size of family reduced or too small | 2 |
| Miscellaneous reasons | 1 |
| Don't cook or no reason given | * |
| | 101%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**22.** (US Jan 21 '44) Do you (or your family) use waste fats over again in your cooking? 81% of the sample who said they used fats again were asked: Were you in the habit of doing that before the war? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't use fats again | 17% |
| Don't know whether or not fats are used again | 2 |
| Used fats again before the war | 74 |
| Didn't use fats again before the war | 7 |
| Don't know whether or not fats were used again before the war | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**23.** (US May 18 '44) Do you think there is as much need to turn in fats now as there was before? 4% of the sample who thought the need was not as great as earlier were asked: Why not? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Need as great as ever | 87% |
| Don't know whether or not need is as great | 9 |
| Fats not needed too much now | 2 |
| Oversupply of fats | 2 |
| Other reasons or don't know why | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**24.** (France Feb 16 '46) What quantity of shortening [do you consider necessary for your nourishment] each month? (FIPO)

BY SEX

| | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| Less than 750 gr. | 6% | 6% |
| 750–1,250 gr. | 46 | 46 |
| 1,250–1,750 gr. | 19 | 16 |
| 1,750–2,250 gr. | 18 | 22 |
| More than 2,250 gr. | 5 | 5 |
| No answer | 6 | 5 |

Median: Men 1,430 gr.
Women 1,410 gr.

**25.** (US Apr 10 '46) Have you heard or read anything which told exactly how much less fat you are to use? (AIPO)

Yes 12% No or no answer 82%

**26.** (US Apr 10 '46) How much less fat [are you to use]? Asked of 12% of the sample who were familiar with the fat-saving program. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 20% | 6% |
| 20% (correct) | 7 |
| 25%, ¼ | 7 |
| 30% | 1 |
| ⅓ | 3 |
| 40% | 1 |
| ½ | 4 |
| ⅔ | * |
| As much as possible | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| No answer; don't know | 69 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

Median 25%

## OLD-AGE PENSIONS

**1.** (US Dec 14 '35 and July 9 '41) Are you in favor of government old-age pensions for needy persons? The 1941 question omitted the phrase "for needy persons." (Aug 10 '38, Jan 10 '39, Nov 8 '39) Do you believe in government old-age pensions? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 89% | 11% | — |
| Aug '38 | 91 | 9 | — |
| Jan '39 | 94 | 6 | — |
| Nov '39 | 90 | 10 | — |
| July '41 | 91 | 7 | 2% |

DEC '35 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Democratic | 94.5% | 5.5% | — |
| Republican | 80 | 20 | — |

DEC '35 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 87% | 13% |
| Middle Atlantic | 89 | 11 |
| East central | 88 | 12 |
| West central | 90 | 10 |
| South | 88 | 12 |
| Mountain | 94 | 6 |
| Pacific coast | 92 | 8 |

**2.** (US Dec 14 '35, Aug 10 '38, Jan 10 '39, Nov 8 '39) How much [government old-age pensions] should be paid monthly

to each single person (husband and wife)? Asked of a national cross-section of those who were in favor of pensions. (AIPO)

DEC '35 RESULTS

| | *Single* | *Married* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | $40 | $50 |

DEC '35 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | $50 | $ 75 |
| Middle Atlantic | 50 | 80 |
| East central | 40 | 65 |
| West central | 30 | 60 |
| South | 30 | 50 |
| Mountain | 50 | 90 |
| Pacific coast | 60 | 100 |

AUG '38 RESULTS

| *Single* | | *Married* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Under $30 per month | 18% | Under $60 per month | 31% |
| $30 to $50 per month | 58 | $60 to $100 per month | 49 |
| Over $50 per month | 24* | Over $100 per month | 13 |
| | 100% | No answer | 7 |
| | of those questioned | | 100% of those questioned |
| Median | $40.00 | Median | $70 |

* Includes 7% who favored payment of $100 a month or more.

JAN '39 RESULTS

| *Single* | | *Married* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Under $30 | 20% | Under $45 | 18% |
| $30–$50 | 60 | $45 | 4 |
| Over $50 | 20 | Over $45 to $50 | 16 |
| | 100% | Over $50 to $55 | 1 |
| | of those questioned | Over $55 to $60 | 14 |
| | | Over $60 to $65 | 2 |
| | | Over $65 to $70 | 4 |
| Median | $40 | Over $70 to $75 | 11 |
| | | Over $75 | 30 |
| | | | 100% of those questioned |
| | | Median | $60 |

NOV '39 RESULTS FOR SINGLE PERSON ONLY

| | *Under $30* | *$30–$50* | *Over $50* | *Median* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 21% | 62% | 17% = 100% of those questioned | $37 |

NOV '39 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| New England | 7% | 61% | 32% | 45% |
| Middle Atlantic | 8 | 67 | 25 | 50 |
| East central | 13 | 70 | 17 | 40 |
| West central | 28 | 60 | 12 | 32 |
| Rocky Mountain | 47 | 48 | 5 | 27 |
| Pacific coast | 7 | 67 | 26 | 49 |

NOV '39 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Upper income | 15% | 68% | 17% | 40% |
| Middle income | 20 | 61 | 19 | 38 |
| Lower income | 23 | 62 | 15 | 34 |

NOV '39 RESULTS FOR MARRIED PEOPLE ONLY

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $45 | 17% |
| $45–$75 | 56 |
| Over $75 | 27 |
| | 100% of those questioned |
| Median | $60 |

**3.** (US Dec 14 '35) What age should a person be to qualify for an old-age pension? Asked of a national cross-section of those who favored old-age pensions. (July 9 '41) At what age do you think government old-age pensions should start? (AIPO)

DEC '35 RESULTS

Average favored eligibility age.... 60 years

JULY '41 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Should begin before 60 years | 17% |
| Should begin at 60 years | 47 |
| At 61 years or later | 36 |

**4.** (US Mar 7 '36, Mar 14 '36, Jan 25 '39, July 9 '41) Do you favor the Townsend old-age pension plan? In '39 and '41 only those familiar with the plan were questioned. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar 7 '36 | 42% | 58% = 100% | 4% |
| Mar 14 '36 | 56 | 44 = 100 | 3 |
| Jan '39 | 40 | 60 = 100 | 12 |
| July '41 | 19 | 39 | 42 = 100% |

**5.** (US Mar 14 '36) How much [pension] should be paid monthly to each person? Asked of a national cross-section of those who favored the Townsend old-age pension plan. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Average amount mentioned | $ 87 |
| Amount menrioned most often | 100 |

**6.** (US Sept 26 '36) Do you favor the compulsory old-age insurance plan, starting January 1, which requires employers and employees to make equal monthly contributions? (Nov 4 '36) Do you favor the compulsory old-age insurance plan starting in January, which requires employers and workers to contribute equally toward workers' pensions? (Jan 18 '37) Do you favor the present compulsory old-age insurance plan which requires employers and workers to contribute equally towards workers' pensions? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '36 | 68% | 32% = 100% | 18% |
| Nov '36 | 69 | 31 = 100 | 6 |
| Jan '37 | 77 | 23 = 100 | 6 |

SEPT '36 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Republican | 50% | 50% |
| Democratic | 82 | 18 |
| Socialist | 79 | 21 |

**7.** (US Nov 20 '36) Should the full burden of old-age pension payments be transferred to employers? (AIPO)

Yes 23% No 77% = 100% No opinion 8%

**8.** (US Mar 10 '37) Do you happen to have a Social Security number? (AIPO)

Yes 31% No 69% = 100% No opinion 1%

**9.** (US Mar 10 '37) Have you ever figured out how much a month you will get from Social Security when you reach sixty-five? (AIPO)

Yes 16% No 84% = 100% No opinion 57%

**10.** (US Mar 10 '37) How much [will you get a month from Social Security when you reach sixty-five]? Asked of 16% of the sample eligible for Social Security who had figured how much social security they would get. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| $10 and under | 10% |
| $11–$20 | 9 |
| $21–$30 | 11 |
| $31–$40 | 13 |
| $41–$50 | 10 |
| $51–$60 | 6 |

| | |
|---|---|
| $61–$70 | 4% |
| $71–$80 | 6 |
| $81–$90 | 4 |
| No opinion | 27 |
| | 100% |
| | of those questioned |

**11.** (US Apr '37) Are you registered for an old-age pension? (FOR)

Yes 27% No 73%

**12.** (US Apr '37) Do you approve of the United States old-age pension law? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Registrants | 75.0% | 22.6% | 2.4% |
| Nonregistrants | 72.4 | 19.0 | 8.6 |

**13.** (US Apr '37) Do you oppose it [the old-age pension law] for any of the following reasons? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| The whole principle of it is wrong | 27.0% |
| The law does not go far enough to provide real security | 32.2 |
| Workers' wages should not be taxed; the employer should bear the whole cost | 6.2 |
| Congress will spend the money on something else before the people get any benefit | 23.9 |
| Other reasons | 8.3 |
| Don't know | 2.4 |

**14.** (Great Britain Feb '38) Are you in favor of granting pensions of ten shillings per week to spinsters at fifty-five years of age? (Feb '39) Are you in favor of pensions for unmarried women over the age of fifty-five? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '38 | 89% | 11% | = 100% | 8% | |
| Feb '39 | 82 | 10 | | 8 | = 100% |

**15.** (US Aug 10 '38) Do you think [old-age] pensions should be given to all old people or only to old people who are in need? Asked of a national cross-section of those who believed in old-age pensions. 91% of the sample is represented. (Jan 10 '39 and Nov 8 '39) Do you think pensions should be given only to old people who are in need or to all old people? The January question was asked only of those who believed in old-age pensions. (July 9 '41) Should government old-age pensions be paid to all old people, or only to people who have less than (monthly incomes already named by respondent as necessary for decent living)? (AIPO)

| | *All old people* | *Those in need* | *Opposed to all old-age pensions* | | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '38 | 21% | 79% | — | = 100%* | 4% | |
| Jan '39 | 25 | 75 | — | = 100 | 5 | |
| Nov '39 | 23 | 77 | — | = 100 | 6 | |
| July '41 | 22 | 70 | 3% | | 5 | = 100% |

* 100% of those questioned who gave opinions.

**16.** (US Aug 10 '38) What kind of taxes do you think we should have to pay for these [old-age] pensions? Asked of a national cross-section of those who believed in old-age pension. 91% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sales | 18% |
| Income | 12 |
| Luxury | 6 |
| Social Security | 6 |
| Wages and salaries | 5 |
| Liquor | 2 |
| Tax the rich | 2% |
| Paying enough now | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 16 |
| No answer | 31 |
| | 100% |
| | of those questioned |

(Jan 10 '39) What kind of tax [would you be willing to pay in order to provide old-age pensions]? Asked of those who would be willing to pay a sales or income tax in order to provide these old-age pensions. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sales | 55% |
| Income | 38 |
| Both | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| | 100% |
| | of those questioned |

(Jan 25 '39) What kind of tax [would you be willing to have increased to furnish the money for Townsend old-age pensions]? Asked of a national cross-section of people familiar with the Townsend plan who would be willing to pay higher taxes to furnish the money for pensions. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Poll tax | 4% |
| Sales and transaction | 36 |
| Income | 17 |
| All others | 9 |
| Indirect taxes | 8 |
| No answer | 26 |
| | 100% |
| | of those questioned |

**17.** (US Oct 8 '38 and Oct 24 '39) In California a pension plan has been proposed to pay thirty dollars every Thursday in script money to every person fifty years of age and over who is not employed. Would you favor the adoption of this plan in this state? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Californians not questioned* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '38 | 32% | 68% | — | — |
| Oct '39 | 26 | 59 | 6% | 9% |

OCT '38 RESULTS BY AGE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Under 30 years | 33% | 67% |
| 30–49 years | 32 | 68 |
| 50 years and over | 34 | 66 |

OCT '38 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 35% | 65% |
| Middle Atlantic | 36 | 64 |
| East central | 35 | 65 |
| West central | 28 | 72 |
| South | 27 | 73 |
| West | 28 | 72 |

OCT '38 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Democratic | 39% | 61% |
| Republican | 18 | 82 |

OCT '38 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Upper class | 9% | 91% |
| Middle class | 26 | 74 |
| Lower class | 54 | 46 |

26% of the Oct '39 sample who favored the California pension plan and 9% who were uncertain were asked: Would

you be willing to pay a special tax, if necessary, in order to provide for these pensions?

Yes 24% No 5% Don't know 4% No answer 2% = 35%

**18.** (US Oct 8 '38) Do you think such a pension plan [the thirty-dollar-every-Thursday plan] would help or hurt business; increase or decrease employment; bankrupt the state? (AIPO)

BUSINESS

| | |
|---|---|
| Help | 42% |
| Hurt | 42 |
| No opinion | 16 |

INCREASE OR DECREASE EMPLOYMENT

| | |
|---|---|
| Increase | 40% |
| Decrease | 39 |
| No opinion | 21 |

BANKRUPT THE STATE

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 46% |
| No | 31 |
| No opinion | 23 |

**19.** (Great Britain Dec '38) Old-age pensions are now ten shillings a week. Should they remain the same or be increased? (BIPO)

Remain same 7% Be increased 88% No opinion 5%

**20.** (Great Britain Dec '38) To what sum per week [should old-age pensions be increased]? Asked of 88% of the sample who thought old-age pensions should be increased. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 12/6 | 4% |
| 15/- | 31 |
| 17/6 | 6 |
| 20/- | 49 |
| Over £1 | 10 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**21.** (US Dec 2 '38) Senator Lodge says he plans to introduce a bill to pay pensions of sixty dollars a month to every needy person sixty-five and over—forty dollars of the sixty to come from the federal government and the remaining twenty from the state government. Would you favor this bill? (AIPO)

Yes 65% No 35% = 100% No opinion 8%

**22.** (US Dec 2 '38) Do you think the federal government could afford to pay forty dollars a month to every needy person sixty-five and over? Do you think the government of this state could afford to pay twenty dollars a month to these people in this state? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Federal government | 59% | 41% = 100% | 14% |
| State government | 66 | 34 = 100 | 12 |

**23.** (US Dec 2 '38) Would you be willing to pay higher taxes to provide the sixty dollars a month pension [for needy persons over sixty-five]? (AIPO)

Yes 51% No 49% = 100% No opinion 9%

**24.** (US Dec 2 '38) Do you favor reducing the age at which needy people begin receiving old-age pensions from sixty-five to sixty? (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 40% = 100% No opinion 8%

**25.** (US Jan 7 '39) Do you think government spending should be increased or decreased on old-age pension grants? (Jan 20 '39) Should the amount of money paid by the federal government for old-age pensions be increased, decreased, or remain about the same? (AIPO)

| | *Increased* | *Decreased* | *No opinion* | *Remain same* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan 7 '39 | 53% | 8% | 10% | 29% |
| Jan 20 '39 | 44 | 7 | 10 | 39 |

**26.** (US Jan 10 '39, Jan 25 '39, Nov 8 '39) Do you think the government could afford to pay such [old-age] pensions at the present time without increasing taxes? The Jan 10 '39 question was asked only of those who said they believed in the pensions and were willing to name an amount suitable. The Jan 25 '39 question was asked of people familiar with the Townsend plan. The Nov '39 question was asked of everyone. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* | | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan 10 '39 | 35% | 65% | — | = 100% | 16% | |
| Jan 25 '39 | 14 | 77 | — | | 9 | = 100% |
| Nov '39 | 37 | 51 | 2% | | 10 | = 100 |

**27.** (US Jan 10 '39 and Jan 25 '39) How [do you think the government could afford to pay old-age pensions without increasing taxes]? The Jan 10 '39 question was asked of those who thought the government could afford to pay pensions without increasing taxes, and the Jan 25 '39 question was asked of those who were familiar with the Townsend plan and believed the government could afford the pensions. (AIPO)

| | *Jan 10 '39* | *Jan 25 '39* |
|---|---|---|
| By reducing expenditures on work relief | 13% | 7% |
| Sufficient taxes now | 12 | 13 |
| By new taxes | 7 | 10 |
| Reduce waste and inefficiency in government operations | 54 | 21 |
| Social Security | 6 | 3 |
| All others | 8 | 9 |
| | 100% | |
| No answer | 19% | 37 |
| | | 100% |

**28.** (US Jan 10 '39) Would you be willing to pay a sales tax or an income tax in order to provide these [old-age] pensions? (Jan 25 '39) Would you be willing to pay higher taxes to furnish the money for these [old-age pensions]? The two cross-sections are the same as the preceding questions. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan 10 '39 | 87% | 13% = 100% | 7% |
| Jan 25 '39 | 25 | 71 | 4 = 100% |

**29.** (US Jan 25 '39, Nov 8 '39, July 9 '41) Have you heard of the Townsend plan for old-age pensions? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No and no answer* |
|---|---|---|
| Jan '39 | 95% | 5% |
| Nov '39 | 91 | 9 |
| July '41 | 86 | 14 |

**30.** (US Jan 25 '39) How much a month is each person supposed to receive under the Townsend plan? Asked of a national cross-section of people who had heard of the Townsend old-age pension plan. 95% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $100 | 19% |
| $100 to $200 | 9 |
| $200 | 52 |
| Above $200 | 1 |
| No answer | 19 |
| | 100% of those familiar with the plan |

(US Nov 8 '39) Do you recall how much [pension] per month each person is to receive under the Townsend plan? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, $200 a month | 46% |
| Yes, other amounts | 12 |
| No | 34 |
| No answer | 8 |

(US July 9 '41) Do you know how much per month each person is supposed to receive under the Townsend plan that is now being proposed to Congress? Asked of a national cross-section of those who were familiar with the Townsend plan. 86% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| $50 a month or less | 5% |
| Between $75 and $200 a month | 7 |
| $200 a month | 15 |
| Don't know | 73 |
| | 100% |

of those familiar with the plan

**31.** (US Mar 30 '39) Do you think federal government spending for old-age assistance payments should be reduced by 10%? (AIPO)

Yes 14% No 86% = 100% No opinion 11%

**32.** (US Apr '39) If you were a member of Congress would you vote yes or no on a bill to increase the size of old-age pensions payable under present laws? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46.4% | 35.8% | 17.8% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 27.5% | 55.2% | 17.3% |
| Poor | 62.7 | 21.2 | 16.1 |
| Negroes | 66.5 | 14.8 | 18.7 |
| BY OPINIONS OF ROOSEVELT | | | |
| He is essential | 62.9% | 19.8% | 17.3% |
| Good outweighs bad | 49.4 | 32.8 | 17.8 |
| Usefulness over | 36.9 | 47.4 | 15.7 |
| More of him a calamity | 31.2 | 55.0 | 13.8 |

**33.** (US Oct 24 '39) In Ohio a pension plan has been proposed to pay fifty dollars a month to every former wage earner sixty and over who is not now employed (eighty dollars to an eligible married couple). Would you favor the adoption of such a plan in this state? 44% of the sample who favored such a plan and 8% who didn't know how they felt about the plan were asked: Would you be willing to pay a special tax in order to provide money for these pensions? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Ohioans not asked the question | 9% |
| Would not favor adoption of the plan | 39 |
| Favor pensions and would be willing to pay special tax for pensions | 39 |
| Favor pensions but would not be willing to pay special tax for pensions | 7 |
| Favor pensions but don't know whether or not would be willing to pay a special tax | 4 |
| No answer to the second question | 2 |

**34.** (US July 9 '41) Would you be willing to pay three cents out of every dollar of your income until you are sixty in order to get a pension from the government of fifty dollars a month after you are sixty? Asked of a national cross-section of people under sixty years of age. (AIPO)

Yes 76% No 18% No opinion 6%

**35.** (US July 9 '41) Will you (will your husband) receive an old-age pension of any kind when you reach (he reaches) sixty-five? Asked of a national cross-section of people under sixty-five. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 40% |
| No | 37 |
| Don't know | 18 |
| Already on pension | 2 |
| Yes, before sixty-five | 3 |

**36.** (US July 9 '41) At what age will you (he) receive it [old-age pension]? Asked of a national cross-section of people under sixty-five who would receive a pension before they reached that age. 3% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 60 years | 21% |
| 60 years | 28 |
| Between 60–65 years | 25 |
| No answer | 26 |
| | 100% |

of those questioned

**37.** (US July 9 '41) From whom will (he) you receive it [old-age pension]? Asked of a national cross-section of people under sixty-five who said they would receive an old-age pension at sixty-five or earlier. 43% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| The federal government | 43% |
| Social Security and Old-Age Assistance | 21 |
| Employer | 10 |
| Unions | * |
| Insurance | 5 |
| Teacher's pension | 3 |
| Veteran's pension | 1 |
| Local Government | 2 |
| State Government | 7 |
| All others | 1 |
| Don't know | 14 |
| | 107%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages are based on number of respondents under 65 years of age who said they would receive a pension on or before that age and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**38.** (US July 9 '41) Do you have any idea how much it [old-age pension] will amount to? Asked of a national cross-section of people under sixty-five. 27% of the sample who said they did know were asked: About how much? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know how much pension will amount to | 62% |
| Didn't say whether or not knew amount of pension | 11 |
| Pension will be under $35 | 7 |
| $36–$55 | 6 |
| $56–$75 | 4 |
| $76–$99 | 2 |
| $100 | 3 |
| Over $100 | 3 |
| Didn't say how much | 2 |

**39.** (Great Britain June '42) Should old-age pensions be increased or remain at their present rate? (BIPO)

Increased 94% Same 4% Don't know 2%

**40.** (Great Britain June '42) To what figure per week? Asked of 94% of the sample who thought old-age pensions should be increased. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Over 35/- per week | 5% |
| Over 30/- per week | 13 |
| Over 25/- per week | 14 |
| Over 20/- per week | 46 |
| Over 15/- per week | 22 |

**41.** (Great Britain June '42) Do you help to support an old-age pensioner? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 23% | 77% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Higher | 17% | 83% |
| Middle | 21 | 79 |
| Lower | 24 | 76 |

**42.** (US Apr '43) As you may know, under the present Social Security law, workers in certain occupations have to save money so when they are too old to work they will receive money from the government, like insurance. Do you think this is a good idea or a bad idea? 94% of the sample who thought the idea good were asked: Do you think this plan would cover all workers in all occupations or not? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Think Social Security a bad idea | 3% |
| Qualified answers to first question | 1 |
| Don't know whether or not Social Security a good idea | 2 |
| Should cover all occupations | 80 |
| Shouldn't cover all occupations | 10 |
| Qualified answers to second question | 1 |
| Don't know whether or not should cover all occupations | 3 |

**43.** (Canada May 29 '43 and Nov 20 '46) If it were your job to decide how much money old-age pensioners with no other means of support should receive from the government each month, what amount would you set? (CIPO)

| | *1943* | | *1946* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| $20 or less | 7% | | 1% | |
| $21–$25 | 12 | | 12 | (from $21–$30) |
| $26–$30 | 26 | | | |
| $31–$35 | 11 | | 21 | (from $31–$40) |
| $36–$40 | 19 | | | |
| $41–$50 | | | 27 | |
| $51–$60 | 23 | (from $41– | 15 | |
| $61–$99 | | $100 or over) | 13 | |
| $100 or over | | | 6 | |
| Qualified answers | — | | 2 | |
| No answer; no opinion | 2 | | 3 | |

**44.** (US Nov '43) Do you think that old-age pensions should be mostly controlled by the federal government or mostly controlled by each state government? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Federal | 49% |
| State | 35 |
| Neither | 2 |
| Depends | 1 |
| Don't know | 13 |

**45.** (Denmark Oct 15 '44) Do you think that everyone should receive an old-age pension irrespective of fortune and income? (DGI)

Yes 25.2% No 65.5% Don't know 9.3%

**46.** (Denmark Oct 15 '44) In your opinion, what should be the qualifying age for an old-age pension—sixty years for men and women, as at present, or sixty-five years for men, or sixty-five for both men and women? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Women 60, men 60 | 65.3% |
| Women 60, men 65 | 7.4 |
| Women 65, men 65 | 14.0 |
| Don't know | 9.5 |
| Other | 3.8 |

**47.** (Australia Apr '45) How much a week do you think old-age and invalid pensions should be? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| From 25/ to 27/6 | 8% |
| From 30/ to 35/ | 40 |
| £2 a week | 35 |
| £2/10/ | 9 |
| £3 | 6 |
| £5 or higher | 2 |
| | 100% |
| No opinion | 10% |

**48.** (Australia Apr '45) How much would you let an old-age pensioner earn each week before reducing his pension? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Answers averaging 26/9 | 69% |
| No limit | 31 |

**49.** (Australia June–July '45) At present people with an income of £2 a week cannot get the old-age pension. Would you favor or oppose giving the full pension to all men over sixty-five and to all women over sixty? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| In favor | 69% |
| Opposed | 29 |
| No opinion | 2 |

**50.** (Australia Dec '45–Jan '46) Which of these social benefits should be provided by the Commonwealth government? Included in a list was old-age pensions. (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Favor old-age pensions | 95% |
| Oppose | 3 |
| Undecided | 2 |

**51.** (Canada Nov 23 '46) At what age do you think old-age pensions should start? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 50 years | 2% |
| 55 years | 4 |
| 60 years | 39 |
| 65 years | 41 |
| 70 years | 6 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| No answer; no opinion | 3 |

**52.** (Canada Nov 23 '46) Would you favor granting old-age pensions to everyone who reaches that age [mentioned in preceding question] or only to those who have no other means of support? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Everyone | 34% |
| Only those who have no means of support | 58 |
| Qualified answers | 6 |
| Undecided | 2 |

## OPEN AND CLOSED SHOP

**1.** (US June 28 '37) Are you in favor of the closed shop, that is, requiring every worker to belong to the union? (AIPO)

Yes 28% No 59% No opinion 13%

**2.** (US Oct '37) Do you agree or disagree with the charge that the CIO, headed by John L. Lewis, is forcing workers to join it or lose their jobs? (FOR)

| | *Agree* | *Partly* | *Disagree* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 44.6% | 7.8% | 17.0% | 30.6% |
| BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS | | | | |
| Executives | 67.2% | 10.4% | 11.6% | 10.8% |
| Minor salaried workers | 41.6 | 10.8 | 24.3 | 23.3 |
| Factory labor | 34.5 | 6.9 | 31.6 | 27.0 |
| Farm labor | 50.0 | 4.9 | 13.4 | 31.7 |

**3.** (US May 18 '39) Are you in favor of the so-called union shop—that is, requiring every worker in a factory or mine to join the union? (Oct 1 '41, July 12 '45, Nov 27 '46) Are you in favor of the union shop—that is, requiring every worker in a company to join a union after he is hired? In '45 and '46 the question read ". . . in a company where there is a union. . . ." (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| May '39... | 29% | 71% = 100% | — | 9% |
| Oct '41... | 36 | 54 | 10% = 100% | |
| July '45... | 25 | 61 | 14 = 100 | |
| Nov '46... | 32 | 59 | 9 = 100 | |

**4.** (US May 18 '39) Are you in favor of the so-called closed shop—that is, hiring only persons who are already members of the union to work in a factory or a mine? (Oct 1 '41, July 12 '45, Nov 27 '46) Are you in favor of the closed shop—that is, requiring every worker in a company to belong to a union before he can be hired? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| May '39..... | 27% | 73% = 100% | 15% |
| Oct '41..... | 13 | 77 | 10 = 100% |
| July '45..... | 13 | 75 | 12 = 100 |
| Nov '46..... | 14 | 77 | 9 = 100 |
| MAY '39 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic..... | 34% | 66% | |
| Republican..... | 14 | 86 | |
| JULY '45 RESULTS BY LABOR STATUS | | | |
| Members..... | 39% | 54% | 7% |
| Non-members..... | 11 | 77 | 12 |

**5.** (US Nov '41) Do you have a closed shop in any of your operations? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *None* | *Some* | *All* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 66.5% | 18.4% | 15.1% |
| BY SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL SECTIONS | | | |
| South..... | 84.7% | 8.5% | 6.8% |
| Far West..... | 41.2 | 31.5 | 27.3 |

**6.** (US Nov '41) Is a closed shop being discussed by labor in parts of your operations that are now open shop? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives who had some or no closed shops in any of their operations. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 48.5% | 51.5% |
| BY SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL SECTIONS | | |
| South..... | 30.7% | 69.3% |
| Far West..... | 69.1 | 30.9 |

**7.** (US Nov '41) Has closed shop interfered with the efficiency of your operations? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives who had complete or some closed shops in any of their operations. (FOR)

| | *Seriously* | *Not seriously* | *Has improved efficiency* |
|---|---|---|---|
| In output per worker..... | 23.8% | 70.0% | 6.2% |
| In cost or speed of production... | 30.5 | 64.2 | 5.3 |
| In overhead expense..... | 32.9 | 63.6 | 3.5 |

**8.** (US Nov 25 '41) Which of these arrangements do you favor for workers in factories and mines: closed shop, union shop, open shop? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Closed shop..... | 5% |
| Union shop..... | 23 |
| Open shop..... | 60 |
| No opinion..... | 12 |

**9.** (US Feb '42) The terms "open shop" and "closed shop" seem to mean different things to different people. If I started talking about open shop, what would it mean to you? What about closed shop? (FOR)

| | *National total* | *Union families* | *Non-union* |
|---|---|---|---|
| OPEN SHOP | | | |
| Both union and nonunion workers employed..... | 55.2% | 61.2% | 53.5% |
| No unions allowed..... | 6.0 | 5.7 | 6.1 |
| Wrong but indicating some knowledge..... | 2.8 | 3.2 | 2.7 |
| Answers indicating no knowledge or 100 per cent confusion with closed shop..... | 5.9 | 5.4 | 6.0 |
| Don't know..... | 30.1 | 24.5 | 31.7 |
| CLOSED SHOP | | | |
| Everyone must belong to the union..... | 60.7 | 66.3 | 59.2 |
| Wrong but indicating some knowledge..... | 2.8 | 4.1 | 2.4 |
| Answers indicating no knowledge | 8.1 | 7.7 | 8.2 |
| Don't know..... | 28.4 | 21.9 | 30.2 |

**10.** (US Feb '42) If you had the job of deciding which of these four kinds of companies should be given a government contract for making airplanes, which would you choose—a factory where there are no unions at all; a factory where there is an independent union of the employees, but no national union; a place where there is a strong national union, but non-union men can also work; a place where every employee must belong to a national union? (FOR)

| | *No unions* | *Independent union* | *Non-compulsory national union* | *Compulsory national union* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 12.8% | 19.5% | 36.8% | 13.1% | 18.0% | = 100.2%* |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | | | | |
| Well-informed.. | 8.1% | 26.5% | 48.8% | 13.4% | 3.6% | = 100.4% |
| Poorly informed.. | 13.5 | 23.1 | 42.2 | 13.3 | 8.1 | = 100.2 |
| Uninformed . | 15.3 | 11.5 | 24.0 | 12.6 | 36.6 | |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**11.** (US Aug 25 '42) At the present time, workers who take jobs in some war factories that have unions must join the union before they can start work. Do you think that workers who start to work in a factory because the government has told them to should have to join the union, or should they be able to go to work without joining the union? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should be made to join..... | 17% |
| Should not be made to join..... | 76 |
| No opinion..... | 7 |

**12.** (US Sept '42) After the war do you think that labor should or should not be given the closed shop? Do you think it will or will not? Asked of a national cross-section of executives. (FOR)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Should | 3.6% | Will | 50.3% |
| Should not | 96.4 | Will not | 49.7 |

**13.** (US Jan '43) Which one of these places would you rather work in—a place where there is no union and everyone deals directly with his boss or foreman; a place where there is a union only of company employees but no national union; a place where there is a strong national union but non-union men can also work; a place where everyone must belong to a national union? Asked of factory labor, miners, personal-service workers. (FOR)

| | *No union* | *Company union* | *Open shop with a national union* | *Closed national union shop* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mine workers | 18.0% | 10.7% | 9.4% | 54.9% | 7.0% |
| Factory workers | 25.9 | 16.0 | 16.3 | 34.2 | 7.6 |
| Personal service | 42.3 | 10.2 | 9.0 | 21.8 | 16.7 |
| BY LABOR STATUS | | | | | |
| Union members | 7.7% | 14.9% | 15.4% | 58.6% | 3.4% |
| Nonunion | 44.9 | 12.1 | 11.9 | 17.5 | 13.6 |

**14.** (US Apr 27 '43) Can you tell me briefly what is meant by "closed shop"? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hires only union labor; won't admit nonunion labor | 31% |
| Union shop; all employees must join the union | 22 |
| Vague answers pertaining to union | 4 |
| Incorrect answers | 8 |
| Don't know | 35 |

**15.** (US Apr 27 '43) Would you favor or oppose adding a law to the constitution of this state forbidding the closed shop? Asked of a national cross-section of people who defined the term "closed shop." 65% of the total sample is represented. (AIPO)

Favor 48% Oppose 40% Don't know 12% = 100% of those questioned

**16.** (US May 23 '44) Have you ever heard of the term "maintenance of membership" in connection with labor unions? (AIPO)

Yes 37% No 63%

**17.** (US May 23 '44) Do you think a person who joins a union should have to continue to belong to that union in order to hold his job? (AIPO)

Yes 27% No 61% No opinion 12%

**18.** (US May 23 '44) Do you favor or oppose maintenance of membership—that is, requiring a person who joins a union to continue to belong to that union in order to hold his job? (AIPO)

Favor 25% Oppose 58% No opinion 17%

**19.** (US July 12 '45 and Nov 27 '46) Are you in favor of the open shop—that is, not requiring any worker to join a union but letting each one decide whether or not to join? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| July '45 | 68% | 19% | 13% |
| Nov '46 | 70 | 22 | 8 |

**20.** (US July 12 '45 and Nov 27 '46) Which one of the two (or three) types of shops (closed, union, or open) do you prefer? Asked only of those who were in favor of more than one type of shop in response to three earlier questions. 16% of the 1945 sample and 21% of the 1946 sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | *Favor closed shop* | *Favor union shop* | *Favor open shop* | *No opinion; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| July '45 | 27% | 36% | 32% | 5% = 100% of those questioned |
| Nov '46 | 8 | 18 | 66 | 8 |
| NOV '46 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Professional and business | 7% | 14% | 73% | 6% |
| Farmers | 3 | 11 | 78 | 8 |
| White-collar | 6 | 17 | 69 | 8 |
| Manual workers | 11 | 23 | 56 | 10 |
| Union members only | 19 | 33 | 41 | 7 |

**21.** (US July 12 '45) Which one of these three plans do you prefer? Each respondent was handed a card with the following statements on it. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| The closed shop—that is, requiring every worker in a company to belong to a union before he can be hired | 8% |
| The union shop—that is, requiring every worker in a company where there is a union to join that union after he is hired | 17 |
| The open shop—that is, not requiring any worker to join a union but letting each one decide whether to join or not to join | 56 |
| No opinion | 19 |

**22.** (US July 24 '46) It has been proposed that a change be made in the United States Constitution so that no worker would have to belong to a union to get or keep a job anywhere. Would you favor or oppose this change? (AIPO)

Favor 58% Oppose 29% No opinion 13%

**23.** (Great Britain Sept 14 '46) Several organizations have said they will apply the closed shop, which means that all workmen must belong to one union. Do you approve or disapprove? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 48% | 25% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 36% | 55% | 9% |
| Women | 19 | 43 | 38 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 18% | 70% | 12% |
| Middle | 23 | 62 | 15 |
| Lower | 32 | 42 | 26 |
| Very poor | 30 | 36 | 34 |
| BY LABOR STATUS | | | |
| Union members | 55% | 40% | 5% |
| Nonunion | 18 | 54 | 28 |

## PAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

**1.** (US Apr 11 '36) Should the countries of North and South America form their own league of nations? (Feb 26 '38) Do

you think the countries of North and South America should form their own league of nations? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '36 | 56% | 44% = 100% | 18% |
| Feb '38 | 40 | 36 | 24 = 100% |

APR '36 RESULTS BY SEX

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Men | 59% | 41% |
| Women | 53 | 47 |

APR '36 RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Farmers | 63% | 37% |
| Small towns | 62 | 38 |
| Cities | 53 | 47 |

APR '36 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Democratic | 60% | 40% |
| Republican | 51 | 49 |
| Socialist | 53 | 47 |
| Others | 56 | 44 |

**2.** (US Sept '39) If Mexico or any South American country seizes property belonging to American business concerns, should the United States use force to protect the rights of those American companies? (FOR)

Yes 39.1% No 38.6% Don't know or depends 22.3%

**3.** (US Dec 10 '40) Do you think the United States should make an effort to bring about better understanding and closer relations between the people of this country and the people in Central and South American countries? 94% of the sample who thought the United States should make the effort were asked: Are you in favor of making this effort even if it would cost the United States a great deal of money? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not in favor of any effort | 3% |
| No opinion as to whether or not an effort should be made | 3 |
| In favor even at great expense | 74 |
| Not in favor if expense involved | 16 |
| Didn't say whether or not in favor if expense involved | 4 |

**4.** (US Dec 10 '40) Would you be willing to pay higher taxes to help bring about better understanding and closer relations between the people of this country and the people in Central and South America? Asked of 94% of the sample who thought the United States should make an effort for better understanding and closer relations with Central and South America. (OPOR)

Yes 54% No 33% No opinion and no answer 7% = 94%

**5.** (US Dec 10 '40) If the *Saturday Evening Post* put out a special issue of their magazine describing the people in Central and South America and the way they live, would you be sufficiently interested to read it? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 75% |
| No | 13 |
| Don't know and no answer | 6 |
| Qualified answers | 6 |

**6.** (US Dec 10 '40) Would you like to know more about the life and people of Central and South America? (OPOR)

Yes 84% No 11% Don't know and no answer 5%

**7.** (US June 17 '42) Have you heard about the plans for cooperation with Central and South America which this country has undertaken? 54% of the sample who had heard of the program were asked: Do you happen to know whether or not this inter-American program is part of a larger plan of all of our Allies? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not familiar with program | 45% |
| Didn't say whether or not had heard of program | 1 |
| Part of larger plan | 22 |
| No connection with larger plan | 9% |
| Don't know whether or not part of larger plan | 23 |

**8.** (US June 17 '42) In order to improve our relations with Central and South America, it has been suggested that our government help South American farmers sell their products to our Allies, even though this would compete with our own farmers. Would you approve or disapprove of this? (OPOR)

Approve 58% Disapprove 26% Don't know 16%

**9.** (US June 17 '42) Do you know of any particular way by which the United States is attempting to improve its relations with Central and South America? 57% of the sample who knew the United States had attempted to improve relations were asked: How? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| United States has not attempted to improve relations | 42% |
| No answer to the first question | 1 |
| United States has attempted to improve relations by: | |
| Conferences; Pan-Americanism; Monroe Doctrine | 9 |
| Goodwill tours and cultural programs; radio; student exchange | 15 |
| Rockefeller's office | 2 |
| Give them military supplies; build defense bases; protect their coast | 6 |
| Good neighbor policy | 11 |
| Trade with them | 11 |
| Lowering tariffs; Hull's trade agreements; commercial preferences | 9 |
| Loans; development of natural resources; lend-lease; highways | 12 |
| Other; beat Germany; clean up diseases | 1 |
| Didn't say how the United States had attempted to improve relations | 2 |
| | 121%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**10.** (US June 17 '42) Do you happen to know of any particular way in which South and Central American countries are helping us in our fight against the Axis? 52% of the sample who said they knew ways in which South and Central American countries were helping us fight the Axis were asked: How? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Thought South and Central American countries were not helping us fight the Axis | 47% |
| No answer to first question | 1 |
| They let us establish bases there | 8 |
| Curbing Axis activities; blacklisting; freezing funds; interning aliens; declaring war; breaking off relations | 19 |
| Delivering needed supplies; war industries; shipping; developing their war industries | 19 |
| They have become Allies; are joining United Nations; settling differences with us | 12 |
| Freed ports for our Navy | 3 |
| Antisubmarine patrols; coastal defense | 7 |
| Moral support; they are helping us | 5 |
| Didn't say how they were helping | 1 |
| | 122%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**11.** (US June 17 '42) Do you think it would be possible to apply our government's good neighbor policy to all the nations of the world, or do you think this can be used only with the nearby nations of South America? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| All nations | 44% |
| Only nations of South America | 24 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Won't work for any nation | 5% |
| Don't know | 25 |
| No answer | 2 |

**12.** (Canada Jan 12 '44) Have you heard or read about the Pan-American Union? Those who had were asked: Can you tell me briefly what it is? At present Canada is not a member of the Pan-American Union. Do you think she should or should not be a member? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hadn't heard of it or didn't know what it was | 72% |
| Knew what the Union was and would like to see Canada a member | 24 |
| Knew what it was and would not like to see Canada a member | 2 |
| Knew what it was but undecided about Canada's membership | 2 |

**13.** (US Sept '44) Do you think the government of Mexico (Argentina) is friendly or unfriendly to the United States? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mexico | 55% | 14% | 31% |
| Argentina | 12 | 57 | 31 |

## PAPACY

**1.** (France Apr 16 '46) It has been suggested that the next Pope might be an American. Would you approve of such a choice? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve | 17% |
| Disapprove | 14 |
| Indifferent | 63 |
| No opinion | 6 |

## PAPER

**1.** (US Jan 21 '44) From what you know, is there a serious shortage of paper in this country? 10% of the sample who thought there was no shortage were asked: Do you have any reason for thinking we have enough paper in this country? What? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| There is a paper shortage | 74% |
| Don't know whether or not there is a paper shortage | 16 |
| There's plenty of paper around | 4 |
| There's a lot of paper wasted | 3 |
| Paper is not collected | 1 |
| No shortage because people are collecting so much | * |
| Did hear of shortage | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Thought there was no shortage but didn't say why | 2 |
| | 102%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (US Jan 21 '44) Have you heard anything about people being asked to save waste paper for salvage? (NORC) (Feb 1 '44) Have you read about the present drive to collect scrap paper? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '44 | 96% | 4% | * |
| Feb '44 | 93 | 7 | — |

* Less than 0.5%.

**3.** (US Jan 21 '44) Are you (or your family) saving waste paper to turn in? 22% of the sample who said they were not saving paper were asked: Did you ever save waste paper for the war effort? (NORC) (Feb 1 '44) Are you saving scrap paper regularly? (AIPO)

JAN '44 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Saving paper now | 78% |
| Saved paper in the past | 7 |
| Never saved paper | 15 |
| Don't know whether or not ever saved paper | * |

FEB '44 RESULTS

Yes 72% No 28%

* Less than 0.5%.

**4.** (US Jan 21 '44) How is it that you're not saving paper now? Asked of 22% of the sample who were not saving waste paper. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| We use all our paper | 7% |
| We don't have any paper | 7 |
| They don't collect it | 3 |
| They've stopped collecting it; they don't need it any more | * |
| Didn't know they need it | 2 |
| It's too much bother and inconvenience | 1 |
| Give paper away | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 23%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 22 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**5.** (US Jan 21 '44) Are you saving more than you did a few months ago or not as much? 31% of the sample who said they were saving more were asked: Why? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not questioned because not saving paper | 22% |
| Saving same amount | 40 |
| Not saving as much | 5 |
| Don't know whether or not saving more | 2 |
| Save more because of shortage; help war effort | 12 |
| Save because they asked us to | 5 |
| Children credited for increased saving | 3 |
| Have more paper available | 3 |
| Save now because they take all kinds of paper | 2 |
| Save because of radio appeals | 2 |
| Had stopped because they didn't collect it, now save again | 1 |
| Miscellaneous reasons | 1 |
| Didn't say why saving more | 5 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (US Jan 21 '44) Have you turned any [waste paper] in? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 67% |
| No | 11 |
| Not questioned because not saving paper | 22 |
| Don't know | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**7.** (US Jan 21 '44) Do you ever have any trouble turning in your waste paper for salvage? 15% of the sample who said they had had trouble were asked: What kind of trouble? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not questioned because not saving paper | 22% |
| Had no trouble | 59 |
| Don't know whether or not any trouble encountered | 4 |
| Trouble because no collection made | 7 |
| No one will accept the paper | 2 |
| Collections are too infrequent | 2 |
| Collections are not regular | 2 |
| There is no depot | 1 |
| A lot of trouble to take paper to depot | 1 |
| Lack of information about collections or depot | 1 |
| Miscellaneous or didn't say what kind of trouble | 1 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**8.** (US Jan 21 '44) What do you think could be done to get people to save more paper? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Just ask for it; remind people | 17% |
| Explain need for paper and uses of it | 10 |
| Publicize collection systems and depots | 2 |
| Arrange for collection | 10 |
| Make regular collection | 8 |
| Establish depots | 3 |
| Enlist aid of school children | 5 |
| Specific ways to eliminate waste | 5 |
| General admonition to avoid waste | 1 |
| Pay for waste paper | 3 |
| Give ration points in return for waste paper | 3 |
| Make a law about it | 1 |
| Miscellaneous suggestions | 4 |
| Nothing more can be done | 9 |
| Campaign has been successful; no need to do more | 2 |
| Don't know | 27 |
| | 110%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (US Feb 1 '44) Has anyone called at your home in the present scrap drive to collect your scrap paper? (AIPO)

Yes 42% No 52% Don't know 6%

**10.** (US Feb 1 '44) Is there scrap paper around your home or place now that could be collected if someone came for it? (June 7 '44 and Jan 31 '45) Is there any scrap paper around your home right now that could be picked up if someone came for it? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '44 | 45% | 55% | — |
| June '44 | 41 | 55 | 4% |
| Jan '45 | 45 | 49 | 6 |

About how many pounds [of scrap paper] would you guess [you have to be picked up]? Asked of 45% of the 1945 sample who had scrap paper at home to be picked up.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 to 9 pounds | 15% |
| 10 pounds | 12 |
| 11 to 24 pounds | 15 |
| 25 pounds | 10 |
| 25 to 99 pounds | 26 |
| 100 pounds | 7 |
| Over 100 pounds | 7 |
| No answer | 8 |
| | 100% |

of those questioned

Median 25 pounds

**11.** (US May 18 '44) How about waste paper? Is there as much need to turn it in now? 5% of the sample who thought the need was not so great were asked: Why not? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Need as great as earlier | 86% |
| Don't know whether or not need as great | 9 |
| Not needed so much for production | 1 |
| Oversupply of waste paper | 2 |
| Mentioned difficulties in collection | 2 |
| Miscellaneous reasons or didn't say why | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

(US June 7 '44 and Jan 31 '45) Are you personally convinced of the need of saving scrap paper? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| June '44 | 76% | 18% | 6% |
| Jan '45 | 82 | 13 | 5 |

**12.** (US June 7 '44 and Jan 31 '45) Is any member of your household now regularly saving scrap paper? 78% of the 1944 sample and 56% of the 1945 sample who were saving paper were asked: Is the scrap paper you save picked up regularly at your home, or does some member of your family have to carry it to the collection center? (AIPO)

| | *June '44* | *Jan '45* |
|---|---|---|
| Not saving paper | 20% | 40% |
| Don't know or didn't say whether or not saving paper | 2 | 4 |
| Paper is picked up | 51 | 33 |
| Have to carry | 24 | 21 |
| Don't know or didn't say how paper is collected | 3 | 2 |

**13.** (US June 7 '44 and Jan 31 '45) Do you think you would save more paper if it were picked up regularly at your home? In 1944 the question was asked only of 24% of the sample who said they had to carry the paper to the collection center. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| June '44 | 13% | 10% | 1% = 24% |
| Jan '45 | 59 | 37 | 4 = 100 |

**14.** (US Jan 31 '45) Do you have any criticism to make of the way the last scrap-paper drive was conducted in this community? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Poor publicity of drives; poorly advertised; people not given ample warning | 2% |
| The collectors forget to pick it up; collect only on main street | 4 |
| Not enough collections; poor collection schedule | 2 |
| The collections are inefficiently conducted; leaders need more zeal; much talk, little performance | 4 |
| Collectors don't come when they say they will | 2 |
| Other criticisms | 6 |
| There is no organized drive in this community | 6 |
| The paper is not utilized after it is collected | 1 |
| No criticism of drive but people should be more cooperative; only kids do work | 1 |
| No criticism to make; the job is being conducted well | 61 |
| Didn't say | 12 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## PARENTS' AND TEACHERS' ASSOCIATIONS

**1.** (Sweden May '42) Have you or your husband (wife) ever contacted the school regarding your children's upbringing, choice of profession, or other questions? Asked of a national cross-section of parents. (SGI)

| | *On upbringing* | *On choice of profession* | *On school questions* | *At parents' meetings* | *Other answers* | *On several occasions* | *Not at all* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 2% | 8% | 7% | 3% | 1% | 3% | 72% | 4% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | | | | |
| Towns | 1% | 12% | 10% | 6% | — | 7% | 62% | 2% |
| Provinces | 6 | 8 | 6 | 2 | 1% | — | 74 | 3 |
| Country | 2 | 5 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 73 | 8 |

## PATENT LAWS AND LEGISLATION

**1.** (US Oct '43) Do you believe that legislation requiring compulsory patent licensing would hurt the United States economy? would benefit the United States economy? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Hurt* | *Benefit* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 31.2% | 27.8% | 41.0% |
| Manufacturing only | 37.3 | 28.8 | 33.9 |

## PEACE TREATIES

**1.** (US Aug 24 '43) When the war is over, it will be necessary for the Allies to decide on peace terms for the Axis. Which one of these three ways of approving a peace treaty is now the law in the United States: approval only by the President is required at present; approval by the President and a majority of the whole Congress is required at present; approval by the President and two-thirds of the Senate is required at present? (Apr 25 '44, Nov 29 '44, May 15 '45) When the war is over, it will be necessary for the Allies to decide on peace terms for the Axis. Which one of these three ways would you, personally, favor as the best way to have peace treaties approved after the war: approval only by President; approval by President and majority of whole Congress; approval by President and two-thirds of Senate? (AIPO)

| | *President only* | *President and majority of whole Congress* | *President and ⅔ of Senate* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '43 | 6% | 29% | 32% | 33% |
| Apr '44 | 7 | 60 | 19 | 14 |
| Nov '44 | 8 | 58 | 22 | 12 |
| May '45 | 7% | 58% | 21% | 14% |
| Apr '44: Those who knew how peace treaties were approved | 4 | 61 | 33 | 2 |
| NOV '44 RESULTS BY EDUCATION | | | | |
| College | 3% | 65% | 29% | 3% |
| High school | 5 | 64 | 25 | 6 |
| Grade school or less | 12 | 52 | 19 | 17 |

**2.** (US Aug 24 '43) Now, will you tell me which of these you, personally, would favor as the best way to have peace treaties approved after the war: approval only by the President; approval by the President and majority of the whole Congress; approval by President and two-thirds of Senate? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| President only | 7% |
| President and majority of Congress | 54 |
| President and two-thirds of Senate | 25 |
| Don't know | 14 |

**3.** (US Apr 25 '44, Nov 29 '44, May 15 '45) Now, will you tell me which one of these three ways of approving a peace treaty is at present the law in the United States: approval only by the President is required at present; approval by the President and a majority of the whole Congress is required at present; approval by the President and two-thirds of the Senate is required at present? The 1945 sample omitted the word "one" from the question. (AIPO)

| | *President only* | *President and majority of whole Congress* | *President and ⅔ of Senate* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '44 | 9% | 18% | 34% | 39% |
| Nov '44 | 9 | 20 | 43 | 28 |
| May '45 | 5 | 17 | 38 | 40 |

## PENSIONS

**1.** (US Feb 10 '42) Would you approve or disapprove of giving a pension to Congressmen when they leave office? Asked of a national cross-section of those familiar with the plan to pension Congressmen. (AIPO)

Approve 9% Disapprove 83% No opinion 8%

**2.** (US July 12 '45) Would you approve or disapprove of the government giving $25,000.00 a year to a United States President for the rest of his life after he leaves office? (AIPO)

Approve 26% Disapprove 64% No opinion 10%

**3.** (Australia Aug '45) If a man who has been Prime Minister for some years ceases to be a member of Parliament, would you favor or oppose paying him a pension? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Oppose | 52% |
| Favor | 43 |
| No opinion | 5 |

# PENSIONS, MILITARY

**1.** (US Aug 2 '37) Are you in favor of pensions for World War veterans? (AIPO)

Yes 76% No 24% = 100% No opinion 8%

**2.** (US Oct 18 '37) Do you think government expenditures should be increased or decreased on soldiers' pensions? (Jan 7 '39) Do you think government spending should be increased or decreased for veterans' pensions? (Jan 20 '39) Should veterans' pensions be increased, decreased, or remain about the same? (AIPO)

| | *Increase* | *Decrease* | *Remain same* | *No opinion, no answer* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '37 | 24% | 25% | 51% = 100% | 6% | |
| Jan 7 '39 | 21 | 18 | 45 | 16 | = 100% |
| Jan 20 '39 | 15 | 11 | 56 | 18 | = 100 |

**3.** (US Feb 3 '38 and May 23 '40) When a World War veteran dies from causes not connected with the war, should his widow and children be given a pension by the government? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '38 | 44% | 56% = 100% | 4% | |
| May '40 | 40 | 49 | 11 | = 100% |

FEB '38 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 45% | 55% |
| Middle Atlantic | 45 | 55 |
| East central | 49 | 51 |
| West central | 46 | 54 |
| South | 38 | 62 |
| Rocky Mountain | 45 | 55 |
| Pacific coast | 39 | 61 |

FEB '38 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Above-average income | 31% | 69% |
| Average income | 39 | 61 |
| Below-average income | 46 | 54 |
| Poor | 53 | 47 |
| On relief | 61 | 39 |

**4.** (US Feb 3 '38 and May 23 '40) Would you be willing to pay heavier taxes in order to give such pensions? In 1938 two cross-sections were questioned, the second being asked: Would you be willing to see taxes increased in order to pay these pensions? 1938 results were combined. In 1940 only the 40% of the sample who thought that widows and children of veterans who died from causes not connected with the war should be given pensions were questioned. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '38 | 32% | 68% | — | |
| May '40 | 33 | 5 | 2% | = 40% |

FEB '38 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 33% | 67% |
| Middle Atlantic | 32 | 68 |
| East central | 32 | 68 |
| West central | 31 | 69 |
| South | 29 | 71 |
| Rocky Mountain | 35 | 65 |
| Pacific coast | 25 | 75 |

**5.** (US Mar 30 '39) Should the federal government pay a special pension to all World War veterans who reach the age of sixty-five? 52% of the sample who thought veterans should get pensions were asked: How much should they be paid? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should be no pensions | 36% |
| No opinion as to whether or not should be pensions | 12 |
| Pension should be $25 or less | 2 |
| Should be $30 | 6 |
| Should be $30 to $50 | 5 |
| Should be $50 | 7 |
| Should be over $50 | 11 |
| Didn't say how much | 21 |

**6.** (US Mar 30 '39) Would you be willing to pay higher taxes to furnish the money for these pensions? Asked of 52% of the sample who thought veterans should get government pensions at sixty-five. (AIPO)

Yes 37% No 10% No answer 5% = 52%

**7.** (Hungary Oct '46) Will it be necessary to organize a final state support for war invalids? (HIPOR)

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Other; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Well-off | 97.8% | 0.4% | 1.8% |
| Middle class | 98.9 | 0.7 | 0.4 |
| Poor | 98.5 | 1.1 | 0.4 |

# PERIODICALS

**1.** (US Dec 28 '36, Feb 3 '38, Jan 20 '39, May 29 '41, Mar 10 '43) What is your favorite magazine? (AIPO)

| | *Men Dec '36* | *Women Dec '36* | *Feb '38* | *Jan '39* | *May '41* | *Mar '43* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Reader's Digest | 13% | 17% | 14% | 15% | 15% | 24% |
| Saturday Evening Post | 10 | 4 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 6 |
| American | 8 | 8 | 8 | 5 | 5 | 3 |
| Colliers | 8 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 3 |
| Liberty | 7 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 2 |
| Time | 8 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 |
| Good Housekeeping | 1 | 11 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 5 |
| Cosmopolitan | 2 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Redbook | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Woman's Home Companion | * | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Ladies' Home Journal | * | 5 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| National Geographic | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| McCall's | * | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| True Story | 1 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Esquire | 4 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | — |
| Literary Digest | 4 | 2 | — | — | — | — |
| Popular Mechanics | 3 | * | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Life | 3 | 2 | 7 | 8 | 14 | 13 |
| True Detective | 1 | * | — | — | — | — |
| Western Stories | 1 | * | 1 | 1 | 1 | — |
| Harper's | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | — |
| Fortune | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | — |
| Better Homes and Gardens | * | 1 | — | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Pictorial Review | * | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| Newsweek | 1 | * | — | 1 | 1 | 1 |

| | *Men Dec '36* | *Women Dec '36* | *Feb '38* | *Jan '39* | *May '41* | *Mar '43* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Look | — | — | 1% | 1% | 2% | 2% |
| Country Gentleman | — | — | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Pathfinder | — | — | 1 | — | 1 | — |
| New Yorker | — | — | — | — | 1 | 1 |
| Farm Journal | — | — | — | — | 1 | 1 |
| All others; miscellaneous | 21% | 16% | 20 | 18 | 14 | 17 |
| No answer; don't read any regularly | 30<br>* = 1 | 21<br>* = 1 | — | — | — | — |
| | 132%** | 122%** | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| Don't know | — | — | — | — | — | (18) |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (Great Britain Jan '38) Do you read magazines regularly? (BIPO)

Yes 21% No 79% = 100% No opinion 1%

**3.** (Great Britain Jan '38) Which one [magazine] is your favorite? Asked of 21% of the sample who said they read magazines regularly. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Women's Own | 6% |
| Women | 6 |
| Strand | 6 |
| John Bull | 5 |
| Chambers | 5 |
| All others | 72 |
| No answer | 53 |
| | 153%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who said they read magazines regularly and add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**4.** (US Apr 8 '44) If you had your pick of these three magazine stories which one would you rather read: a story about battle scenes abroad; a story about wartime problems at home; a story that has little to do with the war? (NORC)

| | *First choice* | *Second choice* |
|---|---|---|
| Foreign battle scenes | 28% | 24% |
| Domestic war problems | 26 | 44 |
| Little to do with war | 38 | 16 |
| Don't know | 8 | 8 |
| | 92% who made a first choice | |

**5.** (US Apr 25 '44) Here is a list of magazines used in English classes in high schools throughout the country. Which one of these magazines would you prefer to have your high-school boy or girl read? Asked of a national cross-section of parents who had children in senior high school. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Atlantic Monthly | 6% |
| Coronet | 3 |
| Harper's Magazine | 3 |
| Reader's Digest | 81 |
| Saturday Review of Literature | 7 |

**6.** (US Apr 25 '44) Here is a list of magazines in high-school studies dealing with social sciences (civics and history). Which one of these magazines would you prefer to have your high-school boy or girl read? Asked of a national cross-section of parents who had children in senior high school. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Nation | 5% |
| New Republic | 1 |
| Newsweek | 15 |
| Reader's Digest | 35 |
| Time | 30 |
| United States News | 14 |

**7.** (US Apr 25 '44) Which one of these magazines do you think would serve best in training high-school boys and girls to be better American citizens? Asked of a national cross-section of parents who had children in senior high school. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Atlantic Monthly | 4% |
| Coronet | 1 |
| Harper's Magazine | 2 |
| Nation | 5 |
| New Republic | 4 |
| Newsweek | 6 |
| Reader's Digest | 44 |
| Saturday Review of Literature | 3 |
| Time | 17 |
| United States News | 14 |

**8.** (US Feb 13 '46) Did you happen to read the February issue of any of these magazines? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Not sure February issue* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Coronet | 11% | 78% | 2% | 9% |
| Ladies' Home Journal | 17 | 73 | 2 | 8 |
| Reader's Digest | 37 | 56 | 4 | 3 |
| Cosmopolitan | 8 | 82 | 2 | 8 |
| Pageant | 2 | 86 | * | 12 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**9.** (Germany Oct 2 '46) Do you read magazines? Which? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Amerikanische Rundschau | 2% |
| Heute | 6 |
| Neue Auslese | 2 |
| Other | 5 |
| No | 86 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**10.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Have you read any magazines during the last six months? (OMGUS)

Yes 17% No 83%

## PERSONS

**1.** (US June 21 '37) Should the wife of a President comment publicly on the issues of the day? (AIPO)

Yes 46% No 54% = 100% No opinion 12%

**2.** (US Aug 23 '37 and Nov 5 '38) Have you ever heard of Sir Thomas Lipton? 75% of the 1937 sample and 73% of the 1938 sample who said they had heard of Sir Thomas were asked: What product do you associate with him? (AIPO)

| | *1937* | *1938* |
|---|---|---|
| Never heard of him | 25% | 27% |
| Associate him with tea | 52 | 59 |
| With boats, yachting | 5 | 4 |

| | 1937 | 1938 |
|---|---|---|
| Tea and boats | 4% | — |
| Other associations | 1 | 1% |
| No associations | 9 | — |
| Didn't say what associations | 4 | 9 |

**3.** (US Oct '37) Can you think of any well-known man in business or industry of whom you approve? (FOR)

Yes 46% No or no answer 54%

**4.** (US Oct '37) 46% of the sample who said they approved of someone in business or industry were asked: Who? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Henry Ford | 60.6% |
| Walter P. Chrysler | 4.9 |
| John D. Rockefeller Jr. | 2.1 |
| Tom M. Girdler | 1.7 |
| George F. Johnson | 1.4 |
| Charles M. Schwab | 1.3 |
| Milton S. Hershey | 1.3 |
| Owen D. Young | 1.2 |
| Alfred P. Sloan Jr. | 1.1 |
| Edward A. Filene | 1.0 |
| Franklin D. Roosevelt | .9 |
| William S. Knudsen | .8 |
| Myron C. Taylor | .7 |
| Du Ponts (in general) | .6 |
| John L. Lewis | .6 |
| Walter S. Gifford | .4 |
| J. P. Morgan | .3 |
| All local tycoons | 12.8 |
| Other nonlocal magnates | 6.3 |
| | 100.0% |

of those questioned

**5.** (US Oct '37) Can you think of any such well-known man [in business or industry] of whom you disapprove? (FOR)

Yes 22.2% No or no answer 77.8%

**6.** (US Oct '37) 22.2% of the sample who said they disapproved of some man in business or industry were asked: Who? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| John L. Lewis | 30.4% |
| Henry Ford | 17.7 |
| J. P. Morgan | 6.9 |
| Andrew M. Mellon | 6.0 |
| Du Ponts (in general) | 4.0 |
| Tom M. Girdler | 3.9 |
| Franklin D. Roosevelt | 3.1 |
| William R. Hearst | 3.0 |
| Herbert C. Hoover | 2.2 |
| James A. Farley | 1.8 |
| John D. Rockefeller, Jr. | 1.5 |
| Myron C. Taylor | 1.3 |
| Alfred P. Sloan, Jr. | 1.3 |
| Charles M. Schwab | 1.1 |
| William Green | .9 |
| William S. Knudsen | .6 |
| All big businessmen | .5 |
| All local tycoons | 5.4 |
| Other nonlocal magnates | 8.4 |
| | 100.0% |

of those questioned

**7.** (US Dec 28 '37) Are you familiar with the Tom Mooney case? (AIPO)

Yes 44% No 56% = 100% No answer 2%

**8.** (US Dec 28 '37) Do you think he [Tom Mooney] was guilty? Asked only of those familiar with the case. (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | | No answer |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 47% | 53% | = 100% | 13% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England | 51% | 49% | | |
| Middle Atlantic | 31 | 69 | | |
| East central | 54 | 46 | | |
| West central | 52 | 48 | | |
| South | 69 | 31 | | |
| Rocky Mountain | 48 | 52 | | |
| Pacific coast | 52 | 48 | | |
| California only | 52 | 48 | | |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democratic | 42% | 58% | | |
| Republican | 64 | 36 | | |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Small-town dwellers | 53% | 47% | | |
| City dwellers | 43 | 57 | | |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Farmers | 65% | 35% | | |
| Businessmen | 60 | 40 | | |
| Professional | 53 | 47 | | |
| Skilled laborers | 45 | 55 | | |
| Unskilled laborers | 35 | 65 | | |
| White-collar | 43 | 57 | | |

**9.** (US Dec 28 '37) Should he [Tom Mooney] be pardoned and released from prison? Asked only of those familiar with the case. (AIPO)

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 64% | 36% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic | 71% | 29% |
| Republican | 49 | 51 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 66% | 34% |
| Middle Atlantic | 77 | 23 |
| East central | 58 | 42 |
| West central | 57 | 43 |
| South | 52 | 48 |
| Rocky Mountain | 65 | 35 |
| Pacific coast | 55 | 45 |
| California only | 55 | 45 |

**10.** (US June 9 '38) Two comparable cross-sections were used for these questions. The first was asked: Have you heard of Mayor Hague? 60% of the sample who had heard of him were then asked: Do you think President Roosevelt should ask Mayor Hague to resign from his position as vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee? The second cross-section was asked: Have you heard of Mayor Hague of Jersey City? The 60% who answered in the affirmative were then asked: Do you think Mayor Hague should be forced to resign from his position as vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee? Results from both cross-sections were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hadn't heard of Mayor Hague | 39% |
| Didn't say whether or not had heard of him | 1 |
| Should be made to resign | 17 |
| Should not be made to resign | 24 |
| No opinion as to whether or not should resign | 19 |

**11.** (US July 27 '38 and Aug 16 '38) Have you followed the discussion about James Roosevelt (the President's son) and his insurance business? 38% of the July sample and 42% of the August sample who said they had followed the discussion

were asked: Do you think James Roosevelt has made improper use of his relation to the President to get insurance business? (AIPO)

| | *July results* | *August results* |
|---|---|---|
| Hadn't followed discussion | 62% | 58% |
| Made improper use of relationship | 20 | 17 |
| Didn't make improper use of relationship | 13 | 19 |
| No opinion as to whether or not relationship improperly used | 5 | 6 |

**12.** (US Oct '38) If any of these former statesmen were now alive, which one would you prefer to have as successor to President Roosevelt? (FOR)

| | *Theodore Roosevelt* % | *Woodrow Wilson* % | *Calvin Coolidge* % | *Grover Cleveland* % | *William Jennings Bryan* % | *William Howard Taft* % | *The late Robert M. LaFollette* % | *Don't know or none* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 32.7 | 20.1 | 15.7 | 4.4 | 4.3 | 3.7 | 2.6 | 16.5 |
| BY EXTREMES IN ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 35.0 | 14.1 | 22.6 | 9.2 | 2.6 | 3.9 | 2.6 | 10.0 |
| Poor | 30.8 | 21.1 | 12.6 | 4.5 | 3.4 | 4.0 | 1.5 | 22.1 |

**13.** (US Oct '38) Do you approve or disapprove of James Roosevelt's holding the position of secretary to the President? (FOR)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't care* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 32.3% | 40.7% | 20.4% | 6.6% |
| BY ATTITUDE TOWARD FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT | | | | |
| Approving Roosevelt, Sr. | 44.2% | 26.8% | 21.4% | 7.6% |
| Disapproving Roosevelt, Sr. | 11.9 | 68.5 | 16.9 | 2 7 |

**14.** (US Oct 17 '38) Have you heard of Barbara Hutton? 78% of the sample who had heard of her were asked: Would you like to see the United States make her a citizen again if she asks to be? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Never heard of her | 22% |
| United States should make her a citizen | 32 |
| Should not be made citizen | 24 |
| No opinion as to whether or not she should be made a citizen | 22 |

**15.** (US Nov '38) Would you describe the following [listed below] as reactionary, conservative, liberal, or radical? (FOR)

| | *Don't know* % | *Reactionary* % | *Conservative* % | *Liberal* % | *Radical* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Thomas Corcoran | 82.2 | 2.4 | 2.4 | 6.7 | 6.3 |
| Senator Arthur Vandenberg | 65.0 | 4.1 | 19.1 | 8.4 | 3.4 |
| Alfred P. Sloan, Jr. | 58.1 | 3.4 | 28.3 | 8.1 | 2.1 |
| Norman Thomas | 50.9 | 2.5 | 2.9 | 10.8 | 32.9 |
| WPA Administrator Harry Hopkins | 44.6 | 2.9 | 6.2 | 29.9 | 16.4 |
| Postmaster General James A. Farley | 37.7 | 3.6 | 11.6 | 30.7 | 16.4 |
| Vice-President John N. Garner | 34.2 | 3.3 | 39.3 | 20.7 | 2.5 |
| John L. Lewis | 29.0 | 2.3 | 1.5 | 6.0 | 61.2 |
| Henry Ford | 23.4 | 4.7 | 50.2 | 17.5 | 4.2 |
| Franklin D. Roosevelt | 19.1 | 3.0 | 8.7 | 50.7 | 18.5 |

**16.** (US Nov 14 '38) Would you like to see the new governor of California free Tom Mooney? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *Never heard of Mooney* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 66% | 34% | = 100% | 15% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democratic | 74% | 26% | | |
| Republican | 49 | 51 | | |

**17.** (US Dec 16 '38) Has the fact that George Burns recently pleaded guilty in connection with a charge of smuggling $4,885 worth of jewelry into this country in any way affected your opinion of him? 31% of those who answered and said they had changed their opinion were asked: How? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Opinion hasn't changed | 69% |
| Lowered my opinion of him | 7 |
| No excuse for a man with all his money | 5 |
| Surprised he would do such a thing | 1 |
| Deserves any punishment he gets | 1 |
| Made him look cheap | 2 |
| He's a law breaker | 1 |
| Should bar him from the radio | 1 |
| He's no better than a common crook | 1 |
| Hasn't changed my opinion of him as an entertainer, just as a man | 1 |
| Don't care to listen to him on the radio any more | 1 |
| A man in his position should set an example | 1 |
| All others | 3 |
| Didn't say how | 6 |
| | 100%* |

* 20% of the sample didn't answer the first question.

**18.** (US Dec 23 '38 and Feb 20 '40) Do you approve or disapprove of the way Mrs. Roosevelt has conducted herself as First Lady of the Land? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '38 | 67% | 33% | = 100% | 17% |
| Feb '40 | 68 | 32 | = 100 | 15 |
| DEC '38 RESULTS BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 62% | 38% | | |
| Women | 73 | 27 | | |
| FEB '40 RESULTS BY AGE | | | | |
| 30 years and under | 77% | 23% | | |
| 30–50 years | 70 | 30 | | |
| 50 years and over | 61 | 39 | | |
| DEC '38 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England | 66% | 34% | | |
| Middle Atlantic | 72 | 28 | | |
| East central | 64 | 36 | | |
| West central | 66 | 34 | | |
| South | 67 | 33 | | |
| West | 66 | 34 | | |

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| *Upper income* | | | |
| Dec '38 | 54% | 46% | |
| Feb '40 | 56 | 44 | |
| *Middle income* | | | |
| Dec '38 | 65 | 35 | |
| Feb '40 | 68 | 32 | |
| *Lower income* | | | |
| Dec '38 | 76 | 24 | |
| Feb '40 | 75 | 25 | |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| *Democratic* | | | |
| Dec '38 | 81% | 19% | |
| Feb '40 | 84 | 16 | |
| *Republican* | | | |
| Dec '38 | 43 | 57 | |
| Feb '40 | 49 | 51 | |

**19.** (US Dec 23 '38) Do you think the President's wife should engage in any business activity which interests her if she doesn't do it for profit? (AIPO)

Yes 73% No 27% = 100% No opinion 9%

**20.** (US Dec 23 '38) Mrs. Roosevelt has taken a position on the board of directors in her son's insurance company. Do you approve or disapprove of this? (AIPO)

Approve 44% Disapprove 56% = 100% No opinion 20%

**21.** (US Jan 20 '39) Do you think J. Edgar Hoover has done a good or a poor job as head of the G-men? A comparable cross-section was asked: How good a job do you think J. Edgar Hoover has done as head of the G-men? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Excellent | 41% |
| Good | 39 |
| Fair | 7 |
| Poor | 1 |
| No opinion | 12 |

**22.** (US May 18 '39) Do you think Herbert Hoover is more popular or less popular than when he ran against Roosevelt in 1932? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| More popular | 33% |
| Less popular | 36 |
| Same | 19 |
| Don't know | 12 |

**23.** (US May 18 '39) Do you like Hoover better today than you did in 1932? (AIPO)

Yes 18% No 47% Don't know 7% Same 28%

**24.** (US June 29 '39) Which European political leader, now alive, do you like best? Least? Two comparable cross-sections were used. One was shown a card with a list of names, the other was not. Results were combined. (AIPO)

| *Best* | | *Least* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chamberlain | 27% | Hitler | 70% |
| Eden | 13 | Mussolini | 9 |
| Daladier | 4 | Stalin | 6 |
| Mussolini | 3 | Chamberlain | 2 |
| Hitler | 2 | Franco | 1 |
| Others | 11 | All others | 1 |
| No opinion | 40 | No answer | 11 |

**25.** (France July 21 '39) Who is your favorite foreign statesman? (PIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 58% |
| Chamberlain | 22 |
| Stalin | 4.5 |
| Eden | 3.5 |
| Salazar (Portugal) | 1.5 |
| Others | 7 |
| No opinion | 3.5 |

**26.** (US Jan '40) Would you favor having Colonel Lindbergh in some high public office such as Secretary of War? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 26.3% |
| No | 54.4 |
| Don't care | 5.4 |
| Don't know | 13.9 |

**27.** (US Jan '40) Would you favor him [Lindbergh] for the presidency? Asked of 26.3% of the sample who favored having Lindbergh in some high public office. (FOR)

Yes 25.6% No 60.3% Don't know 14.1% = 100.0% of those questioned

**28.** (US May '40) What do you think Mrs. Roosevelt should do if she does not return to the White House next year? (FOR)

| | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| She should be elected or appointed to some high government office | 5.8% | 7.3% |
| She should continue with various activities like writing and lecturing | 39.1 | 49.5 |
| She should retire entirely from the public eye | 30.3 | 17.7 |
| Other answers | 1.0 | 1.4 |
| Don't care | 13.9 | 11.7 |
| Don't know | 9.9 | 12.4 |

**29.** (US Aug 8 '40) Did you hear or read about Colonel Lindbergh's radio speech Sunday night, August 4? 51% of the sample who had heard or read of the speech were asked: In general, do you agree or disagree with what he said? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No information on the speech | 49% |
| Agree with the speech | 12 |
| Disagree with it | 28 |
| Undecided | 11 |

**30.** (US Jan 28 '41) Can you name four leaders of European countries and tell me what country each one heads? (OPOR)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 correctly named | 4% | Yes, no one named | 6% |
| 2 correctly named | 9 | Hitler | 90 |
| 3 correctly named | 19 | Mussolini | 83 |
| 4 correctly named | 62 | Stalin | 44 |
| 5 correctly named | * | Churchill | 54 |
| 6 correctly named | * | Franco | 7 |
| 7 correctly named | * | Petain | 26 |
| Don't know | 6 | de Gaulle | * |
| | | de Valera | 1 |
| | | Gustav | * |
| | | Boris | * |
| | | Other correct | 21 |
| | | Incorrect | 11 |
| | | * = 1 | |
| | | | 344%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**31.** (Great Britain Jan 16 '42) Would you like to see Sir Stafford Cripps back in Parliament? (BIPO)

Yes 52% No 21% Don't know 27%

**32.** (Great Britain Jan 16 '42) [Would you like to see Cripps back in Parliament] As a member of the government or the opposition? Asked of 52% of the sample who would like to see Cripps back in Parliament. (BIPO)

Government 52% Opposition 25% Don't know 23% = 100% of those questioned

**33.** (Great Britain Mar '42) Do you approve or disapprove of Sir Stafford Cripps as leader of the House of Commons? (BIPO)

Approve 76% Disapprove 5% Don't know 19%

**34.** (US May '42) It usually happens that some people are good for peacetime government jobs who aren't so good for wartime government jobs. Are there any people on this list that you think have done a particularly good job since the war broke out? Are there any you have been somewhat disappointed in since the war began? (FOR)

| | *Good* | *Disappointing* |
|---|---|---|
| Donald Nelson (Head of War Production Board) | 47.2% | 2.8% |
| Cordell Hull (Secretary of State) | 29.7 | 2.1 |
| Sumner Welles (Undersecretary of State) | 26.4 | 1.1 |
| Frank Knox (Secretary of Navy) | 25.9 | 11.2 |
| William Knudsen (Lt. Gen., production) | 21.3 | 4.6 |
| Henry Stimson (Secretary of War) | 20.8 | 6.2 |
| Leon Henderson (Price Control Administrator) | 20.1 | 11.3 |
| Henry Morgenthau (Secretary of Treasury) | 15.1 | 3.6 |
| General George Marshall (Chief of Staff) | 14.9 | .9 |
| Harry Hopkins (Lend-Lease Administrator) | 13.0 | 6.6 |
| Henry Wallace (Vice-President) | 10.9 | 7.1 |
| Jesse Jones (Secretary of Commerce) | 7.4 | 7.4 |
| Harold Ickes (Secretary of Interior) | 6.8 | 14.3 |
| Sidney Hillman (Defense Labor Coordinator) | 5.8 | 9.1 |
| Frances Perkins (Secretary of Labor) | 4.0 | 33.3 |
| None or don't know | 30.1 | 51.7 |
| | 299.4%* | 173.3%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**35.** (US May '42) Would you like to see any of these men given an important position in Roosevelt's war administration? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Douglas MacArthur | 57.3% |
| Wendell Willkie | 35.8 |
| Henry Ford | 30.9 |
| Thomas E. Dewey | 24.7 |
| Herbert Hoover | 16.8 |
| F. H. La Guardia | 12.5 |
| Charles Lindbergh | 12.5 |
| Bernard Baruch | 9.9 |
| Alfred Landon | 8.9 |
| William O. Douglas | 5.7 |
| John L. Lewis | 2.0 |
| None of these | 16.0 |
| | 233.0%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**36.** (Great Britain May '42) Who is the world's greatest living man? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Churchill | 42% |
| Stalin | 24 |
| Roosevelt | 20 |
| Hitler | 4% |
| Sir Stafford Cripps | 3 |
| Gandhi | 2 |
| The King | 2 |
| Chiang Kai-shek | 1 |
| Anthony Eden | 1 |
| George Bernard Shaw | 1 |
| | 100% |
| No choice | 37% |

(France July 16 '46) What man or woman living today anywhere in the world do you most admire? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| General De Gaulle | 23% |
| Stalin | 7 |
| Joliet Curie | 5 |
| Churchill | 4 |
| Léon Blum | 3 |
| Professor Fleming | 3 |
| General Leclerc | 1 |
| Others | 23 |
| No opinion | 31 |

(Canada Sept 18 '46) What person living in any part of the world today do you admire most? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Winston Churchill | 28% |
| Prime Minister King | 8 |
| Pope Pius XII | 6 |
| President Truman | 4 |
| The King and Queen | 3 |
| General Eisenhower | 2 |
| Marshal Stalin | 2 |
| Anthony Eden | 2 |
| Viscount Montgomery | 1 |
| Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt | 1 |
| Others and no answer | 43 |

(Great Britain Nov '46) Of all men and women living today, whom do you admire most? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Churchill | 24% |
| Montgomery | 5 |
| Attlee | 4 |
| Bernard Shaw | 4 |
| Bevin | 3 |
| Smuts | 3 |
| Stalin | 3 |
| The King and Queen | 3 |
| Eden | 2 |
| Lord Nutfield | 1 |
| Professor Fleming | 1 |
| Gandhi | 1 |
| J. B. Priestley | 1 |
| Helen Keller | 1 |
| Duke of Windsor | 1 |
| My wife | 2 |
| My husband | 1 |
| My mother | 1 |
| Film, stage, or radio stars; concert artists | 3 |
| Sports players | 1 |
| Doctors; surgeons | 1 |
| Other politicians | 7 |
| Other authors; painters; composers | 1 |
| All other | 8 |
| No reply | 18 |

(US May 15 '46) What person living today in any part of the world, that you have heard or read about, do you admire the most? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| MacArthur | 12% |
| Eleanor Roosevelt | 4 |
| Eisenhower | 10 |
| Truman | 6 |
| Wallace | 1 |
| Churchill | 3 |
| Byrnes | 1 |
| Hoover | 2 |
| Stassen | 1 |
| Dewey | 1 |
| No one; no choice | 4 |
| No answer and others | 55 |

**37.** (US May 6 '42) Which of these three leaders—Stalin, the Russian leader; Chiang Kai-shek, the Chinese leader; or Churchill, the British leader—do you feel you know the most about, which the least about, and which do you personally like or admire the most? (NORC)

| | *Know most about* | *Know least about* | *Admire* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Stalin | 6% | 35% | 7% |
| Chiang Kai-shek | 5 | 44 | 25 |
| Churchill | 75 | 2 | 45 |
| Don't know and no answer | 14 | 19 | 23 |

**38.** (US May 6 '42) Which one of these leaders [Stalin, Chiang Kai-shek, Churchill] do you think has the most support from his own people? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Stalin | 30% |
| Chiang Kai-shek | 23 |
| Churchill | 24 |
| Don't know and no answer | 23 |

**39.** (US May 6 '42) Do you happen to know which of these men is leading the Serbian guerrilla army that's fighting the Nazis in the mountains of Yugoslavia? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Milan Neditch | 2% |
| Semyon Timoshenko | 6 |
| Draja Mikhailovitch | 21 |
| Gavril Obrenovich | 2 |
| Don't know and no answer | 69 |

**40.** (US June 9 '42) Have you heard or read about the order to deport Harry Bridges? 67% of the sample who had heard or read of the order were asked: Do you think he should be deported? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Unfamiliar with order | 33% |
| Should be deported | 43 |
| Should not be deported | 10 |
| No opinion as to whether or not should be deported | 14 |

**41.** (US June 20 '42) Do you happen to know who George Washington Carver (James B. Conant, Byron L. Johnson, Lily Pons, Marian Anderson) is? Who? (NORC)

| | *Correct* | *No and no answer* |
|---|---|---|
| Carver | 19% | 81% |
| Conant | 7 | 93 |
| Johnson | — | 100 |
| Lily Pons | 60 | 40 |
| Marian Anderson | 48 | 52 |

**42.** (US July 15 '42) Which of these jobs do you think Joseph Goebbels has in Germany? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Foreign Minister | 6% |
| Minister of Propaganda | 65 |
| Leader of Storm Troopers | 9 |
| Don't know and no answer | 20 |

**43.** (US July 29 '42) What do you think of the job Leon Henderson has done as head of the Office of Price Administration? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good job | 42% |
| Best he can under circumstances | 12 |
| Not a good job | 16 |
| No opinion | 30 |

**44.** (Canada Aug 22 '42) Which of these three men has accomplished most for the people of France? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Pierre Laval | 1% |
| Marshal Pétain | 46 |
| General De Gaulle | 45 |
| No opinion | 8 |

**45.** (Canada Aug 26 '42) Who in your opinion is the greatest living Canadian? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know or can't decide | 30% |
| There is no great Canadian | 9 |
| King | 22 |
| McNaughton | 15 |
| Bennett | 3 |
| Beaverbrook | 2 |
| Rene Chaloult | 2 |
| Others | 17 |

**46.** (US Nov '42) Can you name two or three living Americans you would really call great? Asked of a national cross-section of high-school students. (FOR)

| | *White students* | *Negro students* |
|---|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 59.9% | 37.3% |
| MacArthur | 58.2 | 22.7 |
| Doolittle | 6.4 | 4.5 |
| Babe Ruth | 3.8 | 1.8 |
| Joe Louis | 2.8 | 28.2 |
| Willkie | 3.2 | 1.8 |
| Mrs. Roosevelt | 2.8 | 2.7 |
| Joe DiMaggio | 2.7 | 4.5 |
| Henry Ford | 6.1 | — |
| Cordell Hull | 3.5 | — |
| George W. Carver | — | 20.0 |
| La Guardia | — | 1.8 |
| All others | 50.4 | 48.1 |
| None or don't know | 7.7 | 18.2 |
| | 207.5%* | 191.6%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**47.** (US Nov 17 '42) Is there anything about Mrs. Roosevelt of which you especially disapprove? 39% of the sample who said there was something they disliked were then asked: What? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dislike nothing | 61% |
| Too much in public press; should stay home more | 12 |
| Taking sides on political issues; interfering in things which are not her affair | 7 |
| Talks too much | 7 |
| Stirring up racial prejudice by trying to equalize Negroes and whites | 3 |
| Everything | 3 |
| Other answers | 7 |
| | 100% |
| No opinion | 1% |

**48.** (US Nov 17 '42) Is there anything about Mrs. Roosevelt of which you especially approve? 47% of the sample who said

there was something they approved were then asked: What? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve nothing especially | 53% |
| She's a personality in her own right; doesn't allow herself to just sit back and do nothing | 11 |
| She's a brilliant woman; a perfect President's wife | 5 |
| Her social consciousness; her efforts in behalf of mankind | 5 |
| Her interest in and activity in behalf of the poor | 5 |
| Her interest in current political problems and her ability to take a stand on any worthwhile question | 4 |
| Her sociability; her genuine interest in people; her friendliness | 4 |
| Her courage; her spirit; the fact that she does what she wishes in spite of criticisms | 3 |
| Her treatment of Negroes | 1 |
| Everything | 3 |
| Other answers | 6 |

**49.** (US Nov 23 '42) Which of these three men do you understand is head of the War Production Board—Leon Henderson, Donald Nelson, or William L. Jeffers? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Henderson | 26% |
| Nelson | 47 |
| Jeffers | 5 |
| Don't know | 22 |

**50.** (US Feb 3 '43) Can you tell me who Donald Nelson is? 41% of the sample answered the question correctly, 9% gave vague answers, 11% gave incorrect answers, and 39% admitted they didn't know. All but the 39% were asked: In your opinion, is Donald Nelson's management of the War Production Board good, fair, or poor? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good | 58% |
| Fair | 30 |
| Poor | 4 |
| No opinion | 8 |
| | 100% |

of those questioned

**51.** (US Feb 6 '43) Do you happen to know what job Donald Nelson holds in the government today? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correctly identified | 28% |
| Incorrectly identified | 17 |
| Don't know | 55 |

**52.** (Canada Feb 10 '43) Generally speaking, is your opinion of John Bracken favorable or unfavorable? (CIPO)

| | *Favorable* | *Unfavorable* | *Undecided* | *Haven't heard of him* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 9% | 18% | 30% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Liberal | 40% | 10% | 20% | 30% |
| Progressive Conservative | 75 | 3 | 7 | 15 |
| Cooperative Commonwealth Federation | 39 | 18 | 22 | 21 |

**53.** (US Mar 10 '43) In general, do you approve or disapprove of Mrs. Roosevelt? (AIPO)

Approve 52% Disapprove 35% No opinion 13%

**54.** (US Mar 10 '43) What is there about Mrs. Roosevelt of which you especially disapprove? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Nothing; she has done a perfect job | 26% |
| She runs around too much; travels too much; doesn't stay at home | 8 |
| She uses her position to promote political opinion; too much talking in politics; interfering in politics (none of her affair); taking sides on public questions; butts in on her husband's business | 8% |
| She talks too much; her statements are unnecessary | 6 |
| Too much in public eye, in limelight; too much publicity; doesn't conduct herself as a President's wife should | 7 |
| Too much in everybody's business; a finger in too many pies; too nosey | 6 |
| She has communistic tendencies; espouses radical ideas | 2 |
| Stirring up racial prejudice in the South by trying to equalize white and colored; caters too much to the Negroes | 3 |
| Her column; the stuff she writes; her speeches | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 6 |
| Everything; lots of things | 2 |
| No opinion | 26 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**55.** (US Mar 10 '43) What is there about Mrs. Roosevelt of which you especially approve? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Nothing | 15% |
| Brilliant; smart; capable; fine woman; perfect President's wife | 12 |
| Her social consciousness; activity in behalf of mankind; humanitarian interests; interest in people's welfare; social reform interest | 9 |
| Her interest in the common people; activity in behalf of the poor; her charitableness | 8 |
| Takes an active and intelligent interest in public affairs; interest in current political problems and world affairs | 4 |
| Her sociability and contact with people; genuine interest in people; mingles well; very democratic | 5 |
| Her column; literary abilities; speeches | 4 |
| Her courage, spirit, and aggressiveness; does what she wishes in spite of criticism | 4 |
| A personality in her own right; doesn't sit back; a help to her husband; gets around; sees things; her activity | 5 |
| All right; OK; etc | 3 |
| Treatment of Negroes; treats all alike | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 8 |
| No opinion | 24 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**56.** (US Mar 10 '43) Have you heard or read about Mrs. Clare Luce? (AIPO)

Yes 50% No 50%

**57.** (US Mar 10 '43) Can you tell me what her job is now? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who had heard or read about Mrs. Clare Luce. 50% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correctly identified as member of Congress | 79% |
| Incorrectly identified or don't know | 21 |
| | 100% |

of those questioned

**58.** (US Mar 10 '43) In general, what is your opinion of her [Mrs. Clare Luce]? Asked only of those who knew Mrs. Luce was in politics. 79% of the informed sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Smart; brilliant; fine woman; good; capable Congresswoman | 32% |
| Approved her maiden speech, points were well taken | 1 |
| New at her job; apprentice in Congress; fair | 9 |
| Disapprove; she's silly; better keep quiet; don't think much of her; incompetent; too opinionated | 10 |
| Objected to her maiden speech; globaloney speech rather cheap | 3 |
| Publicity seeker; egoist; likes to hear herself talk | 11 |
| No politician; misplaced; in something she knows nothing about | 4 |
| Should go back home; go back to play writing | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| Don't know enough about her to pass an opinion | 11 |
| No opinion and no answer | 14 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**59.** (US Mar 24 '43) Have you heard of any of the following persons: Frank Knox? Joseph Eastman? Can you tell me briefly what his job is now? (AIPO)

| | *Yes, correct* | *Yes, incorrect* | *No* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Frank Knox | 55% | 29% | 16% |
| Joseph Eastman | 14 | 24 | 62 |

**60.** (US June 22 '43) Can you tell me who Elmer Davis is? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Head of Office of War Information | 33% |
| Propaganda head; broadcaster for government | 3 |
| Censors news | 1 |
| Radio commentator; news commentator; newspaperman; other former jobs | 15 |
| Food administrator | 3 |
| Incorrect answers; someone in government | 4 |
| No | 30 |
| No answer | 11 |

**61.** (US June 22 '43) In general, how good a job do you think Elmer Davis is doing as head of the Office of War Information? Asked of those who explained who they thought Elmer Davis was. 59% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Good 49% Fair 21% Poor 7%
No opinion 23% = 100% of those questioned

**62.** (US Aug 24 '43) Taking everything into consideration, which one of these three men has done the best job in organizing his country to fight the war—Churchill, Roosevelt, or Stalin? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Churchill | 15% |
| Roosevelt | 36 |
| Stalin | 31 |
| No opinion | 18 |

**63.** (US Nov '43) Are there any prominent individuals in this country who you feel might be harmful to the future of the country unless they are curbed? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 52.4% | 24.9% | 22.7% |
| BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS | | | |
| Professional | 80.4% | 12.6% | 7.0% |
| Salaried executives | 79.3 | 16.0 | 4.7 |
| Farm hands | 35.3 | 19.3 | 45.4 |
| Negroes | 23.1 | 33.3 | 43.6 |

52.4% of the sample who said "yes" were asked whom they thought might be harmful to the future of the country with the following results:

| | *National total* | *Salaried executives* | *Factory labor* | *Other urban labor* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| John L. Lewis | 70.6% | 76.6% | 60.2% | 56.1% |
| Roosevelt | 5.5 | 10.9 | 4.7 | 5.9 |
| Wallace | 5.4 | 9.8 | 2.1 | 3.4 |
| Bridges | 3.3 | 2.7 | 4.2 | 1.7 |
| Wheeler | 3.0 | 4.3 | 2.6 | 3.8 |
| Mrs. Roosevelt | 2.8 | 4.3 | 2.1 | 1.7 |
| Willkie | 2.3 | 1.6 | 1.0 | 3.4 |
| Lindbergh | 2.2 | 1.6 | 3.1 | 3.8 |
| Hamilton Fish | 1.9 | 3.8 | .5 | 2.1 |
| Harry Hopkins | 1.8 | 4.3 | .5 | .4 |
| Col. McCormick | 1.6 | 2.2 | 1.6 | 2.5 |
| Other | 19.2 | 27.7 | 18.3 | 22.7 |
| Don't know | 8.9 | 1.1 | 15.7 | 12.7 |
| | 128.5%* | 150.9%* | 116.6%* | 120.2%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who thought there were individuals who might be harmful to the future of the country and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**64.** (Denmark Mar '44) Was Rembrandt a sculptor, painter, or author? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sculptor | 3.0% |
| Painter | 69.9 |
| Author | 3.3 |
| Don't know | 23.8 |

**65.** (Canada Mar 4 '44) At the present time, John Bracken, leader of the Progressive-Conservative party, does not have a seat in the House of Commons. Do you think he should try for a seat now, or should he wait until the next general election? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Seek seat now | 37% |
| Wait for election | 38 |
| Undecided | 23 |
| Other | 2 |

**66.** (US Apr 25 '44) What do you think about the trips that Mrs. Roosevelt makes? (AIPO)

| | *Complete or qualified approval* | *Opposition to the trips* | *It's none of my concern; that's her own affair* | *Didn't say* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 36% | 45% | 13% | 6% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| | | | *It's none of my concern, etc., and Didn't say* | |
| Men | 33% | 50% | 17% | |
| Women | 40 | 39 | 21 | |

**67.** (US Aug '44) We'd like to know which of these men you connect with Office of War Information, pay-as-you-go tax plan, President of United States Chamber of Commerce, trust busting, President of CIO. (FOR)

| | *Office of War Information (OWI)* | *Pay-as-you-go tax plan* | *Pres. of US Chamber of Commerce* | *Trust busting* | *Pres. of CIO* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Philip Murray | 2.4% | 2.5% | 3.2% | 2.0% | 34.4% |
| Elmer Davis | 54.1 | 1.9 | 1.8 | .8 | .5 |
| Harold L. Ickes | 11.0 | 6.5 | 3.3 | 4.6 | .7 |
| Thurman Arnold | .9 | 2.0 | 7.0 | 19.8 | .2 |
| Eric Johnston | .7 | 1.7 | 24.9 | 4.0 | .6 |
| John L. Lewis | 1.9 | .7 | .6 | 2.1 | 45.7 |
| Beardsley Ruml | .4 | 40.1 | 1.2 | 2.1 | .6 |
| Don't know | 28.6 | 44.6 | 58.0 | 64.6 | 17.3 |

**68.** (US Aug 16 '44) Will you tell me who Sidney Hillman is? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Chairman of Political Action Committee | 5% |
| President of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America | 4 |
| CIO leader; head of CIO | 9 |
| Connected with CIO | 4 |
| Labor leader; union boss | 8 |
| Associated with government bureau or agency | 2 |
| Socialist; Communist | 1 |
| Others | 2 |
| Don't know; no answer | 65 |

**69.** (US Aug 16 '44) Is your opinion of him [Sidney Hillman] favorable or unfavorable? Asked of 35% of the sample who said they knew who Sidney Hillman was. (AIPO)

Favorable 6% Unfavorable 17% No opinion 12% = 35%

**70.** (US Oct '44) Can you tell me who Harry Truman (Norman Thomas, Sidney Hillman, John Bricker, Henry Wallace) is, or what he does? (NORC)

| *Harry Truman* | | *Norman Thomas* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Right answer | 68% | Right answer | 49% |
| Wrong answer | 4 | Wrong answer | 8 |
| Don't know | 28 | Don't know | 43 |

| *Sidney Hillman* | | *John Bricker* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Right answer | 47% | Right answer | 74% |
| Wrong answer | 4 | Wrong answer | 3 |
| Don't know | 45 | Don't know | 23 |
| Hillman is a Communist | 4 | | |

*Henry Wallace*

| | |
|---|---|
| Is Vice-President | 79% |
| Is vice-presidential candidate | 1 |
| Is Liberal, left wing, and other answers | * |
| Is Secretary of Agriculture | 2 |
| Other wrong answers | 3 |
| Don't know | 15 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**71.** (France Nov 16 '44) Are you in favor of Maurice Thorez's return to France? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

Yes 23% No 63% No opinion 14%

**72.** (US Nov 29 '44) Will you tell me what you think of each of these people? Generally speaking, is your opinion of them favorable or unfavorable? (AIPO)

| | *Favorable* | *Unfavorable* | *Not familiar* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| James Byrnes | 38% | 6% | 45% | 11% |
| Leverett Saltonstall | 23 | 3 | 65 | 9 |
| Harold Stassen | 37 | 4 | 50 | 9 |
| Herbert Hoover | 44 | 45 | 2 | 9 |
| Sidney Hillman | 22% | 43% | 24% | 11% |
| Thomas Dewey | 62 | 30 | 2 | 6 |
| Gov. Frank Lausche | 11 | 3 | 77 | 9 |
| Franklin D. Roosevelt | 70 | 27 | — | 3 |
| Clare Booth Luce | 32 | 32 | 26 | 10 |
| Henry Wallace | 58 | 23 | 19% | |
| Edward Stettinius | 53 | 5 | 42 | |

**73.** (US Dec '44) Did you hear any criticisms at all about Sidney Hillman during the presidential campaign? 52% of the sample who had heard some criticism were asked: Did you generally agree or disagree with most of the criticisms? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't hear any criticism | 40% |
| Don't know or don't remember any criticism | 8 |
| Agreed with criticism | 22 |
| Disagreed with criticism | 15 |
| Neither agreed nor disagreed | 9 |
| Don't know whether or not agreed | 6 |

**74.** (US Dec '44) Which one or two of these things do you think most people dislike about Hillman? Asked of 52% of the sample who said they had heard criticisms about Sidney Hillman during the presidential campaign. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| He was born in foreign country | 9% |
| He is Jewish | 13 |
| He cooperates with Communists | 35 |
| He supports the New Deal | 12 |
| He is a labor union leader | 16 |
| Dishonest; criminal; crooked; gangster; Pendergast man; not sincere; associates with criminals; Fascist | 1 |
| Too much power; not democratic, too dictatorial; attitude at convenrion; clear everything with Sidney; dictates to President | 1 |
| Mixing unions and politics; collecting labor union dues for politics; forcing contributions | 1 |
| Other answers | * |
| Don't know | 3 |
| | 91%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 52 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**75.** (US Jan 31 '45) Who do you think was the greater man, George Washington or Abraham Lincoln? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| George Washington | 22% |
| Abraham Lincoln | 42 |
| Equally great | 28 |
| Uncertain | 8 |

**76.** (US Jan 31 '45) Why [do you think Washington or Lincoln was the greater man]? Asked of the 22% of the sample who mentioned Washington and the 42% who mentioned Lincoln. (AIPO)

*Lincoln was greater man because*

| | |
|---|---|
| He was more of a humanitarian; the people's President; more down to earth; demonstrated the principles of true democracy | 26% |
| He freed the slaves and kept the country one union | 25 |
| He came up the hard way; self-made; from log cabin to White House | 24 |
| He lived at a time when need was greater; had more complicated problems to deal with | 8 |
| He was a great orator; more eloquent; he made the Gettysburg Address; the Emancipation Proclamation | 2 |
| Washington was too much of an aristocrat | 1 |
| He was "Honest Abe" | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| He was a greater statesman | 2% |
| Other reasons | 2 |
| No reason given | 14 |
| | 106%* |

*Washington was greater man because*

| | |
|---|---|
| He was father of our country | 36% |
| He was our first President | 12 |
| He had a greater responsibility; worked under more trying conditions; put weak government on its feet; greater vision in most important historical period | 10 |
| He was a great general; won an independence for us | 12 |
| He was honest; never told a lie | 4 |
| He was a great man; unselfish; cultured; etc. | 4 |
| He was a greater statesman | 4 |
| Other reasons | 9 |
| No reason given | 19 |
| | 110%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents choosing Washington or choosing Lincoln respectively and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**77.** (US Jan 31 '45) Do you happen to know who the Vice-President of the United States is? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Truman | 64% |
| Wallace, Hillman, etc. | 4 |
| Don't know | 32 |

**78.** (Denmark Feb 11 '45) Do you know who Knud Kristensen is? (DGI)

Yes 53.9% No 46.1%

**79.** (Denmark Feb 11 '45) To what political party does he [Knud Kristensen] belong? Asked of 53.9% of the sample who knew who Knud Kristensen was. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Left (Farmers) | 56.4% |
| Social Democrat (Labor) | 15.1 |
| Conservative | 3.9 |
| Radical | 2.0 |
| *Retsforbundet | 0.1 |
| Other parties | 0.3 |
| Don't know | 22.2 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned |

* Small rural intellectual-idealist party who follow the ideas of Henry George.

**80.** (Denmark Feb 11 '45) Do you know who Ole Bjørn Kraft is? (DGI)

Yes 77.2% No 22.8%

**81.** (Denmark Feb 11 '45) To what political party does he [Ole Bjørn Kraft] belong? Asked of 77.2% of the sample who knew who Ole Bjørn Kraft was. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Conservative | 62.8% |
| Left | 6.0 |
| Social Democrat | 3.6 |
| Radical | 1.0 |
| *Retsforbundet | 0.2 |
| Other parties | 0.5 |
| Don't know | 25.9 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned |

* Small rural intellectual-idealist party who follow the ideas of Henry George.

**82.** (France Mar 1 '45) Are you in favor of transferring the ashes of Romain Rolland to the national Pantheon? (FIPO)

Yes 38% No 25% No opinion 37%

**83.** (US May 2 '45, June 12 '45, July 12 '45, July 25 '45, May 29 '46, Dec 11 '46) Do you happen to know of any of the following persons? Will you tell me who each one is or what he does? (AIPO)

MAY '45 RESULTS

| | | WHAT HE DOES | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Know of* | *Correct* | *Incorrect* | *Vague* | *No answer* |
| Anthony Eden | 9% | 55% | 2% | 12% | 22% |
| Harry Truman | 1 | 95 | 1 | * | 3 |
| Betty Grable | 2 | 83 | * | * | 15 |
| Leverett Saltonstall | 6 | 19 | 4 | 2 | 69 |
| Thomas Dewey | 4 | 86 | 2 | 2 | 6 |
| Edward Stettinius | 5 | 64 | 1 | 6 | 24 |
| Bob Hope | 1 | 88 | 1 | 1 | 9 |
| Walter Winchell | 2 | 81 | 2 | 2 | 13 |
| William Green | 5 | 52 | 3 | 6 | 34 |
| John L. Lewis | 2 | 74 | 3 | 10 | 11 |
| Paul McNutt | 18 | 30 | 4 | 15 | 33 |
| Joe Louis | 1 | 94 | 2 | * | 3 |
| V. M. Molotov | 2 | 53 | 2 | 18 | 25 |
| Clark Gable | 1 | 90 | 1 | 1 | 7 |
| Harold Srassen | 5 | 35 | 5 | 4 | 51 |
| Henry Wallace | 5 | 66 | 5 | 9 | 15 |
| Arthur Vandenberg | 6 | 41 | 4 | 4 | 45 |
| Earl Warren | 4 | 28 | 4 | 2 | 62 |
| Jack Benny | 1 | 85 | 2 | 3 | 9 |
| Walter Lippmann | 4 | 40 | 3 | * | 53 |
| Philip Murray | 4 | 37 | 5 | 9 | 45 |
| Charles de Gaulle | 3 | 58 | 1 | 12 | 26 |

JUNE '45 RESULTS

| | WHAT HE DOES | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Disparaging remarks* | *Correct* | *Incorrect* | *Don't know* |
| Sidney Hillman | — | 44% | 11% | 45% |
| Drew Pearson | — | 58 | 4 | 38 |
| Kathleen Norris | — | 57 | 4 | 39 |
| Samuel Goldwyn | — | 59 | 3 | 38 |
| Cecil B. DeMille | — | 67 | 2 | 31 |
| Henry Ford | — | 95 | 2 | 3 |
| David O. Selznick | — | 48 | 3 | 49 |
| Henry Kaiser | — | 73 | 3 | 24 |
| Jack Dempsey | — | 92 | 1 | 7 |
| Elmo Roper | — | 8 | 7 | 85 |
| Gerald Smith | 2% | 18 | 6 | 74 |
| George Patton | — | 86 | 1 | 13 |
| Douglas MacArthur | — | 95 | 1 | 4 |
| Col. Robert McCormick | * | 24 | 16 | 60 |
| Natalie Kalmus | — | 5 | 5 | 90 |
| Hedda Hopper | * | 47 | 10 | 43 |
| Irving Berlin | — | 67 | 4 | 29 |
| Sinclair Lewis | — | 49 | 7 | 44 |
| Walt Disney | * | 72 | 2 | 26 |
| Louis Mayer | — | 36 | 3 | 61 |
| Roy Howard | — | 16 | 3 | 81 |
| Henry Luce | — | 24 | 4 | 72 |
| Tom Girdler | * | 9 | 3 | 88 |
| Robert Hutchins | — | 17 | 3 | 80 |
| Babe Ruth | — | 90 | 1 | 9 |
| Eric Johnston | — | 22 | 7 | 71 |
| Bing Crosby | — | 91 | 1 | 8 |

JUNE '45 RESULTS

WHAT HE DOES

| | *Disparaging remarks* | *Correct* | *Incorrect* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dwight Eisenhower | — | 90% | 1% | 9% |
| Wm. Randolph Hearst | * | 57 | 4 | 39 |
| DeWitt Wallace | — | 4 | 5 | 91 |
| Dorothy Dix | — | 67 | 4 | 29 |
| Louella Parsons | — | 46 | 3 | 51 |

JULY 12 '45 RESULTS

WHAT HE DOES

| | *Correct* | *Partly correct* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Harold Stassen | 34% | * | 66% |
| Charlie Chaplin | 90 | * | 10 |
| James Farley | 67 | — | 33 |
| Frank Sinatra | 84 | — | 16 |
| Eleanor Roosevelt | 93 | — | 7 |
| Charles F. Kettering | 13 | 1% | 86 |
| Winston Churchill | 90 | 1 | 9 |
| Louis Schwellenbach | 26 | — | 74 |
| Kate Smith | 89 | * | 11 |
| Westbrook Pegler | 44 | — | 56 |
| Somerset Maugham | 29 | * | 71 |
| Al Jolson | 80 | — | 20 |
| Lloyd Douglas | 25 | — | 75 |
| Dick Tracy | 78 | * | 22 |
| Clifton Fadiman | 28 | * | 72 |
| Father Coughlin | 65 | * | 35 |
| Mel Ott | 35 | — | 65 |
| Charlie McCarthy | 85 | * | 15 |
| James F. Byrnes | 51 | * | 49 |
| Bette Davis | 76 | — | 24 |
| Herbert Hoover | 88 | * | 12 |
| Joseph Stalin | 85 | * | 15 |
| James Forrestal | 38 | 1 | 61 |
| Errol Flynn | 68 | * | 32 |
| John D. Rockefeller, Jr. | 69 | * | 31 |
| Charles Lindbergh | 88 | * | 12 |
| Dorothy Thompson | 55 | * | 45 |
| Jimmy Doolittle | 77 | * | 23 |
| Dale Carnegie | 34 | * | 66 |
| Eddie Cantor | 83 | — | 17 |
| John Steinbeck | 36 | * | 64 |
| Robert Sherwood | 26 | * | 74 |
| Fibber McGee & Molly | 84 | — | 16 |

JULY 25 '45 RESULTS

WHAT HE DOES

| | *Correct* | *Incorrect* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Benny Goodman | 74% | 3% | 23% |
| Harold Stassen | 36 | 6 | 58 |
| Paul Whiteman | 75 | 2 | 23 |
| Bob Burns | 83 | 3 | 14 |
| Marshall Field | 48 | 8 | 44 |
| Ginny Simms | 62 | 2 | 36 |
| Al Capone | 80 | 2 | 18 |
| Gabriel Heatter | 70 | 3 | 27 |
| Van Johnson | 47 | 6 | 47 |
| Fiorello La Guardia | 74 | 2 | 24 |
| Greer Garson | 67 | 1 | 32 |
| Lowell Thomas | 70 | 6 | 24 |
| Guy Lombardo | 68 | 2 | 30 |
| Upton Sinclair | 37 | 16 | 47 |
| Robert Taft | 46 | 10 | 44 |

JULY 25 '45 RESULTS

WHAT HE DOES

| | *Correct* | *Incorrect* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Harry Emerson Fosdick | 31% | 3% | 66% |
| Francis Joseph Spellman | 28 | 5 | 67 |
| Tommy Dorsey | 76 | 1 | 23 |
| Albert Einstein | 55 | 4 | 41 |
| Kay Kyser | 80 | 2 | 18 |
| Alben W. Barkley | 51 | 4 | 45 |
| Rudy Vallee | 82 | 1 | 17 |
| Mark Sullivan | 32 | 4 | 64 |
| Dinah Shore | 72 | 1 | 27 |
| Spencer Tracy | 77 | 4 | 19 |
| Bernard Baruch | 38 | 5 | 57 |
| Nicholas Murray Butler | 27 | 8 | 65 |
| Robert (Bob) Ripley | 72 | 3 | 25 |
| Fred Vinson | 38 | 5 | 57 |
| Elsa Maxwell | 45 | 2 | 53 |
| H. V. Kaltenborn | 72 | 1 | 27 |
| Gary Cooper | 81 | 2 | 17 |
| Edna Ferber | 46 | 2 | 52 |

MAY '46 RESULTS

| | *Correct* | *Partly correct* | *Incorrect* | *Former occupation* | *No description* | *No; no answer; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Harold Stassen | 17% | 7% | 9% | 10% | 14% | 43% |
| John Bricker | 17 | 6 | 7 | 14 | 15 | 41 |
| Arthur Vandenberg | 16 | 27 | 5 | — | 13 | 39 |
| Henry Wallace | 38 | 11 | 16 | 3 | 16 | 16 |

DEC '46 RESULTS

| | *Don't know of* | *Correct* | *Partly correct* | *Incorrect* | *Occupation* | *No description* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Thomas E. Dewey | 8% | 75% | 9% | 3% | * | 5% |
| John W. Bricker | 35 | 17 | 14 | 7 | 18% | 9 |
| Ingrid Bergman | 27 | 69 | — | 2 | — | 2 |
| Henry A. Wallace | 12 | 37 | 18 | 13 | 4 | 16 |
| Dwight D. Eisenhower | 4 | 92 | 1 | 1 | — | 2 |
| James F. Byrnes | 24 | 57 | 8 | 5 | — | 6 |
| William Green | 32 | 57 | 1 | 8 | — | 2 |
| Joseph W. Martin | 65 | 17 | 9 | 7 | — | 2 |
| Harold E. Stassen | 44 | 15 | 12 | 13 | 10 | 6 |
| Arthur H. Vandenberg | 35 | 17 | 37 | 5 | — | 6 |
| Bing Crosby | 4 | 94 | 1 | * | — | 1 |
| Robert A. Taft | 29 | 22 | 39 | 6 | — | 4 |
| Earl Warren | 55 | 27 | 10 | 6 | — | 2 |
| Leverett Saltonstall | 73 | 8 | 8 | 5 | 4 | 2 |
| John L. Lewis | 5 | 70 | 14 | 8 | 2 | 1 |
| Henry C. Lodge, Jr. | 65 | 12 | 18 | 3 | — | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**84.** (US May 24 '45) Of these ten men which two or three would you say had done the most for the war effort so far? (NYHT)

| | |
|---|---|
| Bernard Baruch | 11.9% |
| Harry Hopkins | 12.2 |
| Henry Ford | 39.4 |
| Donald M. Nelson | 24.2 |
| John L. Lewis | 2.9 |
| Henry Kaiser | 51.4 |

| | |
|---|---|
| James F. Byrnes | 17.6% |
| Chester B. Bowles | 5.5 |
| William Green | 2.2 |
| Philip Murray | 2.5 |
| Don't know and no answer | 22.4 |
| | 192.2%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**85.** (US July '45) In all the history of the United States, who do you regard as two or three of the greatest men who have ever lived in this country? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Franklin D. Roosevelt | 61% |
| Abraham Lincoln | 56 |
| George Washington | 46 |
| Thomas Edison | 11 |
| Woodrow Wilson | 8 |
| General Eisenhower | 7 |
| Thomas Jefferson | 6 |
| General MacArthur | 5 |
| Theodore Roosevelt | 5 |
| Henry Ford | 4 |
| Benjamin Franklin | 4 |
| Harry S. Truman | 3 |
| Others representing the fields of fine arts, literature, music, art | 2 |
| Others representing scientific fields, medicine, invention | 3 |
| Others representing politics, statesmanship, and government | 11 |
| Others representing religion, ethics, social uplift | 1 |
| Others representing military leadership | 4 |
| Others not classifiable above including those in the fields of finance, education, sports, athletics | 3 |
| Cases where in the six preceding categories the respondent mentioned two instead of one person, such as Wright Brothers or the Mayo Brothers. In such cases the Wright Brothers are counted as one case in the field of science, and as one case under this code, in order to account for every personality mentioned | 2 |
| Don't know | 3 |
| | 245%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**86.** (Netherlands July '45) Which of the persons who have played a part on the stage of the world during the last five years do you appreciate most? Asked in three western provinces only. (NFS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 50% |
| Churchill | 23 |
| Stalin | 5 |
| Eisenhower, Montgomery, Gerbrandy, van Kleffens, and others | 12 |
| No preference | 10 |

**87.** (Sweden Aug '45) Which living person do you admire most? (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| King Gustaf | 25% | 16% | 34% |
| Politicians, popular leaders, military persons (Churchill, Per Albin Hansson) | 22 | 30 | 14 |
| Folke Bernadotte, the Crown Prince, Prince Carl | 3 | 2 | 4 |
| Sports stars, film stars (Gunder Hägg, Edvard Persson) | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Social and church (Elsa Brändström, Bishop Berggrav) | 1% | 1% | 2% |
| Scientists (The Svedberg, Herbert Olivecrona) | 1 | 2 | — |
| Husband, wife, parents | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| Others (Sven Jerring) | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know | 28 | 28 | 27 |
| Admire no one | 13 | 14 | 12 |
| Artists, authors (Jussi Björling, Carl Milles) | 1 | — | 1 |

**88.** (Sweden Aug '45) Why [do you admire the person mentioned]? Asked of a national cross-section of people who named someone they most admired. 59% of the sample is represented. (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Cleverness generally; particular deeds | 50% |
| Character traits | 22 |
| Physical qualities | 13 |
| Attitude; behavior | 9 |
| Other replies | 5 |
| Vague answers | 6 |
| | 105%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of people who mentioned someone they admired and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**89.** (Denmark Oct 13 '45) Which Danish personality has attracted you the most since the capitulation? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Christmas Møller | 34% |
| Axel Larsen | 15 |
| Edward Buhl | 11 |
| Knud Kristensen | 10 |
| Mogens Fog | 8 |
| Hedtoft Hansen | 6 |
| Frode Jakobsen | 3 |
| H. C. Hansen | 2 |
| Others | 11 |

**90.** (US Nov '45) Can you tell me which one of the organizations on this card is headed by Paul V. McNutt, or don't you remember right now? The card listed WMC, WPB, OPA, WLB, State, Interior. 30% of the sample answered correctly and 13% answered incorrectly. Both these groups were asked: Is your impression favorable, unfavorable, or haven't you heard enough to say? The same questions were asked about J. A. Krug. 12% answered correctly and 9% incorrectly. (NORC)

| | *Paul V. McNutt* | *J. A. Krug* |
|---|---|---|
| Don't know which organization | 57% | 79% |
| Answers of the well-informed 30% (12%): | | |
| Opinion favorable | 18 | 6 |
| Opinion unfavorable | 5 | 1 |
| Don't know | 7 | 5 |
| Answers of the ill-informed 13% (9%): | | |
| Opinion favorable | 7 | 3 |
| Opinion unfavorable | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know | 5 | 5 |

**91.** (US Nov 21 '45) In your opinion, who is the greatest person, living or dead, in world history? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| F. D. Roosevelt | 28% |
| Abraham Lincoln | 19 |
| Jesus Christ | 15 |
| George Washington | 8 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Winston Churchill | 1% |
| Woodrow Wilson | 1 |
| General Eisenhower | 1 |
| General MacArthur | 2 |
| Thomas Edison | 1 |
| Benjamin Franklin | 1 |
| Columbus | 1 |
| Napoleon | 1 |
| Thomas Jefferson | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 8 |
| Don't know | 12 |

**92.** (US Nov 21 '45) 66% of the sample named Americans.* They were asked: Outside of this country, who do you think is the greatest person in world history? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Julius Caesar | 1% |
| Queen Elizabeth | 1 |
| Chiang Kai-shek | 1 |
| Winston Churchill | 17 |
| Joseph Stalin | 5 |
| Jesus Christ | 1 |
| Madame Curie | 1 |
| Napoleon | 2 |
| Louis Pasteur | 1 |
| Columbus | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 10 |
| No one | 1 |
| Don't know | 24 |
| | 66% |

* Some Americans mentioned are classified in the miscellaneous group in the preceding question.

**93.** (US Dec 19 '45, Jan 3 '46, Jan 23 '46, Feb 13 '46) These are some public figures who have been in the news. Have you ever heard of any of them—Wilson Wyatt? Chester Nimitz? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '45 Wyatt | 17% | 83% | — |
| Jan 3 '46 Wyatt | 22 | 78 | — |
| Jan 23 '46 Nimitz | 83 | 17 | — |
| Feb '46 Nimitz | 83 | 16 | 1% |

**94.** (US Jan '46) Here is a list of a few of our top army, navy, and air-corps officers. Of the ones on this list, which one do you personally admire the most? (FOR)

| | *Admire most* | *Admire next most* |
|---|---|---|
| Eisenhower | 38.7% | 28.3% |
| MacArthur | 36.5 | 21.8 |
| Patton | 5.9 | 7.8 |
| Halsey | 3.8 | 8.3 |
| Nimitz | 3.1 | 11.1 |
| Marshall | 2.6 | 5.1 |
| Arnold | 1.1 | 2.0 |
| Bradley | .8 | 2.5 |
| King | .5 | 1.4 |
| Spruance | .2 | .2 |
| Spaatz | — | .5 |
| Don't know | 6.8 | 4.2 |
| Not asked | — | 6.8 |

BY EDUCATION

| | *Grade school* | *High school* | *College* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Eisenhower | 28.0% | 41.0% | 51.5% |
| MacArthur | 44.5 | 36.4 | 24.1 |
| Patton | 6.4 | 5.7 | 4.9 |
| Halsey | 2.6% | 4.5% | 4.1% |
| Nimitz | 2.2 | 3.6 | 3.3 |
| Marshall | 1.4 | 2.2 | 5.7 |
| Bradley | .5 | .7 | 1.4 |
| King | .6 | .6 | .4 |
| Spruance | .2 | .1 | .3 |
| Spaatz | — | — | .1 |
| Arnold | 1.3 | .8 | 1.4 |
| Don't know | 9.7 | 4.2 | 2.7 |
| No answer | 2.6 | .2 | .1 |

**95.** (US Jan 23 '46) Will you tell me who is now the head of OPA in Washington, D.C.? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct—C. Bowles | 44% |
| Correct—Porter | 2 |
| Incorrect | 3 |
| Don't know and no answer | 51 |

**96.** (France Sept '46) Do you want M. Paul Reynaud to return to power? And M. Edouard Daladier? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Reynaud | 5% | 76% | 19% |
| Daladier | 3 | 80 | 17 |

**97.** (Norway Nov 15 '46) When you think of Sweden (Denmark, Finland) which well-known living person, apart from the royal family, do you think of first? (NGI)

SWEDEN

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Don't know; none in particular | 39% | 33% | 45% |
| Per Albin Hansson | 28 | 33 | 22 |
| Harry Brandelius | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| Edward Persson | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Gunder Hägg | 2 | 4 | — |
| Selma Lagerløf | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Ingrid Bergman | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Greta Garbo | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Ture Nermann | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Folke Bernadotte | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Torgny Segerstedt | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Sven Hedin | 1 | 2 | — |
| Levi Petrus | 1 | 1 | — |
| Frank Mangs | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Edvin Adolfson | 1 | — | 1 |
| Zara Leander | 1 | 1 | — |
| Georg Rydeberg | 1 | — | 1 |
| Lennart Strand | — | 1 | — |
| Karin Juell | — | — | 1 |
| Oluf Sandberg | — | — | 1 |
| Bo Gjertz | — | — | 1 |
| Other answers | 12 | 11 | 12 |

DENMARK

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| C. Møller | 8% | 11% | 5% |
| Borg. Hammerich | 6 | 3 | 9 |
| Ib. Schønberg | 4 | 3 | 5 |
| Premier Knud Knudsen | 3 | 5 | 2 |
| Marg. Viby | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| Niels H. Sørensen | 2 | 4 | — |
| Stauning | 1 | 2 | — |
| Kaj Munk | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Nils Bohr | 1 | 2 | — |
| Skovgaard Pettersen | 1 | 1 | 1 |

DENMARK

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Foreign Minister Rasmussen | 1% | 1% | — |
| Martin Andersen Nexø | 1 | 1 | — |
| F. Nordentoft | 1 | 1 | 1% |
| Other replies | 6 | 8 | 5 |
| Don't know; nobody in particular | 61 | 55 | 67 |

FINLAND

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mannerheim | 20% | 25% | 16% |
| Heino | 4 | 6 | 3 |
| Sally Salminen | 4 | 1 | 6 |
| Sibelius | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| Paasikivi | 3 | 4 | 1 |
| Paavo Nurmi | 3 | 5 | 1 |
| Clas Thunberg | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Rÿti | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Tanner | 1 | 2 | — |
| Other replies | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| Don't know; nobody in particular | 57 | 46 | 66 |

**98.** (Czechoslovakia Dec '46) Name three persons from Czechoslovakian history whom you consider the most important. (CZIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Saint Cyril and Saint Methodius | 11% |
| St. Wenceslaus | 17 |
| Premysl Otakar II | 3 |
| Charles IV | 20 |
| John Hus | 35 |
| John Zizka | 17 |
| George of Podebrad | 7 |
| Komensky | 17 |
| Dobrovsky | 1 |
| Havlicek | 12 |
| Masaryk | 74 |
| Benes | 62 |
| Don't know | 6 |
| | 282%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## PHYSICIANS

**1.** (US May 20 '38) Do you have a doctor you customarily go to when you are ill? 74% of the sample who said they had a regular doctor were asked: About how many years have you been going to that doctor? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Have no regular doctor | 25% |
| Didn't say whether or not had regular doctor | 1 |
| Have been going all my life | * |
| Less than a year | 3 |
| 1 year | 2 |
| 2 years | 4 |
| 3 years | 6 |
| 4 years | 4 |
| 5 years | 7 |
| 6 years | 4 |
| 7 years | 2 |
| 8 years | 3 |
| 9 years | 1 |
| 10 years | 10 |
| 11 to 16 years | 10 |
| 16 to 20 years | 3 |
| 20 years | 6% |
| Over 20 years | 7 |
| Didn't say how long | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**2.** (US Nov 19 '42) Do you think there is any danger that the army will take away so many doctors that the health of the people around here will suffer? (NORC)

Yes 37% No 55% Don't know 8%

**3.** (US Nov 19 '42) Right now, would you say there are enough doctors around here to take care of people? (NORC)

Yes 77% No 17% Don't know 6%

**4.** (US Dec 2 '42) In general, when you go to a doctor, do you feel that the medical attention you receive is satisfactory or unsatisfactory? (AIPO)

Satisfactory 83% Unsatisfactory 11% No opinion 6%

**5.** (US Dec 2 '42) In general, when you go to a dentist, do you feel that the dental attention you receive is satisfactory or unsatisfactory? (AIPO)

Satisfactory 89% Unsatisfactory 6% No opinion 5%

**6.** (Great Britain Apr '43) If men and women doctors were equally well trained and available, which would you prefer for yourself, a man doctor or a woman doctor? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Man | 58% |
| Woman | 18 |
| Indifferent | 24 |

**7.** (Great Britain Apr '43) Would you have any preference [between men and women doctors] for your children? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Man | 38% |
| Woman | 18 |
| Indifferent | 44 |

**8.** (Great Britain Apr '43) Why [would you prefer a doctor of the sex chosen in the preceding question]? The indifferent 44% were not questioned. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Men are proved better; more reliable, experienced | 15% |
| Prejudice, I suppose; more used to a man | 9 |
| Have more confidence in a man | 8 |
| No faith in women | 3 |
| Wouldn't want to be handled by a woman | 2 |
| Can talk to a man more easily | 1 |
| More common sense | — |
| No reason | 1 |
| Women have more feeling, more sympathy, patience | 7 |
| Women are better for children | 7 |
| You can talk more easily to a woman | 3 |
| No reason | 1 |
| It's training and cleverness that counts, if it's a good doctor what does sex matter | 11 |
| Men for men; women for women | 7 |
| Don't mind which | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| No comment | 17 |

**9.** (Denmark Feb 27 '44) Have you complete trust in your doctor? (DGI)

Yes 80.1% No 7.7% Don't know 12.2%

**10.** (Denmark Feb 27 '44) If you should need spiritual advice, owing to depression, sorrows, or deep worry, would you go to your doctor or your vicar? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Doctor | 27.8% |
| Vicar | 17.8 |
| Neither | 9.9 |
| Don't know | 44.5 |

**11.** (Denmark Feb 27 '44) Do you think that we have too many doctors in this country? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too many | 10.5% |
| Sufficient number | 36.1 |
| Too few | 15.1 |
| Don't know | 38.3 |

**12.** (Great Britain July '44) Where did you last see a doctor? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Panel | 44% |
| Works | 3 |
| Hospital | 6 |
| Private | 38 |
| Dispensary | 5 |
| Clinic | 2 |
| Municipal | 2 |

**13.** (Great Britain July '44) Have you your own doctor to whom you go if you are ill? (BIPO)

Yes 86% No 14%

**14.** (US Aug '46) When men and women are given an equal chance, who do you think would generally make the best baby doctors? (FOR)

BY SEX

| | *Men* | *Women* | *No difference* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 43.6% | 32.9% | 12.9% | 10.6% |
| Women | 46.3 | 29.3 | 16.4 | 8.0 |

## PLUMBING

**1.** (Great Britain Aug '44) Have you water laid on inside your home? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Tap inside | 94% |
| Tap outside | 6 |
| Pump inside | 1 |
| Pump outside | 1 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (Great Britain Aug '44) Have you outdoor or indoor sanitation? (BIPO)

Outdoor 47% Indoor 60% = 107%*

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents had both types of sanitation.

**3.** (Great Britain Nov '44) What kind of bath have you in your house? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| None | 18% |
| Portable | 14 |
| Separate bathroom | 58 |
| Fixed in scullery, etc. | 10 |

**4.** (Great Britain Nov '44) Have you a hot water supply? 64% of the sample who said they had a supply of hot water were asked: How did you get it? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Outside source | 1% |
| Geyser (gas or electric) | 15 |
| Laid on (fire boiler) | 38 |
| Ideal boiler | 10 |
| No hot water supply | 36 |

**5.** (Great Britain Nov '44) How do you manage about water for bathing? Asked of 36% of the sample who had no hot water supply. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Washing boiler (copper) | 15% |
| Fire (range) | 13 |
| Stove (gas or electric) | 8 |
| | 36% |

**6.** (Great Britain Feb '45 and Mar '46) Did you have any burst pipes at home during the recent cold spell? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Feb '45 | 29% | 71% |
| Mar '46 | 16 | 84 |

**7.** (Great Britain Feb '45 and Mar '46) Were they inside or outside? Asked of 29% of the 1945 sample and 16% of the 1946 sample who said they had burst pipes. (BIPO)

| | *Inside* | *Outside* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '45 | 58% | 42% | = 100% of those questioned |
| Mar '46 | 50 | 50 | |

**8.** (Great Britain Feb '45) 29% of the 1945 sample who had burst pipes were asked: How long did it take to get them repaired? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not yet repaired | 10% |
| Already repaired | 19 |
| | 29% |

Average 7 days

## POLAND

### Politics and Government

**1.** (France Mar 1 '45) Are your sympathies with the London or the Lublin Polish government? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| London government | 18% |
| Lublin government | 25 |
| Neither | 10 |
| Both | 14 |
| No opinion | 33 |

**2.** (Great Britain May '45) Have you heard about the dispute concerning the Polish government? 78% of the sample who had heard of the dispute were asked: Do you think that Britain and America should reorganize the present Polish government in Warsaw, or that Russia should agree to include other Poles? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Unfamiliar with dispute | 22% |
| Should recognize present government | 23 |
| Should include others | 27 |
| Don't know what should be done | 28 |

## POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

**1.** (US Aug 16 '44) Will you please tell me what the Political Action Committee is? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Political organization of CIO | 3% |
| CIO committee to elect officials favorable to their group | 10 |
| CIO committee working for election of Roosevelt | 3 |
| CIO committee; CIO committee backed by Hillman | 2 |
| Incorrect and vague answers | 1 |
| No answer; don't know | 81 |

**2.** (US Aug 16 '44) Do you approve or disapprove of this committee's political efforts? Asked of 19% of the sample who thought they knew what the Political Action Committee was when the interviewer asked them to identify it. (AIPO)

Approve 29% Disapprove 56%
No opinion 15% = 100% of those questioned

**3.** (US Oct '44) Have you ever heard of the CIO Political Action Committee? 67% of the sample who said they had heard of the committee were asked: Do you know if it supports Roosevelt or Dewey or neither one in this campaign? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Unfamiliar with committee | 33% |
| Supports Roosevelt | 50 |
| Supports Dewey | 1 |
| Supports neither | 2 |
| Don't know who it supports | 14 |

**4.** (US Oct '44) 50% of the sample who, in answer to the preceding question, said the Political Action Committee supported Roosevelt were asked: Does the fact that the CIO Political Action Committee supports Roosevelt have any effect on whom you plan to vote for? 12% of the group said it would have an effect, and this 12% were asked: Will you be more likely or less likely to vote for Roosevelt? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt support will not affect voting plans | 38% |
| Will be more likely to vote for Roosevelt | 1 |
| Less likely to vote for Roosevelt | 11 |
| Don't know what effect it will have | * |
| | 50% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**5.** (US Nov '44) Have you ever heard of the CIO Political Action Committee? (NORC)

Yes 80% No 20%

**6.** (US Nov '46) The Political Action Committee of the CIO (usually called the PAC) has been active all over the country in supporting candidates for political office that labor approves of and opposing those labor disapproves of. On the whole is the PAC the kind of organization you would like to see continued, or not? (FOR)

| | *Continued* | *Not continued* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 18.4% | 48.9% | 32.7% |
| BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS | | | |
| Salaried executives | 15.7% | 72.5% | 11.8% |
| Professional men | 22.5 | 66.9 | 10.6 |
| Wage earners | 31.3 | 36.9 | 31.8 |

**7.** (US Nov '46) Would your position toward the PAC be changed if it supported better candidates, or would you go so far as to say that an organization like the PAC is a bad thing for a democracy no matter what candidates it supports? Asked of 48.9% of the sample who would not like to see the PAC continued. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Would approve PAC if candidates were better | 7.1% |
| Consider it bad in any case | 36.4 |
| Don't know | 5.4 |
| | 48.9% |

# POLITICAL PARTIES

## Australia

**1.** (Australia Apr '43) If you had a part in selecting the leader of your party, whom would you choose? (APOP)

| *Labor party leader* | | *UAP leader* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Curtin | 64% | Menzies | 34% |
| Evatt | 8 | Hughes | 19 |
| Ward | 3 | Fadden | 10 |
| Lang | 2 | Cameron, A. G. | 2 |
| Beasley | 1 | Curtin (Labor) | 2 |
| Hughes, Menzies, or Fadden | 1 | McLeay (Sen.) | 1 |
| All others | 2 | Local members | 3 |
| No answer | 19 | All others | 4 |
| | | No answer | 25 |

*Country party leader*

| | |
|---|---|
| Fadden | 43% |
| Earle Page | 5 |
| Menzies (UAP) | 2 |
| Hughes (UAP) | 1 |
| Curtin (Labor) | 1 |
| Local members | 4 |
| All others | 4 |
| No answer | 40 |

**2.** (Australia Aug–Sept '43) If you had a part in selecting the leaders of the major groups in Parliament, which of the men listed on the reverse of the card would you choose? (APOP)

*Labor voters*

| | |
|---|---|
| Curtin | 74% |
| Evatt | 20 |
| Ward | 3 |
| Beasley | 1 |
| Others | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |

*Liberal-Country voters*

| | |
|---|---|
| Menzies | 44% |
| Fadden | 24 |
| Hughes | 18 |
| Earle Page | 6 |
| Others | 3 |
| No answer | 5 |

**3.** (Australia June–July '45) If you had to choose, who would be your choice for leader of the Labor party? (APOP)

| | *Labor* | *Non-Labor* |
|---|---|---|
| Curtin | 58% | 55% |
| Evatt | 20 | 26 |
| Chifley | 5 | 11 |
| Ward | 4 | 1 |
| Forde | 3 | 5 |
| Others | 1 | 2 |
| No choice | 9 | — |

**4.** (Australia June–July '45) Following are the names of some members of Parliament. If you had to choose, who would be your first and second choice for leaders of both Labor and non-Labor? Mr. Curtin had just died at this time. (APOP)

| | *Labor* | *Non-Labor* |
|---|---|---|
| Evatt | 50% | 38% |
| Chifley | 17 | 24 |
| Forde | 11 | 12 |

| | *Labor* | *Non Labor* |
|---|---|---|
| Ward | 8% | 2% |
| Others | 1 | 2 |
| No choice | 13 | 22 |

**5.** (Australia Nov '46) Do you think it makes a great deal of difference or only a little difference which political party is in power in Australia? (APOP)

| | *Great difference* | *Little or none* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46% | 45% | 9% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Labor voters | 49% | 43% | 8% |
| Liberal-Country voters | 53 | 41 | 6 |
| Independent voters | 38 | 57 | 5 |
| Undecided on how to vote | 25 | 61 | 14 |

## Canada

**1.** (Canada Nov 28 '42) Here is a list of men who have been suggested as possible leaders of the Conservative party. Which man would you like to see chosen? If Meighen was selected people were asked: If Mr. Meighen resigns, which one would you like to take his place? (CIPO)

| | *With Meighen in* | *With Meighen out* |
|---|---|---|
| Drew | 16% | 21% |
| Meighen | 13 | — |
| Bracken | 9 | 10 |
| MacPherson | 6 | 7 |
| Green | 4 | 4 |
| Diefenbaker | 4 | 4 |
| Smith | 2 | 2 |
| Mackay | 1 | 2 |
| Milner | * | 1 |
| Others | 1 | 1 |
| No answer or undecided | 44 | 48 |

| | *Conservative voters* | *Liberal voters* | *Cooperative Commonwealth Federation* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Drew | 30% | 17% | 27% |
| Bracken | 10 | 10 | 17 |
| MacPherson | 13 | 6 | 8 |
| Green | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| Diefenbaker | 5 | 5 | 4 |
| Smith | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Mackay | 2 | 2 | * |
| Milner | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Others | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| No answer or undecided | 31 | 51 | 37 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**2.** (Canada Apr 14 '43) Here is a list of men who have been suggested as possible leaders of the Ontario Liberal party. Which man would you like to see chosen? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Harry C. Nixon | 32% |
| Hon. Gordon Conant | 24 |
| Arthur W. Roebuck | 24 |
| Hon. T. B. McQuesten | 6 |
| Hon. Peter Heenan | 6 |
| Farquhar Olivet | 2 |
| Dr. A. D. Roberts | 1 |
| Other candidates | 5 |

**3.** (Canada Oct 9 '43) Which political party, if elected, do you think would treat labor (farmers, white-collar workers, businessmen, and industrial leaders) best? (CIPO)

| | *Progressive Conservative* | *Liberal* | *Cooperative Commonwealth Federation* | *Other parties or undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Farmers | 23% | 25% | 25% | 27% |
| Labor | 11 | 17 | 42 | 30 |
| White-collar | 24 | 26 | 19 | 31 |
| Businessmen and industrial leaders | 44 | 21 | 5 | 30 |

**4.** (Canada July 19 '44) Do you think all political parties should be made to publish a statement showing how much money they spend on each election? (CIPO)

Yes 78% No 12% No opinion 10%

**5.** (Canada July 19 '44) Do you think there should be a limit on the amount each party can spend in an election campaign? (CIPO)

Yes 74% No 13% No opinion 13%

**6.** (Canada Sept 20 '44) Some people say that present political parties put party politics ahead of the country's good. Do you think this is true of all political parties, of just some of them, or do you think none of them put politics ahead of the country's good? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| True of all | 51% |
| True of some | 26 |
| True of none | 10 |
| Undecided | 13 |

**7.** (Canada Feb 20 '46) Do you happen to know the name of the man who leads the Liberal party at Ottawa? Respondents were asked to name the leaders of the Progressive-Conservative, Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, and Social Credit parties also. (CIPO)

| | *Correct* | *Incorrect or don't know* |
|---|---|---|
| Mackenzie King (Liberal) | 84% | 16% |
| John Bracken (Prog–Cons) | 62 | 38 |
| M. J. Coldwell (CCF) | 47 | 53 |
| John H. Blackmore (Soc Credit) | 10 | 90 |

**8.** (Canada Apr 27 '46) In your own words, how would you describe the difference between the Liberal and Progressive-Conservative parties? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No difference; identical; etc | 36% |
| Don't know difference | 38 |
| Liberals for free trade; Prog-Cons for tariffs; etc | 4 |
| Liberals for working class; Prog-Cons for big business and rich | 3 |
| One is in power, the other out | 2 |
| Liberals more Canadian, anti-British; Prog-Cons more pro-British | 2 |
| Liberals more progressive, more willing to change | 2 |
| Liberals more broad-minded, etc | 1 |
| Only difference is the leaders | 1 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 11 |

## Czechoslovakia

**1.** (Czechoslovakia Mar '46) Do you consider the present number of political parties sufficient? (CZIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too few | 5.6% |
| Too many | 34.2 |
| Don't know | 2.7 |
| Yes | 57.5 |

## Denmark

**1.** (Denmark July 3 '45) Should the partisan movement keep a special position among the political parties to which it belongs, or should it dissolve itself as a political factor? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dissolve | 40.8% |
| Special position | 29.6 |
| Other replies | 0.3 |
| Don't know | 29.3 |

**2.** (Denmark Sept 22 '45) Do you think the Communists and Social Democrats should be united in one party? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 40.7% |
| No | 35.5 |
| Don't know | 23.8 |

**3.** (Denmark Feb 9 '46) Is there any party which you think better suited to take on the government? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| No | 49% |
| Social Democrat | 33 |
| Conservative | 7 |
| Communist | 4 |
| Social Democrat and Conservative | 3 |
| Other suggestions | 4 |

**4.** (Denmark Mar 16 '46) Do you think it would be a good thing if there were only two large political parties in Denmark —one labor party and one middle class party—comprising the Left, the Radical, and the Conservative parties? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Beneficial | 39% |
| Not beneficial | 27 |
| Don't know | 34 |

## France

**1.** (France Nov 1 '44) Would you favor the fusion of the various political parties in France into two large parties? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 58% |
| No | 26 |
| No opinion | 14 |
| Only one party | 2 |

**2.** (France Jan 1 '45) Do you think the Radical-Socialist party (Royalist party, Socialist party) has an important role in France? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Paris* | | | |
| Radical-Socialist party | 29% | 40% | 31% |
| Royalist party | 6 | 74 | 20 |
| Socialist party | 71 | 11 | 18 |
| *Provinces* | | | |
| Radical-Socialist party | 30 | 40 | 30 |
| Royalist party | 6 | 76 | 18 |
| Socialist party | 63 | 14 | 23 |

**3.** (France Feb 16 '45) Do you favor Communist-Socialist joint action in the next elections? (FIPO)

Yes 47% No 27% No opinion 26%

**4.** (France Dec 16 '45) Do you think that the MRP is a right-wing or left-wing party? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Right | 55% |
| Center | 14 |
| Left | 14 |
| Both | 3 |
| No opinion | 14 |

**5.** (France Jan 16 '46) Was the Socialist party right in insisting that representatives of the three great parties be included in the Ministry? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 68% | 14% | 18% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional | 79% | 14% | 7% |
| Living on income | 76 | 11 | 13 |
| Workers | 65 | 19 | 16 |

**6.** (France Jan 16 '46) Do you think that, in the coming months, the Socialist party will preserve its unity, or will it divide into a right and a left wing? (FIPO)

| | *Preserve unity* | *Will divide* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 31% | 28% | 41% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional | 44% | 27% | 29% |
| White-collar | 39 | 33 | 28 |
| Business | 37 | 29 | 34 |
| Workers | 33 | 33 | 34 |

**7.** (France Jan 16 '46) In your opinion is the program of the Socialist party different from the program of the Communists? of the MRP? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Communists | 54% | 20% | 26% |
| MRP | 60 | 12 | 28 |
| OPINIONS REGARDING COMMUNISTS BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional | 72% | 18% | 10% |
| White-collar | 64 | 18 | 18 |
| Workers | 58 | 21 | 21 |
| Business | 57 | 23 | 20 |
| Living on income | 47 | 26 | 27 |
| Farmers | 43 | 27 | 30 |

**8.** (France May 1 '46) From what you have heard around you, do you think that one or more parties are likely to gain strength in the coming elections? Which? Do you think that any party will lose strength in the coming elections? Which? (FIPO)

| | *Gain* | *Lose* |
|---|---|---|
| MRP | 14% | 47% |
| Communists | 31 | 24 |
| Socialists | 21 | 23 |
| Radical-Socialists | 20 | 9 |
| PRL | 19 | 2 |
| Rightist parties | 2 | 2 |
| Leftist parties | 1 | 1 |
| No opinion | 22 | 21 |
| | 130%* | 129%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (France July 16 '46) Does the party for which you voted correspond exactly with your political philosophy? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Exactly | 28% |
| Well enough | 36 |
| Not very well | 13 |
| Not at all | 2 |
| Didn't vote or no answer | 21 |

**10.** (France July 16 '46) To what do you attribute the success of the MRP in the June 2nd elections? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Influence of the church | 17% |
| Program of the MRP | 16 |
| Help of rightist parties | 8 |
| Desire to check Communists | 7 |
| Holding back of PRL candidates | 7 |
| Deception in electoral college | 6 |
| Vote of women | 2 |
| Other answers | 19 |
| No opinion | 24 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**11.** (France Oct 1 '46) After the elections, should the Socialist party join with the Communist or with the MRP? (FIPO)

| | *With MRP* | *With the Communists* | *Neither* | *Some with each* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 28% | 24% | 23% | 7% | 18% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Communist | — | 92% | 4% | 2% | 2% |
| Socialist | 12% | 26 | 46 | 9 | 7 |
| Radical-Socialist | 32 | 2 | 43 | 5 | 18 |
| MRP | 70 | * | 13 | 4 | 13 |
| PRL | 51 | 3 | 20 | 4 | 22 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**12.** (France Nov 1 '46) After the elections, do you hope to have a Socialist-Communist government, a Socialist-MRP government, an MRP-rightist government, or a combination of the three large parties? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Socialist-Communist | 29% |
| Socialist-MRP | 21 |
| MRP-Rightist | 15 |
| The three large parties | 7 |
| No opinion | 28 |

## Germany

**1.** (Germany Nov 26 '45, Dec 27 '45, Mar 15 '46, Aug 9 '46) How many political parties do you think there should be in Germany after the end of the occupation? (OMGUS)

| | *Nov '45* | *Dec '45* | *Mar '46* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Prohibit all but one party | 14% | 8% | 11% |
| As few as possible | 8 | 10 | — |
| Prohibit all but a few parties (not over 4, most usual response 3 or 4) | 50 | 62 | 63 |
| Prohibit all parties | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| As now | 2 | — | 1 |
| Unlimited number | 1 | 1 | — |
| Doesn't matter; makes no difference | — | 2 | — |
| Other | — | 4 | — |
| Don't know; no opinion | 22 | 11 | 17 |
| No answer | 1 | 1 | 6 |

AUG '46 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| One party | 11% |
| 2 parties | 18 |
| 3 parties | 33 |
| 4 parties | 16 |
| 5 parties | 5 |
| 6 parties | 1 |
| More than 6 parties | * |
| No party | 1% |
| Other | * |
| Don't know; doesn't make any difference to me; don't understand anything about politics; not interested | 13 |
| Only one party made up of all others together; the smallest possible number | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |

Those of the Mar '46 sample who expressed an opinion were asked: Which ones do you have in mind?

| | |
|---|---|
| Social-Democratic party of Germany | 61% |
| Communist party of Germany | 20 |
| Christian Democratic Union | 27 |
| Christian Socialist Union | 37 |
| Liberal Democratic Union | 10 |
| Socialist-Communist | 1 |
| Monarchist | 2 |
| Democrat | 5 |
| Other | 6 |
| Don't know; no opinion | 2 |
| One left, one right, one center | 2 |
| No answer | 20 |
| | 193%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (US Mar 8 '46) Would you approve if a special church party were set up like the former Center party? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 20% |
| No | 51 |
| No opinion | 28 |
| No answer | 1 |

**3.** (Germany Mar 22 '46) Have you heard of the new Monarchist party in Bavaria? (OMGUS)

Yes 38% No or no answer 62%

**4.** (Germany Mar 22 '46) Are you in agreement with this [Monarchist] party to put Bavaria back under the rule of the house of Wittelsbach, or do you disagree with it? 11% were in agreement and 33% were not. These two groups were asked: Why? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't say whether or not in agreement | 5% |
| Didn't know whether or not in agreement | 51 |
| Could be OK; could be a good thing; if Bavaria wants it; why not | 7 |
| The situation was better when we had a king | 2 |
| Agree, otherwise Communism will take over | 1 |
| No reason for agreement | 1 |
| Party isn't interested in/doesn't look out for the worker; the Wittelsbachs are not interested in workers | 3 |
| Things should stay as they are; will only split the nation; disagree as long as other parts of Germany don't have a king; don't need a king; government is much simpler when all sections of Germany have united government | 12 |
| Should be a democracy; should be a republic; on the way to becoming a democracy; this will only hold things up | 11 |
| Too militaristic | 4 |
| It's a Nazi party | 1 |
| Other reasons for disagreement | 1 |
| No reason for disagreement | 2 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**5.** (Germany Apr 15 '46) Were you or your husband a member of the German Workers Front? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, I was | 38% |
| Yes, my husband | 13 |
| No | 43 |
| Both | 5 |
| No answer | 1 |

**6.** (Germany Apr 15 '46) In what way and with what means did the German Workers Front support its members? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better working conditions; hygienic conditions in factories; factory safety; etc | 5% |
| Vacations; Strength-Through-Joy movement; paid vacations and trips | 11 |
| Other recreation and entertainment; sports; theater; assisted in educational training | 2 |
| Old-age compensation | 2 |
| Health program; aid for sickness; etc | 10 |
| Gave financial assistance; helped establish own business, housing project; job assurance | 4 |
| Acted as mediator between labor and management | 1 |
| Don't know; know nothing about it | 50 |
| It did nothing; it didn't do much; can't think of anything; never got anything | 20 |
| No answer | 2 |
| | 107%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**7.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statements: (OMGUS)

| | AMERICAN ZONE AND BERLIN | | | BERLIN ONLY | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
| It is good for a nation to have several political parties | 77% | 18% | 5% | 74% | 25% | 1% |
| It is advisable for a man to join the party that is in power at the moment in order to secure the well-being of his family | 20 | 74 | 6 | 29 | 69 | 2 |
| Freedom of political parties creates disunity within a nation | 28 | 63 | 9 | 38 | 58 | 4 |
| A man should join the political party which best expresses his own convictions | 91 | 5 | 4 | 91 | 8 | 1 |

**8.** (Germany Aug 9 '46) We should like to know if you have any criticisms about the following items, for often criticism is worth more than praise. Are you satisfied, not quite satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the revival of political party activity? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Satisfied | 51% |
| Not quite satisfied | 12 |
| Not at all satisfied | 4 |
| No answer | 1 |
| No opinion | 32 |

**9.** (Germany Aug 9 '46) Which of the political parties do you think would most successfully work towards reconstruction of Germany? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Social-Democratic party | 35% |
| Communist party | 2 |
| Christian Democratic Union | 9 |
| Christian Social Union | 20 |
| Liberal Democratic party | 1 |
| Democratic People's party | 2 |
| Economic Reconstruction Association | 1 |
| All parties together; coalition; cooperation with other parties | 4 |
| Other answers | 1 |
| Don't know; not interested; don't know parties; don't know programs of parties | 22 |
| None of the existing parties; non-specific answers, e.g. Democratic party, Worker's or Labor party | 6 |
| No answer | 2 |
| | 105%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**10.** (Germany Sept 3 '46) In your judgment does the military government favor one political party over the other? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 10% |
| No | 64 |
| No opinion | 26 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**11.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Do you believe that the present political parties actually care for the interests of the people? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 51% |
| No | 23 |
| No opinion | 26 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**12.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Is the interest of the people better served through several parties than through one unified party? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 61% |
| One | 23 |
| No opinion | 16 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**13.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) In your opinion, do the present parties do just as good, better, or worse work than those before 1933? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| As good | 21% |
| Present better | 14 |
| Worse | 10 |
| No opinion | 55 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

## Great Britain

**1.** (Great Britain June 10 '43) Do you think that the Labor party should or should not admit the Communist party to membership? (BIPO)

Yes 27% No 41% Don't know 32%

**2.** (Great Britain Mar '44) The three parties—Conservative, Liberal, and Labor—arranged not to fight each other at wartime by-elections. Do you support this arrangement, or should all parties be free to put up candidates at any by-election? (BIPO)

Support 41% Free 42% Don't know 17%

**3.** (Great Britain Aug '44) Do you think that British politicians are out merely for themselves, for their party, or to do their best for their country? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Themselves | 35% |
| Party | 22 |
| Country | 36 |
| Don't know | 7 |

**4.** (Great Britain Aug '44) Do you think that one of the parties is more selfish than the rest? (BIPO)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Yes 31% | No 41% | Don't know 28% |

**5.** (Great Britain Apr '45) Would you like to see a Conservative-Labor-Liberal coalition after the general election? (BIPO)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Yes 43% | No 43% | Don't know 14% |

**6.** (Great Britain Apr '45) Who would you want to see leading such a coalition? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Eden | 17% |
| Cripps | 2 |
| Sinclair | 1 |
| Churchill | 16 |
| Bevin | 2 |
| Shinwell | 1 |
| Attlee | 4 |
| Morrison | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Don't know | 53 |

**7.** (Great Britain July 14 '45) Do you know what party Professor Laski belongs to? (BIPO)

| | *Conservative or Liberal* | *Labor* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 1% | 78% | 21% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 1% | 87% | 12% |
| Women | 1 | 68 | 31 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 1% | 78% | 21% |
| 30–49 years | 1 | 79 | 20 |
| 50 years and over | 2 | 75 | 23 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 2% | 93% | 5% |
| Middle | 1 | 90 | 9 |
| Lower | 1 | 74 | 25 |

**8.** (Great Britain July 14 '45) Do you know what post Professor Harold Laski holds in the party organization? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Chairman | 40% |
| President of Labor party | 3 |
| Secretary or treasurer | 3 |
| Vague answers | 3 |
| Member of Labor Executive Council | 2 |
| Leader of Labor party | 2 |
| Chairman of Union | 2 |
| Head of national executive | 1 |
| Dictator; Labor party boss | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| No answer; don't know | 41 |

**9.** (US Aug 8 '45) What do you think the Labor party stands for? The question was asked only of respondents who had heard about the Labor party winning the recent election in England. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| For the working class; more rights to labor | 17% |
| Raise standard of living; for the working class | 6 |
| Government ownership of utilities, mines, etc | 7 |
| Almost Communism or Socialism | 3% |
| Communism or Socialism | 6 |
| For the common man; more democratic; more voice to the majority; etc | 9 |
| More liberal than the Conservatives | 2 |
| Miscellaneous and vague answers | 9 |
| Don't know | 17 |
| Haven't heard about the election | 24 |

**10.** (US Aug 8 '45) A cross-section comparable to that used for the preceding question was asked: What do you think the Labor party wants to do in government? This, too, was asked only of those who had heard about the Labor party winning in England. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| More rights to labor | 9% |
| Raise the standard of living for the working class | 6 |
| Government ownership of utilities, mines, etc | 7 |
| Establish system similar to Communism or Socialism | 2 |
| Establish Communism or Socialism | 3 |
| Be more liberal than the Conservatives | 1 |
| Give more voice to majority, etc | 7 |
| Revolutionize the government | * |
| Gain complete control | 5 |
| Miscellaneous and vague answers | 11 |
| Don't know | 22 |
| Hadn't heard about the election | 27 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**11.** (Great Britain Apr 27 '46) The Communist party has applied for affiliation with the Labor party. Do you think that the Labor party should or should not agree? (BIPO)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 16% | 54% | 30% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 20% | 63% | 17% |
| Women | 12 | 44 | 44 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 17% | 54% | 29% |
| 30–49 years | 16 | 56 | 28 |
| 50 years and over | 15 | 51 | 34 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 12% | 63% | 25% |
| Middle | 11 | 64 | 25 |
| Lower | 18 | 49 | 33 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative | 3% | 62% | 35% |
| Labor | 24 | 53 | 23 |
| Liberal | 10 | 55 | 35 |
| Others | 62 | 21 | 17 |
| Did not vote | 12 | 46 | 42 |

## Italy

**1.** (Italy Oct '46) In respect to relations between Socialists and Communists, which of the following courses do you think most desirable in the interest of the country? (DOXA)

| | *No change (tactical agreement only)* | *Independence better* | *Fusion better* | *Other and don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 14.9% | 47.9% | 13.6% | 23.6% |
| BY POLITICS AS INDICATED BY NEWSPAPERS READ | | | | |
| Christian Democrat | 7.0% | 69.1% | 3.4% | 20.5% |
| Socialist | 29.7 | 43.5 | 18.6 | 8.2 |
| Communist | 17.2 | 12.6 | 64.9 | 5.3 |
| Independent | 14.8 | 57.5 | 9.3 | 18.4 |
| No newspapers | 11.1 | 28.7 | 9.9 | 50.3 |

| | No change (tactical agreement only) | Independence better | Fusion better | Other and don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| North Italy | 18.0% | 48.1% | 14.2% | 19.7% |
| Central Italy | 14.7 | 46.2 | 14.9 | 24.2 |
| South Italy | 10.2 | 45.1 | 13.2 | 31.5 |
| Islands | 12.4 | 55.5 | 10.0 | 22.1 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Employers | 12.3% | 66.5% | 6.4% | 14.8% |
| Peasants | 15.6 | 49.5 | 9.0 | 25.9 |
| Farm hands | 20.5 | 33.2 | 31.1 | 15.2 |
| Craftsmen | 12.7 | 62.8 | 12.7 | 11.8 |
| Workers | 19.3 | 33.6 | 26.5 | 20.6 |
| Clerks | 15.2 | 62.3 | 9.1 | 13.4 |
| Executives and professional | 5.7 | 65.7 | 25.7 | 2.9 |
| Housewives, etc. | 12.8 | 48.5 | 8.5 | 30.2 |

## Norway

**1.** (Norway May 26 '46) Do you think it would be fortunate if there were only two large political parties in Norway, one consisting of the Norwegian Labor party and Norway's Communist party and another consisting of the present right and left parties, the Christian National party and the Agrarian party? (NGI)

| | Two parties | Better as it is | Other replies | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 50% | 29% | 1% | 20% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 52% | 33% | 1% | 14% |
| Women | 48 | 26 | — | 26 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 18–25 years | 35% | 36% | — | 29% |
| 25–35 years | 47 | 33 | — | 20 |
| 35–50 years | 54 | 28 | 1% | 17 |
| 50 years and over | 55 | 24 | 1 | 20 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 60% | 34% | 1% | 5% |
| Middle | 53 | 33 | — | 14 |
| Lower | 48 | 28 | 1 | 23 |

**2.** (Norway June 7 '46) Which of the present Norwegian politicians do you like best? (NGI)

| | National total | Men | Women | 18–25 years | 25–35 years | 35–50 years | 50 years and over |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gerhardsen | 18% | 24% | 14% | 19% | 20% | 20% | 17% |
| Hambro | 6 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 10 |
| Scharffenberg | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Lavik | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Worm-Müller | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | 2 |
| Chr. Oftedal | 1 | 2 | — | 1 | 3 | 1 | — |
| Nygårdsvold | 1 | 2 | — | — | — | 1 | 1 |
| Other responses | 26 | 25 | 26 | 32 | 21 | 24 | 27 |
| Don't know | 9 | 5 | 12 | 10 | 9 | 7 | 8 |
| No answer | 36 | 31 | 39 | 30 | 38 | 39 | 33 |

## Sweden

**1.** (Sweden June '44) Do you think that any of the political parties will get great increases at the autumn elections? (SGI)

| | Right party | National party | Agrarians | Social Democrats | Communists | Don't know | Nothing much |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 1% | 2% | 2% | 11% | 25% | 38% | 21% |
| BY POLITICS* | | | | | | | |
| Right party | 8% | 3% | — | 11% | 23% | 32% | 23% |
| National party | 2 | 10 | 1% | 3 | 26 | 41 | 17 |
| Agrarian | 2 | — | 12 | 10 | 16 | 36 | 24 |
| Social Democrat | — | 1 | 1 | 19 | 23 | 33 | 23 |
| Communist | — | — | — | — | 91 | 5 | 4 |

* Political breakdown is based on what the respondent voted for in 1942.

**2.** (Sweden Aug '45) Do you think that the Social Democrats and the Communists should be combined into one party, or do you think it desirable to continue to have two labor parties? (SGI)

| | Should combine | Should not or cannot combine | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 25% | 55% | 20% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Right party | 15% | 68% | 17% |
| Liberal | 17 | 65 | 18 |
| Agrarian | 12 | 63 | 25 |
| Social Democrat | 27 | 58 | 15 |
| Communist | 61 | 35 | 4 |

## U.S.

**1.** (US Feb 29 '36, Aug 2 '37, Apr 6 '38) Do you think the time has come to give up our (two) present political parties and have two new ones—one for conservatives, the other for liberals? (Sept 13 '38) Do you think we should give up the Republican and Democratic parties and have two new parties, one for conservatives and the other for liberals? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '36 | 30% | 70% | = 100% | — |
| Aug '37 | 30 | 70 | = 100 | 25% |
| Apr '38 | 30 | 70 | | — |
| Sept '38 | 19 | 81 | = 100 | 20 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| *Republican* | | | | |
| Feb '36 | 27% | 73% | | |
| Apr '38 | 26 | 74 | | |
| *Democratic* | | | | |
| Feb '36 | 28 | 72 | | |
| Apr '38 | 30 | 70 | | |
| FEB '36 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England | 34% | 66% | | |
| Middle Atlantic | 32 | 68 | | |
| East central | 29 | 71 | | |
| West central | 33 | 67 | | |
| South | 25 | 75 | | |
| Mountain | 34 | 66 | | |
| Pacific coast | 36 | 64 | | |

**2.** (US Aug 2 '37) If these parties [one for conservatives and one for liberals] were formed, which one do you think you would join? (Apr 6 '38) Which party do you think you would join [if two new parties were formed, one for conservatives and one for liberals]? (AIPO)

| | Conservative | Liberal | | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '37 | 53% | 47% | = 100% | 54% |
| Apr '38 | 54 | 46 | = 100 | — |

APR '38 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Republican | 85% | 15% |
| Democratic | 36 | 64 |

**3.** (US Mar 7 '36, and May 9 '36) If there were only two political parties in this country, conservative and liberal, which would you join? (Feb 15 '37 and July 2 '38) If there were only two political parties in the country—one for conservatives and one for liberals—which would you join? The 1938 question asked "which do you think you would join." (AIPO)

| | Conservative | Liberal |
|---|---|---|
| Mar '36 | 42% | 58% |
| May '36 | 53 | 47 |
| Feb '37 | 48 | 52 |
| July '38 | 51 | 49 |

MAY '36 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Republican | 80% | 20% |
| Democratic | 37 | 63 |

MAY '36 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 56% | 44% |
| Middle Atlantic | 60 | 40 |
| East central | 50 | 50 |
| West central | 56 | 44 |
| South | 49 | 51 |
| Mountain | 44 | 56 |
| Pacific | 48 | 52 |

**4.** (US Aug 22 '36) Do you think America would be more likely to keep out of war during the next four years under Landon or under Roosevelt? (AIPO)

Landon 40% Roosevelt 60% = 100% No opinion 31%

**5.** (US Dec 14 '36) Would you join a new farmer-labor party if one is organized? (July 26 '37) If a farmer-labor party is organized before the next presidential election, do you think you would join it? (Jan '38) If a farmer-labor party is organized, do you think you would join it? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | | No opinion | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '36 | 18% | 82% | = 100% | 12% | |
| July '37 | 21 | 79 | = 100 | 22 | |
| Jan '38 | 14 | 62 | | 24 | = 100% |

DEC '36 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 18% | 82% |
| Middle Atlantic | 18 | 82 |
| East central | 17 | 83 |
| West central | 20 | 80 |
| South | 21 | 79 |
| Mountain | 15 | 85 |
| Pacific coast | 17 | 83 |

JULY '37 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Democratic | 24% | 76% |
| Republican | 12 | 88 |
| Others | 23 | 77 |

**6.** (US Mar 1 '37 to June 26 '46, dates listed below) Do you regard yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, or a Socialist? (AIPO)

| | Democrat | Republican | Independent | Socialist | Other | | Don't know | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Mar 1 '37 | 50 | 33 | 15 | 2 | — | | — | = 100 |
| *Dec 22 '39 | 42 | 38 | 19 | — | 1 | | — | = 100 |
| *July 3 '40 | 41 | 38 | 20 | — | 1 | = 100 | 4 | |
| †Sept 3 '40 | 44 | 35 | 20 | — | 1 | | — | = 100 |
| (1) Sept 6 '44 | 41 | 39 | 20 | ** | — | | — | = 100 |
| (1) Dec 19 '45 | 44 | 36 | 19 | 1 | — | | — | = 100 |
| (1) June 26 '46 | 39 | 40 | 21 | — | — | | — | = 100 |

* The question was: In politics, do you consider yourself a Democrat, Independent, Socialist, or Republican? The order of the political parties in 1940 was: Democrat, Socialist, Independent, or Republican?

** Less than 0.5%.

† Do you consider yourself a Republican, Socialist, Independent, or Democrat?

(1) In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, Socialist, or Independent?

| | Democrat | Republican | Independent | Socialist | Others |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| *New England* | | | | | |
| Mar '37 | 34% | 39% | 21% | 6% | — |
| Dec '39 | 27 | 43 | 28 | — | 2% |
| *Middle Atlantic* | | | | | |
| Mar '37 | 46 | 33 | 20 | 1 | — |
| Dec '39 | 39 | 41 | 19 | — | 1 |
| *East central* | | | | | |
| Mar '37 | 46 | 37 | 16 | 1 | — |
| Dec '39 | 38 | 42 | 20 | — | ** |
| *West central* | | | | | |
| Mar '37 | 44 | 40 | 14 | 2 | — |
| Dec '39 | 38 | 42 | 19 | — | 1 |
| *South* | | | | | |
| Mar '37 | 73 | 19 | 7 | 1 | — |
| Dec '39 | 70 | 20 | 10 | — | ** |
| *Mountain* | | | | | |
| Mar '37 | 50 | 32 | 16 | 2 | — |
| *West* | | | | | |
| Dec '39 | 45 | 34 | 20 | — | 1 |
| *Pacific coast* | | | | | |
| Mar '37 | 49 | 33 | 16 | 2 | — |
| DEC '39 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Professional | 29% | 44% | 25% | — | 2% |
| Businessmen | 29 | 48 | 22 | — | 1 |
| Skilled workers | 44 | 36 | 19 | — | 1 |
| Semi-skilled | 47 | 33 | 18 | — | 2 |
| Unskilled | 55 | 27 | 16 | — | 2 |
| White-collar | 40 | 36 | 22 | — | 2 |
| Farmers | 49 | 38 | 12 | — | 1 |
| Farmers (outside the South) | 40 | 45 | 14 | — | 1 |

** Less than 0.5%.

**7.** (US May 10 '37) Should a new party be formed out of anti-New Deal Democrats and Republicans with such leaders as Senators Borah and Nye? (Nov 12 '37) Do you think the time has come to abandon the Republican party and form a new party of anti-New Deal Democrats and Republicans? Asked of a national cross-section of Republicans. (AIPO)

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| May '37 | 31% | 69% |
| Nov '37 | 23 | 77 |

**8.** (US Nov 12 '37) Which party do you feel most represents your viewpoint at the present time? Asked of a national cross-section of independent voters. (Dec 28 '37) Which national political party do you feel most represents your viewpoint at the present time? (Feb 26 '38) What national political party most represents your point of view at the present time? (AIPO)

| | *Nov '37* | *Dec '37* | *Feb '38* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Democratic | 60% | 56% | 44% |
| Republican | 27 | 33 | 28 |
| Socialist and others | 13 | 4 | 4 |
| No opinion; no answer | — | 7 | 24 |

**9.** (US May 12 '38) Have you heard of the new National Progressive party led by the La Follette brothers? (AIPO)

Yes 64% No 36%

**10.** (US May 12 '38) Do you think you will join it [National Progressive party]? Asked of 64% of the sample who had heard of the new party led by the La Follette brothers. (AIPO)

Yes 11% No 89% = 100% of those questioned

**11.** (US Aug '38) What parties would you like to see competing in the next presidential race? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Republican and Democrat only | 44.1% |
| Republican and Democrat and minor parties as before | 21.2 |
| Republican, Democrat, and a new strong third party | 12.8 |
| Two new parties with all conservatives voting together and all liberals voting together | 6.2 |
| Other | .4 |
| Don't know | 15.3 |

**12.** (US Aug '38) Which of the following statements do you believe will be true ten years from now, which untrue? Which do you hope will be true, which untrue? Among the statements was included: There will be a powerful new labor party. (FOR)

| | *True* | *Untrue* | *Don't know* | *Hope so* | *Hope not* | *Don't care* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 38.0% | 23.2% | 38.8% | 21.9% | 45.1% | 33.0% |
| BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS | | | | | | |
| Executives | 33.7% | 35.9% | 30.4% | 10.0% | 70.1% | 19.9% |
| White-collar | 43.7 | 32.6 | 23.7 | 21.0 | 52.4 | 26.6 |
| Factory labor | 41.0 | 23.1 | 35.9 | 32.9 | 31.6 | 35.5 |

**13.** (US Sept 13 '38) If the Democratic and Republican parties went out of existence, would you join the conservative or the liberal party? (Jan 23 '46) It has been suggested that we give up the present Republican and Democratic parties and have two new parties—one for the liberals and one for conservatives. Would you favor this idea? 12% of the sample who said they would favor two new parties were asked: Which party would you want to join, the liberal or the conservative? (AIPO)

| | *1938* | *1946* |
|---|---|---|
| Don't favor change | — | 67% |
| Would join liberals | 49% | 7 |
| Would join conservatives | 51 | 3 |
| Don't know which would join | — | 2 |
| | 100% | |
| No opinion as to whether or not new parties should be formed | (45) | 21 |

**14.** (US Oct '38) Governor La Follette of Wisconsin has launched the National Progressives of America, which he says "is the party of our times." Do you think this is going to have a good or bad effect on American politics, or none at all? (FOR)

| | *Good* | *Bad* | *None* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 15.9% | 11.1% | 28.7% | 44.3% |
| BY EXTREME ECONOMIC GROUPS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 16.3% | 14.2% | 39.4% | 30.1% |
| Poor | 15.1 | 8.5 | 23.1 | 53.3 |
| BY SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS | | | | |
| Middle West | 17.0% | 17.6% | 27.9% | 37.5% |
| Pacific coast | 30.1 | 7.8 | 34.1 | 28.0 |

**15.** (US Oct '38) Do you think that the La Follette party is going to be more radical or more conservative than the New Deal? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| More radical | 20.6% |
| More conservative | 18.3 |
| Same | 6.3 |
| Neither | 4.3 |
| Don't know | 50.5 |

**16.** (US Oct '38) From which party do you think it [the La Follette party] will take the most votes? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Democratic | 22.1% |
| Republican | 12.7 |
| Both | 12.1 |
| Neither | 9.9 |
| Don't know | 43.2 |

**17.** (US Nov '38) In a fireside talk President Roosevelt proposed that old party lines be disregarded and that the liberals of all parties unite to support liberal candidates for Congress. Do you think this is a good or bad idea? (FOR)

| | *Good idea* | *Bad idea* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46.9% | 24.3% | 28.8% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 43.9% | 38.8% | 17.3% |
| Upper middle class | 45.7 | 32.3 | 22.0 |
| Lower middle class | 50.1 | 21.7 | 28.2 |
| Poor | 44.8 | 17.7 | 37.5 |

**18.** (US Nov '38) Do you think it [nonpartisan support of liberal candidates as suggested by Roosevelt in a fireside chat] is likely to happen? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 30.2% | 34.4% | 35.4% |
| BY EXTREME ECONOMIC GROUPS | | | |
| Prosperous | 29.6% | 47.3% | 23.1% |
| Poor | 28.8 | 25.5 | 45.7 |

**19.** (US June 16 '39) In politics, do you consider yourself a radical, a liberal, or a conservative? (AIPO)

| | *Radical* | *Liberal* | *Conservative* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 2% | 46% | 52% = 100% | 20% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democratic | 2% | 56% | 42% | |
| Republican | 1 | 26 | 73 | |
| Third-party voters | 5 | 51 | 44 | |

**20.** (US June 16 '39) How do you consider each of the following political leaders—as a radical, a liberal, or a conservative? The political leaders were Garner, Roosevelt, Hopkins, Hoover, and Vandenberg. A comparable cross-section was asked the question with the ending changed to read "as a conservative, a liberal, or a radical?" This group was asked about Dewey, Hull, Farley, Taft, and La Guardia. (AIPO)

| | Radical | Liberal | Conservative | | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Garner | 4% | 32% | 64% | = 100% | 13% |
| President Roosevelt | 37 | 62 | 1 | | 2 |
| Harry Hopkins | 41 | 55 | 4 | | 27 |
| Herbert Hoover | 3 | 5 | 92 | | 8 |
| Vandenberg | 4 | 29 | 67 | | 45 |
| Dewey | 8 | 47 | 45 | | 22 |
| Hull | 3 | 46 | 51 | | 22 |
| Farley | 24 | 63 | 13 | | 12 |
| Taft | 1 | 13 | 86 | | 37 |
| La Guardia | 28 | 64 | 8 | | 15 |

**21.** (US July 17 '39) Do you think there would be more people out of work in this country or fewer people out of work, if we had a Republican President in the White House? A comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think there would be more unemployment in this country if we had a Republican President in the White House? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| More out of work | 24% |
| Fewer out of work | 27 |
| No difference | 28 |
| Don't know | 21 |

**22.** (US Nov 30 '39, Apr 3 '40, June 25 '40) Which political party do you think is more likely to keep us out of war, the Republican or the Democratic? In Apr '40 a comparable cross-section was asked the question with the order of the parties reversed. Results were combined. (AIPO) (Aug '40) Which party, if it were elected to office next fall, do you think would be more likely to keep us out of war? (FOR)

| | Republican | Democratic | Both same | Makes no difference | | Neither | Don't know; no opinion | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Nov '39 | 21 | 27 | — | 52 | = 100 | — | 14 | |
| Apr '40 | 33 | 35 | — | 32 | = 100 | — | 16 | |
| June '40 | 40 | 24 | — | 36 | = 100 | — | 13 | |
| Aug '40 | 28.4 | 26.5 | 20.8 | — | | 9.9 | 14.4 | = 100 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | | | | |
| *Democratic* | % | % | % | % | | | | |
| Nov '39 | 5 | 48 | — | 47 | | | | |
| Apr '40 | 6 | 62 | — | 32 | | | | |
| June '40 | 8 | 48 | — | 44 | | | | |
| *Republican* | | | | | | | | |
| Nov '39 | 42 | 3 | — | 55 | | | | |
| Apr '40 | 65 | 5 | — | 30 | | | | |
| June '40 | 68 | 4 | — | 28 | | | | |

**23.** (US Apr 3 '40) Have you changed your opinion on this question [about which political party is more likely to keep us out of war] within the last six months or so? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 6% | 94% |
| BY OPINION ABOUT WHICH POLITICAL PARTY IS MORE LIKELY TO KEEP THE UNITED STATES OUT OF WAR | | |
| Democratic | 4% | 96% |
| Republican | 11 | 89 |
| Makes no difference | 5 | 95 |

**24.** (US Feb 20 '40) Which political party do you think is more likely to reduce unemployment in the next four years, the Republican or the Democratic? (AIPO)

Republican 40% Democratic 38% Neither 22% = 100%
Don't know 18%

**25.** (US May '40) Regardless of which party you belong to, which party—Republican or Democratic—do you think has: (FOR)

| | Democratic | Republican | Both same | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| The most efficient national party organization? | 44.9% | 20.2% | 6.5% | 28.4% |
| The most real interest in the people as a whole? | 43.4 | 19.3 | 15.7 | 21.6 |
| The most plain common sense on national problems? | 33.3 | 28.1 | 11.1 | 27.5 |
| The most men in it good enough to run for President? | 32.0 | 24.4 | 16.6 | 27.0 |
| The greatest desire to keep us out of war? | 31.4 | 16.4 | 32.6 | 19.6 |

**26.** (US June '40) Do you think labor unions should form a national labor party in the United States in addition to the present parties; or should labor unions support one or the other of the major parties; or should unions as such keep out of politics altogether? Asked of a national cross-section of all working classes, including those workers who were unemployed. (FOR)

| | National total | CIO members |
|---|---|---|
| Keep out of politics | 56.6% | 45.8% |
| Support one of the two major parties | 18.0 | 22.9 |
| Form a national labor party | 11.4 | 24.2 |
| Don't know | 14.0 | 7.1 |

**27.** (US June 11 '40 and June 25 '40) Which party do you think would do the better job of strengthening our country's national defenses, the Republican or the Democratic? (AIPO) (Aug '40) Which party, if it were elected next fall, do you think would do the better job of building up our national defense? (FOR)

| | Republican | Democratic | No difference; both same | Other | Neither | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| June 11 '40 | 24% | 35% | 24% | 1% | — | 16% |
| June 25 '40 | 38 | 38 | 24 | — | — | — |
| Aug '40 | 26.5 | 39.1 | 19.8 | — | 0.6% | 14.0 |
| JUNE 25 '40 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | | | | |
| Democratic | 5% | 71% | 24% | | | |
| Republican | 69 | 8 | 23 | | | |
| JUNE 25 '40 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 43% | 33% | 24% | | | |
| East central | 41 | 32 | 27 | | | |
| West central | 37 | 36 | 27 | | | |
| South | 23 | 58 | 19 | | | |
| West | 34 | 39 | 27 | | | |

**28.** (US June 25 '40) Which party do you think is the more likely to get us into the war, the Republican or the Democratic? (AIPO)

| | Republican | Democratic | Makes no difference |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 14% | 40% | 46% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 24% | 18% | 58% |
| Republican | 5 | 63 | 32 |

**29.** (US July 30 '40 and Oct 22 '40) Who do you think would do the better job of strengthening our country's defenses, Roosevelt or Willkie? The October sample was asked about "national defenses." (AIPO)

| | *Roosevelt* | *Willkie* | *No opinion; no difference* | | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| July '40 | 48% | 28% | 13% | | 11% | = 100% |
| Oct '40 | 61 | 39 | — | = 100% | 13 | |

**30.** (US Sept '40) Do you think a better job on preparedness and industrial mobilization for war can be expected of Willkie or Roosevelt? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Willkie | 91.3% |
| Roosevelt | 6.5 |
| Don't know | 0.2 |
| No answer | 2.0 |

**31.** (US Oct 9 '40 and Oct 23 '40) Have you received any literature (mail) about the presidential election this year from either the Republican or the Democratic party? (AIPO)

| | *Oct 9 '40* | *Oct 23 '40* |
|---|---|---|
| Yes, from Democratic | 3% | 6% |
| Yes, from Republican | 9 | 14 |
| Yes, from both | 4 | 13 |
| Received none | 84 | 67 |

**32.** (US Oct 9 '40 and Oct 23 '40) Have workers for either party asked you yet to vote for their presidential candidate? (AIPO)

| | *Oct 9 '40* | *Oct 23 '40* |
|---|---|---|
| Yes, from Democratic | 3% | 3% |
| Yes, from Republican | 4 | 6 |
| Yes, for both | 3 | 6 |
| No | 90 | 85 |

**33.** (US Oct 9 '40 and Oct 23 '40) Which party usually takes the trouble to see that you get to the polls to vote for President? (AIPO)

| | *Oct 9 '40* | *Oct 23 '40* |
|---|---|---|
| Democratic | 14% | 14% |
| Republican | 11 | 12 |
| Both | 2 | — |
| Other | — | 3 |
| Received no assistance | 73 | 71 |

**34.** (US Mar 18 '42, May 21 '42, Aug 25 '42) Which political party do you think can do the better job of running this State, the Republican or the Democratic? (AIPO)

| | *Mar '42* | *May '42* | *Aug '42* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Republican | 43% | 33% | 31% |
| Democratic | 57 | 39 | 38 |
| Other | — | — | 3 |
| Undecided | — | 28 | 28 |

**35.** (US June 9 '42 and Mar 13 '46) Do you think it makes a great deal of difference or only a little difference which political party runs the country? (AIPO)

| | *Great deal* | *Little* | *None* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| June '42 | 25% | 42% | 26% | 7% |
| Mar '46 | 30 | 43 | 21 | 6 |

**36.** (US Aug 25 '42 and Nov 10 '42) Which political party would you like to have in control in Congress when the war comes to an end and questions of future peace are being discussed? (AIPO)

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* | *Other* | *No opinion* | *No party in control* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '42 | 41% | 29% | 3% | 27% | — |
| Nov '42 | 39 | 31 | 3 | 24 | 3% |

**37.** (US Apr 6 '43) After the war, which party do you think is more likely to bring better times to the country, the Republican or the Democratic? (AIPO)

Republican 32% Democratic 27% No difference 21%
No opinion 20%

**38.** (US Apr 6 '43) Which party do you think can handle the problems of peace better, the Republican or the Democratic? (Feb 16 '44 and June 20 '44) After the war, which party do you think will make the best peace arrangements, the Democratic or the Republican? (AIPO)

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* | *No difference* | *Undecided; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '43 | 32% | 20% | 33% | 15% |
| Feb '44 | 32 | 29 | 25 | 14 |
| June '44 | 39 | 30 | 19 | 12 |

**39.** (US July 7 '43) Which way do you think there will be more jobs after the war, if the Republicans or the Democrats win the next presidential election? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Republican | 17% |
| Democratic | 27 |
| No difference | 40 |
| No opinion | 16 |

**40.** (US Feb 16 '44) After the war, will good jobs be easier to get if the Democrats or the Republicans are running the government in Washington? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Democratic | 21% |
| Republican | 21 |
| No difference | 40 |
| No opinion | 18 |

**41.** (US Feb 16 '44 and June 20 '44) Which party do you think is more likely to bring the war to a successful end at the earliest time, the Democratic or the Republican? A comparable cross-section was asked the Feb '44 question in the following form: Do you think a Republican victory in the presidential election this fall would slow up or speed up the winning of the war? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* | *No difference* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '44 | 36% | 22% | 29% | 13% |
| June '44 | 45 | 22 | 24 | 9 |

**42.** (US Feb 16 '44) After the war, which party do you think will handle political and trade relations best with other countries, the Democratic or the Republican? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Democratic | 30% |
| Republican | 32 |
| No difference | 21 |
| No opinion | 17 |

**43.** (US Feb 16 '44 and June 20 '44) After the war, which party do you think will bring the greatest prospetity and the greatest number of jobs, the Democratic or the Republican? (AIPO)

| | *Republican* | *Democratic* | *No difference* | *No opinion; undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '44 | 34% | 31% | 22% | 13% |
| June '44 | 36 | 37 | 17 | 10 |
| Feb '44 union members only | 24 | 41 | 21 | 14 |

**44.** (US Apr 12 '44) Do you think that the Republicans and the Democrats should work together in shaping our foreign policy and not make it an issue in the coming election campaign? (AIPO)

Yes 88% No 4% No opinion 8%

**45.** (US July 19 '44) Which party would you like to see have most members in Congress after the presidential election this fall, the Democratic or the Republican? (AIPO)

Democratic 42% Republican 44% No opinion 14%

**46.** (US Oct '44) In general, do you think there are any real differences between the Democratic and Republican parties? 41% of the sample who thought there were differences were asked: What are they? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| No difference | 48% |
| Don't know whether or not there are differences | 11 |
| Different on business, moneyed interests | 1 |
| Different on common man, capital and labor | 1 |
| Different on budgets, taxes | * |
| Different on tariff | 2 |
| Different on foreign policy | 1 |
| Answers favorable to current administration | * |
| Answers unfavorable to current administration | 2 |
| Both parties are same fundamentally, but their methods are different in reaching goals | * |
| Other differences (not specific) | 2 |
| Don't know what the differences are | 4 |

| | *Republican* | *Democratic* |
|---|---|---|
| For capital, big business, laissez-faire, free enterprise | 4% | * |
| For labor, the common man, veterans, farmers, better working conditions, Negroes | 1 | 8% |
| For centralized power, government power, dictatorship, bureaucracy | * | 2 |
| For high tariff, trade barriers | 1 | — |
| For no tariff, low tariff, free trade | — | 1 |
| For prosperity, more work, better times (Republican for cheaper wages) | 1 | 1 |
| Crooks, dishonest | * | * |
| For international collaboration, union of nations | — | * |
| For more spending, high budget, big national debt, high taxes | * | 1 |
| For less spending, better business administrators, cutting the budget, small national debt, low taxes | 1 | * |
| Are conservative, stable; people have confidence; can depend on them; more reactionary | 2 | 1 |
| Are more liberal, progressive; lean to Communism and Socialism | * | 3 |
| Are for state's rights; for the South; against the Negroes | — | * |
| Are for isolation; against union of nations; for noninterference; against war | 1 | — |

* Less than 0.5%.

**47.** (US Oct '44) Do you consider yourself a Democrat, Republican, or something else? 39% of the sample identified themselves as Democrats and 29% as Republicans. These two groups were asked: Why are you a Democrat (Republican)? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Independent; vote for the man | 29% |
| Not a New-Deal Democrat | * |
| Refused to state party | * |
| Other parties | 1 |
| Don't know what party | 2% |
| Republican | |
| By inheritance; born that way; raised to be one; parents were | 9 |
| Registered that way; always have been; husband is; started that way | 3 |
| Satisfaction; no reason to change; satisfied with platform; the record; like the principles, the policies, the tariff laws; believe in isolation; they keep us out of wars; Negroes are Republicans; nicer class of people; Negroes vote Republican | 8 |
| More American, conservative; Democrats lean to Communism | 1 |
| Business party; brings prosperity; work for everybody; wards off panics, depressions; the country is better off; they balance the budget; have a sound economy; business administration; not given to spending money freely; progressive; better standard of living; free enterprise | 4 |
| They put up the best candidates | 1 |
| We need a change; anti-Roosevelt New Deal attitudes | 2 |
| Other answers | * |
| Don't know why | 1 |
| Democrat | |
| By inheritance; was born that way; in the South no one is anything else | 12 |
| Started that way; registered that way; always have been; husband is | 4 |
| Satisfaction with platform, record, principles, standards; it's the best form of government | 9 |
| Poor man's party; takes care of the middle man, the poor man; takes care of employment; brings us out of depression | 7 |
| Progressive; liberal; not given to class or race discrimination; more American | 1 |
| They put up the best candidate | 2 |
| They are honest, cleaner, not deceitful; they keep promises | 1 |
| We should not change | * |
| Anti-Republican attitudes | 1 |
| Other answers | * |
| Don't know why | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**48.** (US Oct '44) Sometimes one party does a better job than the other on certain specific things. Which party—the Republican or the Democratic—would you say has generally been better at running the day-to-day business of government efficiently; keeping their administration free from graft; handling our relations with foreign countries in the right way; running things so that there are plenty of jobs in private industry; keeping their campaign promises? (FOR)

| | *Republican* | *Democratic* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Government business | 34.9% | 33.9% | 31.2% |
| Eliminating graft | 22.5 | 22.7 | 54.8 |
| Foreign relations | 20.9 | 48.4 | 30.7 |
| Full employment | 31.3 | 40.0 | 28.7 |
| Keeping promises | 19.3 | 23.1 | 57.6 |

**49.** (US Oct '44) Which party, Republican or Democratic, do you think would be more successful at keeping unemployment as low as possible after the war if it were in power? (FOR)

Republican 27.4% Democratic 45.2% Don't know 27.4%

**50.** (US Oct '44) On the whole, how do you feel about the present setup of the political parties in the United States: do you find that you are usually satisfied with the stands taken by one or the other of the present big parties, or would you

like to see a strong new party entirely different from either of the present parties? (FOR)

Usually satisfied 77.7% New party 14.3%
Don't know 8.0%

**51.** (US Oct '44) Do you feel that the Republican and Democratic parties mainly stand for the same things, or that they stand for quite different things? (FOR)

Mainly the same 46.2% Quite different 41.7%
Don't know 12.1%

**52.** (US Oct '44) Which party, Republican or Democratic, do you think would be more successful at making a peace that would keep us out of war during the next twenty to twenty-five years if it were in power? (FOR)

Republican 25.1% Democratic 38.9% Don't know 36.0%

**53.** (US Oct '44) Do you think labor unions would become stronger under a Republican administration, become less strong, or have about the same strength as they would under a Democratic administration? (FOR)

Stronger 6.0% Less strong 44.1% Same 32.6%
Don't know 17.3%

**54.** (US Oct '44) Which do you think would be more successful, the Democrats under Roosevelt or the Republicans under Dewey, at making a peace that would prevent future wars? at keeping unemployment as low as possible after the war? in handling labor unions? (FOR)

| | *Democrats* | *Republicans* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Peace | 43.9% | 28.7% | 27.4% |
| Unemployment | 43.5 | 34.2 | 22.3 |
| Labor unions | 41.9 | 35.2 | 22.9 |

**55.** (US Nov '44) Which do you think is the more liberal party in this country, the Democratic or the Republican party? (NORC)

Democratic 63% Republican 16% Don't know 21%

**56.** (US Nov '44) Generally, do you feel the Republican and Democratic parties have about the same ideas of what should be done about controlling business, or are their ideas quite different? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Same ideas | 27% |
| Different | 61 |
| Don't know | 12 |
| Depends on groups and leaders within party | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**57.** (US Nov '44) Which party do you think would do the most to limit the amount a business can make, the Republican or Democratic party? (NORC)

Republican 13% Democratic 69% Don't know 18%

**58.** (US Aug 8 '45) Do you think a labor party will ever win an election in this country? (AIPO)

Yes 36% No 36% No opinion 28%

**59.** (US Sept 6 '45) It's another year until the congressional elections. But as you feel today, which political party—the Democratic or Republican—do you think can handle each of these different problems better: (AIPO)

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* | *No difference* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Keeping wages high | 49% | 15% | 23% | 13% |
| Running the government efficiently | 41 | 23 | 23 | 13 |
| Working out a lasting peace with other countries | 45% | 14% | 28% | 13% |
| Seeing that taxes don't get too heavy | 37 | 26 | 23 | 14 |
| Taking care of veterans properly | 42 | 12 | 33 | 13 |
| Getting business and industry back to high peacetime production | 41 | 23 | 20 | 16 |
| Encouraging new business to start up | 35 | 30 | 20 | 15 |
| Improving the health of the people | 36 | 15 | 32 | 17 |
| Improving the educational level of the people | 36 | 15 | 33 | 16 |
| Reducing strikes and labor troubles | 34 | 26 | 23 | 17 |
| Keeping farmers' income high | 46 | 19 | 20 | 15 |

OPINIONS ON REDUCING STRIKES AND LABOR TROUBLES BY OCCUPATION

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Business and professional, white-collar, and farmers | 36% | 38% | 26% |
| Manual workers | 48 | 23 | 29 |

**60.** (US Nov 21 '45) Which political party do you think is the best in the country? Asked of a national cross-section of fifteen- to eighteen-year-olds. (AIPO)

Democratic 65% Republican 35%

**61.** (US Jan 3 '46 and May 29 '46) Which political party, the Democratic or the Republican, do you think is most interested in these three different groups of people: persons of above average income; persons of average income; persons of below average income? (AIPO)

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* | *No difference* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Above average* | | | | |
| Jan '46 | 14% | 57% | 17% | 12% |
| May '46 | 16 | 51 | 18 | 15 |
| *Average* | | | | |
| Jan '46 | 46 | 21 | 21 | 12 |
| May '46 | 40 | 23 | 22 | 15 |
| *Below average* | | | | |
| Jan '46 | 61 | 10 | 18 | 11 |
| May '46 | 54 | 14 | 18 | 14 |

**62.** (US Jan 3 '46 to Sept 25 '46, dates below) As you feel today, which political party—the Democratic or the Republican—can handle each of these problems better? (AIPO)

Keeping taxes from getting too high?

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* | *No difference* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan 3 '46 | 32% | 44% | 24% | — |
| May 29 '46 | 30 | 36 | 20 | 14% |
| Sept 25 '46* | 24 | 42 | 22 | 12 |

* Cutting taxes instead of keeping taxes from getting too high.

Reducing strikes and labor trouble?

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* | *No difference* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan 3 '46 | 38% | 36% | 26% |
| May 29 '46 | 33 | 41 | 26 |
| Sept 25 '46 | 23 | 46 | 31 |

MAY '46 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* | *No difference* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Business, professional, white collar, and farmers | 28% | 48% | 24% |
| Manual workers | 39 | 33 | 28 |

Dealing with world affairs?

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* | *No difference* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan 3 '46 | 49% | 28% | 23% | — |
| May 29 '46 | 35 | 29 | 21 | 15% |

Keeping farmers' income high?

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* | *No difference* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan 3 '46 | 56% | 25% | 19% | — |
| May 29 '46 | 41 | 24 | 18 | 17% |
| Sept 25 '46* | 39 | 28 | 22 | 11 |

* Two comparable cross-sections were used. The first was asked: Helping farmers to have good income? The second was asked: Keeping farmers prosperous? Results were combined.

Keeping wages high?

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* | *No difference* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan 3 '46 | 60% | 21% | 19% |
| May 29 '46 | 53 | 26 | 21 |

MAY '46 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Democratic | 73% | 10% | 17% |
| Republican | 30 | 48 | 22 |

MAY '46 RESULTS BY SELECTED GROUPS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Union members | 62% | 18% | 20% |
| Veterans | 57 | 21 | 22 |
| Manual workers | 56 | 26 | 18 |

Keeping business profits high?

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* | *No difference* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan 3 '46 | 24% | 56% | 20% | — |
| May 29 '46 | 24 | 42 | 17 | 17% |

Running the government efficiently?

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* | *No difference* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan 3 '46 | 37% | 38% | 25% | — |
| May 29 '46 | 30 | 34 | 23 | 13% |

Encouraging new businesses to start up?

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* | *No difference* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan 3 '46 | 36% | 43% | 21% | — |
| May 29 '46 | 30 | 34 | 20 | 16% |

FURTHER SEPT 25 '46 RESULTS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Solving the housing problem? | 24% | 30% | 34% | 12% |
| Cutting down government expense? | 17 | 48 | 22 | 13 |
| Dealing with Russia? | 28 | 27 | 28 | 17 |
| Reducing the cost of living? | 23 | 38 | 26 | 13 |
| Getting factories to produce more? | 27 | 37 | 24 | 12 |
| Keeping peace in the world? | 26 | 29 | 33 | 12 |
| Holding prices down? | 29 | 34 | 26 | 11 |
| Keeping unemployment low? | 37 | 29 | 22 | 12 |

**63.** (US Jan 3 '46 and May 29 '46) If a new political party is organized by labor in addition to the present Republican and Democratic parties, do you think you would join it? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '46 | 10% | 74% | 16% |
| May '46 | 11 | 72 | 17 |

JAN '46 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Democratic | 13% | 67% | 20% |
| Republican | 5 | 83 | 12 |
| Union members only | 24 | 56 | 20 |

**64.** (US Apr 10 '46) Which political party—the Republican or the Democratic—do you think is better for the people in your (your husband's) type of work? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Republican | 24% |
| Democratic | 36 |
| No difference | 32 |
| No opinion | 8 |

**65.** (US Sept 11 '46 and Sept 25 '46) Do you think it makes much difference or only a little difference which party wins the elections for Congress this fall? (AIPO)

| | *Much* | *Little* | *None* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sept 11 '46 | 49% | 31% | 11% | 9% |
| Sept 25 '46 | 51 | 29 | 10 | 10 |

**66.** (US Sept 25 '46) If a third party is formed in this country by Henry Wallace, Claude Pepper, the CIO, and other labor groups, do you think you would vote for that party? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 10% | 78% | 12% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republican | 3% | 91% | 6% |
| Democratic | 13 | 73 | 14 |
| Independent | 18 | 65 | 17 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farmers | 5% | 88% | 7% |
| White-collar | 10 | 80 | 10 |
| Professional and business | 11 | 80 | 9 |
| Manual workers | 11 | 74 | 15 |
| BY LABOR STATUS | | | |
| Union members (in manual worker group) | 17% | 69% | 14% |
| Nonunion | 9 | 76 | 15 |

# POLITICS, PRACTICAL

## Denmark

**1.** (Denmark Apr 18 '43) Are you interested in politics? Asked of people 18 to 25 years old. (DGI)

Yes 30.1% No 69.4% Don't know 0.5%

**2.** (Denmark Feb 11 '45) In normal times, are you interested in politics? (DGI)

Yes 41.3% No 55.8% Don't know 2.0% No answer 0.9%

## Germany

**1.** (Germany Oct 26 '45, Dec 13 '45, Jan 31 '46, June 7 '46, Aug 9 '46, Sept 3 '46) Are you personally interested in politics, or do you prefer to leave it to others? (OMGUS)

| | *Interested* | *Leave to others* | *A bit interested* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '45 | 29% | 70% | — | — | 1% |
| Dec '45 | 32 | 68 | — | — | — |
| Jan '46 | 39 | 61 | — | — | — |
| June '46 | 19 | 47 | 34% | — | * |
| Aug '46 | 36 | 61 | — | 3% | * |
| Sept '46 | 36 | 62 | — | 2 | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

47% of the June '46 sample who said they left politics to others were asked: Who do you think should take an interest in politics?

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't say who | 15% |
| Men; it's men's work | 16 |
| Professional politicians; people whose job it is | 6 |
| People who are interested | 6 |
| Young people | 1 |
| Everybody (men and women) | 1 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 2 |
| | 47% |

**2.** (US Dec 27 '45 and Mar 14 '46) As you may know, political meetings are again permitted. Do you think such meetings are desirable? 13% of the 1945 sample and 16% of the 1946 sample who said they did not think so were asked: Why not? (OMGUS)

| | *1945* | *1946* |
|---|---|---|
| Political meetings desirable | 68% | 72% |
| Didn't know or didn't say whether or not desirable | 19 | 12 |
| Undesirable because: | | |
| Fosters disunity | 3 | — |
| Politics undesirable | 4 | 9 |
| Germany not ready for politics yet | 2 | 2 |
| No interest in politics | 1 | 4 |
| Leadership inadequate | — | 1 |
| Other reasons | 1 | — |
| Didn't say why | 2 | 1 |
| | 101%* | |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (Germany Dec 27 '45 and Mar 15 '46) Have you attended any of these [political] meetings? (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '45 | 11% | 89% |
| Mar '46 | 25 | 75 |

75% of the 1946 sample who had not attended any political meetings were asked: Why not?

| | |
|---|---|
| Not interested; leave politics to others, to the men; don't need politics; not interested in these things | 36% |
| No opportunity; no time; no transportation; sick and must stay home | 24 |
| No meeting; as yet no meetings have been held here | 7 |
| Don't belong to party | 1 |
| Don't want to join a party right now; want to see how each one works out in practice; just out of war-prisoner camps, not yet oriented | 2 |
| Don't know; can't say; no opinion | 1 |
| No answer | 4 |
| | 75% |

**4.** (Germany Dec 27 '45) Are there any Germans here or in other parts of Germany who would be suitable as political leaders? 25% of the sample who thought there were suitable Germans were asked: Who? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Named specific person or persons | 11% |
| Spiritual leaders; clergy | 1 |
| Pre-'33 political leaders | 1 |
| Present political leaders | 1 |
| Local leaders: mayor, lawyers, doctors, etc. | 2 |
| Other | 1 |
| Don't know specifically; can't say; no opinion; must be people but don't know who | 7 |
| No answer to second question | 4 |
| No such Germans | 59 |
| Don't know or wouldn't say whether or not there are suitable Germans | 16 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**5.** (Germany Feb 14 '46) Do you think that women should be as interested in politics as men are, or do you think that they should not? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, interested | 28% |
| No, not interested | 68 |
| No opinion | 3 |
| No answer | 1 |

**6.** (Germany Feb 21 '46) Are there people who should be forbidden to take part in politics as, for example, in the elections, and who should not be allowed to hold elective offices, be members of a party, etc.? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Nazi party members, followers and/or sympathizers | 20% |
| (Old pre-'37) party members | 6 |
| Nazi activists | 23 |
| Militarists | 1 |
| Bigshots; profiteers, party founders | 13 |
| Other | 1 |
| No | 20 |
| No opinion | 19 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**7.** (Germany Mar 8 '46) Do you think that the church participates in politics these days? 43% of the sample who thought it did participate were asked: What makes you think so? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Does not participate in politics | 28% |
| Don't know whether or not it participates | 29 |
| Think so because: | |
| Last election shows it | 3 |
| Participate through their own party; Christian Democratic Union, Christian Socialist Union, Christian Democratic party | 13 |
| One reads it in the newspapers | 2 |
| One hears it on the radio | 1 |
| Participates through sermons, press, pastoral letters | 16 |
| Through leaders like Niemoeller, etc. | 1 |
| Miscellaneous reasons | 4 |
| Don't know or can't give reason | 3 |

**8.** (Germany Mar 15 '46 and Oct 28 '46) Are you sufficiently well informed about present day political affairs? (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '46 | 54% | 46% | — |
| Oct '46 | 46 | 51 | 3% |

46% of the March sample who said they were not sufficiently well informed about political developments were asked: Do you attempt to obtain more information?

Yes 18% No 27% No answer 1% = 46%

**9.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statement: As long as the government takes care of all our essential needs we should not interest ourselves in politics. (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| American zone and Berlin | 44% | 51% | 5% |
| Berlin | 52 | 48 | — |

**10.** (Germany Aug 9 '46 and Oct 28 '46) Do you sometimes think about politics, or would you rather leave that to others? (OMGUS)

| | *Think* | *Leave* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '46 | 38% | 62% | — | * |
| Oct '46 | 35 | 64 | 1% | — |

* Less than 0.5%.

## Sweden

**1.** (Sweden Mar '46) Do you think that it is a fault in a grown-up man or woman not to be interested in politics? (SGI)

| | GROWN-UP MAN | | | GROWN-UP WOMAN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Fault* | *Not a fault* | *Don't know* | *Fault* | *Not a fault* | *Don't know* |
| National total | 66% | 26% | 8% | 54% | 36% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | |
| Men | 66% | 28% | 6% | 57% | 37% | 6% |
| Women | 65 | 22 | 13 | 53 | 35 | 12 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Upper class | 74% | 23% | 3% | 66% | 29% | 5% |
| Middle class | 66 | 28 | 6 | 56 | 36 | 8 |
| Workers | 65 | 25 | 10 | 52 | 36 | 12 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | | |
| Large towns | 68% | 27% | 5% | 54% | 40% | 6% |
| Other towns | 68 | 24 | 8 | 51 | 39 | 10 |
| Country | 64 | 26 | 10 | 56 | 33 | 11 |

## U.S.

**1.** (US Nov '38) Of the following three programs which one do you think is the most truly liberal—(1) as much social reform as possible without injuring capitalism or preventing capital from making what profits it can; (2) government regulation of capital and wealth, both by law and by competition with private enterprise, in order that workers may get a larger share; (3) a new economic setup under government control abolishing profits? (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41.1% | 30.8% | 7.4% | 20.7% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 67.9% | 17.6% | 5.0% | 9.5% |
| Upper middle | 53.1 | 27.5 | 5.8 | 13.6 |
| Lower middle | 37.7 | 33.9 | 8.1 | 20.3 |
| Poor | 27.6 | 36.5 | 9.3 | 26.6 |

**2.** (US Jan 19 '40, Feb 14 '41, Feb 27 '46, Dec 31 '46) Please tell me in your own words what you consider a conservative in politics. (May 2 '45) Will you tell me briefly what is meant by these terms? Among others was listed: Conservative (as applied to politics). (AIPO)

| | *Correct* | *Vague; doubtful* | *Incorrect* | *Don't know* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '40 | 40% | 11% | 17% | 32% | — |
| Feb '41 | 32 | 7 | 21 | 40 | — |
| May '45 | 27 | 22 | 10 | — | 41% |
| Feb '46 | 55 | 5 | 8 | — | 32 |
| Dec '46 | 50 | 12 | 4 | 34 | — |

**3.** (US July 3 '40) Do you think many voters pay attention to political platforms today? (AIPO)

Yes 27% No 73%

**4.** (US July 3 '40) Should the platform of a political party be drawn up by the convention or by the man nominated for President? (AIPO)

Convention 67% Nominee 33%

**5.** (US July 3 '40) If a candidate for President does not agree with some points in his party's platform should he be free to ignore these points and use his own ideas? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 40% |
| No | 34 |
| Don't know | 13 |
| Yes, qualified | 13 |

**6.** (US Feb 14 '41, Jan 23 '46, Feb 27 '46, Dec 31 '46) Please tell me in your own words what you consider a liberal in politics. (May 2 '45) Will you tell me briefly what is meant by these terms? Among others was listed: Liberal (as applied to politics). (AIPO)

| | *Correct* | *Incorrect* | *Vague; doubtful* | *Don't know; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '41 | 32% | 24% | 6% | 38% |
| May '45 | 24 | 11 | 22 | 43 |
| Feb '46 | 47 | 9 | 12 | 32 |
| Dec '46 | 50 | 6 | 9 | 35 |

JAN '46 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Spending; spares no expense; a spendthrift | 5% |
| Favors the working man; looks after the poor; social reforms | 13 |
| Progressive; stands for progress; accepts new ideas | 14 |
| Open-minded; tolerant; free-thinking; votes for man, not party | 17 |
| Stands for government control; socialization | 1 |
| Fanatic; radical; way to get votes; no good; Communist | 7 |
| Our government is liberal; all that democracy stands for | 2 |
| Has own ideas; stands pat | 1 |
| Following the New Deal | 1 |
| Like a Socialist | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| No answer; don't know | 36 |

**7.** (US Nov '43) It has been said that it is almost impossible for a man to stay honest if he goes into politics. Do you agree or disagree? (NORC)

Agree 48% Disagree 42% Don't know 10%

**8.** (US June '44) Leaving aside contributions of money, do you think it is all right or not all right for labor unions as organizations to put on a campaign themselves for the election of a particular national candidate? (FOR)

All right 39.5% Not all right 43.1% Don't know 17.4%

**9.** (US Feb 27 '46 and Dec 31 '46) Do you consider the following men to be liberal or conservative in their political views? In Feb. the question was asked only of those who had heard of each man. (AIPO)

| | *Liberal* | *Conservative* | *Not heard of* | *No opinion; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Dewey* | | | | |
| Feb '46 | 30% | 35% | 2% | 33% |
| Dec '46 | 20 | 42 | — | 38 |
| *Truman* | | | | |
| Feb '46 | 49 | 20 | 1 | 30 |
| Dec '46 | 31 | 38 | — | 31 |
| *Bricker* | | | | |
| Feb '46 | 16 | 28 | 14 | 42 |
| Dec '46 | 11 | 38 | — | 51 |
| *Stassen* | | | | |
| Feb '46 | 34 | 12 | 22 | 32 |
| Dec '46 | 32 | 17 | — | 51 |
| *Taft* | | | | |
| Feb '46 | 12 | 46 | 8 | 34 |
| Dec '46 | 12 | 47 | — | 41 |
| *Vandenberg* | | | | |
| Feb '46 | 21 | 25 | 16 | 38 |
| Dec '46 | 16 | 30 | — | 54 |
| *Wallace* | | | | |
| Feb '46 | 50 | 12 | 4 | 34 |
| Dec '46 | 53 | 8 | — | 39 |
| *MacArthur* | | | | |
| Dec '46 | 18 | 38 | — | 44 |
| *Lewis* | | | | |
| Dec '46 | 46 | 12 | — | 42 |
| *Eisenhower* | | | | |
| Dec '46 | 25 | 27 | — | 48 |
| *Warren* | | | | |
| Dec '46 | 16 | 17 | — | 67 |
| *Green* | | | | |
| Feb '46 | 33 | 16 | 16 | 35 |
| *Byrnes* | | | | |
| Feb '46 | 30 | 21 | 8 | 41 |
| *Saltonstall* | | | | |
| Feb '46 | 11 | 15 | 39 | 35 |
| *Douglas* | | | | |
| Feb '46 | 23 | 7 | 26 | 44 |

**10.** (US Dec 31 '46) Do you consider yourself to be a conservative or liberal in your political views? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Conservative | 37% |
| Liberal | 33 |
| No answer | 5 |
| No opinion | 25 |

## POPULATION

**1.** (US Dec 10 '40) The United States has a population of one hundred and thirty-two million people. About how many people do you think there are in Central and South America? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct | 18% |
| Below | 32 |
| Above | 12 |
| Don't know | 38 |

**2.** (US June 20 '42) Roughly speaking, about how many Negroes would you say there are in the United States? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Bad underestimate | 7% |
| Close underestimate | 6 |
| Pretty accurate | 8 |
| Close overestimate | 4 |
| Bad overestimate | 11 |
| Don't know | 64 |

**3.** (US July 14 '42) The population of the United States is about one hundred and thirty-four million. What would you guess is the population of Canada? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 1 million | * |
| 1–9 million | 5% |
| 10 million | 4 |
| 11 million | 2 |
| 12 million | 3 |
| 13–20 million | 9 |
| 21–30 million | 6 |
| 31–40 million | 5 |
| 41–50 million | 6 |
| 51–60 million | 3 |
| 61–70 million | 3 |
| 71–80 million | 4 |
| 81–90 million | 1 |
| 91–100 million | 4 |
| Over 100 million | 3 |
| No answer | 42 |

Median: 30,000,000

* Less than 0.5%.

**4.** (US Apr '44) Which of these figures do you think is closest to the size of the population of Japan proper (the home islands)? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| 50 million | 5.5% |
| 75 million | 13.9 |
| 90 million | 15.8 |
| 110 million | 19.3 |
| 125 million | 16.2 |
| Don't know | 29.3 |

**5.** (US Jan 31 '45) Will you tell me what the approximate population of the United States is? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 1 million | 1% |
| 1 million–49 million | 7 |
| 50 million–99 million | 6 |
| 100 million–119 million | 6 |
| 120 million–129 million | 6 |
| 130 million–133 million | 25 |
| 134 million–137 million | 7 |
| 138 million–140 million | 4 |
| 141 million–149 million | 1 |
| 150 million–199 million | 4 |
| 200 million and over | 6 |
| Don't know | 27 |

**6.** (US Jan 31 '45) What is the population of Russia—just your best guess? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 50 million | 6% |
| 50 million–99 million | 5 |
| 100 million–149 million | 6 |
| 150 million–169 million | 6 |
| 170 million–179 million | 3 |
| 180 million–189 million | 5 |
| 190 million–199 million | 2 |
| 200 million–249 million | 12 |
| 250 million–349 million | 10 |
| 350 million–499 million | 5 |
| 500 million and over | 5 |
| Don't know | 35 |

**7.** (Canada Feb 24 '45 and Oct 26 '46) Would you like to see Canada have a much larger population, or do you think the present population is just about right? (CIPO)

| | *Larger population* | *About right* | *Undecided* | *Qualified* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '45 | 65% | 21% | 9% | 5% |
| Oct '46 | 63 | 27 | 5 | 5 |

1946 RESULTS BY MILITARY STATUS

| | *Larger population* | *About right* | *Undecided* | *Qualified* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Veterans of World War I | 74% | 18% | 1% | 7% |
| Veterans of World War II | 75 | 18 | 2 | 5 |
| Civilians | 58 | 31 | 6 | 5 |

**8.** (Canada Oct 26 '46) When you say Canada needs a larger population, do you think we are more in need of farm workers or factory workers? Asked of 63% of the sample who felt that Canada should have a larger population. (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Farm workers | 28% |
| Factory workers | 4 |
| Both | 29 |
| Undecided | 2 |
| | 63% |

**9.** (Canada Feb 24 '45) Do you happen to know about what the population of Canada is today? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Between 11 and 12 million | 51% |
| Between 6 and 11 million | 13 |
| Less than 6 million | 1 |
| Over 12 million | 7 |
| Couldn't guess | 28 |

**10.** (US Aug 8 '45) Just making your best guess, what is the population of Nevada? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 100,000 | 12% |
| 100,000 and under 150,000 | 9 |
| 150,000 and under 500,000 | 15 |
| 500,000 and under 1,000,000 | 9 |
| 1,000,000 and over | 12 |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know | 43 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**11.** (Norway Dec 13 '46) How large is the population of Norway? Of Denmark? of Sweden? Of Finland? (NGI)

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| **NORWAY** | | | |
| Under 2 million | 3% | — | 6% |
| From 2 to 2¾ million | 6 | 4% | 7 |
| From 2¾ to 3 million | 58 | 71 | 46 |
| From 3¼ to 4 million | 19 | 20 | 19 |
| Over 4 million | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know | 13 | 4 | 21 |
| **DENMARK** | | | |
| Under 3 million | 4% | 3% | 4% |
| From 3 to 3¾ million | 19 | 23 | 15 |
| From 3¾ to 4¼ million | 22 | 29 | 16 |
| From 4¼ to 5 million | 15 | 18 | 12 |
| Over 5 million | 6 | 9 | 4 |
| Don't know | 34 | 18 | 49 |
| **SWEDEN** | | | |
| Under 5 million | 6% | 6% | 7% |
| From 5 to 6 million | 17 | 18 | 16 |
| From 6 to 7 million | 33 | 41 | 25 |
| From 7 to 8 million | 12 | 17 | 8 |
| Over 8 million | 3 | 5 | 1 |
| Don't know | 29 | 13 | 43 |
| **FINLAND** | | | |
| Under 3 million | 12% | 15% | 9% |
| From 3 to 3½ million | 16 | 19 | 13 |
| From 3½ to 4¼ million | 22 | 30 | 15 |
| From 4¼ to 5 million | 6 | 8 | 4 |
| Over 5 million | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Don't know | 42 | 25 | 57 |

## POPULATION, AGRICULTURAL

**1.** (US Aug '44) Which of these figures do you think comes closest to the right proportion of people in the United States now living on farms? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| About one-tenth | 25.5% |
| About one-quarter | 39.8 |
| About one-half | 14.4 |
| About three-quarters | 2.6 |
| Don't know | 17.7 |

## POSTAL SERVICE

**1.** (Germany Sept 3 '46) Have you received any letters from America since the international postal service has been reopened? (OMGUS)

Yes 8% No 92% No answer *

* Less than 0.5%.

### Rates

**1.** (Great Britain May '40) Do you think it was wise or unwise of Sir John Simon to increase the postage from 1½d to 2½d? (BIPO)

Wise 45% Unwise 47% Don't know 8%

## POSTERS

**1.** (US Feb 6 '43) In general, from what you have seen of them, would you say that the posters used in this war have been very good, only fairly good, or poor? 17% of the sample thought the posters had been only fairly good, and 5% thought them poor. These two groups were asked: What's been wrong with them? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Posters good | 56% |
| Don't know whether or not they are good | 22 |
| Lack interest, punch, impressiveness | 7 |
| Lack of point, directness, clarity | 3 |
| Biased; give wrong impression; wrong emphasis | 2 |
| Lack of informativeness | 1 |
| Morbid; gruesome; frightening | 1 |
| Lack visual appeal, artistic quality | 2 |
| Not enough of them to be effective | 2 |
| Too many of them to be effective | * |
| Dislike idea of posters as means of publicity | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Unfavorable comparisons with other media | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1% |
| Not ascertainable | 3 |
| | 101%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

# POULTRY

**1.** (US Mar 1 '44) Did you or your immediate family raise any chickens last year? (AIPO)

Yes 27% No 73%

**2.** (US Mar 1 '44) Are you raising any [chickens] this year? (AIPO)

Yes 27% No 73%

**3.** (US Mar 1 '44) Are you going to raise more or fewer chickens this year than last year? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who raised chickens last year and were raising them currently. (AIPO)

More 31% Same 53% Fewer 11% Don't know 5%

# PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

## Powers and Duties

**1.** (US Jan 18 '37) Should Congress give the President power to enlarge the Cabinet and reorganize government offices which would come under his supervision? (AIPO)

Yes 53% No 47% = 100% No opinion 20%

**2.** (US Jan 18 '37) Do you think such a change [allowing the President power to enlarge the Cabinet] is in line with the powers the founders of the Constitution meant the President to have? (AIPO)

Yes 37% No 63% = 100% No opinion 33%

**3.** (US Dec 23 '38) Should Congress give the President power to appoint six executive assistants with a salary of ten thousand dollars a year each? (AIPO)

Yes 18% No 82% = 100% No opinion 21%

**4.** (US Nov 19 '41) Can you think of anything that a President of the United States should do that President Roosevelt has not done or is not now doing? 38% of the sample who said they could think of something were asked: What? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Can't think of anything | 61% |
| Didn't say whether or not could think of something | 1 |
| Has not confided in people (Congress); not prepared country for war | 5 |
| Gone too far in foreign policy | 3 |
| Not gone far enough in foreign policy | 2 |
| Has not controlled labor adequately | 15 |
| Has not helped labor enough; should raise wages, help the poor | 2 |
| Should control wages and/or prices | 1 |
| Should curtail civil liberties, minorities, fifth columnists, isolationists, lynching | 1 |
| Unsound executive policies in executive affairs, finances, civil service, graft; amateurs in government; businessmen needed in government; should delegate more power | 6% |
| Miscellaneous adverse criticism from the right | 1 |
| Other criticisms | 3 |
| Didn't say what | 2 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**5.** (US Sept 3 '42) Some people say President Roosevelt has not been tough enough in dealing with heads of government departments concerned with the war effort. Do you agree or disagree? (AIPO)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 52% | 31% | 17% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republican | 58% | 25% | 17% |
| Democratic | 50 | 35 | 15 |

**6.** (US Jan 22 '45 and Jan 31 '45) If it becomes necessary to use force to keep Germany and Japan from arming again, should the President have the right to order the use of American armed force immediately, or should the approval of Congress be obtained first? The Jan 31 sample comprised two comparable cross-sections, the second of which was asked: If it becomes necessary to use force to keep Germany and Japan from arming again, should the President have the right to order the use of American armed force immediately without first obtaining the approval of Congress? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Give President the right* | *Require approval of Congress* | *No opinion; undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan 22 '45 | 41% | 54% | 5% |
| Jan 31 '45 | 38 | 51 | 11 |
| JAN 31 '45 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Roosevelt voters | 54% | 37% | 9% |
| Dewey voters | 23 | 69 | 8 |
| Others | 35 | 46 | 19 |

## Radio Addresses, Debates, etc.

**1.** (US Apr 19 '38) Did you hear President Roosevelt's recent fireside chat [Apr 14 '38] on government spending? (AIPO)

Yes 34% No 64% No answer 2%

**2.** (US Apr '39) Do you listen to President Roosevelt's fireside chats over the radio? (FOR)

| | *Usually* | *Sometimes* | *Never* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24.1% | 38.6% | 37.3% | = 100.0% |
| BY OPINIONS OF ROOSEVELT | | | | |
| Roosevelt, or man like him, essential | 27.4% | 15.2% | 16.2% | |
| Has made mistakes, but good outweighs bad | 50.8 | 45.6 | 30.8 | |
| Usefulness now over | 12.7 | 24.9 | 26.7 | |
| More of Roosevelt almost a calamity | 6.2 | 9.3 | 18.0 | |
| Don't know | 2.9 | 5.0 | 8.3 | |
| | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | |

**3.** (US Aug 22 '40) Wendell Willkie proposed that he and President Roosevelt hold a series of debates, both speaking

from the same platform. Do you think the President should accept this proposal? (AIPO)

| | *Should accept* | *Should not accept* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 51% | = 100% | 14% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Republican | 69% | 31% | | |
| Democratic | 28 | 72 | | |

**4.** (US Dec 31 '40) Did you happen to listen to President Roosevelt's radio speech Sunday night (Dec 29)? 59% of the sample had heard the speech, 16% had read about it in the newspaper, 1% had both heard and read it. These three groups were asked: In general, do you agree or disagree with the views he expressed? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't know about the speech | 24% |
| Agree with views | 61 |
| Disagree with views | 9 |
| No opinion on views expressed | 6 |

**5.** (US May 29 '41) Did you happen to listen on the radio to President Roosevelt's fireside chat Tuesday night (May 27)? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, part of it | 14% |
| Didn't listen but read it | 10 |
| No | 24 |
| Yes | 52 |

**6.** (US Jan 9 '42) Did you happen to listen to President Roosevelt's [State of the Union] speech to Congress last Tuesday? (NORC)

Yes 47.0% No 52.4% Don't know 0.6%

[Did you hear] All of it or only part of it? Asked of 47% of the sample who had listened to the speech.

All 50.4% Part 49.6% = 100.0% of the listeners

Non-listeners who had read the speech were asked: All of it or only part of it?

All of it 34.3% Only part of it 58.1%
Don't know 7.6% = 100.0% of those questioned

Did you read the speech? Asked of 52.4% of the sample who hadn't listened to it.

Yes 38.3% No 61.7% = 100% of the non-listeners

Those who had neither heard nor read the speech were asked: Have you heard anything or read anything at all about the speech?

Yes 50.0% No 50.0% = 100% of those questioned

What one thing in the speech pleased you most?

| | |
|---|---|
| Determination and assurance | 23.2% |
| Magnitude of production | 12.2 |
| Everything | 6.7 |
| Nothing | 4.1 |
| AEF | 3.7 |
| Others | 16.8 |
| Don't know | 33.3 |

What one thing in the speech surprised you most?

| | |
|---|---|
| Nothing | 19.9% |
| Amount of expenditure and taxes | 16.3 |
| Magnitude of production | 13.7 |
| AEF and offensive war | 7.7 |
| Others | 6.8 |
| Don't know | 35.6 |

What do you think was the most outstanding thing he said in the speech?

| | |
|---|---|
| Magnitude of war production | 12% |
| Determination and assurance | 11 |
| Amount of expenditure and taxes | 9 |
| AEF and offensive war | 5 |
| Others | 18 |
| All of it | 5 |
| Don't know | 40 |

Was there anything in the speech you didn't like?

Yes 11.0% No 80.7% Don't know 8.3%

Those who said there was something about the speech they didn't like were asked: What was it?

| | |
|---|---|
| Taxes and cost | 37.5% |
| AEF | 29.2 |
| Too positive and boasting | 8.3 |
| All of it | 2.1 |
| Other | 22.9 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned |

**7.** (US Mar 2 '42) Did you hear the President's last radio speech [that promised offensive but warned of future losses]—the one in which he asked people to have a map in front of them? 70% of the sample who said they had heard the speech were asked: All of it or just part of it? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't hear | 30% |
| Heard all | 50 |
| Heard part | 19 |
| Didn't say how much | 1 |

Did you read the President's last radio speech—the one in which he asked people to have a map in front of them? 30% of the sample who had read the speech were asked: The whole speech or just part of it? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't read | 69% |
| Didn't say whether or not read | 1 |
| Read whole | 13 |
| Read part | 17 |

**8.** (US Sept 9 '42) Did you hear the President's speech [about need for price control] over the radio last Monday night? (NORC)

Yes 53% No 47%

Did you read any newspaper stories or hear any radio broadcasters talk about the President's speech?

Yes 54% No 46%

Did you read the President's speech itself in the papers?

Yes 23% No 77%

As a whole, did you approve of what the President said or not?

| | |
|---|---|
| Approved | 63% |
| Did not approve | 5 |
| Didn't know about the speech | 26 |
| Don't know | 6 |

What one thing in the President's speech impressed you most?

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't know about the speech | 26% |
| If Congress fails to act, the President will act himself, etc. | 14 |
| Other answers implying promise of immediate action | 3 |
| Ring of dictatorship in threat to Congress | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Control of wages and farm prices | 5% |
| Regulation of wages and labor | 5 |
| Regulation of farm prices | 6 |
| Dangers of inflation | 6 |
| Other mention of anti-inflation program | 2 |
| War aspects of speech | 10 |
| Miscellaneous aspects of speech | 4 |
| Not ascertainable | 19 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

Was there anything in particular in the speech that you didn't like? 14% of the sample said there were some things they didn't like. This group was asked: What didn't you like about it?

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't know about the speech | 26% |
| Disliked nothing | 60 |
| Disliked dictatorship attitude | 6 |
| Lack of strong action on wage stabilization | 3 |
| Criticism of farm-price freezing | 1 |
| Miscellaneous criticisms | 3 |
| Didn't say what disliked | 1 |

**9.** (US Sept 24 '42) Did you hear the President's last big radio speech—the one in which he asked Congress to pass laws to keep the cost of living down? 46% of the sample who said they had heard the speech were asked: All of it or just part of it? 53% of the sample who had not heard the speech were asked: Did you read anything or hear anything at all about it? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't say whether or not heard the speech | 1% |
| Heard it all | 29 |
| Heard part | 16 |
| Didn't say how much heard | 1 |
| Read it or heard about it | 27 |
| Didn't hear or read anything about it | 25 |
| Didn't say whether or not read it | 1 |

Was there anything in particular about the [cost of living] speech that you didn't like? 10% of the sample who said there was something they didn't like were asked: What was it?

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't know about the speech | 27% |
| Disliked nothing in particular | 55 |
| Didn't know or didn't say whether or not disliked something | 8 |
| Didn't like the way he handled Congress | 5 |
| Criticized the anti-inflation program | 4 |
| Miscellaneous specific criticisms | 1 |
| General criticisms | 2 |
| Didn't say what disliked | 1 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**10.** (US Oct 21 '42) Did you hear the President's last big radio speech—the one in which he talked about his trip around the country and the need for more workers on farms and in war plants? 52% of the sample who had heard the speech were asked: All of it or just part of it? 47% who had not heard the speech were asked: Did you read anything or hear anything about it? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't say whether or not had heard speech | 1% |
| Heard all of it | 36 |
| Heard part of it | 16 |
| Read or heard about it | 26 |
| Didn't read or hear anything about it | 20 |
| Didn't say whether or not read or heard | 1 |

**11.** (US Jan 11 '43) Did you hear the President's radio speech [which assured allied victory and freedom from want in post-war America] to Congress last Thursday? 39% of the sample who said they had heard the speech were asked: All of it or just part of it? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't hear any | 61% |
| Heard all | 19 |
| Heard part | 19 |
| Didn't say how much heard | 1 |
| Didn't know whether or not had heard | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

Did you read the speech or hear any talk about it?

Yes 50% No 48% Don't know 2%

What things in the speech did you like most?

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't know about speech | 34% |
| Possibility that war will be over soon | 10 |
| Encouraging facts about production | 7 |
| Statements that we have passed defensive stage | 6 |
| Generally encouraging tone of speech—gave people confidence | 3 |
| Measures for ensuring permanent peace | 5 |
| Social security | 5 |
| Need for postwar planning now | 1 |
| Miscellaneous dealing with plans for peace and postwar world | 1 |
| Emphasis on need for unity | 2 |
| Attitude of cooperation with Congress | 2 |
| Any reference to budget message | 2 |
| Food situation | 1 |
| Liked everything in the speech | 6 |
| Nothing | 3 |
| Other miscellaneous answers | 6 |
| Not ascertainable | 18 |
| | 112%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

Was there anything particular in the speech you did not like? 7% of the sample who said there was something they had not liked were asked: What?

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't know about speech | 34% |
| Disliked nothing in particular | 53 |
| Didn't know whether or not disliked something | 6 |
| Disliked reference to budget message | 2 |
| Plans too vague | 1 |
| Miscellaneous post-war | 1 |
| Miscellaneous or didn't say what disliked | 3 |

# PRESIDENTS

## U.S.

**1.** (US July 19 '37 and Mar 8 '38) Do you think the President of the United States should have more power or less power than he has now? (AIPO)

| | *More* | *Less* | *About same* |
|---|---|---|---|
| July '37 | 18% | 35% | 47% |
| Mar '38 | 17 | 42 | 41 |

| | *More* | *Less* | *About same* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| *Republican* | | | |
| July '37 | 3% | 71% | 26% |
| Mar '38 | 3 | 75 | 22 |
| *Democratic* | | | |
| July '37 | 27 | 16 | 57 |
| Mar '38 | 25 | 25 | 50 |
| JULY '37 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Average-plus | 8% | 52% | 40% |
| Average | 12 | 40 | 48 |
| Poor-plus | 17 | 32 | 51 |
| Poor | 25 | 27 | 48 |
| On relief | 39 | 21 | 40 |
| MAR '38 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 8% | 62% | 30% |
| Middle income | 14 | 43 | 43 |
| Lower income | 27 | 30 | 43 |

**2.** (US Feb 26 '38) Do you believe the President of the United States should have the power of a dictator over the country in time of war? (AIPO)

Yes 31% No 61% No opinion 8%

**3.** (US July 8 '39) Generally speaking, what do you think is the youngest age at which a man should become President of the United States? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 20–29 years | 1.8% |
| 30–39 years | 28.5 |
| 40 years | 28.2 |
| 41–49 years | 22.5 |
| 50 years and over | 19.0 |

Median 40 years

**4.** (US July 8 '39) At what age do you think a man becomes too old for the presidency? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 30–59 years | 9.1% |
| 60–64 years | 26.4 |
| 65 years | 29.6 |
| 66–70 years | 25.2 |
| 71–80 years | 9.7 |

Median 65 years

**5.** (US Dec 28 '44) A bill has been introduced in Congress to increase the salary of the President of the United States from $75,000, which he now receives, to $100,000 a year. Do you approve or disapprove of this increase? (AIPO)

Approve 25% Disapprove 66% No opinion 9%

**6.** (Canada May 9 '45) Do you happen to know who is President of the United States? 88% of the sample who named Harry Truman were asked: Do you know whether he is a Republican or Democrat? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Named wrong man | 1% |
| Didn't know who was President | 11 |
| Truman a Republican | 6 |
| Truman a Democrat | 62 |
| Couldn't name Truman's party | 20 |

**7.** (US June 27 '45) President Truman has suggested that the Speaker of the House of Representatives instead of the Secretary of State should become President if the President and Vice-President both die. Would you favor or oppose this change? (AIPO)

Favor 45% Oppose 26% No opinion 29%

**8.** (US June 27 '45) A cross-section comparable to that used for the preceding question was asked: When a President of the United States dies, the Vice-President becomes President. If he dies, the Secretary of State becomes President. It has been suggested that this order be changed. Which of the following plans do you favor for the time until an election can be held? Each respondent was handed a card with the various plans on it. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| The present order should be kept, with the Secretary of State becoming President in the event that both the President and Vice-President die | 47% |
| The present order should be changed so that the Speaker of the House will be next in order after the Vice-President | 20 |
| The electoral college, elected at the last presidential election, should meet again and vote for a new President | 18 |
| No opinion | 15 |

**9.** (US June 27 '45) If the President and Vice-President both die early in their term, should a special national election be held, or should we wait until the next regular election to elect a new President and Vice-President? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hold special election | 44% |
| Wait for regular | 45 |
| No opinion | 11 |

**10.** (US July 12 '45) It has been suggested that after a United States President has finished his term he automatically be given a seat and a vote in the United States Senate for as long as he wishes. Do you approve or disapprove of this? (AIPO)

Approve 34% Disapprove 53% No opinion 13%

**11.** (US July 12 '45) It has been suggested that after a United States President has finished his term he automatically be given a seat and a vote in the United States House of Representatives for as long as he wishes. Do you approve or disapprove of this? (AIPO)

Approve 38% Disapprove 48% No opinion 14%

**12.** (US Jan 3 '46) Which of these four United States Presidents do you think was the greatest—Washington, Lincoln, Wilson, F. D. Roosevelt? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with the names in the following order: Roosevelt, Wilson, Lincoln, Washington? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Washington | 15% |
| Lincoln | 37 |
| Wilson | 5 |
| F. D. Roosevelt | 39 |
| Don't know | 4 |

## U.S. (Election 1936)

**1.** (US Oct 12 '35) Which one of the following candidates for the presidency in 1936, on the Republican ticket, do you believe would make the best run? (AIPO)

| | *Borah* | *Landon* | *Hoover* | *Knox* | *Vandenberg* | *Mills* | *Dickinson* | *Others* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Republican | 42% | 24% | 13% | 9% | 5% | 4% | 1% | 2% |
| Democratic | 65 | 9 | 11 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 2 |

**2.** (US Release dates listed below) For which candidate would you vote today? (AIPO)

THE NATIONAL VOTE

| | *Democratic (Roosevelt)* | *Republican (Landon)* | *Third Party (Lemke)* | *Socialist (Thomas)* | *Other* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan 19 '36 | 50.3% | 43.0% | 4.6% | 2.1% | — |
| Mar 15 '36 | 51.1 | 43.4 | 3.7 | 1.8 | — |
| June 7 '36 | 53.5 | 42.2 | 1.8 | 2.5 | — |
| Aug 9 '36 | 49.3 | 44.8 | 3.4 | 1.5 | 1.0% |
| Sept 6 '36 | 49.3 | 44.3 | 5.0 | 1.1 | 0.3 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 49.5 | 44.6 | 4.7 | 1.1 | 0.1 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 50.3 | 44.2 | 4.3 | 1.0 | 0.2 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 51.4 | 43.8 | 3.6 | 1.0 | 0.2 |
| Nov 1 '36 | 53.8 | 42.8 | 2.2 | 0.9 | 0.3 |

THE MAJOR PARTY VOTE

| | *Democratic (Roosevelt)* | *Republican (Landon)* |
|---|---|---|
| Oct 27 '35 | 53% | 47% |
| Nov 24 '35 | 53 | 47 |
| Dec 22 '35 | 52.6 | 47.4 |
| Jan 19 '36 | 53.9 | 46.1 |
| Feb 16 '36 | 53.9 | 46.1 |
| Mar 15 '36 | 54.1 | 45.9 |
| Apr 12 '36 | 54.5 | 45.5 |
| May 10 '36 | 54.9 | 45.1 |
| June 7 '36 | 55.8 | 44.2 |
| July 12 '36 | 51.8 | 48.2 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 52.4 | 47.6 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 52.5 | 47.5 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 52.6 | 47.4 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 52.6 | 47.4 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 53.2 | 46.8 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 54 | 46 |
| Nov 1 '36 | 55.7 | 44.3 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE OCT 27 '35 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 38% | 62% |
| Middle Atlantic | 46 | 54 |
| East central | 51 | 49 |
| West central | 56 | 44 |
| South | 70 | 30 |
| Mountain | 65 | 35 |
| Pacific coast | 56 | 44 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE MAY '36 BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Farms | 53.5% | 46.5% |
| Small towns | 49 | 51 |
| Big cities | 61 | 39 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE OCT 4 '36 BY RELIGION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Roman Catholic | 78% | 22% |
| Baptist | 54 | 46 |
| Jewish | 82 | 18 |
| Methodist | 43 | 57 |
| Lutheran | 46 | 54 |
| Presbyterian | 37 | 63 |
| Episcopalian | 37 | 63 |
| Congregationalist | 22 | 78 |
| Reformed Church | 28 | 72 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE OCT 18 '36 BY AGE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 21–24 years | 60% | 40% |
| 25–34 years | 63 | 37 |
| 35–44 years | 58 | 42 |
| 45–54 years | 52 | 48 |
| 55 years and over | 43 | 57 |

| | *Democratic (Roosevelt)* | *Republican (Landon)* |
|---|---|---|

MAJOR PARTY VOTE OCT 18 '36 BY SELECTED GROUPS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Labor | 72% | 28% |
| Veterans | 52 | 48 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN ALABAMA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 74% | 26% |
| Jan '36 | 76 | 24 |
| Feb '36 | 77 | 23 |
| Mar '36 | 78 | 22 |
| Apr '36 | 80 | 20 |
| May '36 | 82 | 18 |
| June '36 | 81 | 19 |
| July '36 | 82 | 18 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 81 | 19 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 80 | 20 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 80 | 20 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 81 | 19 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 82 | 18 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 83 | 17 |
| Nov '36 | 83 | 17 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN ARIZONA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 65% | 35% |
| Jan '36 | 62 | 38 |
| Feb '36 | 63 | 37 |
| Mar '36 | 61 | 39 |
| Apr '36 | 59 | 41 |
| May '36 | 59 | 41 |
| June '36 | 60 | 40 |
| July '36 | 65 | 35 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 63 | 37 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 58 | 42 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 55 | 45 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 57 | 43 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 57 | 43 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 57 | 43 |
| Nov '36 | 58 | 42 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN ARKANSAS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 71% | 29% |
| Jan '36 | 74 | 26 |
| Feb '36 | 73 | 27 |
| Mar '36 | 73 | 27 |
| Apr '36 | 75 | 25 |
| May '36 | 75 | 25 |
| June '36 | 76 | 24 |
| July '36 | 76 | 24 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 76 | 24 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 78 | 22 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 80 | 20 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 79 | 21 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 79 | 21 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 79 | 21 |
| Nov '36 | 81 | 19 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN CALIFORNIA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 59% | 41% |
| Jan '36 | 58 | 42 |
| Feb '36 | 57 | 43 |
| Mar '36 | 57 | 43 |
| Apr '36 | 58 | 42 |
| May '36 | 59 | 41 |
| June '36 | 60 | 40 |
| July '36 | 61 | 39 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 59 | 41 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 60 | 40 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 60 | 40 |

| | *Democratic (Roosevelt)* | *Republican (Landon)* |
|---|---|---|
| Sept 20 '36 | 59% | 41% |
| Oct 4 '36 | 59 | 41 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 59 | 41 |
| Nov '36 | 59 | 41 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN COLORADO

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 52% | 48% |
| Jan '36 | 50 | 50 |
| Feb '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Mar '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Apr '36 | 48 | 52 |
| May '36 | 49 | 51 |
| June '36 | 50 | 50 |
| July '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 51 | 49 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 51 | 49 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 50− | 50+ |
| Sept 20 '36 | 51 | 49 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 53 | 47 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 55 | 45 |
| Nov '36 | 55 | 45 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN CONNECTICUT

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 44% | 56% |
| Jan '36 | 46 | 54 |
| Feb '36 | 47 | 53 |
| Mar '36 | 47 | 53 |
| Apr '36 | 47 | 53 |
| May '36 | 48 | 52 |
| June '36 | 48 | 52 |
| July '36 | 42 | 58 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 42 | 58 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 43 | 57 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 42 | 58 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 43 | 57 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 43 | 57 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 46 | 54 |
| Nov '36 | 50 | 50 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN DELAWARE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 49% | 51% |
| Jan '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Feb '36 | 46 | 54 |
| Mar '36 | 44 | 56 |
| Apr '36 | 42 | 58 |
| May '36 | 43 | 57 |
| June '36 | 45 | 55 |
| July '36 | 46 | 54 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 46 | 54 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 53 | 47 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 53 | 47 |
| Nov '36 | 53 | 47 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN FLORIDA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 68% | 32% |
| Jan '36 | 66 | 34 |
| Feb '36 | 67 | 33 |
| Mar '36 | 69 | 31 |
| Apr '36 | 71 | 29 |
| May '36 | 72 | 28 |
| June '36 | 72 | 28 |
| July '36 | 61 | 39 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 65 | 35 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 67 | 33 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 67% | 33% |
| Sept 20 '36 | 64 | 36 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 69 | 31 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 67 | 33 |
| Nov '36 | 69 | 31 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN GEORGIA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 81% | 19% |
| Jan '36 | 83 | 17 |
| Feb '36 | 84 | 16 |
| Mar '36 | 85 | 15 |
| Apr '36 | 86 | 14 |
| May '36 | 86 | 14 |
| June '36 | 86 | 14 |
| July '36 | 83 | 17 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 82 | 18 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 79 | 21 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 79 | 21 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 78 | 22 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 83 | 17 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 85 | 15 |
| Nov '36 | 84 | 16 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN IDAHO

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 54% | 46% |
| Jan '36 | 55 | 45 |
| Feb '36 | 55 | 45 |
| Mar '36 | 54 | 46 |
| Apr '36 | 54 | 46 |
| May '36 | 53 | 47 |
| June '36 | 52 | 48 |
| July '36 | 56 | 44 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 52 | 48 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 52 | 48 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 52 | 48 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 56 | 44 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 59 | 41 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 59 | 41 |
| Nov '36 | 61 | 39 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN ILLINOIS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 48% | 52% |
| Jan '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Feb '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Mar '36 | 50 | 50 |
| Apr '36 | 49 | 51 |
| May '36 | 49 | 51 |
| June '36 | 50 | 50 |
| July '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 50− | 50+ |
| Aug 23 '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Nov '36 | 51 | 49 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN INDIANA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 49% | 51% |
| Jan '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Feb '36 | 50 | 50 |
| Mar '36 | 51 | 49 |
| Apr '36 | 51 | 49 |
| May '36 | 52 | 48 |
| June '36 | 53 | 47 |
| July '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 48 | 52 |

| | *Democratic (Roosevelt)* | *Republican (Landon)* |
|---|---|---|
| Aug 23 '36 | 48% | 52% |
| Sept 6 '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 50− | 50+ |
| Oct 4 '36 | 50− | 50+ |
| Oct 18 '36 | 52 | 48 |
| Nov '36 | 52 | 48 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN IOWA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 55% | 45% |
| Jan '36 | 56 | 44 |
| Feb '36 | 56 | 44 |
| Mar '36 | 55 | 45 |
| Apr '36 | 53 | 47 |
| May '36 | 52 | 48 |
| June '36 | 51 | 49 |
| July '36 | 46 | 54 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 47 | 53 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 47 | 53 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 50− | 50+ |
| Oct 18 '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Nov '36 | 51 | 49 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN KANSAS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 53% | 47% |
| Jan '36 | 52 | 48 |
| Feb '36 | 51 | 49 |
| Mar '36 | 50 | 50 |
| Apr '36 | 49 | 51 |
| May '36 | 48 | 52 |
| June '36 | 47 | 53 |
| July '36 | 38 | 62 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 41 | 59 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 42 | 58 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 41 | 59 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 42 | 58 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 43 | 57 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 43 | 57 |
| Nov '36 | 48 | 52 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN KENTUCKY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 56% | 44% |
| Jan '36 | 57 | 43 |
| Feb '36 | 58 | 42 |
| Mar '36 | 59 | 41 |
| Apr '36 | 61 | 39 |
| May '36 | 62 | 38 |
| June '36 | 62 | 38 |
| July '36 | 56 | 44 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 58 | 42 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 61 | 39 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 60 | 40 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 60 | 40 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 60 | 40 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 60 | 40 |
| Nov '36 | 60 | 40 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN LOUISIANA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 84% | 16% |
| Jan '36 | 80 | 20 |
| Feb '36 | 78 | 22 |
| Mar '36 | 78 | 22 |
| Apr '36 | 80 | 20 |
| May '36 | 80 | 20 |
| June '36 | 79 | 21 |
| July '36 | 78 | 22 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 78% | 22% |
| Aug 23 '36 | 77 | 23 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 76 | 24 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 75 | 25 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 80 | 20 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 80 | 20 |
| Nov '36 | 83 | 17 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN MAINE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 39% | 61% |
| Jan '36 | 36 | 64 |
| Feb '36 | 35 | 65 |
| Mar '36 | 33 | 67 |
| Apr '36 | 33 | 67 |
| May '36 | 32 | 68 |
| June '36 | 32 | 68 |
| July '36 | 30 | 70 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 29 | 71 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 34 | 66 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 33 | 67 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 33 | 67 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 34 | 66 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 35 | 65 |
| Nov '36 | 38 | 62 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN MARYLAND

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 48% | 52% |
| Jan '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Feb '36 | 51 | 49 |
| Mar '36 | 51 | 49 |
| Apr '36 | 51 | 49 |
| May '36 | 51 | 49 |
| June '36 | 52 | 48 |
| July '36 | 53 | 47 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 54 | 46 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 54 | 46 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 54 | 46 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 55 | 45 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 56 | 44 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 57 | 43 |
| Nov '36 | 60 | 40 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN MASSACHUSETTS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 47% | 53% |
| Jan '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Feb '36 | 47 | 53 |
| Mar '36 | 46 | 54 |
| Apr '36 | 45 | 55 |
| May '36 | 45 | 55 |
| June '36 | 46 | 54 |
| July '36 | 44 | 56 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 41 | 59 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 40 | 60 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 42 | 58 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 45 | 55 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 47 | 53 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 46 | 54 |
| Nov '36 | 48 | 52 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN MICHIGAN

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 52% | 48% |
| Jan '36 | 50 | 50 |
| Feb '36 | 50 | 50 |
| Mar '36 | 50 | 50 |
| Apr '36 | 52 | 48 |
| May '36 | 53 | 47 |
| June '36 | 53 | 47 |

| | *Democratic (Roosevelt)* | *Republican (Landon)* |
|---|---|---|
| July '36 | 51% | 49% |
| Aug 9 '36 | 50− | 50+ |
| Aug 23 '36 | 51 | 49 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 50− | 50+ |
| Sept 20 '36 | 51 | 49 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 52 | 48 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 52 | 48 |
| Nov '36 | 51 | 49 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN MINNESOTA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 52% | 48% |
| Jan '36 | 51 | 49 |
| Feb '36 | 52 | 48 |
| Mar '36 | 54 | 46 |
| Apr '36 | 53 | 47 |
| May '36 | 54 | 46 |
| June '36 | 55 | 45 |
| July '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 50− | 50+ |
| Sept 20 '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 51 | 49 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 53 | 47 |
| Nov '36 | 54 | 46 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN MISSISSIPPI

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 88% | 12% |
| Jan '36 | 89 | 11 |
| Feb '36 | 90 | 10 |
| Mar '36 | 91 | 9 |
| Apr '36 | 92 | 8 |
| May '36 | 91 | 9 |
| June '36 | 91 | 9 |
| July '36 | 89 | 11 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 90 | 10 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 91 | 9 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 92 | 8 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 92 | 8 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 91 | 9 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 92 | 8 |
| Nov '36 | 95 | 5 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN MISSOURI

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 56% | 44% |
| Jan '36 | 57 | 43 |
| Feb '36 | 58 | 42 |
| Mar '36 | 57 | 43 |
| Apr '36 | 57 | 43 |
| May '36 | 56 | 44 |
| June '36 | 57 | 43 |
| July '36 | 56 | 44 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 56 | 44 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 57 | 43 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 55 | 45 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 54 | 46 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 55 | 45 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 55 | 45 |
| Nov '36 | 57 | 43 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN MONTANA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 58% | 42% |
| Jan '36 | 61 | 39 |
| Feb '36 | 59 | 41 |
| Mar '36 | 57 | 43 |
| Apr '36 | 58 | 42 |
| May '36 | 59 | 41 |
| June '36 | 59% | 41% |
| July '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 53 | 47 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 58 | 42 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 58 | 42 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 58 | 42 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 57 | 43 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 57 | 43 |
| Nov '36 | 61 | 39 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN NEBRASKA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 54% | 46% |
| Jan '36 | 54 | 46 |
| Feb '36 | 54 | 46 |
| Mar '36 | 54 | 46 |
| Apr '36 | 53 | 47 |
| May '36 | 52 | 48 |
| June '36 | 52 | 48 |
| July '36 | 43 | 57 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 46 | 54 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 45 | 55 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 52 | 48 |
| Nov '36 | 53 | 47 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN NEVADA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 58% | 42% |
| Jan '36 | 61 | 39 |
| Feb '36 | 60 | 40 |
| Mar '36 | 58 | 42 |
| Apr '36 | 57 | 43 |
| May '36 | 57 | 43 |
| June '36 | 59 | 41 |
| July '36 | 58 | 42 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 61 | 39 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 64 | 36 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 66 | 34 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 63 | 37 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 63 | 37 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 64 | 36 |
| Nov '36 | 67 | 33 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 46% | 54% |
| Jan '36 | 43 | 57 |
| Feb '36 | 43 | 57 |
| Mar '36 | 43 | 57 |
| Apr '36 | 42 | 58 |
| May '36 | 40 | 60 |
| June '36 | 38 | 62 |
| July '36 | 37 | 63 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 42 | 58 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 42 | 58 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 45 | 55 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 42 | 58 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 42 | 58 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 45 | 55 |
| Nov '36 | 44 | 56 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN NEW JERSEY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 48% | 52% |
| Jan '36 | 46 | 54 |
| Feb '36 | 47 | 53 |
| Mar '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Apr '36 | 50 | 50 |

| | *Democratic (Roosevelt)* | *Republican (Landon)* |
|---|---|---|
| May '36 | 51% | 49% |
| June '36 | 51 | 49 |
| July '36 | 46 | 54 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 46 | 54 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 47 | 53 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 52 | 48 |
| Nov '36 | 51 | 49 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN NEW MEXICO

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 54% | 46% |
| Jan '36 | 59 | 41 |
| Feb '36 | 59 | 41 |
| Mar '36 | 58 | 42 |
| Apr '36 | 60 | 40 |
| May '36 | 62 | 38 |
| June '36 | 63 | 37 |
| July '36 | 60 | 40 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 56 | 44 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 59 | 41 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 59 | 41 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 57 | 43 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 56 | 44 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 58 | 42 |
| Nov '36 | 60 | 40 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN NEW YORK

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 50% | 50% |
| Jan '36 | 50 | 50 |
| Feb '36 | 50 | 50 |
| Mar '36 | 51 | 49 |
| Apr '36 | 52 | 48 |
| May '36 | 53 | 47 |
| June '36 | 53 | 47 |
| July '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 50− | 50+ |
| Oct 18 '36 | 52 | 48 |
| Nov '36 | 54 | 46 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN NORTH CAROLINA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 70% | 30% |
| Jan '36 | 70 | 30 |
| Feb '36 | 69 | 31 |
| Mar '36 | 68 | 32 |
| Apr '36 | 70 | 30 |
| May '36 | 72 | 28 |
| June '36 | 73 | 27 |
| July '36 | 69 | 31 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 68 | 32 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 68 | 32 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 65 | 35 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 64 | 36 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 65 | 35 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 66 | 34 |
| Nov '36 | 70 | 30 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN NORTH DAKOTA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 57% | 43% |
| Jan '36 | 56 | 44 |
| Feb '36 | 57 | 43 |
| Mar '36 | 60 | 40 |
| Apr '36 | 63% | 37% |
| May '36 | 61 | 39 |
| June '36 | 59 | 41 |
| July '36 | 57 | 43 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 62 | 38 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 63 | 37 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 63 | 37 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 63 | 37 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 63 | 37 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 63 | 37 |
| Nov '36 | 64 | 36 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN OHIO

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 47% | 53% |
| Jan '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Feb '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Mar '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Apr '36 | 49 | 51 |
| May '36 | 50 | 50 |
| June '36 | 51 | 49 |
| July '36 | 47 | 53 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 50− | 50+ |
| Sept 6 '36 | 51 | 49 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 51 | 49 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 51 | 49 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 52 | 48 |
| Nov '36 | 52 | 48 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN OKLAHOMA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 61% | 39% |
| Jan '36 | 60 | 40 |
| Feb '36 | 61 | 39 |
| Mar '36 | 63 | 37 |
| Apr '36 | 62 | 38 |
| May '36 | 61 | 39 |
| June '36 | 61 | 39 |
| July '36 | 59 | 41 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 59 | 41 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 59 | 41 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 60 | 40 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 58 | 42 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 58 | 42 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 59 | 41 |
| Nov '36 | 64 | 36 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN OREGON

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 53% | 47% |
| Jan '36 | 55 | 45 |
| Feb '36 | 57 | 43 |
| Mar '36 | 58 | 42 |
| Apr '36 | 57 | 43 |
| May '36 | 58 | 42 |
| June '36 | 59 | 41 |
| July '36 | 55 | 45 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 56 | 44 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 53 | 47 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 55 | 45 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 57 | 43 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 60 | 40 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 63 | 37 |
| Nov '36 | 61 | 39 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN PENNSYLVANIA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 43% | 57% |
| Jan '36 | 45 | 55 |
| Feb '36 | 46 | 54 |

| | *Democratic (Roosevelt)* | *Republican (Landon)* |
|---|---|---|
| Mar '36 | 46% | 54% |
| Apr '36 | 46 | 54 |
| May '36 | 46 | 54 |
| June '36 | 47 | 53 |
| July '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 47 | 53 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Nov '36 | 51 | 49 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN RHODE ISLAND

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 41% | 59% |
| Jan '36 | 45 | 55 |
| Feb '36 | 46 | 54 |
| Mar '36 | 44 | 56 |
| Apr '36 | 44 | 56 |
| May '36 | 44 | 56 |
| June '36 | 45 | 55 |
| July '36 | 45 | 55 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 47 | 53 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 47 | 53 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 47 | 53 |
| Nov '36 | 50 | 50 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN SOUTH CAROLINA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 85% | 15% |
| Jan '36 | 87 | 13 |
| Feb '36 | 88 | 12 |
| Mar '36 | 89 | 11 |
| Apr '36 | 90 | 10 |
| May '36 | 90 | 10 |
| June '36 | 91 | 9 |
| July '36 | 86 | 14 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 86 | 14 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 86 | 14 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 88 | 12 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 88 | 12 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 92 | 8 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 92 | 8 |
| Nov '36 | 94 | 6 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN SOUTH DAKOTA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 56% | 44% |
| Jan '36 | 53 | 47 |
| Feb '36 | 52 | 48 |
| Mar '36 | 54 | 46 |
| Apr '36 | 53 | 47 |
| May '36 | 52 | 48 |
| June '36 | 52 | 48 |
| July '36 | 44 | 56 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 46 | 54 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 46 | 54 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 46 | 54 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 46 | 54 |
| Nov '36 | 48 | 52 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN TENNESSEE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 65% | 35% |
| Jan '36 | 67 | 33 |
| Feb '36 | 67% | 33% |
| Mar '36 | 68 | 32 |
| Apr '36 | 67 | 33 |
| May '36 | 66 | 34 |
| June '36 | 66 | 34 |
| July '36 | 66 | 34 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 63 | 37 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 63 | 37 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 63 | 37 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 66 | 34 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 66 | 34 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 69 | 31 |
| Nov '36 | 70 | 30 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN TEXAS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 79% | 21% |
| Jan '36 | 79 | 21 |
| Feb '36 | 80 | 20 |
| Mar '36 | 81 | 19 |
| Apr '36 | 81 | 19 |
| May '36 | 80 | 20 |
| June '36 | 80 | 20 |
| July '36 | 77 | 23 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 79 | 21 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 80 | 20 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 80 | 20 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 81 | 19 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 80 | 20 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 81 | 19 |
| Nov '36 | 82 | 18 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN UTAH

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 59% | 41% |
| Jan '36 | 61 | 39 |
| Feb '36 | 64 | 36 |
| Mar '36 | 66 | 34 |
| Apr '36 | 64 | 36 |
| May '36 | 63 | 37 |
| June '36 | 63 | 37 |
| July '36 | 62 | 38 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 64 | 36 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 63 | 37 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 64 | 36 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 63 | 37 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 63 | 37 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 61 | 39 |
| Nov '36 | 65 | 35 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN VERMONT

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 41% | 59% |
| Jan '36 | 37 | 63 |
| Feb '36 | 39 | 61 |
| Mar '36 | 39 | 61 |
| Apr '36 | 41 | 59 |
| May '36 | 42 | 58 |
| June '36 | 43 | 57 |
| July '36 | 32 | 68 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 30 | 70 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 32 | 68 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 35 | 65 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 37 | 63 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 37 | 63 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 36 | 64 |
| Nov '36 | 39 | 61 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN VIRGINIA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 66% | 34% |
| Jan '36 | 67 | 33 |

| | *Democratic (Roosevelt)* | *Republican (Landon)* |
|---|---|---|
| Feb '36 | 68% | 32% |
| Mar '36 | 70 | 30 |
| Apr '36 | 68 | 32 |
| May '36 | 66 | 34 |
| June '36 | 66 | 34 |
| July '36 | 59 | 41 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 63 | 37 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 66 | 34 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 67 | 33 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 64 | 36 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 62 | 38 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 64 | 36 |
| Nov '36 | 68 | 32 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN WASHINGTON

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 56% | 44% |
| Jan '36 | 56 | 44 |
| Feb '36 | 57 | 43 |
| Mar '36 | 56 | 44 |
| Apr '36 | 55 | 45 |
| May '36 | 57 | 43 |
| June '36 | 59 | 41 |
| July '36 | 56 | 44 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 58 | 42 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 54 | 46 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 53 | 47 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 54 | 46 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 55 | 45 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 57 | 43 |
| Nov '36 | 61 | 39 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN WEST VIRGINIA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 48% | 52% |
| Jan '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Feb '36 | 51 | 49 |
| Mar '36 | 52 | 48 |
| Apr '36 | 54 | 46 |
| May '36 | 54 | 46 |
| June '36 | 53 | 47 |
| July '36 | 46 | 54 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 51 | 49 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 51 | 49 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 51 | 49 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 49 | 51 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 50− | 50+ |
| Oct 18 '36 | 50− | 50+ |
| Nov '36 | 52 | 48 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN WISCONSIN

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 54% | 46% |
| Jan '36 | 52 | 48 |
| Feb '36 | 53 | 47 |
| Mar '36 | 55 | 45 |
| Apr '36 | 56 | 44 |
| May '36 | 55 | 45 |
| June '36 | 56 | 44 |
| July '36 | 54 | 46 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 55 | 45 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 53 | 47 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 53 | 47 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 52 | 48 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 52 | 48 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 55 | 45 |
| Nov '36 | 57 | 43 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN WYOMING

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dec '35 | 53% | 47% |
| Jan '36 | 52 | 48 |
| Feb '36 | 51% | 49% |
| Mar '36 | 50 | 50 |
| Apr '36 | 51 | 49 |
| May '36 | 53 | 47 |
| June '36 | 54 | 46 |
| July '36 | 52 | 48 |
| Aug 9 '36 | 46 | 54 |
| Aug 23 '36 | 44 | 56 |
| Sept 6 '36 | 47 | 53 |
| Sept 20 '36 | 45 | 55 |
| Oct 4 '36 | 46 | 54 |
| Oct 18 '36 | 48 | 52 |
| Nov '36 | 52 | 48 |

(US Feb 8 '37 and Mar 1 '37) If the November election were being held today, how would you vote? (AIPO)

| | *Roosevelt* | *Landon* |
|---|---|---|
| Feb '37 | 65.5% | 34.5% |
| Mar '37 | 65.2 | 34.8 |

MAR '37 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 59% | 41% |
| Middle Atlantic | 65 | 35 |
| East central | 60 | 40 |
| West central | 61 | 39 |
| South | 79 | 21 |
| Rocky Mountain | 68 | 32 |
| Pacific coast | 70 | 30 |

**3.** (US Nov 2 '35) Which candidate would you like to support? (Jan 25 '36) If you voted Republican today, which candidate would you like to support? (Mar 7 '36) If you vote Republican today, check the candidate you would like to support. (Mar 28 '36) If you vote Republican today, please check the Republican candidate you would like to support. A comparable cross-section was asked: If you favor a Republican, etc. Results were combined. (May 3 '36*) If you favor a Republican for President, check the candidate you would like to support. All questions were asked of national cross-sections of Republicans. (AIPO)

| | *Landon* | *Borah* | *Hoover* | *Knox* | *Vandenberg* | *Dickinson* | *Theodore Roosevelt, Jr.* | *Mills* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '35 | 33% | 26% | 12% | 8% | 3% | 1% | 12% | 5% |
| Jan '36 | 43 | 28 | 17 | 7 | 4 | 1 | — | — |
| Mar 7 '36 | 56 | 20 | 14 | 5 | 4 | 1 | — | — |
| Mar 28 '36 | 55.4 | 18 | 14 | 6 | 6 | 0.6 | — | — |
| May '36* | 56 | 19 | 14 | 5 | 5 | 1 | — | — |

THE VOTE OF NEW REPUBLICANS OR SHIFTERS

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '35 | 32% | 40% | 5% | 6% | 3% | 1% | 10% | 3% |
| Jan '36 | 41 | 39 | 7 | 7 | 4 | 2 | — | — |
| Mar 7 '36 | 52 | 29 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 1 | — | — |
| May '36* | 52 | 28 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 1 | — | — |

REPUBLICAN CHOICE BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

*New England*

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '36 | 39% | 28% | 20% | 10% | 2% | 1% |
| Mar 7 '36 | 55 | 16 | 20 | 6 | 2 | 1 |
| Mar 28 '36 | 59 | 11 | 19 | 9 | 2 | ** |
| May '36* | 57 | 11 | 21 | 8 | 2 | 1 |

| | *Landon* | *Borah* | *Hoover* | *Knox* | *Vandenberg* | *Dickinson* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Middle Atlantic* | | | | | | |
| Jan '36 | 43% | 26% | 21% | 6% | 3% | 1% |
| Mar 7 '36 | 57 | 18 | 17 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| Mar 28 '36 | 58 | 15 | 17 | 5 | 4 | 1 |
| May '36* | 58 | 17 | 17 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| *East central* | | | | | | |
| Jan '36 | 39 | 23 | 15 | 8 | 13 | 2 |
| Mar 7 '36 | 53 | 16 | 13 | 6 | 11 | 1 |
| Mar 28 '36 | 47 | 18 | 12 | 9 | 13 | 1 |
| May '36* | 50 | 16 | 13 | 8 | 12 | 1 |
| *West central* | | | | | | |
| Jan '36 | 54 | 26 | 11 | 5 | 2 | 2 |
| Mar 7 '36 | 63 | 22 | 9 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Mar 28 '36 | 61 | 21 | 9 | 4 | 4 | 1 |
| May '36* | 62 | 23 | 9 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| *South* | | | | | | |
| Jan '36 | 40 | 33 | 16 | 7 | 2 | 2 |
| Mar 7 '36 | 53 | 24 | 13 | 6 | 2 | 2 |
| Mar 28 '36 | 57 | 21 | 14 | 5 | 3 | ** |
| May '36* | 55 | 25 | 12 | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| *Mountain* | | | | | | |
| Jan '36 | 35 | 43 | 14 | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| Mar 7 '36 | 46 | 38 | 9 | 3 | 3 | 1 |
| Mar 28 '36 | 46 | 32 | 12 | 6 | 3 | 1 |
| May '36* | 49 | 36 | 10 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| *Pacific coast* | | | | | | |
| Jan '36 | 44 | 31 | 20 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Mar 7 '36 | 60 | 17 | 15 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| Mar 28 '36 | 53 | 21 | 21 | 3 | 2 | ** |
| May '36* | 57 | 22 | 16 | 3 | 1 | 1 |

* Released on this date.
** Less than 0.5%.

**4.** (US Apr 18 '36) If Borah is the Republican candidate for President and Roosevelt the Democratic candidate, how will you vote? (AIPO)

Roosevelt 59% Borah 41%

**5.** (US Apr 18 '36) If Landon is the Republican candidate for President, Roosevelt the Democratic candidate, how will you vote? (AIPO)

Landon 45% Roosevelt 55%

**6.** (US May 2 '36) If Vandenberg and Roosevelt are the candidates, how will you vote? (AIPO)

Vandenberg 40% Roosevelt 60%

**7.** (US June 20 '36) Would Father Coughlin's (Dr. Townsend's) endorsement of a candidate for office make any difference in your voting for or against that candidate? (AIPO)

| | *Would vote for candidate* | *Would vote against candidate* | *Would make no difference* |
|---|---|---|---|
| OPINION ABOUT FATHER COUGHLIN'S ENDORSEMENT | | | |
| National total | 7% | 20% | 73% |
| OPINION ABOUT FATHER COUGHLIN'S ENDORSEMENT BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 7% | 17% | 76% |
| Republican | 3 | 25 | 72 |
| Socialist | 15 | 23 | 62 |
| Third party | 59 | 7 | 34 |
| OPINION ABOUT FATHER COUGHLIN'S ENDORSEMENT BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 12% | 20% | 68% |
| Middle Atlantic | 9 | 21 | 70 |
| East central | 8 | 12 | 80 |
| West central | 9 | 21 | 70 |
| South | 5 | 20 | 75 |
| Mountain | 5 | 14 | 81 |
| Pacific coast | 8 | 20 | 72 |
| OPINION ABOUT DR. TOWNSEND'S ENDORSEMENT | | | |
| National total | 10% | 22% | 68% |
| OPINION ABOUT DR. TOWNSEND'S ENDORSEMENT BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 9% | 19% | 72% |
| Republican | 7 | 27 | 66 |
| Socialist | 14 | 18 | 68 |
| Third party | 46 | 8 | 46 |
| OPINION ABOUT DR. TOWNSEND'S ENDORSEMENT BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 8% | 24% | 68% |
| Middle Atlantic | 8 | 23 | 69 |
| East central | 7 | 24 | 69 |
| West central | 11 | 23 | 66 |
| South | 10 | 19 | 71 |
| Mountain | 15 | 16 | 69 |
| Pacific coast | 18 | 20 | 62 |

**8.** (US Sept 26 '36) Regardless of how you, yourself, plan to vote, which candidate for the presidency do you think will win the national election? A comparable cross-section was asked: Which candidate do you think will win in your state? Results were combined. (AIPO) (Oct '36) Regardless of how you will vote, who do you think will win the election? (FOR)

| | *Roosevelt* | *Landon* | *Lemke* | *Thomas* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '36 | 69.2% | 22.3% | 0.9% | 0.1% | 7.5% |
| MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN SEPTEMBER STATE BY STATE | | | | | |
| Alabama | 99% | 1% | | | |
| Arizona | 84 | 16 | | | |
| Arkansas | 98 | 2 | | | |
| California | 84 | 16 | | | |
| Colorado | 66 | 34 | | | |
| Connecticut | 38 | 62 | | | |
| Delaware | 39 | 61 | | | |
| Florida | 94 | 6 | | | |
| Georgia | 99 | 1 | | | |
| Idaho | 81 | 19 | | | |
| Illinois | 46 | 54 | | | |
| Indiana | 49 | 51 | | | |
| Iowa | 43 | 57 | | | |
| Kansas | 27 | 73 | | | |
| Kentucky | 92 | 8 | | | |
| Louisiana | 94 | 6 | | | |
| Maine | 9 | 91 | | | |
| Maryland | 88 | 12 | | | |
| Massachusetts | 47 | 53 | | | |
| Michigan | 40 | 60 | | | |
| Minnesota | 50 | 50 | | | |
| Mississippi | 100 | — | | | |
| Missouri | 79 | 21 | | | |

| | *Roosevelt* | *Landon* |
|---|---|---|
| Montana | 88% | 12% |
| Nebraska | 54 | 46 |
| Nevada | 96 | 4 |
| New Hampshire | 15 | 85 |
| New Jersey | 56 | 44 |
| New Mexico | 80 | 20 |
| New York | 59 | 41 |
| North Carolina | 96 | 4 |
| North Dakota | 73 | 27 |
| Ohio | 55 | 45 |
| Oklahoma | 89 | 11 |
| Oregon | 77 | 23 |
| Pennsylvania | 38 | 62 |
| Rhode Island | 30 | 70 |
| South Carolina | 100 | — |
| South Dakota | 39 | 61 |
| Tennessee | 95 | 5 |
| Texas | 99 | 1 |
| Utah | 92 | 8 |
| Vermont | 7 | 93 |
| Virginia | 93 | 7 |
| Washington | 77 | 23 |
| West Virginia | 58 | 42 |
| Wisconsin | 70 | 30 |
| Wyoming | 51 | 49 |

**9.** (US Oct '36) Do you think the country will be facing any kind of crisis if the Republicans are elected? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27.4% | 48.0% | 24.6% |
| BY ATTITUDES TOWARD ROOSEVELT | | | |
| Roosevelt re-election essential | 40.0% | 30.9% | 29.1% |
| Best man despite mistakes | 25.7 | 50.3 | 24.0 |
| His usefulness now over | 20.0 | 60.3 | 19.7 |
| His re-election worst thing | 18.8 | 64.9 | 16.3 |
| Uncertain about Roosevelt | 10.4 | 40.4 | 49.2 |

**10.** (US Oct '36) Do you think the country will be facing any kind of crisis if the Democrats are elected? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24.1% | 58.7% | 17.2% |
| BY ATTITUDES TOWARD ROOSEVELT | | | |
| Roosevelt re-election essential | 4.6% | 79.2% | 16.2% |
| Best man despite mistakes | 9.8 | 73.6 | 16.6 |
| His usefulness now over | 36.4 | 45.3 | 18.3 |
| His re-election the worst thing | 64.7 | 23.9 | 11.4 |
| Uncertain about Roosevelt | 12.0 | 38.3 | 49.7 |

**11.** (US Nov 30 '36) At what time did you definitely make up your mind to vote for Landon? Asked of a national cross-section of Landon supporters. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| When nominated | 51% |
| Tradition | 11 |
| Middle of October | 4 |
| First of October | 3 |
| September | 3 |
| Four years ago | 3 |
| July | 3 |
| Just before voting time | 3 |
| Two years ago | 2 |
| Good while before November | 2 |
| During campaign | 2% |
| Day before election | 2 |
| August | 2 |
| Three years ago | 2 |
| Last year | 1 |
| At some other time | 6 |

**12.** (US Nov 30 '36) At what time did you definitely make up your mind to vote for Roosevelt? Asked of a national cross-section of Roosevelt supporters. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| When re-nominated | 30% |
| Four years ago | 26 |
| Tradition | 12 |
| Just before voting | 4 |
| Two years ago | 4 |
| First of October | 4 |
| Three years ago | 3 |
| Middle of October | 3 |
| First of September | 2 |
| A year ago | 2 |
| From the first | 2 |
| Before the convention | 1 |
| In July | 1 |
| First of August | 1 |
| At some other time | 5 |

**13.** (US Dec 7 '36) Did you make up your mind to vote for him [Roosevelt] before the campaign started or during the campaign? Asked of a national cross-section of Roosevelt supporters. (AIPO)

Before 83% During 17% = 100% No opinion 4%

**14.** (US Dec 7 '36) What factor, speech, or incident more than any other led you to vote for him [Roosevelt]? Asked of a national cross-section of Roosevelt supporters. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| DURING CAMPAIGN | |
| Republican ballyhoo, etc. | 17% |
| Campaign speeches | 14 |
| He is for the working man | 10 |
| He is best man | 7 |
| His past record | 6 |
| Other reasons | 46 |
| | 100% |
| BEFORE CAMPAIGN | |
| He helped working classes | 22% |
| His past record | 21 |
| He is best man | 15 |
| Tradition | 6 |
| Improved conditions | 5 |
| Let him finish what he started | 4 |
| The escape from depression | 4 |
| Relief measures | 3 |
| Party platform and policies | 3 |
| Action in a crisis | 2 |
| Favored New Deal policies | 1 |
| Humanitarianism of Roosevelt | 1 |
| Repeal | 1 |
| Other reasons | 12 |
| | 100% |

**15.** (US Dec 7 '36) Did you make up your mind to vote for him [Landon] before the campaign or during the campaign? Asked of a national cross-section of Landon supporters. (AIPO)

Before 72% During 28% = 100% No opinion 4%

**16.** (US Dec 7 '36) What factor, speech, or incident more than any other led you to vote for him [Landon]? Asked of a national cross-section of Landon supporters. (AIPO)

DURING CAMPAIGN

| | |
|---|---|
| Campaign speeches | 14% |
| He is the best man | 12 |
| Party platform and policies | 9 |
| Farm program | 7 |
| Balanced budget | 7 |
| Landon himself | 7 |
| Foolish expenditures by Democrats | 6 |
| Record as governor | 6 |
| Other reasons | 32 |
| | 100% |

BEFORE CAMPAIGN

| | |
|---|---|
| Tradition | 22% |
| Foolish expenditures by Democrats | 11 |
| Disliked Roosevelt | 10 |
| Party platform and policies | 9 |
| Landon himself | 6 |
| Opposed to New Deal policies | 6 |
| Disliked Democratic party as a whole | 6 |
| Record as governor | 5 |
| Disliked relief measures | 3 |
| Not in sympathy with Democratic administration | 3 |
| Conservatism of Landon | 2 |
| Need a change | 2 |
| Other reasons | 15 |
| | 100% |

**17.** (US Jan '37) For whom do you expect to vote next month? Asked in mid-October. (FOR)

Roosevelt 59.6% Landon 38.1% All others 2.3% = 100.0%
No answer 27.7%

**18.** (US Mar 10 '37) For whom did you vote in the November election? If Roosevelt had made his court proposal before the last election, how would you have voted? (AIPO)

| | *Roosevelt* | *Landon* | *Thomas* | *Lemke* | *Didn't vote* | *Too young* | *No answer* | *Others* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Did vote | 53% | 24% | 1% | 1% | 7% | 10% | 4% | — |
| Would have voted | 49 | 24 | — | 1 | — | — | 25 | 1% |

**19.** (US Oct '44) Do you remember for certain whether or not you voted in the 1936 presidential election? 75% of the sample who had voted were asked: Did you vote for Roosevelt or Landon? 15% who had not voted were asked: Do you remember why you didn't vote? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too young to vote | 6% |
| Didn't remember whether or not voted | 4 |
| Voted for Roosevelt | 47 |
| Voted for Landon | 26 |
| Refused to say for whom | 1 |
| Didn't know for whom | 1 |
| Didn't vote because: | |
| Inconvenience; sick; transportation; too far from polls; mechanics of absentee ballot; busy; got there too late. | 2 |
| Disinterested; one vote doesn't count; not to kill husband's vote; neglect; no reason | 3 |
| Disqualified; not citizen; moved; poll tax; out of town | 5 |
| Unacquainted with mechanics of voting | * |
| Not registered; procrastinated too long | 3 |
| Disgusted; don't like candidates, issues, and mudslinging | * |
| Women shouldn't vote | * |
| Other answers | * |
| Don't know why | 2% |

* Less than 0.5%.

## U.S. (Election 1940)

**1.** (US Nov 13 '36 to Mar 3 '39, dates listed below) If President Roosevelt is not a candidate in 1940, which one of the following would you favor as the Democratic candidate? With the exception of the Nov '36 sample, all results represent the vote of persons who identified themselves as Roosevelt voters. (AIPO)

| | *Total Nov 13 '36* | *Democratic Dec 7 '36** | *Democratic Mar 10 '37*** | *Democratic Aug 9 '37*** | *Democratic Nov 12 '37 (1)* | *Democratic Mar 15 '38 (2)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Byrd | 15% | 4% | — | — | 2% | — |
| Earle | 12 | 14 | 13% | 10% | 9 | 9% |
| Farley | 28 | 22 | 21 | 19 | 16 | 10 |
| Lewis | 6 | — | 3 | 5 | — | 2 |
| McNutt | 7 | 6 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 9 |
| Wagner | 15 | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Wallace | 17 | 13 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| Garner | — | 10 | 6 | 17 | 11 | 12 |
| Lehman | — | 8 | 5 | 7 | 3 | 3 |
| Hull | — | 6 | 3 | — | 7 | 15 |
| Horner | — | 4 | — | — | — | — |
| Mrs. Roosevelt | — | 4 | 2 | — | — | — |
| Murphy | — | — | 9 | 7 | 4 | 3 |
| Smith | — | — | 3 | — | — | — |
| Jones | — | — | 2 | — | — | — |
| Robinson | — | — | 2 | — | — | — |
| Glass | — | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Barkley | — | — | 1 | 8 | 6 | 4 |
| La Guardia | — | — | — | — | 6 | 5 |
| R. La Follette | — | — | — | — | 3 | — |
| Jackson | — | — | — | — | — | 4 |
| Wheeler | — | — | — | — | — | 1 |
| All others | — | 9 | 17 | 19 | 27 | 20 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| Undecided | 42% | 83% | 74% | | 73% | |

| | *Democratic May 12 '38 (3)* | *Democratic Sept 23 '38 (4)* | *Democratic Nov 5 '38 (5)* | *Democratic Dec 16 '38 (6)* | *Democratic Mar '39 (7)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Earle | 5% | 3% | — | — | — |
| Farley | 16 | 12 | 10% | 8% | 10% |
| McNutt | 5 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 5 |
| Wagner | — | 2 | — | — | — |
| Garner | 23 | 21 | 20 | 34 | 42 |
| Lehman | 3 | 3 | 9 | 12 | 3 |
| Hull | 12 | 12 | 11 | 15 | 10 |
| Murphy | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 2 |
| Barkley | 2 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| La Guardia | — | 5 | — | — | — |
| R. La Follette | — | 2 | — | — | — |
| Kennedy | 4 | 3 | 2 | 7 | 2 |

| | Democratic May 12 '38 (3) | Democratic Sept 23 '38 (4) | Democratic Nov 5 '38 (5) | Democratic Dec 16 '38 (6) | Democratic Mar '39 (7) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dewey | — | 2% | — | — | — |
| Clark | — | 2 | 10% | 5% | 2% |
| J. Roosevelt | — | 2 | — | — | — |
| Hopkins | — | — | 2 | 5 | 8 |
| Chandler | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| Wallace | 3% | 2 | — | 4 | — |
| All others | 25 | 17 | 26 | — | 14 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| Undecided | 69% | 75% | | 30% | |

* The question was: If President Roosevelt isn't a candidate, who do you think will make the best Democratic candidate in 1940?

** If President Roosevelt isn't a candidate in 1940, who do you think would make the best Democratic candidate?

(1) If Roosevelt does not run in 1940, what person would you like to see as the Democratic candidate?

(2) If President Roosevelt does not run in 1940, whom would you favor as the Democratic candidate?

(3) If President Roosevelt does not run in 1940 for a third term, whom do you favor as the Democratic candidate? This question was put in two forms—one as above, the other omitted "in 1940."

(4) If Roosevelt is not a candidate in 1940, whom do you favor as the Democratic candidate?

(5) If Roosevelt is not a candidate for President in 1940, whom would you favor as the Democratic candidate?

(6) If Roosevelt is not a candidate for President in 1940, which one of these men would you prefer as the Democratic candidate?

(7) If Roosevelt is not a candidate in 1940, whom would you like to see as the Democratic candidate for President?

**2.** (US Nov 13 '36 to Feb 2 '39, dates listed below) Which one of the following would you favor as the Republican candidate in 1940? With the exception of the Nov '36 and (FOR) Feb '39 samples, all results represent the vote of persons who identified themselves as Landon voters. (AIPO, FOR)

| | Total Nov 13 '36 | Republican* Dec 7 '36 | Republican** Apr 19 '37 | Republican (1) Nov 12 '37 | Republican (2) Feb 3 '38 | Republican (2) Apr 12 '38 | Republican (2) June 21 '38 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Borah | 35% | 9% | 10% | 3% | 10% | 7% | 5% |
| Hamilton | 4 | 1 | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| Hoover | 9 | 9 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 18 | 10 |
| Landon | 24 | 32 | 28 | 8 | 13 | 9 | 6 |
| Lodge | 6 | 3 | 2 | — | — | 2 | — |
| Vandenberg | 22 | 35 | 31 | 14 | 36 | 35 | 48 |
| T. Roosevelt Jr. | — | 3 | 2 | — | — | — | — |
| Knox | — | 6 | 3 | — | — | 3 | — |
| Ford | — | 1 | — | — | — | 2 | — |
| Mills | — | 1 | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| C. Taft | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| La Guardia | — | — | — | 6 | 6 | 5 | — |
| Dewey | — | — | — | 2 | 4 | 2 | 16 |
| Frank | — | — | — | — | 6 | 4 | — |
| All others | — | — | 15 | 8 | 18 | 13 | 15 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| Undecided | 34% | 60% | | 54% | 56% | 58% | |
| | | | | 100% | | | |

| | Republican (1) Oct 1 '38 | Republican (2) Nov 5 '38 | Republican (3) Nov 14 '38 | Republican (4) Nov 22 '38 | Republican (4) Jan 25 '39 | Total (5) Feb '39 (FOR) | Republican (2) Feb 2 '39 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Borah | 4% | — | — | — | — | — | 4% |
| Hoover | 9 | 6% | — | 7% | 7% | 5.1% | 4 |
| Landon | 9 | 6 | 14% | 14 | 15 | 8.2 | 7 |
| Lodge | — | 5 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 4.6 | — |
| Vandenberg | 32 | 18 | 20 | 21 | 18 | 11.5 | 21 |
| Knox | 4 | — | 3 | — | * | — | — |
| La Guardia | 1 | — | 3 | — | 5 | 11.5 | 4 |
| Dewey | 24 | 33 | 27 | 33 | 26 | 12.2 | 27 |
| Frank | 2 | — | — | 2 | 3 | — | — |
| Barton | 1 | — | 7 | — | 4 | 2.8 | — |
| Clark | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| R. Taft | — | 18 | 18 | 14 | 15 | — | 16 |
| James | — | 2 | 2 | — | * | — | — |
| Bricker | — | — | — | 2 | 2 | — | — |
| Saltonstall | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Nye | — | — | — | — | — | 4.1 | — |
| All others | 13 | 12 | — | — | — | 2.0 | 17 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | | 100% |
| Undecided | 66% | 60% | 27% | 20% | 19% | 38.0 | 58% |
| | | | | | | 100.0% | |

* The question was: Who do you think will make the best Republican candidate for President in 1940?

** Who do you think will make the best Republican candidate in 1940?

(1) Whom would you like to see as the Republican candidate in 1940?

(2) Whom would you like to see as the Republican candidate for President in 1940?

(3) Which of these men would you prefer as the Republican candidate for President in 1940?

(4) Which one of these men would you prefer as the Republican candidate for President in 1940?

(5) Regardless of your own party affiliation, which of the following men would be your choice to get the Republican nomination for President in 1940? (FOR)

**3.** (US Dec 14 '36) Do you think the Republican party will win in 1940? (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 70% = 100% No opinion 17%

**4.** (US Feb 1 '37) If John L. Lewis becomes a candidate for President on a third party in 1940, do you think you would vote for him? (AIPO)

Yes 9% No 91% = 100% No opinion 18%

**5.** (US Mar 10 '37 to Nov 2 '40, dates listed below) If a presidential election were held today, how would you vote? (AIPO except Nov '40, which is from FOR)

THE NATIONAL VOTE

| | Democratic (Roosevelt) % | Republican* (Willkie) % | Socialist % | Third Party % | Other % | Won't vote % | No answer; wouldn't answer % | Undecided; don't know % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mar 10 '37 | 53 | 29 | 1 | 2 | — | — | 15 | — |
| *May 24 '37 | 49 | 28 | 1 | 3 | — | — | 19 | — |
| *June 1 '37 | 51 | 25 | 1 | 3 | — | — | 20 | — |
| (8) Nov '40 (FOR) | | | | | | | | |
| Sept results | 46.1 | 35.5 | — | — | — | 6.1 | 3.6 | 8.7 |
| Oct results | 45.8 | 38.5 | — | — | 0.3 | 5.9 | 2.4 | 7.1 |

* Includes other possible candidates than Willkie.

THE MAJOR PARTY VOTE

| | *Democratic (Roosevelt)* | *Republican (Willkie)* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % |
| Mar 22 '37 | 62.8 | 37.2 | — = 100 |
| **Sept 16 '37 | 61 | 39 | — = 100 |
| **Oct 18 '37 | 63.4 | 36.6 | — = 100 |
| (1) Dec 13 '37 | 62.1 | 37.9 | — = 100 |
| (2) Jan 18 '38 | 59.3 | 40.7 | — = 100 |
| (3) July 19 '40 | 51 | 49 | — = 100 |
| (4) Aug 8 '40 | 51 | 49 | — = 100 |
| (5) Sept 3 '40 | 55 | 45 = 100 | 11 |
| (6) Sept 20 '40 | 56 | 44 = 100 | 11 |
| (5) Sept 26 '40 | 55 | 45 = 100 | 9 |
| (7) Oct 5 '40 | 54.5 | 45.5 = 100 | 7 |
| (5) Oct 22 '40 | 53 | 47 = 100 | 8 |
| (5) Nov 2 '40 | 52 | 48 = 100 | 4 |

* The question was: If a presidential election were being held today, would you vote for a Democrat, Republican, Socialist, or Third party candidate?

** If last November's election were being held over again today, which candidate would you vote for now?

(1) If the 1936 presidential election were being held over again today, for which candidate would you vote?

(2) If a presidential election were being held today, do you think you would vote for the Republican, Democratic, or Third party candidate? A comparable cross-section was asked: If last year's presidential election were being held over again today, which candidate would you vote for now? Results were combined.

(3) If the presidential election were held today, would you vote for the Republican candidate, Willkie, or the Democratic candidate, Roosevelt? A comparable cross-section was asked: If the presidential election were held today, would you vote for the Republican ticket of Willkie and McNary, or the Democratic ticket of Roosevelt and Wallace? Results were combined.

(4) If the presidential election were held today, would you vote for the Republican candidate, Willkie, the Socialist candidate, Thomas, or the Democratic candidate, Roosevelt? A comparable cross-section was asked: As it looks now, do you intend to vote for Roosevelt or for Willkie this fall? Results were combined.

(5) If the presidential election were held today, would you vote for Willkie or Roosevelt? Some cross-sections were asked the question with the order of the names reversed.

(6) As it looks now, do you intend to vote for Roosevelt or for Willkie this fall? A comparable cross-section was asked: If a presidential election were held today, would you vote for Thomas (Socialist candidate), Roosevelt, or Willkie? Results were combined.

(7) If the presidential election were held today, would you vote for Roosevelt or Willkie, or would you just not vote? A comparable cross-section was asked: If the presidential election were held today, would you vote for the Democratic ticket of Roosevelt and Wallace or the Republican ticket of Willkie and McNary? Results were combined.

(8) For whom do you expect to vote in November—Roosevelt or Willkie?

MAJOR PARTY VOTE MAR 22 '37, DEC '37, AND OCT 22 '40 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | *Democratic (Roosevelt)* | *Republican (Willkie)* |
|---|---|---|
| *New England* | | |
| Mar '37 | 56% | 44% |
| Dec '37 | 55 | 45 |
| Oct '40 | 53 | 47 |
| *Middle Atlantic* | | |
| Mar '37 | 62 | 38 |
| Dec '37 | 60 | 40 |
| Oct '40 | 53 | 47 |
| *East central* | | |
| Mar '37 | 58 | 42 |
| Dec '37 | 57 | 43 |
| Oct '40 | 51 | 49 |
| *West central* | | |
| Mar '37 | 60 | 40 |
| Dec '37 | 61 | 39 |
| Oct '40 | 49 | 51 |
| *South* | | |
| Mar '37 | 77% | 23% |
| Dec '37 | 75 | 25 |
| Oct '40 | 73 | 27 |
| *Rocky Mountain* | | |
| Mar '37 | 66 | 34 |
| Dec '37 | 64 | 36 |
| Oct '40 | 56 | 44 |
| *Pacific coast* | | |
| Mar '37 | 67 | 33 |
| Dec '37 | 70 | 30 |
| Oct '40 | 58 | 42 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE AUG '40, SEPT 3 '40, AND OCT 22 '40 BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Democratic (Roosevelt)* | *Republican (Willkie)* |
|---|---|---|
| *Upper income* | | |
| Aug '40 | 29% | 71% |
| Sept '40 | 32 | 68 |
| Oct '40 | 28 | 72 |
| *Middle income* | | |
| Aug '40 | 47 | 53 |
| Sept '40 | 52 | 48 |
| Oct '40 | 53 | 47 |
| *Lower income* | | |
| Aug '40 | 66 | 34 |
| Sept '40 | 71 | 29 |
| Oct '40 | 69 | 31 |
| *On relief* | | |
| Aug '40 | 75 | 25 |
| Sept '40 | 80 | 20 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE SEPT 3 '40 BY AGE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 21–24 years | 59% | 41% |
| 25–29 years | 59 | 41 |
| 30–49 years | 56 | 44 |
| 50 years and over | 54 | 46 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE OCT 22 '40 BY AGE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 21–29 years | 60% | 40% |
| 30–49 years | 56 | 44 |
| 50 years and over | 51 | 49 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE SEPT 3 '40 BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cities 500,000 and over | 61% | 39% |
| Cities 2,500 to 500,000 | 55 | 45 |
| Towns under 2,500 | 51 | 49 |
| Farms | 53 | 47 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE SEPT 20 '40 BY PROPERTY OWNED

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Owners | 47% | 53% |
| Non-owners | 67 | 33 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE OCT 22 '40 BY OCCUPATION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Businessmen | 34% | 66% |
| Professional men | 38 | 62 |
| White-collar | 48 | 52 |
| Skilled workers | 59 | 41 |
| Semi-skilled | 67 | 33 |
| Unskilled | 69 | 31 |
| Farmers | 54 | 46 |
| Mid-west farmers | 45 | 55 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE OCT 22 '40 BY LABOR STATUS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CIO members | 79% | 21% |
| AFL members | 71 | 29 |
| All union members | 72 | 28 |

FORTUNE'S RESULTS IN NOV '40 BY ATTITUDES TOWARD ROOSEVELT

| | *Democratic (Roosevelt)* | *Republican (Willkie)* | *Won't vote* | *Other answers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Approve | 83.4% | 2.0% | 7.1% | 7.5% |
| Disapprove | 1.5 | 91.5 | 2.5 | 4.5 |
| Don't know about Roosevelt | 14.1 | 16.4 | 15.5 | 54.0 |

FORTUNE'S ANALYSIS OF VOTING INTENTIONS NOV '40 BY OPINIONS ABOUT ROOSEVELT

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve of Roosevelt and will vote for him | 44.6% |
| Disapprove of Roosevelt and will vote for Willkie | 36.5 |
| Mavericks who will apparently vote contrary to their views of Roosevelt | 1.7 |
| Don't expect to vote anyway (although they are better than four to one for Roosevelt) | 5.9 |
| Either don't know about Roosevelt, or don't know how they will vote, or refused to answer, or will vote for a minor party | 11.3 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN ALABAMA

| | *Democratic (Roosevelt)* | *Republican (Willkie)* |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 85% | 15% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 84 | 16 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 85 | 15 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 88 | 12 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 85 | 15 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 88 | 12 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 86 | 14 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN ARIZONA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 65% | 35% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 68 | 32 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 69 | 31 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 69 | 31 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 67 | 33 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 66 | 34 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 61 | 39 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN ARKANSAS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 78% | 22% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 77 | 23 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 80 | 20 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 82 | 18 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 79 | 21 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 80 | 20 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 82 | 18 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN CALIFORNIA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 54% | 46% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 54 | 46 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 58 | 42 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 57 | 43 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 56 | 44 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 58 | 42 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 58 | 42 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN COLORADO

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 47% | 53% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 47 | 53 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 52 | 48 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 54 | 46 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 51 | 49 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 52 | 48 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 45 | 55 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN CONNECTICUT

| | *Democratic (Roosevelt)* | *Republican (Willkie)* |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 49% | 51% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 51 | 49 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 56 | 44 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 55 | 45 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 58 | 42 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 54 | 46 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 53 | 47 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN DELAWARE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 52% | 48% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 54 | 46 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 60 | 40 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 59 | 41 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 61 | 39 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 57 | 43 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 56 | 44 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN FLORIDA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 74% | 26% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 73 | 27 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 75 | 25 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 79 | 21 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 76 | 24 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 77 | 23 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 72 | 28 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN GEORGIA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 85% | 15% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 85 | 15 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 86 | 14 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 89 | 11 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 85 | 15 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 86 | 14 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 87 | 13 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN IDAHO

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 48% | 52% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 52 | 48 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 55 | 45 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 56 | 44 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 55 | 45 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 55 | 45 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 49 | 51 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN ILLINOIS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 47% | 53% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 43 | 57 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 53 | 47 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 53 | 47 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 48 | 52 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 49 | 51 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 48 | 52 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN INDIANA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 45% | 55% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 40 | 60 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 49 | 51 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 51 | 49 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 47 | 53 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 47 | 53 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 45 | 55 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN IOWA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 43% | 57% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 39 | 61 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 46 | 54 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 52 | 48 |

| | *Democratic (Roosevelt)* | *Republican (Willkie)* |
|---|---|---|
| Sept 26 '40 | 48% | 52% |
| Oct 5 '40 | 46 | 54 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 45 | 55 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN KANSAS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 44% | 56% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 42 | 58 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 47 | 53 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 49 | 51 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 45 | 55 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 41 | 59 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 43 | 57 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN KENTUCKY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 56% | 44% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 56 | 44 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 58 | 42 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 62 | 38 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 59 | 41 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 57 | 43 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 54 | 46 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN LOUISIANA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 82% | 18% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 81 | 19 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 86 | 14 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 88 | 12 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 84 | 16 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 87 | 13 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 86 | 14 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN MAINE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 35% | 65% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 36 | 64 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 44 | 56 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 44 | 56 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 47 | 53 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 46 | 54 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 43 | 57 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN MARYLAND

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 53% | 47% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 56 | 44 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 61 | 39 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 60 | 40 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 64 | 36 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 60 | 40 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 59 | 41 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN MASSACHUSETTS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 46% | 54% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 45 | 55 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 49 | 51 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 52 | 48 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 54 | 46 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 51 | 49 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 51 | 49 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN MICHIGAN

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 48% | 52% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 44 | 56 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 54 | 46 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 52 | 48 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 48 | 52 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 47 | 53 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 48 | 52 |

| | *Democratic (Roosevelt)* | *Republican (Willkie)* |
|---|---|---|

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN MINNESOTA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 49% | 51% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 45 | 55 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 51 | 49 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 56 | 44 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 54 | 46 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 54 | 46 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 51 | 49 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN MISSISSIPPI

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 95% | 5% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 94 | 6 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 95 | 5 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 97 | 3 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 95 | 5 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 96 | 4 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 94 | 6 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN MISSOURI

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 51% | 49% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 51 | 49 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 56 | 44 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 55 | 45 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 53 | 47 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 51 | 49 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 49 | 51 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN MONTANA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 53% | 47% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 58 | 42 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 60 | 40 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 62 | 38 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 62 | 38 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 63 | 37 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 57 | 43 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN NEBRASKA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 44% | 56% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 43 | 57 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 47 | 53 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 43 | 57 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 42 | 58 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 42 | 58 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 41 | 59 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN NEVADA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 59% | 41% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 63 | 37 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 62 | 38 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 66 | 34 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 63 | 37 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 61 | 39 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 56 | 44 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 41% | 59% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 43 | 57 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 49 | 51 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 52 | 48 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 53 | 47 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 49 | 51 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 49 | 51 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN NEW JERSEY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 46% | 54% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 49 | 51 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 54 | 46 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 55 | 45 |

| | *Democratic (Roosevelt)* | *Republican (Willkie)* |
|---|---|---|
| Sept 26 '40 | 56% | 44% |
| Oct 5 '40 | 58 | 42 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 52 | 48 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN NEW MEXICO

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 52% | 48% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 54 | 46 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 63 | 37 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 63 | 37 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 60 | 40 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 54 | 46 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 53 | 47 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN NEW YORK

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 48% | 52% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 48 | 52 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 52 | 48 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 52 | 48 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 52 | 48 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 51 | 49 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 49 | 51 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN NORTH CAROLINA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 69% | 31% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 69 | 31 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 72 | 28 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 75 | 25 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 72 | 28 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 73 | 27 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 72 | 28 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN NORTH DAKOTA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 49% | 51% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 46 | 54 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 46 | 54 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 46 | 54 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 43 | 57 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 46 | 54 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 46 | 54 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN OHIO

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 47% | 53% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 45 | 55 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 53 | 47 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 53 | 47 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 52 | 48 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 51 | 49 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 49 | 51 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN OKLAHOMA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 61% | 39% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 60 | 40 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 63 | 37 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 64 | 36 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 62 | 38 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 62 | 38 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 56 | 44 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN OREGON

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 47% | 53% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 52 | 48 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 53 | 47 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 56 | 44 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 57 | 43 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 58 | 42 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 54 | 46 |

| | *Democratic (Roosevelt)* | *Republican (Willkie)* |
|---|---|---|

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN PENNSYLVANIA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 48% | 52% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 49 | 51 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 52 | 48 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 53 | 47 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 55 | 45 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 54 | 46 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 49 | 51 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN RHODE ISLAND

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 49% | 51% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 49 | 51 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 56 | 44 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 57 | 43 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 58 | 42 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 55 | 45 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 54 | 46 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN SOUTH CAROLINA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 98% | 2% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 97 | 3 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 98 | 2 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 99 | 1 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 98 | 2 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 98 | 2 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 97 | 3 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN SOUTH DAKOTA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 40% | 60% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 40 | 60 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 45 | 55 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 47 | 53 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 43 | 57 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 42 | 58 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 41 | 59 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN TENNESSEE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 66% | 34% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 65 | 35 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 69 | 31 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 72 | 28 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 69 | 31 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 67 | 33 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 64 | 36 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN TEXAS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 85% | 15% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 85 | 15 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 83 | 17 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 89 | 11 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 85 | 15 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 84 | 16 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 79 | 21 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN UTAH

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 56% | 44% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 57 | 43 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 57 | 43 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 59 | 41 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 58 | 42 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 60 | 40 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 55 | 45 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN VERMONT

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 41% | 59% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 41 | 59 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 44 | 56 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 44 | 56 |

| | *Democratic (Roosevelt)* | *Republican (Willkie)* |
|---|---|---|
| Sept 26 '40 | 46% | 54% |
| Oct 5 '40 | 43 | 57 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 42 | 58 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN VIRGINIA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 68% | 32% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 69 | 31 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 70 | 30 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 73 | 27 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 71 | 29 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 72 | 28 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 70 | 30 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN WASHINGTON

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 52% | 48% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 55 | 45 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 57 | 43 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 58 | 42 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 57 | 43 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 59 | 41 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 57 | 43 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN WEST VIRGINIA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 53% | 47% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 53 | 47 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 57 | 43 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 60 | 40 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 62 | 38 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 60 | 40 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 59 | 41 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN WISCONSIN

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 49% | 51% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 49 | 51 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 51 | 49 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 53 | 47 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 49 | 51 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 49 | 51 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 48 | 52 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN WYOMING

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 19 '40 | 49% | 51% |
| Aug 8 '40 | 52 | 48 |
| Sept 3 '40 | 54 | 46 |
| Sept 20 '40 | 55 | 45 |
| Sept 26 '40 | 52 | 48 |
| Oct 5 '40 | 52 | 48 |
| Nov 2 '40 | 53 | 47 |

The Aug '40 sample was asked further: How sure are you that you will vote this way [for Willkie or Roosevelt]?

| | *Very sure* | *Fairly sure* |
|---|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 73% | 27% |
| Willkie | 77 | 23 |

**6.** (US Apr 12 '37) Do you think President Roosevelt will be a candidate for the presidency in 1940? (AIPO)

Yes 28% No 72% = 100% No opinion 18%

**7.** (US June 21 '37, Jan 18 '38, Nov 14 '38) If Roosevelt is not a candidate for re-election in 1940, would you prefer a conservative type of candidate or a New Dealer? The Nov '38 question asked about "President Roosevelt" instead of just "Roosevelt." (June 21 '38) If Roosevelt is not a candidate in 1940, would you prefer a conservative or a New Dealer for President? (Jan 20 '39) If Roosevelt is not a candidate for President in 1940, would you prefer a conservative type of candidate like Garner, Clark, or Byrd or a New Dealer like Hopkins, Wallace, or Barkley? All questions were asked of national cross-sections of Roosevelt voters. (AIPO)

| | *Conservative* | *New Dealer* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| June '37 | 33% | 67% | = 100% | 17% |
| Jan '38 | 37 | 63 | | 13 |
| June '38 1936 Roosevelt voters | 34 | 66 | | 20 |
| Current Roosevelt supporters | 25 | 75 | | 18 |
| Nov '38 | 41 | 59 | | 28 |
| Jan '39 | 52 | 48 | | 28 |

| | *Conservative* | *New Dealer* |
|---|---|---|
| MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN JUNE '37, JAN '38, AND JAN '39 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| *New England* | | |
| 1937 | 30% | 70% |
| 1938 | 31 | 69 |
| 1939 | 58 | 42 |
| *Middle Atlantic* | | |
| 1937 | 28 | 72 |
| 1938 | 41 | 59 |
| 1939 | 47 | 53 |
| *East central* | | |
| 1937 | 36 | 64 |
| 1938 | 35 | 65 |
| 1939 | 53 | 47 |
| *West central* | | |
| 1937 | 42 | 58 |
| 1938 | 43 | 57 |
| 1939 | 57 | 43 |
| *South* | | |
| 1937 | 32 | 68 |
| 1938 | 45 | 55 |
| 1939 | 54 | 46 |
| *Rocky Mountain* | | |
| 1937 | 36 | 64 |
| 1938 | 31 | 69 |
| *Pacific coast* | | |
| 1937 | 33 | 67 |
| 1938 | 31 | 69 |
| *West* | | |
| 1939 | 42 | 58 |
| MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN JAN '38 BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | |
| Farm | 45% | 55% |
| Small town | 34 | 66 |
| City | 36 | 64 |

**8.** (US Aug 23 '37) If he [Roosevelt] is a candidate, do you think he will win? (July 2 '38 to Jan 20 '40, dates listed below) Do you think he [President Roosevelt] will be elected if he runs? The Aug '39 question read "re-elected" instead of "elected." (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug 23 '37 | 51% | 49% = 100% | 14% |
| July 2 '38 | 51 | 49 = 100 | — |
| Nov 14 '38 | 39 | 61 = 100 | 11 |
| Jan 10 '39 | 44 | 56 = 100 | 13 |
| May 26 '39 | 45 | 55 = 100 | 13 |
| Aug 17 '39 | 44 | 56 = 100 | 17 |
| Oct 18 '39 | 56 | 44 = 100 | 14 |
| Jan 30 '40 | 60 | 40 = 100 | 11 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE MAY '39 AND OCT '39 BY POLITICS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Democratic* | | |
| May | 61% | 39% |
| Oct | 72 | 28 |

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Republican* | | | |
| May | 16% | 84% | |
| Oct | 31 | 69 | |

**9.** (US Aug 23 '37 and Apr 12 '38, dates listed below) What party do you think will win the presidential election in 1940—the Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, or some other party? The Apr '38 sample was asked: "What national political party . . . ?" (Nov 5 '38) Which party do you think will win the presidential election in 1940—Democratic, Republican, Socialist, or some other party? (Apr 6 '39 and Sept 22 '39) Which party do you think will win the presidential election in 1940? (Apr 23 '40) Do you think this state will be carried by the Democrats or by the Republicans in the presidential election next fall? (AIPO)

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* | | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '37 | 69% | 31% | | — |
| Apr '38 | 60 | 40 | | — |
| Nov '38 | 50 | 50 | | — |
| Apr '39 | 48 | 52 | = 100% | 13% |
| Sept '39 | 65 | 35 | = 100 | 27 |
| Apr '40 | 58 | 42 | = 100 | 18 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE AUG '37, NOV '38, APR '39, AND SEPT '39 BY POLITICS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Democratic* | | |
| Aug '37 | 88% | 12% |
| Nov '38 | 69 | 31 |
| Apr '39 | 67 | 33 |
| Sept '39 | 86 | 14 |
| *Republican* | | |
| Aug '37 | 30 | 70 |
| Nov '38 | 12 | 82 |
| Apr '39 | 17 | 83 |
| Sept '39 | 26 | 74 |
| *Third party* | | |
| Apr '39 | 54 | 46 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE APR '39 AND SEPT '39 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *New England* | | |
| Apr | 47% | 53% |
| Sept | 59 | 41 |
| *Middle Atlantic* | | |
| Apr | 43 | 57 |
| Sept | 63 | 37 |
| *East central* | | |
| Apr | 42 | 58 |
| Sept | 61 | 39 |
| *West central* | | |
| Apr | 43 | 57 |
| Sept | 58 | 42 |
| *South* | | |
| Apr | 68 | 32 |
| Sept | 81 | 19 |
| *West* | | |
| Sept | 73 | 27 |
| *Wisconsin only* | | |
| Apr | 60 | 40 |

**10.** (US Jan '38) If the next President of the United States were to be one of the people on this list and not Mr. Roosevelt, which one of them would you prefer? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Senator William E. Borah | 11.9% |
| Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes | 11.1 |
| Postmaster General James A. Farley | 9.9 |
| Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg | 9.8 |
| Henry Ford | 8.2 |
| Ex-Governor Alf M. Landon | 8.0% |
| Secretary of State Cordell Hull | 6.3 |
| Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia | 5.5 |
| Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt | 4.8 |
| Ex-President Herbert Clark Hoover | 4.1 |
| Senator Robert M. La Follette | 4.0 |
| Governor Frank Murphy | 3.9 |
| Governor George H. Earle | 3.3 |
| WPA Administrator Harry Hopkins | 2.2 |
| General Hugh S. Johnson | 2.1 |
| Senator Burton K. Wheeler | 1.3 |
| John L. Lewis of the CIO | 1.5 |
| William Green of the AFL | 1.2 |
| John D. Rockefeller, Jr. | .9 |
| | 100.0% |
| No opinion | 22.4 |

**11.** (US Jan 25 '38 and Feb 3 '38) If Roosevelt is not a candidate in 1940, would your present inclination lead you to vote for the Republican or the Democratic candidate for President? (AIPO)

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* | *Third Party* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '38 | 37% | 32% | 4% | 27% |
| Feb '38 | 40 | 36 | 3 | 21 |

**12.** (US Mar 30 '38) Do you think the Republican party would be wise to nominate a conservative Democrat for President in 1940? A comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think the Republican party would be wise to nominate a conservative Democrat, like Senator Byrd, for President in 1940? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 23% No 58% No opinion 19%

**13.** (US Apr 27 '38) If one of the La Follette brothers runs for President in 1940, would you vote for him? (AIPO)

Yes 18% No 47% No opinion; no answer 35%

**14.** (US Apr 27 '38) If La Guardia runs for President in 1940, would you vote for him? (AIPO)

Yes 12% No 47% No opinion; no answer 41%

**15.** (US June 21 '38 to May 14 '40, dates listed below) How would you vote for President in 1940 if Farley (Dem) runs against Vandenberg (Rep)? Dewey (Rep)? (AIPO)

| | *Farley* | *Republican opponent* | | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| June 21 '38 Vandenberg | 32% | 40% | | 28% = 100% |
| June 21 '38 Dewey | 29 | 41 | | 30 = 100 |
| *Apr 6 '39 Dewey | 42 | 58 | = 100% | — |
| **Apr 6 '39 Taft | 48 | 52 | = 100 | — |
| (1) Apr 3 '40 Dewey | 42 | 58 | = 100 | 14 |
| (2) May 3 '40 Dewey | 42 | 58 | = 100 | 15 |
| (3) May 14 '40 Taft | 50 | 50 | = 100 | 24 |

* If James Farley runs for President in 1940 on the Democratic ticket and Thomas Dewey runs against him on the Republican ticket, which one do you think you would prefer?

** If James Farley runs for President in 1940 on the Democratic ticket and Robert Taft runs against him on the Republican ticket, which one do you think you would prefer?

(1) If James Farley runs for President on the Democratic ticket against Thomas Dewey on the Republican ticket, which one would you prefer?

(2) If Dewey runs for President on the Republican ticket against Farley on the Democratic ticket, which one would you prefer?

(3) If James Farley runs for President on the Democratic ticket against Senator Taft on the Republican ticket, which one would you prefer?

MAJOR PARTY VOTE FOR FARLEY VS DEWEY MAY '40 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | *Farley* | *Dewey* |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 38% | 62% |
| Middle Atlantic | 39 | 61 |
| East central | 36 | 64 |
| West central | 38 | 62 |
| South | 63 | 37 |
| West | 40 | 60 |

**16.** (US June 21 '38 to Apr 17 '40, dates listed below) How would you vote for President in 1940 if Garner (Dem) runs against Vandenberg (Rep)? (AIPO)

| | *Garner* | *Republican opponent* | | *Undecided* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| June 21 '38 Vandenberg | 39% | 34% | | 27% | = 100% |
| * Feb 16 '39 Dewey | 52 | 48 | = 100% | 16 | |
| ** Mar 8 '39 Dewey | 48 | 52 | = 100 | 16 | |
| (1) Mar 30 '39 Vandenberg | 57 | 43 | = 100 | 29 | |
| (2) May 2 '39 Taft | 54 | 46 | = 100 | 25 | |
| (3) June 7 '39 Dewey | 49 | 51 | = 100 | 19 | |
| (4) June 16 '39 Dewey | 46 | 54 | = 100 | 13 | |
| (5) Apr 17 '40 Taft | 51 | 49 | = 100 | 22 | |

* The question was: If John Garner runs for President in 1940 on the Democratic ticket against Thomas Dewey on the Republican ticket, which one do you think you would prefer? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with the names of the candidates in reverse order. Results were combined.

** Supposing these [Garner and Farley or Dewey and Taft] are the candidates for President and Vice-President in 1940, which combination would you rather vote for?

(1) If Garner runs for President in 1940 on the Democratic ticket and Senator Arthur Vandenberg runs against him on the Republican ticket, which one do you think you would prefer?

(2) If John Garner runs for President in 1940 on the Democratic ticket and Robert Taft runs against him on the Republican ticket, which one do you think you would prefer?

(3) If John Garner runs for President in 1940 on the Democratic ticket, and Thomas Dewey runs against him on the Republican ticket, which one would you prefer?

(4) If John Garner runs for President on the Democratic ticket against Thomas Dewey on the Republican ticket, which one would you prefer? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with the names of the candidates in reverse order. Results were combined.

(5) If John Garner runs on the Democratic ticket against Senator Taft on the Republican ticket, which one would you prefer?

MAJOR PARTY VOTE FOR GARNER VS VANDENBERG MAR '39 BY POLITICS

| | *Garner* | *Vandenberg* |
|---|---|---|
| Democratic | 81% | 19% |
| Republican | 14 | 86 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE FOR GARNER VS VANDENBERG MAR '39 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 57% | 43% |
| Middle Atlantic | 54 | 46 |
| East central | 50 | 50 |
| West central | 51 | 49 |
| South | 78 | 22 |
| Far West | 61 | 39 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE FOR GARNER VS TAFT APR '40 BY POLITICS

| | *Garner* | *Taft* |
|---|---|---|
| Democratic | 74% | 26% |
| Republican | 11 | 89 |

**17.** (US June 21 '38 to May 23 '40, dates listed below) How would you vote for President in 1940 if Hull (Dem) runs against Vandenberg (Rep)? Dewey (Rep)? (AIPO)

| | *Hull* | *Republican opponent* | | *Undecided* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % |
| June 21 '38 Vandenberg | 32 | 33 | | 35 | = 100 |
| June 21 '38 Dewey | 29 | 34 | | 37 | = 100 |
| * Apr 19 '39 Dewey | 48 | 52 | = 100 | 18 | |
| ** May 2 '39 Taft | 50 | 50 | | 28 | |
| (1) July 17 '39 Dewey | 48 | 52 | | 21 | |
| (2) Jan 30 '40 Dewey | 51 | 49 | | 18 | |
| (3) Feb 6 '40 Dewey | 50 | 50 | | 17 | |
| (4) Mar 25 '40 Vandenberg | 58 | 42 | | 12 | |
| (5) Apr 17 '40 Taft | 63 | 37 | | 20 | |
| (1) Apr 23 '40 Dewey | 51 | 49 | | 15 | |
| (6) Apr 23 '40 Taft | 60 | 40 | | — | |
| (4) Apr 23 '40 Vandenberg | 58 | 42 | | 20 | |
| (1) May 3 '40 Dewey | 51 | 49 | | — | |
| (6) May 3 '40 Taft | 60 | 40 | | — | |
| (4) May 3 '40 Vandenberg | 52 | 48 | | 18 | |
| (7) May 14 '40 Willkie | 69 | 31 | | 26 | |
| (8) May 14 '40 Dewey | 55 | 45 | | 8 | |
| (1) May 16 '40 Dewey | 55 | 45 | | 19 | |
| (1) May 23 '40 Dewey | 53 | 47 | | 14 | |

* The question was: If Cordell Hull runs for President in 1940 on the Democratic ticket and Thomas Dewey runs against him on the Republican ticket, which one do you think you would prefer? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with names of the candidates reversed. Results were combined.

** If Cordell Hull runs for President in 1940 on the Democratic ticket and Robert Taft runs against him on the Republican ticket, which one do you think you would prefer?

(1) If Cordell Hull runs for President on the Democratic ticket against Thomas Dewey on the Republican ticket, which one would you prefer? Some cross-sections reversed the order of the names of the candidates.

(2) Supposing these are the candidates for President and Vice-President this year, which combination would you rather vote for—Hull and Jackson, Dewey and Taft? A comparable cross-section was asked about Taft and Dewey. Results were combined.

(3) Supposing these are the candidates for President and Vice-President this year, which combination would you rather vote for—Hull and Farley, Dewey and Vandenberg? A comparable cross-section was asked about Vandenberg and Dewey. Results were combined.

(4) If Cordell Hull runs for President on the Democratic ticket against Senator Vandenberg on the Republican ticket, which one would you prefer? In May '40 a comparable cross-section was asked the question with the names of the candidates reversed. Results were combined.

(5) If Cordell Hull runs on the Democratic ticket against Senator Taft on the Republican ticket, which one would you prefer?

(6) If Cordell Hull runs for President on the Democratic ticket against Senator Taft on the Republican ticket, which one would you prefer?

(7) If Cordell Hull runs for President on the Democratic ticket against Wendell Willkie on the Republican ticket, which one would you prefer?

(8) If these are the candidates for President and Vice-President, which combination would you rather vote for—Dewey and Taft, Hull and Jackson?

MAJOR PARTY VOTE FOR HULL VS DEWEY APR '39 AND APR 23 '40 BY POLITICS

| | *Hull* | *Dewey* |
|---|---|---|
| *Democratic* | | |
| 1939 | 72% | 28% |
| 1940 | 75 | 25 |
| *Republican* | | |
| 1939 | 9 | 91 |
| 1940 | 12 | 88 |

HULL VS TAFT IN MAY '39 AND APR 17 '40 BY POLITICS

| | *Hull* | *Taft* |
|---|---|---|
| *Democratic* | | |
| 1939 | 75% | 25% |
| 1940 | 84 | 16 |

| | *Hull* | *Taft* |
|---|---|---|
| *Republican* | | |
| 1939 | 8% | 92% |
| 1940 | 21 | 79 |

HULL VS VANDENBERG IN MAR '40 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | *Hull* | *Vandenberg* |
|---|---|---|
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 59% | 41% |
| East central | 51 | 49 |
| West central | 49 | 51 |
| South | 79 | 21 |
| West | 58 | 42 |

HULL VS TAFT IN APR '40 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | *Hull* | *Taft* |
|---|---|---|
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 61% | 39% |
| East central | 54 | 46 |
| West central | 62 | 38 |
| South | 81 | 19 |
| Far West | 66 | 34 |

HULL VS DEWEY IN APR '40 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | *Hull* | *Dewey* |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 43% | 57% |
| Middle Atlantic | 49 | 51 |
| East central | 46 | 54 |
| West central | 49 | 51 |
| South | 75 | 25 |
| West | 50 | 50 |

HULL VS DEWEY IN APR '40 BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Hull* | *Dewey* |
|---|---|---|
| Upper income | 40% | 60% |
| Middle income | 49 | 51 |
| Lower income | 59 | 41 |
| Reliefers only | 65 | 35 |

**18.** (US June 21 '38) How would you vote for President in 1940 if Wallace (Dem) runs against Vandenberg (Rep)? (May 10 '39) If Henry Wallace runs for President in 1940 on the Democratic ticket and Robert Taft runs against him on the Republican ticket, which one do you think you would prefer? A comparable cross-section was asked about Thomas Dewey. (Apr 3 '40) If Henry Wallace runs for President on the Democratic ticket against Senator Taft on the Republican ticket, which one would you prefer? (AIPO)

| | *Wallace* | *Republican opponent* | | *Undecided* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| June '38 Vandenberg | 28% | 36% | | 36% | = 100% |
| May '39 Taft | 34 | 42 | | 24 | = 100 |
| May '39 Dewey | 31 | 50 | | 19 | = 100 |
| Apr '40 Taft | 47 | 53 | = 100% | 22 | |

**19.** (US June 21 '38) Do you think the Republican party should nominate a conservative or a liberal type of candidate for President in 1940? Asked of a national cross-section of Republicans. (AIPO)

| | *Conservative* | *Liberal* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1936 Landon voters | 55% | 45% | = 100% | 14% |
| Those currently against Roosevelt | 55 | 45 | = 100 | 15 |

**20.** (US Jan 7 '39) Which would you rather see as the next President—a Republican or a Democrat? A comparable cross-section was asked: Would you favor a Republican or a Democrat as President in 1940? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Republican | 30% |
| Democrat | 30 |
| Best man | 30 |
| Undecided | 10 |

**21.** (US Jan 20 '39) If Harry Hopkins runs for President in 1940 on the Democratic ticket against Thomas Dewey on the Republican ticket, which candidate would you prefer? A comparable cross-section was asked: If President Roosevelt endorses Harry Hopkins for President in 1940 on the Democratic ticket and Thomas Dewey runs on the Republican ticket, which would you prefer? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Hopkins* | *Dewey* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 39% | 61% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic | 61% | 39% |
| Republican | 4 | 96 |
| Other parties | 41 | 59 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper income | 20% | 80% |
| Middle income | 34 | 66 |
| Lower income (including reliefers) | 53 | 47 |
| Reliefers only | 60 | 40 |

**22.** (US Mar '39) Which kind of man would you like to see in the White House in 1941? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 36.9% |
| Like FDR but don't know | 13.3 |
| A New Dealer | 1.7 |
| Middle-of-the-road Democrat | 6.7 |
| Not FDR but other or don't know | 6.5 |
| Progressive Republican | 17.8 |
| Conservative Republican | 17.1 |

**23.** (US Mar '39) Which kind of candidate would you like to see elected to the White House in 1940? Asked of a national cross-section of people who felt unfavorably toward Roosevelt. (FOR)

| | *A candidate approved by the President as a New Dealer* | *A middle-of-the-road Democrat* | *Some young and progressive Republican* | *A Republican who would return to the conservative road followed by Presidents like Coolidge* | *Other* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Opinions of Roosevelt opponents | 3.5% | 13.4% | 35.7% | 34.3% | 4.3% | 8.8% |
| Opinion of those approving of Roosevelt who would not vote for him in 1940 | 13.4 | 26.6 | 25.3 | 13.8 | 3.1 | 17.8 |
| OPINIONS OF ROOSEVELT OPPONENTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | | |
| Southwest | 16.8% | 40.4% | 12.6% | 6.7% | 2.5% | 21.0% |
| Southeast | 8.2 | 33.6 | 16.4 | 24.3 | 3.6 | 13.9 |
| Pacific coast | 1.7 | 20.9 | 46.3 | 28.2 | 0.6 | 2.3 |
| Middle west | 2.1 | 9.4 | 37.6 | 36.0 | 4.3 | 10.6 |
| Northwest plains | 2.9 | 7.0 | 34.5 | 41.2 | 3.2 | 11.2 |
| Northeast | 1.1 | 5.9 | 43.2 | 39.0 | 6.0 | 4.8 |
| Mountain states | 7.1 | 8.9 | 28.6 | 42.9 | 7.1 | 5.4 |

**24.** (US Mar '39) Can you name any individual, offhand, in either party, who would be your choice to succeed Roosevelt? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Garner | 4.9% |
| Dewey | 4.2 |
| Vandenberg | 2.6 |
| Hull | 2.5 |
| Taft | 1.7 |
| Landon | 1.6 |
| Lodge | 1.5 |
| Farley | 1.2 |
| La Guardia | 1.0 |
| Hoover | .7 |
| Borah | .6 |
| Lehman | .6 |
| Clark | .5 |
| Ford | .4 |
| Hopkins | .4 |
| Ickes | .3 |
| No one can adequately replace Roosevelt | .2 |
| Don't know | 70.5 |
| Other | 4.6 |

**25.** (US Mar 3 '39 to June 25 '40, dates listed below) Whom would you like to see elected President? (AIPO)

THE CHOICE OF REPUBLICAN SUPPORTERS

| | *Mar 3 '39* | *Apr 6 '39** | *May 10 '39** | *June 29 '39** | *Sept 11 '39** | *Oct 24 '39** | *Dec 13 '39** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dewey | 50% | 54% | 45% | 45% | 39% | 39% | 60% |
| Vandenberg | 15 | 13 | 14 | 25 | 27 | 26 | 16 |
| Taft | 13 | 15 | 16 | 14 | 17 | 18 | 11 |
| Landon | 4 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| Hoover | 5 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Borah | 2 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 1 |
| Bricker | — | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | — | 1 |
| Lodge | 2 | 1 | 1 | — | — | 1 | 1 |
| La Guardia | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Barton | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Ford | — | — | 2 | — | — | — | — |
| Lindbergh | — | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | — |
| James | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 |
| Others | 9 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| Undecided | 54% | 41% | 51% | 44% | | | 37% |

| | *Jan 19 '40*** | *Mar 6 '40*** | *Apr 23 '40*** | *May 3 '40*** | *May 16 '40*** | *May 23 '40*** | *June 11 '40*** | *June 25 '40*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Dewey | 56 | 53 | 67 | 62 | 56 | 52 | 47 | 29 |
| Vandenberg | 17 | 19 | 14 | 13 | 12 | 12 | 8 | — |
| Taft | 17 | 17 | 12 | 14 | 16 | 13 | 8 | 13 |
| Landon | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — |
| Hoover | 3 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 6 | — |
| James | — | 1 | — | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Gannett | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | — |
| Willkie | — | — | 3 | 5 | 10 | 17 | 29 | 44 |
| Bridges | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| Others | 6 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 14 |
| Percentages | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Undecided | 36% | 40% | 28% | 26% | 32% | 30% | 34% | |

THE CHOICE OF DEMOCRATIC SUPPORTERS

| | *May 10 '39** | *June 16 '39** | *Oct 18 '39* | *Dec 13 '39** | *Jan 10 '40** | *May 29 '40*** | *June 25 '40*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 56% | — | 83% | 78% | 78% | 92% | 92% |
| Garner | 22 | 46% | 8 | 13 | 10 | 2 | 1 |
| McNutt | 3 | 13 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Hull | 4 | 12 | 3 | 2 | 6 | 3 | 4 |
| Farley | 6 | 12 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Wallace | 1 | 1 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Smith | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Murphy | 1 | 3 | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Barkley | 1 | 1 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Stark | 1 | 1 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Hopkins | — | 3 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Clark | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Wheeler | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | 1 |
| Others | 4 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | — |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| Undecided | 44% | 54% | — | 24% | 25% | 17% | — |

THE INDEPENDENT CHOICE DEC 13 '39*

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 47% |
| Dewey | 19 |
| Garner | 10 |
| Vandenberg | 6 |

THE INDEPENDENT CHOICE DEC 13 '39*

| | |
|---|---|
| Taft | 3% |
| Hull | 1 |
| McNutt | 1 |
| La Guardia | 1 |
| Hoover | 1 |
| Others | 11 |
| | 100% |
| Undecided | 38% |

* Question was: Whom would you like to see elected President in 1940?

** Whom would you like to see elected President this year?

THE CHOICE OF DEMOCRATIC SUPPORTERS MAY 29 '40 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | *Roosevelt* | *All others* |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 96% | 4% |
| Middle Atlantic | 97 | 3 |
| East central | 91 | 9 |
| West central | 93 | 7 |
| South | 86 | 14 |
| West | 90 | 10 |

**26.** (US Mar 8 '39 to June 11 '40, dates listed below) Which party would you like to see win the presidential election in 1940? (AIPO)

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* | | *Others* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mar 8 '39 | 49% | 51% | = 100% | — | — |
| Apr 19 '39 | 53 | 47 | | — | 16% |
| June 29 '39 | 54 | 46 | | | 15% |
| * July 8 '39 | 51 | 49 | | | 23 |
| July 17 '39 | 54 | 46 | | | 17 |
| July 26 '39 | 49 | 51 | | | 17 |
| Aug 8 '39 | 51 | 49 | | | 19 |

| | Democratic | Republican | | Others | No opinion | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug 17 '39... | 49% | 51% | | | 17% | |
| Sept 22 '39... | 57 | 43 | | — | 21% | |
| Oct 24 '39... | 54 | 46 | | | 14 | |
| ** Nov 8 '39... | 42 | 37 | | 1% | 20 | = 100% |
| (1) Dec 22 '39... | 54 | 46 | = 100% | — | — | |
| (1) Jan 10 '40... | 55 | 45 | | — | — | |
| (2) Apr 3 '40... | 54 | 46 | | — | 14 | |
| * Apr 9 '40... | 54 | 46 | | — | 14 | |
| ** May 14 '40... | 59 | 41 | | — | — | |
| (1) May 23 '40... | 58 | 42 | | — | 16 | |
| ** June 11 '40... | 58.5 | 41.5 | | — | — | |

* Question was: Which party would you like to see win the presidential election?

** Would you prefer to see the Democrats or the Republicans win the presidential election next year? In some cross-sections the names of the parties were reversed.

(1) Which party would you like to see win the presidential election in 1940? Comparable cross-sections were asked: Would you prefer to see the Democrats or the Republicans win the presidential election next year? Results were combined.

(2) Which party would you like to see win the presidential election this year?

MAJOR PARTY VOTE SEPT '39, OCT '39, DEC '39, AND JAN '40 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | Democratic | Republican |
|---|---|---|
| *New England* | | |
| Sept | 49% | 51% |
| Oct | 44 | 56 |
| Dec | 44 | 56 |
| Jan | 45 | 55 |
| *Middle Atlantic* | | |
| Sept | 53 | 47 |
| Oct | 51 | 49 |
| Dec | 48 | 52 |
| Jan | 53 | 47 |
| *East central* | | |
| Sept | 53 | 47 |
| Oct | 50 | 50 |
| Dec | 52 | 48 |
| Jan | 49 | 51 |
| *West central* | | |
| Sept | 54 | 46 |
| Oct | 51 | 49 |
| Dec | 51 | 49 |
| Jan | 51 | 49 |
| *South* | | |
| Sept | 77 | 23 |
| Oct | 77 | 23 |
| Dec | 75 | 25 |
| Jan | 75 | 25 |
| *West* | | |
| Sept | 65 | 35 |
| Oct | 59 | 41 |
| Dec | 60 | 40 |
| Jan | 59 | 41 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN JAN '40 BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Upper income | 36% | 64% |
| Middle income | 51 | 49 |
| Lower income | 69 | 31 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE APR 3 '40 AND MAY 23 '40 STATE BY STATE

| | Democratic | Republican |
|---|---|---|
| *Alabama* | | |
| Apr | 89% | 11% |
| May | 89 | 11 |
| *Arizona* | | |
| Apr | 68% | 32% |
| May | 74 | 26 |
| *Arkansas* | | |
| Apr | 84 | 16 |
| May | 84 | 16 |
| *California* | | |
| Apr | 58 | 42 |
| May | 63 | 37 |
| *Colorado* | | |
| Apr | 56 | 44 |
| May | 57 | 43 |
| *Connecticut* | | |
| Apr | 49 | 51 |
| May | 56 | 44 |
| *Delaware* | | |
| Apr | 54 | 46 |
| May | 59 | 41 |
| *Florida* | | |
| Apr | 77 | 23 |
| May | 78 | 22 |
| *Georgia* | | |
| Apr | 91 | 9 |
| May | 93 | 7 |
| *Idaho* | | |
| Apr | 52 | 48 |
| May | 58 | 42 |
| *Illinois* | | |
| Apr | 45 | 55 |
| May | 54 | 46 |
| *Indiana* | | |
| Apr | 52 | 48 |
| May | 54 | 46 |
| *Iowa* | | |
| Apr | 46 | 54 |
| May | 49 | 51 |
| *Kansas* | | |
| Apr | 44 | 56 |
| May | 47 | 53 |
| *Kentucky* | | |
| Apr | 60 | 40 |
| May | 59 | 41 |
| *Louisiana* | | |
| Apr | 90 | 10 |
| May | 91 | 9 |
| *Maine* | | |
| Apr | 36 | 64 |
| May | 41 | 59 |
| *Maryland* | | |
| Apr | 62 | 38 |
| May | 65 | 35 |
| *Massachusetts* | | |
| Apr | 47 | 53 |
| May | 51 | 49 |
| *Michigan* | | |
| Apr | 47 | 53 |
| May | 52 | 48 |
| *Minnesota* | | |
| Apr | 51 | 49 |
| May | 56 | 44 |
| *Mississippi* | | |
| Apr | 96 | 4 |
| May | 97 | 3 |
| *Missouri* | | |
| Apr | 58 | 42 |
| May | 61 | 39 |

| | Democratic | Republican |
|---|---|---|
| *Montana* | | |
| Apr | 64% | 36% |
| May | 67 | 33 |
| *Nebraska* | | |
| Apr | 49 | 51 |
| May | 49 | 51 |
| *Nevada* | | |
| Apr | 65 | 35 |
| May | 68 | 32 |
| *New Hampshire* | | |
| Apr | 44 | 56 |
| May | 46 | 54 |
| *New Jersey* | | |
| Apr | 46 | 54 |
| May | 54 | 46 |
| *New Mexico* | | |
| Apr | 58 | 42 |
| May | 66 | 34 |
| *New York* | | |
| Apr | 51 | 49 |
| May | 56 | 44 |
| *North Carolina* | | |
| Apr | 73 | 27 |
| May | 74 | 26 |
| *North Dakota* | | |
| Apr | 44 | 56 |
| May | 51 | 49 |
| *Ohio* | | |
| Apr | 49 | 51 |
| May | 54 | 46 |
| *Oklahoma* | | |
| Apr | 68 | 32 |
| May | 67 | 33 |
| *Oregon* | | |
| Apr | 53 | 47 |
| May | 60 | 40 |
| *Pennsylvania* | | |
| Apr | 49 | 51 |
| May | 55 | 45 |
| *Rhode Island* | | |
| Apr | 46 | 54 |
| May | 52 | 48 |
| *South Carolina* | | |
| Apr | 99 | 1 |
| May | 99 | 1 |
| *South Dakota* | | |
| Apr | 43 | 57 |
| May | 44 | 56 |
| *Tennessee* | | |
| Apr | 72 | 28 |
| May | 73 | 27 |
| *Texas* | | |
| Apr | 91 | 9 |
| May | 92 | 8 |
| *Utah* | | |
| Apr | 60 | 40 |
| May | 66 | 34 |
| *Vermont* | | |
| Apr | 39 | 61 |
| May | 45 | 55 |
| *Virginia* | | |
| Apr | 72 | 28 |
| May | 75 | 25 |
| *Washington* | | |
| Apr | 57 | 43 |
| May | 63 | 37 |
| *West Virginia* | | |
| Apr | 57% | 43% |
| May | 61 | 39 |
| *Wisconsin* | | |
| Apr | 45 | 55 |
| May | 53 | 47 |
| *Wyoming* | | |
| Apr | 51 | 49 |
| May | 59 | 41 |

**27.** (US Mar 21 '39 to May 29 '40, dates listed below) If Roosevelt is not a candidate, whom would you like to see elected President in 1940? (AIPO)

THE CHOICE OF DEMOCRATIC SUPPORTERS IF ROOSEVELT ELIMINATED

| | *Mar 21 '39* % | *May 10 '39* % | *July 26 '39** % | *Oct 18 '39*** % | *Dec 13 '39*** % | *Jan 10 '40*** % | *Apr 23 '40*** % | *May 29 '40* (1) % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Garner | 50 | 47 | 45 | 45 | 58 | 40 | 21 | 23 |
| McNutt | 3 | 3 | 21 | 18 | 17 | 11 | 6 | 9 |
| Farley | 9 | 16 | 10 | 8 | 5 | 8 | 16 | 12 |
| Hull | 13 | 12 | 10 | 13 | 8 | 25 | 47 | 47 |
| Murphy | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | — | — |
| Clark | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | — | — |
| Hopkins | 3 | 5 | 1 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Barkley | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | — | — |
| Stark | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Wallace | 2 | 3 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Lehman | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Kennedy | — | 1 | — | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Smith | — | — | — | 2 | — | — | — | — |
| Ickes | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | — | — | — |
| Wheeler | — | — | — | — | 1 | 4 | 4 | 3 |
| Bankhead | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | — |
| Jackson | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| La Guardia | — | — | — | — | — | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| Byrd | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — |
| Others | 11 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 4 |
| Percentages | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Undecided | 54% | 57% | | | 55% | | 45% | |

THE CHOICE OF REPUBLICAN SUPPORTERS MAY 10 '39*

| | |
|---|---|
| Dewey | 47% |
| Vandenberg | 19 |
| Taft | 13 |
| Hoover | 6 |
| Landon | 4 |
| Borah | 3 |
| La Guardia | 2 |
| Lodge | 1 |
| Bricker | 1 |
| Others | 4 |
| | 100% |
| No opinion | 41% |

THE CHOICE OF INDEPENDENT VOTERS DEC 13 '39 IF ROOSEVELT ELIMINATED**

| | |
|---|---|
| Dewey | 33% |
| Garner | 20 |
| Vandenberg | 8 |
| Taft | 5 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Hull | 5% |
| La Guardia | 3 |
| McNutt | 3 |
| Hoover | 2 |
| Wheeler | 2 |
| Borah | 1 |
| Murphy | 1 |
| Lodge | 1 |
| Others | 16 |
| | 100% |
| No answer | 54% |

* The question was: If Roosevelt is not a candidate in 1940, whom would you like to see elected President?

** If Roosevelt is not a candidate, whom would you like to see elected?

(1) If Roosevelt is not a candidate, whom would you like to see elected President?

JAN '40 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Upper income* | *Middle income* | *Lower income* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Garner | 30% | 37% | 48% |
| Hull | 34 | 29 | 17 |
| McNutt | 12 | 11 | 10 |
| Farley | 5 | 7 | 10 |
| Wheeler | 8 | 4 | 4 |
| La Guardia | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| Jackson | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| All others | 8 | 8 | 6 |

**28.** (US May '39) If you had to choose between these two men to succeed President Roosevelt in 1940 which one would you prefer as you feel now—Vice-President Garner, Mayor La Guardia of New York? And if you had to choose between these two men, which would you prefer—Secretary of State Hull, Senator Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan? (FOR)

GARNER VS LA GUARDIA

| | *Garner* | *La Guardia* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 51.0% | 22.6% | 26.4% = 100% |
| BY ATTITUDE TOWARD ROOSEVELT | | | |
| Like Roosevelt | 58.8% | 58.8% | |
| Dislike Roosevelt | 38.7 | 38.8 | |
| Don't know about Roosevelt | 2.5 | 2.4 | |
| | 100.0% | 100.0% | |

HULL VS VANDENBERG

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40.6% | 24.4% | 35.0% = 100.0% |
| BY ATTITUDE TOWARD ROOSEVELT | | | |
| Like Roosevelt | 70.4% | 32.9% | |
| Dislike Roosevelt | 27.5 | 64.4 | |
| Don't know about Roosevelt | 2.1 | 2.7 | |
| | 100.0% | 100.0% | |

**29.** (US June 7 '39) If you were choosing between Garner and Roosevelt for the next President, which would you choose? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Garner | 32% |
| Roosevelt | 47 |
| Neither | 21 |
| | 100% |
| Don't know | 9% |

**30.** (US June 7 '39) If there were a three-cornered race for the presidency in 1940, with Garner running on a Conservative-Democratic ticket, Roosevelt on a New Deal ticket, and Dewey on a Republican ticket, which would you vote for? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Garner | 16% |
| Roosevelt | 41 |
| Dewey | 43 |
| | 100% |
| Don't know | 12% |

**31.** (US July 26 '39 to May 16 '40, dates listed below) If Thomas Dewey runs for President on the Republican ticket against Paul McNutt on the Democratic ticket, which would you prefer? (AIPO)

| | *McNutt* | *Republican opponent* | | *Undecided* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| July 26 '39 Dewey | 35% | 65% | = 100% | 25% | |
| * July 26 '39 Taft | 44 | 56 | = 100 | 31 | |
| ** Nov 15 '39 Dewey | 34 | 46 | | 20 | = 100% |
| (1) May 16 '40 Willkie | 56 | 44 | = 100 | 38 | |
| (2) May 16 '40 Taft | 50 | 50 | = 100 | 29 | |
| (3) May 16 '40 Vandenberg | 50 | 50 | = 100 | 32 | |

* Question was: If Robert Taft runs for President on the Republican ticket against Paul McNutt on the Democratic ticket, which would you prefer?

** If Paul McNutt runs for President in 1940 on the Democratic ticket against Thomas Dewey on the Republican ticket, which one would you prefer? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with the names in reverse order. Results were combined.

(1) If Paul McNutt runs for President on the Democratic ticket against Wendell Willkie on the Republican ticket, which one would you prefer?

(2) If Paul McNutt runs for President on the Democratic ticket against Senator Taft on the Republican ticket, which one would you prefer?

(3) If Paul McNutt runs for President on the Democratic ticket against Senator Vandenberg on the Republican ticket, which one would you prefer?

**32.** (US Aug 8 '39, Oct 10 '39, Mar 5 '40) If it came to a choice between Thomas Dewey and Arthur Vandenberg for President in 1940, which one would you prefer? In the Mar '40 question the words "this year" were used instead of "in 1940." In Oct '39 and Mar '40 comparable cross-sections were asked the question with the names of the candidates in reverse order. Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Dewey* | *Vandenberg* | | *Undecided; no answer* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '39 All voters | 64% | 36% | = 100% | 35% | |
| Oct '39 Rep voters | 51 | 49 | = 100 | 24 | |
| Mar '40 Rep voters | 53 | 28 | | 19 | = 100% |

**33.** (US Aug 17 '39) Do you think Mayor La Guardia of New York would make a good President? 22% of the sample who thought he would make a good President were asked: Would you like to see your party nominate him in 1940? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Wouldn't make good President | 44% |
| Didn't know or wouldn't say whether or not would be good | 34 |
| Would like to see party nominate him | 11 |
| Would not like to see party nominate him | 6 |
| Didn't know or wouldn't say whether or not would like to see party nominate him | 5 |

**34.** (US Aug 17 '39) Do you think Charles A. Lindbergh would make a good President? 9% of the sample who thought he

would make a good President were asked: Would you like to see your party nominate him in 1940? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Wouldn't make good President | 78% |
| Didn't know or wouldn't say whether or not would be good | 13 |
| Would like to see party nominate him | 6 |
| Would not like to see party nominate him | 1 |
| Didn't know or wouldn't say whether or not would like to see party nominate him | 2 |

**35.** (US Aug 17 '39) Do you think John D. Rockefeller, Jr., would make a good President? 15% of the sample who thought he would make a good President were asked: Would you like to see your party nominate him in 1940? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Wouldn't make good President | 52% |
| Didn't know or wouldn't say whether or not would be good | 33 |
| Would like to see party nominate him | 7 |
| Would not like to see party nominate him | 5 |
| Didn't know or wouldn't say whether or not would like to see party nominate him | 3 |

**36.** (US Aug 17 '39) Do you think Mrs. Roosevelt would make a good President? 17% of the sample who thought she would make a good President were asked: Would you like to see your party nominate her in 1940? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Wouldn't make good President | 71% |
| Didn't know or wouldn't say whether or not would be good | 12 |
| Would like to see party nominate her | 8 |
| Would not like to see party nominate her | 7 |
| Didn't know or wouldn't say whether or not would like to see party nominate her | 2 |

**37.** (US Aug 30 '39) Will you vote for him [President Roosevelt] if he runs? (AIPO)

Yes 43% No 57% = 100% No opinion; no answer 13%

**38.** (US Sept '39) If you had your choice of candidate for President in 1940, would you choose Mr. Roosevelt or someone else? (Dec '39) Under the circumstances, do you think it would be better to have a new President in 1940, or to have Roosevelt remain in office? (FOR)

| | *Roosevelt* | *Someone else* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '39 | 34.9% | 53.3% | 11.8% |
| Dec '39 | 47.4 | 38.6 | 14.0 |
| SEPT RESULTS BY SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL SECTIONS | | | |
| Southeast | 52.1% | 38.4% | 9.5% |
| Southwest | 48.1 | 40.6 | 11.3 |
| SEPT RESULTS BY SELECTED GROUPS | | | |
| Negroes | 64.8% | 18.6% | 16.6% |
| Poor | 49.1 | 37.0 | 13.9 |
| Unemployed | 54.8 | 35.6 | 9.6 |
| Labor-farm | 54.0 | 29.7 | 16.3 |
| Labor-miscellaneous | 52.4 | 38.1 | 9.5 |
| Labor-factory | 48.9 | 43.5 | 7.6 |

**39.** (US Sept '39) Can you, offhand, name your first choice for President? Asked of 53.3% of the sample who would choose someone beside Roosevelt as a candidate for President in 1940. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dewey | 5.1% |
| Garner | 4.3 |
| Vandenberg | 3.3 |
| Taft | 1.2 |
| Hull | .9 |
| Hoover | .6 |
| McNutt | .5% |
| Landon | .5 |
| Others | 2.9 |
| Don't know | 34.0 |
| | 53.3% |

**40.** (US Sept '39) If you had to choose between these two men to succeed President Roosevelt in 1940, which one would you prefer, as you feel now—Senator Robert Taft of Ohio, Senator Bennett C. Clark of Missouri? And these—District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey of New York City, Postmaster General James A. Farley? (FOR)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Taft | 27.2% | Dewey | 45.7% |
| Clark | 14.9 | Farley | 27.8 |
| Don't know | 57.9 | Don't know | 26.5 |

**41.** (US Oct 24 '39) If it came to a choice between Justice Douglas of the Supreme Court, John Garner, or Paul McNutt for President, which one would you prefer? A comparable cross-section was asked: If it came to a choice between Paul McNutt, Justice Douglas of the Supreme Court, or John Garner for President, which one would you prefer? Results were combined. Only Democrats were questioned. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Douglas | 15% |
| Garner | 59 |
| McNutt | 26 |
| | 100% |
| Don't know; no answer | 41% |

**42.** (US Oct 24 '39 to May 23 '40, dates listed below) If it came to a choice between Robert Taft, Thomas Dewey, or Arthur Vandenberg for President, which one would you prefer? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with the names of the candidates reversed. Results were combined. Only Republicans were questioned. (AIPO)

| | *Taft* | *Dewey* | *Willkie* | *Vandenberg* | | *Undecided; no answer* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Oct 24 '39 | 25 | 44 | — | 31 | = 100 | 16 | |
| * Jan 20 '40 | 21 | 59 | — | 20 | = 100 | 26 | |
| ** Mar 6 '40 | 19 | 45 | — | 19 | | 17 | = 100 |
| (1) Mar 13 '40 | | | | | | | |
| First choice | 25 | 51 | — | 24 | = 100 | 20 | |
| Second choice | 43 | 25 | — | 32 | = 100 | 12 | |
| Third choice | 31 | 25 | — | 44 | = 100 | 4 | |
| (2) May 23 '40 | 16 | 50 | 16 | 16 | = 100 | 24 | |

* Question was: Which of these three candidates do you think would have the best chance of getting elected President—Robert Taft, Thomas Dewey, or Arthur Vandenberg?

** If it came to a choice among Thomas Dewey, Robert Taft, and Arthur Vandenberg for President this year, which one would you prefer? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with the names in reverse order. Results were combined. Only Republicans were questioned.

(1) If it came to a choice among Dewey, Taft, or Vandenberg for President, which would be your first choice? Your second choice? Your third choice? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with the names in reverse order. Results were combined.

(2) If it came to a choice between Willkie, Dewey, Taft, and Vandenberg for the Republican presidential nomination, which man would you prefer? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with the candidates listed in this order: "Dewey, Vandenberg, Willkie, and Taft." Results were combined. Asked of Republicans and Independents.

**43.** (US Nov 8 '39) If the war is still going on next year, would you prefer to see the Democrats or the Republicans win the presidential election? (AIPO)

Democrats 44% Republicans 35% No opinion 21%

**44.** (US Nov 15 '39) Would you prefer to see the Democrats or the Republicans win the presidential election next year? 44% of the sample said they would prefer to see the Democrats win, 1% voted for parties other than the Republican, and 17% were undecided. These three groups were asked: If it came to a choice between Franklin D. Roosevelt and Paul McNutt for President in 1940, which would you prefer? A cross-section comparable to that used for the preceding question was asked: If the war is still going on next year, would you prefer to see the Democrats or the Republicans win the presidential election? 48% of this sample said they would prefer the Democrats, 1% chose other parties, and 17% were undecided. These were asked: If it came to a choice between Paul McNutt and Franklin D. Roosevelt for President in 1940, which would you prefer? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Without war element* | |
| Prefer Republicans | 38% |
| Prefer Roosevelt | 41 |
| Prefer McNutt | 10 |
| Didn't say who preferred | 2 |
| Undecided about preference | 9 |
| *If war is still on* | |
| Prefer Republicans | 34% |
| Prefer Roosevelt | 45 |
| Prefer McNutt | 10 |
| Didn't say who preferred | 4 |
| Undecided about preference | 7 |

**45.** (US Dec 13 '39) Do you happen to know the names of two leading Republican candidates for President in 1940? (AIPO)

| | *All voters* | *Republican voters* |
|---|---|---|
| Dewey | 59% | 69% |
| Vandenberg | 24 | 32 |
| Taft | 26 | 31 |
| Hoover | 2 | 2 |
| Bricker | 1 | 2 |
| Landon | 1 | 1 |
| Borah | 1 | 1 |
| James | 1 | 1 |
| All others | 4 | 4 |
| | 119%* | 143%* |
| No answer | 31% | 20% |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**46.** (US Dec 13 '39) Do you happen to know the names of two leading Democratic candidates for President in 1940? (AIPO)

| | *All voters* | *Democratic voters* |
|---|---|---|
| Garner | 64% | 61% |
| Roosevelt | 30 | 30 |
| McNutt | 28 | 28 |
| Farley | 4 | 5 |
| Hull | 2 | 2 |
| Wheeler | 1 | 1 |
| Murphy | 1 | 1 |
| All others | 3 | 4 |
| | 133%* | 132%* |
| No answer | 24% | 24% |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**47.** (US Jan '40) Who is your choice for our next President among these four Democratic [Franklin D. Roosevelt, Vice-President Garner, Secretary of State Hull, Paul McNutt] or these four Republican [District Attorney Thomas Dewey, Senator Vandenberg, Senator Taft, Ex-President Herbert Hoover] possibilities? (FOR)

| | *National total* % | *Northeast* % | *Middle west* % | *Northwest* % | *Southeast* % | *Southwest* % | *Mountain* % | *Pacific coast* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Democrats:* | | | | | | | | |
| Roosevelt | 30.6 | 26.9 | 23.6 | 18.7 | 49.4 | 40.3 | 26.9 | 33.8 |
| Garner | 4.5 | 3.1 | 3.6 | 3.3 | 6.2 | 9.2 | 4.5 | 4.9 |
| Hull | 2.9 | 2.5 | 1.7 | 1.4 | 7.4 | .2 | 1.3 | 3.7 |
| McNutt | 2.1 | 1.4 | 3.9 | 1.7 | 2.1 | 1.0 | 1.9 | 1.7 |
| Other | 0.5 | 0.7 | 0.3 | 0.9 | 1.0 | — | — | 0.3 |
| Unnamed Democratic | 8.0 | 4.7 | 5.5 | 4.9 | 12.8 | 23.8 | 7.1 | 4.6 |
| *Republican:* | | | | | | | | |
| Dewey | 9.1 | 13.7 | 7.6 | 10.1 | 2.9 | 1.4 | 10.9 | 16.0 |
| Vandenberg | 4.9 | 5.9 | 8.1 | 5.3 | 1.5 | 1.0 | 1.3 | 3.7 |
| Taft | 3.9 | 3.9 | 6.8 | 5.4 | 1.0 | 0.7 | 1.3 | 4.6 |
| Hoover | 1.6 | 2.5 | 1.0 | 1.2 | 0.8 | 0.2 | 0.6 | 4.3 |
| Other | 1.3 | 2.4 | 1.3 | 0.9 | 0.4 | — | 0.6 | 1.7 |
| Unnamed Republican | 12.7 | 16.4 | 12.7 | 24.5 | 4.1 | 2.8 | 14.7 | 9.2 |
| Other possibilities of neither party | 0.1 | 15.9 | 23.9 | 21.7 | 10.4 | 19.4 | 28.9 | 11.5 |
| Don't know | 14.3 | | | | | | | |
| Wouldn't answer | 3.5 | | | | | | | |

**48.** (US Jan '40) Regardless of which political party you sympathize with, which of the following courses of action do you think would give the Republican party the best chance of winning the 1940 election—(1) campaign on the side of keeping us out of war no matter what happens abroad; (2) base their election campaign on domestic issues just as if there were no war; (3) come out for a definite policy of giving the Allies whatever support they need to win? (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Other* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41.9% | 24.1% | 8.2% | 2.4% | 23.4% |
| BY SELECTED GROUPS | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 41.5% | 30.9% | 8.4% | 2.1% | 17.1% |
| Poor | 42.0 | 20.3 | 7.5 | 1.6 | 28.6 |
| Executives | 33.7 | 46.4 | 10.2 | 3.6 | 6.1 |
| Unemployed | 41.9 | 19.5 | 8.3 | 1.5 | 28.8 |
| Students | 66.7 | 25.9 | 3.7 | — | 3.7 |

**49.** (US Jan 30 '40) Which of these combinations of candidates for President and Vice-President would you rather vote for—Roosevelt and La Guardia, Dewey and Taft? A comparable cross-section was asked about Taft and Dewey. Results were combined. (May 14 '40) Suppose these are the candidates for President and Vice-President, which combination would you rather vote for—Dewey and Taft, Roosevelt and Jackson? (AIPO)

| | *Dewey and Taft* | *Roosevelt and Jackson* | *Roosevelt and La Guardia* | *Don't know; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '40 results | 47% | — | 53% = 100% | 12% |
| May '40 results | 42 | 58% = 100% | — | 6 |

**50.** (US Feb 20 '40) If Roosevelt does not run for President, would you prefer to see the Democrats or Republicans win the presidential election this year? (AIPO)

Democrats 52% Republicans 48% = 100%
Don't know 16%

**51.** (US Mar 25 '40) If it came to a choice between these candidates for President this year, which man would you prefer? (AIPO)

| *Choice of Republicans** | | *Choice of Democrats** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dewey | 43% | Roosevelt | 64% |
| Vandenberg | 22 | Hull | 12 |
| Taft | 17 | Garner | 10 |
| Hoover | 9 | Farley | 5 |
| Landon | 4 | McNutt | 3 |
| Bridges | 1 | La Guardia | 2 |
| James | 1 | Wheeler | 3 |
| Martin | 1 | Wallace | 1 |
| Gannett | 1 | Jackson | ** |
| Bricker | 1 | Bankhead | ** |
| | 100% | | 100% |
| No answer | 14% | No answer | 10% |

* Includes those who were undecided.
** Less than 0.5%.

**52.** (US Mar 25 '40) Regardless of which candidate you prefer for President, which man do you think will be nominated by the Republicans? Democrats? (AIPO)

| *Republican candidate* | | *Democratic candidate* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dewey | 51% | Roosevelt | 64% |
| Vandenberg | 24 | Hull | 10 |
| Taft | 17 | Garner | 12 |
| Landon | 3 | Farley | 7 |
| Hoover | 2 | McNutt | 3 |
| Martin | 1 | La Guardia | 1 |
| James | 1 | Wheeler | 2 |
| Bricker | * | Jackson | 1 |
| Bridges | * | Bankhead | * |
| Gannett | 1 | | |
| | 100% | | 100% |
| No answer | 17% | No answer | 15% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**53.** (US Apr 17 '40) If you were voting for President which type of candidate do you think you would be more likely to vote for—candidate favoring help for England and France, candidate opposing further help for England and France? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with the types in reverse order. Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Favoring help* | *Oppose further help* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 66% | 34% = 100% | 9% |
| MAJOR PARTY VOTE BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 68% | 32% | |
| Republican | 64 | 36 | |
| MAJOR PARTY VOTE BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 72% | 28% | |
| Middle income | 66 | 34 | |
| Lower income | 63 | 37 | |

**54.** (US Apr 23 '40) What do you think is the most important issue in the coming presidential campaign? A comparable cross-section was asked: What is the most important issue that you would like to hear discussed in the coming presidential campaign? (AIPO)

| | *Most important issue* | *Like discussed* |
|---|---|---|
| The war situation (general) | 18% | 10% |
| Keeping out of war | 15 | 14 |
| Foreign policy | 4 | 3 |
| Neutrality | 3 | 3 |
| Preparedness | 1 | 1 |
| Unemployment | 12 | 16 |
| Government spending | 9 | 9 |
| Business restoration | 5 | 5 |
| The New Deal | 4 | 1 |
| Relief | 2 | 5 |
| Third term | 2 | — |
| Labor and labor laws | 2 | 3 |
| The farm problem | 2 | 5 |
| Taxation | 1 | 2 |
| Old-age pensions | 1 | 2 |
| All others | 5 | 7 |
| No answers | 14 | 14 |

**55.** (US May '40) Which is your choice for our next President among these six Democrats or these six Republicans? 20.1% of the sample who said they didn't know were asked: Would you rather see a Democrat or a Republican elected? Southern Negroes were not included in the tabulation. (FOR)

| *Democrats* | | |
|---|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 35.8% | |
| Garner | 5.6 | |
| Cordell Hull | 4.5 | |
| Paul McNutt | 1.8 | |
| Jim Farley | 1.5 | |
| Attorney General Jackson | 0.2 | |
| Don't know but prefer a Democrat | 5.0 | |
| | | 54.4% |
| *Republicans* | | |
| Dewey | 14.9% | |
| Senator Taft | 5.8 | |
| Senator Vandenberg | 5.3 | |
| Herbert Hoover | 3.5 | |
| Congressman Joe Martin | 0.6 | |
| Publisher Frank Gannett | 0.4 | |
| Don't know but prefer a Republican | 7.3 | |
| | | 37.8% |
| Neither or don't know | | 7.8% |

**56.** (US May '40) Can you name anyone you would prefer to any of these six Democrats or six Republicans [named in preceding question]? 3.5% of the sample who said they could were asked: Whom? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| No, can name none | 96.5% |
| Named other known Democrat | 1.1 |
| Other known Republican | 1.6 |
| Party not known | 0.5 |
| Other party | 0.2 |
| Yes, but no one named | 0.1 |

**57.** (US May 16 '40) It has been suggested that the Republican party postpone their presidential nominating convention from June to August of this year in order to wait and see what is going to happen in Europe. Do you approve or disapprove of this proposal? Asked of Republicans only. (AIPO)

Approve 43% Disapprove 57% = 100% No opinion 27%

**58.** (US May 23 '40) Would you like to see the Republicans nominate Roosevelt for President if the Democrats would agree

to accept the choice of the Republicans for Vice-President? (AIPO)

Yes 26% No 53% Don't know 21%

**59.** (US July '40) If Roosevelt does not run for re-election, which party do you think you would be most likely to vote for, as you feel now? Southern Negroes were omitted in this tabulation because their franchise is largely ineffective. (FOR)

| | *Republican* | *Democratic* | *Other* | *Don't know* | *Wouldn't answer* | *Won't vote* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 35.7% | 33.7% | 0.6% | 21.5% | 1.7% | 6.8% |

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | | *Other, Don't know, Wouldn't answer, and Won't vote* |
|---|---|---|---|
| New England | 49.4% | 26.8% | 23.8% |
| Middle Atlantic | 47.7 | 25.7 | 26.6 |
| East north central | 40.5 | 26.6 | 32.9 |
| West north central | 47.4 | 22.2 | 30.4 |
| South Atlantic | 16.5 | 51.3 | 32.2 |
| East south central | 5.4 | 47.6 | 47.0 |
| West south central | 12.1 | 58.9 | 29.0 |
| Mountain states | 29.3 | 26.7 | 44.0 |
| Pacific coast | 35.9 | 42.5 | 21.6 |

**60.** (US July '40) If Roosevelt does run for re-election, do you think you would vote for or against him as you feel now? (FOR)

| | *For* | *Against* | *Don't know* | *Wouldn't answer* | *Won't vote* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49.0% | 31.4% | 11.2% | 2.1% | 6.3% |

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION*

| | | | *Don't know, Wouldn't answer, and Won't vote* |
|---|---|---|---|
| South Atlantic | 55.7% | 14.5% | 29.8% |
| East south central | 42.8 | 5.0 | 52.2 |
| West south central | 54.7 | 15.4 | 29.9 |
| Mountain states | 48.0 | 32.0 | 20.0 |
| East north central | 40.8 | 37.8 | 21.4 |
| New England | 48.2 | 39.3 | 12.5 |
| Pacific coast | 56.3 | 32.2 | 11.5 |
| Middle Atlantic | 45.5 | 36.3 | 18.2 |
| West north central | 47.8 | 40.0 | 12.2 |

* Breakdown from *Fortune* Aug '40.

**61.** (US July 11 '40) Suppose Roosevelt and Hull are the Democratic candidates for President and Vice-President, would you prefer to vote for them or for the Republican ticket of Willkie and McNary? (AIPO)

Roosevelt and Hull 54% Willkie and McNary 46% = 100%
Undecided 14%

**62.** (US July 20 '40) Which presidential candidate do you think would handle our country's foreign affairs better, Roosevelt or Willkie? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 54% |
| Willkie | 27 |
| Other | 1 |
| Undecided | 17 |
| No answer | 1 |

**63.** (US July 20 '40) Would you prefer to see Roosevelt or Willkie win the presidential election this year? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 49% |
| Willkie | 39 |
| Other | 1 |
| Undecided | 10 |
| No answer | 1 |

**64.** (US July 20 '40) Which do you think is more important to you personally—that England win the war against Germany and Italy, or that [respondent's choice of candidate] be elected President of the United States this year? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| England defeat Germany and Italy | 46% |
| Candidate be elected | 38 |
| Undecided | 10 |
| No answer | 6 |

**65.** (US July 31 '40 to Nov 2 '40, dates listed below) Regardless of how you, yourself, plan to vote, who do you think will be elected President? (AIPO, FOR)

| | *Roosevelt* | *Willkie* | | *Undecided; no answer* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| July 31 '40 | 60% | 40% | = 100% | — | |
| * Sept 3 '40 | 55 | 45 | | 18% | |
| ** Sept 3 '40 | 68 | 32 | | 16 | |
| ** Sept 17 '40 | 73 | 27 | | — | |
| ** Sept 20 '40 | 74 | 26 | | — | |
| (1) Oct '40 (Asked in Aug) | 58.1 | 24.2 | | 17.7 | = 100% |
| ** Oct 5 '40 | 74 | 26 | = 100 | 15 | |
| ** Oct 19 '40 | 71 | 29 | | 15 | |
| ** Oct 22 '40 | 66 | 34 | | 16 | |
| ** Oct 23 '40 | 69 | 31 | | 16 | |
| ** Oct 24 '40 | 69 | 31 | | 17 | |
| (2) Nov '40 (Asked in Sept) | 60.3 | 23.0 | | 16.7 | = 100 |
| (2) Nov '40 (Asked in Oct) | 66 | 18 | | 16 | |
| ** Nov 2 '40 | 64 | 36 | = 100 | 19 | |

* The question was: Which candidate do you think will win in your state?

** Regardless of how you, yourself, plan to vote, which presidential candidate do you think will win?

(1) Regardless of what you hope, who do you think will win the election—Roosevelt or Willkie? (FOR)

(2) Regardless of what you hope, who do you think will win—Roosevelt or Willkie? (FOR)

SEPT 3 '40 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | *Roosevelt* | *Willkie* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Republicans | 27% | 73% | — |
| Democratic | 96 | 4 | — |

FORTUNE'S OCT '40 RESULTS BY ATTITUDES TOWARD ROOSEVELT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Favoring Roosevelt | 84.4% | 4.0% | 11.6% |
| Favoring Willkie | 23.8 | 56.3 | 19.9 |

**66.** (US Aug '40) If Roosevelt does run next fall, do you think you would vote for him or for Willkie? (FOR)

| | *For Roosevelt* | *For Willkie* | *Others; won't vote; wouldn't answer* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 44.3% | 40.8% | 8.0% | 6.9% |

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | *For Roosevelt* | *For Willkie* | *Others, etc., and Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| South Atlantic | 66.5% | 16.4% | 17.1% |
| East south central | 64.8 | 11.1 | 24.1 |
| West south central | 62.8 | 15.9 | 21.3 |
| Mountain states | 39.3 | 39.3 | 21.4 |
| East north central | 38.8 | 45.1 | 16.1 |
| New England | 40.6 | 47.2 | 12.2 |
| Pacific coast | 37.0 | 51.1 | 11.9 |
| Middle Atlantic | 35.9 | 52.6 | 11.5 |
| West north central | 33.1 | 57.6 | 9.3 |

**67.** (US Aug '40) 40.8% of a national sample who said they would vote for Willkie and 44.3% who said they would vote for Roosevelt were asked: Which of the following most nearly represents your opinion of Willkie? (FOR)

OPINIONS OF WILLKIE SUPPORTERS

| | |
|---|---|
| He is the best man Republicans have and is likely to win the election | 57.2% |
| He is the best man Republicans have, but he probably won't beat Roosevelt | 14.1 |
| Someone else would have been better choice, but Willkie will be better than another term for Roosevelt | 21.5 |
| Don't know | 7.2 |
| | 100.0% |

of those who favored Willkie

OPINIONS OF ROOSEVELT SUPPORTERS

| | |
|---|---|
| He is the best man Republicans could have chosen, but it is better for the country to keep Roosevelt in office. | 68.1% |
| He may be all right as a person, but Republicans made a mistake not to have chosen a different candidate | 12.8 |
| He is thoroughly unsuited for office; his election would be a calamity | 5.8 |
| Don't know | 13.3 |
| | 100.0% |

of those who favored Roosevelt

**68.** (US Aug 8 '40) If England is defeated between now and election time and it looks as though the United States might have to fight Germany, which candidate would you prefer for President—Willkie or Roosevelt? (AIPO)

Willkie 42% Roosevelt 58% = 100% No opinion 10%

**69.** (US Aug 9 '40 and Oct 5 '40) Do you think it would be a bad thing for the country if Roosevelt [Willkie] is elected? Willkie supporters were asked about Roosevelt and Roosevelt supporters were asked about Willkie. (AIPO)

IF ROOSEVELT IS ELECTED

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '40 | 67% | 20% | 13% = 100% |
| Oct '40 | 82 | 18 = 100% | 9 |

IF WILLKIE IS ELECTED

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '40 | 40% | 34% | 26% = 100% |
| Oct '40 | 68 | 32 = 100% | 21 |

**70.** (US Sept 3 '40) If it appears that England is going to be defeated, which presidential candidate do you think you would favor? (AIPO)

Willkie 38% Roosevelt 48% Undecided 14%

**71.** (US Sept 3 '40 and Sept 20 '40) Are you more interested or less interested in the coming presidential election than you were in the last presidential election? (AIPO)

| | *More* | *Less* | *About same* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sept 3 '40 | 67% | 5% | 27% | 1% = 100% |
| Sept 20 '40 | 66 | 4 | 30 = 100% | 1 |

**72.** (US Sept 17 '40) Since he was nominated, do you think Wendell Willkie has carried on a better or a worse campaign than you expected he would? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 15% |
| About as good | 25 |
| Worse | 42 |
| No opinion | 18 |

**73.** (US Sept 30 '40) Have you, ar any time since Willkie was nominated, planned to vote for him? Willkie supporters were excluded from the cross-section. (AIPO)

Yes 10% No 90%

**74.** (US Sept 30 '40) Since Roosevelt's renomination last July, have you at any time planned to vote for him? Roosevelt supporters were excluded from the cross-section. (AIPO)

Yes 7% No 93%

**75.** (US Oct '40) Do you feel that it will be a close election? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 63.6% | 26.2% | 10.2% |
| BY ELECTION EXPECTATIONS | | | |
| Those expecting Roosevelt to win | 54.7% | 36.4% | 8.9% |
| Those expecting Willkie to win. | 77.8 | 17.6 | 4.6 |
| Those who didn't know who would win | 73.9 | 4.2 | 21.9 |

**76.** (US Oct 5 '40) If there were no war in Europe today, which presidential candidate would you vote for, Roosevelt or Willkie? (AIPO)

Roosevelt 47% Willkie 53% = 100% Undecided 8%

**77.** (US Oct 22 '40) As you feel today, would you say you were a little more for Willkie or a little more for Roosevelt? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who were undecided as to which presidential candidate they would support. (AIPO)

Willkie 25% Roosevelt 32% No choice 43%

**78.** (US Oct 22 '40) If the United States should get into the war, which man would you prefer to have as President—Roosevelt or Willkie? (AIPO)

Roosevelt 60% Willkie 40% = 100% Undecided 9%

**79.** (US Oct 23 '40) Which candidate for President do you think is more likely to keep us out of war, Roosevelt or Willkie? (AIPO)

Roosevelt 58% Willkie 42% = 100% Undecided 35%

**80.** (US Oct 23 '40) Which presidential candidate do you think would do the most in reducing unemployment, Roosevelt or Willkie? (AIPO)

Roosevelt 55% Willkie 45% = 100% No choice 20%

**81.** (US Oct 28 '40) Prediction of the vote of 1936 non-voters: (CP)

| | *Those under voting age in 1936* | *Those of voting age in 1936* |
|---|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 45.7% | 35.1% |
| Willkie | 44.3 | 29.2 |
| Other, undecided, and not voting | 10.0 | 35.7 |

**82.** (US Oct 29 '40) Following is the analysis of vote-shifting from 1936. (CP)

| *1936 voters for* | *Roosevelt* | *Willkie* | *Undecided; non-voters* |
|---|---|---|---|
| **BY SEX** | | | |
| *Men* | | | |
| Landon | 3.4% | 95.0% | 1.6% |
| Roosevelt | 70.2 | 24.2 | 5.6 |
| *Women* | | | |
| Landon | 2.4 | 95.6 | 2.0 |
| Roosevelt | 72.9 | 20.6 | 6.5 |
| **BY AGE** | | | |
| *25–40 years* | | | |
| Landon | 3.7% | 94.4% | 1.9% |
| Roosevelt | 70.2 | 23.3 | 6.5 |
| *Over 40 years* | | | |
| Landon | 2.4 | 95.9 | 1.7 |
| Roosevelt | 72.9 | 21.6 | 5.5 |
| **BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS** | | | |
| *Unemployed and WPA* | | | |
| Landon | 9.1% | 87.5% | 3.4% |
| Roosevelt | 76.6 | 15.3 | 8.1 |
| *Office* | | | |
| Landon | 2.5 | 97.1 | .4 |
| Roosevelt | 65.0 | 31.9 | 3.1 |
| *Retail* | | | |
| Landon | 4.1 | 94.2 | 1.7 |
| Roosevelt | 66.7 | 28.0 | 5.3 |
| **BY RACE** | | | |
| *Italian people* | | | |
| Landon | 2.8% | 91.6% | 5.6% |
| Roosevelt | 64.4 | 23.9 | 11.7 |
| *Jewish people* | | | |
| Landon | 8.7 | 91.2 | .1 |
| Roosevelt | 88.2 | 7.7 | 4.1 |
| *Negroes* | | | |
| Landon | 17.1 | 73.2 | 9.7 |
| Roosevelt | 72.6 | 17.8 | 9.6 |
| **BY INCOME LEVEL** | | | |
| *Top* | | | |
| Landon | 1.5% | 97.8% | .7% |
| Roosevelt | 56.3 | 35.2 | 8.5 |
| *Upper middle* | | | |
| Landon | 2.1 | 97.5 | .4 |
| Roosevelt | 60.0 | 36.4 | 3.6 |
| *Middle* | | | |
| Landon | 1.9 | 96.7 | 1.4 |
| Roosevelt | 65.2 | 28.6 | 6.2 |
| *Lower middle* | | | |
| Landon | 3.7 | 93.5 | 2.8 |
| Roosevelt | 74.5 | 19.6 | 5.9 |
| *Low* | | | |
| Landon | 6.5 | 90.2 | 3.3 |
| Roosevelt | 78.1 | 15.4 | 6.5 |
| **BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY** | | | |
| *New York and Chicago* | | | |
| Landon | 4.1% | 95.8% | .1% |
| Roosevelt | 67.2 | 26.3 | 6.5 |
| *Others over 100,000 population* | | | |
| Landon | 3.2 | 92.3 | 4.5 |
| Roosevelt | 73.3 | 18.2 | 8.5 |
| *25,000–100,000* | | | |
| Landon | 2.8 | 95.3 | 1.9 |
| Roosevelt | 73.4 | 21.1 | 5.5 |
| *5,000–25,000* | | | |
| Landon | 2.9% | 95.8% | 1.3% |
| Roosevelt | 72.8 | 23.8 | 3.4 |
| *Under 5,000* | | | |
| Landon | 2.2 | 97.5 | .3 |
| Roosevelt | 71.0 | 23.2 | 5.8 |

**83.** (US Oct 30 '40) Chart of reasons for favoring each candidate. (CP)

| *Roosevelt* | | *Willkie* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Qualifications | 37% | Third term | 36% |
| Policies | 29 | Party affiliation | 23 |
| Party affiliation | 17 | Qualifications | 10 |
| Personality | 7 | Prosperity | 9 |
| War and foreign policies | 6 | Policies | 8 |
| Prosperity | 4 | FDR spending | 5 |
| | | Personality | 4 |
| | | War and foreign policies | 3 |
| | | Dictatorship | 2 |

**84.** (US Nov '40) If any of these things happened between now and election day, would you be inclined to change your vote for President? Asked of 81.6% of a national sample who said they expected to vote for either Roosevelt or Willkie. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| The sinking by the Germans of an American owned and operated ship | 2.0% | 92.9% | 5.1% = 100.0% of those questioned |
| The defeat of England | 2.4 | 93.0 | 4.6 |
| A message from Roosevelt asking Congress for a declaration of war | 6.8 | 85.4 | 7.8 |
| The discovery of tremendous graft in giving out contracts for war equipment | 24.4 | 61.1 | 14.5 |

Do you think that anything—that is, anything that has a reasonable chance of happening—would cause you to change your choice? Those who said one or more things might happen to make them change their vote were excluded from the cross-section.

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 3.4% |
| Possibility | 12.2 |
| No | 79.6 |
| Don't know | 4.8 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned |

**85.** (US Nov '40) Do you think that Roosevelt and Willkie agree on the following propositions, or do you think they disagree? (FOR)

| | *Disagree* | *Agree* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| On the best way to solve unemployment | 54.2% | 9.4% | 36.4% |
| How to increase business confidence | 52.2 | 10.3 | 37.5 |
| That most New Deal reforms should be continued | 41.5 | 30.2 | 28.3 |
| That the government should economize on everything but preparedness | 35.3 | 28.9 | 35.8 |

| | *Disagree* | *Agree* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| On the foreign policy we should pursue | 28.0% | 30.3% | 41.7% |
| That the rights of labor should be preserved | 20.6 | 41.7 | 37.7 |

Which one do you agree with—Roosevelt or Willkie? Asked of those who thought that Roosevelt and Willkie disagreed on the issues.

| | *Agree with Roosevelt* | *Agree with Willkie* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Solving unemployment | 20.4% | 27.3% | 6.5% | = 54.2% |
| Increasing business confidence | 16.4 | 30.5 | 5.3 | = 52.2 |
| Continuing New Deal | 18.7 | 18.7 | 4.1 | = 41.5 |
| Government spending | 12.7 | 19.8 | 2.8 | = 35.3 |
| Foreign policy | 13.3 | 11.6 | 3.1 | = 28.0 |
| Rights of labor | 11.8 | 7.6 | 1.2 | = 20.6 |

**86.** (US Nov 9 '40) Following is a comparison of the American Institute report and the election on a state-by-state basis: (AIPO)

| | *Gallup Poll % for Roosevelt* | *Actual election % for Roosevelt* | *Deviation* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 52.0% | 54.5% | 2.5% |
| STATE BY STATE | | | |
| Kansas | 43% | 43% | 0% |
| Louisiana | 86 | 86 | 0 |
| Maryland | 59 | 59 | 0 |
| New Jersey | 52 | 52 | 0 |
| Wyoming | 53 | 53 | 0 |
| Connecticut | 53 | 54 | 1 |
| Alabama | 86 | 87 | 1 |
| Minnesota | 51 | 52 | 1 |
| Oregon | 54 | 53 | 1 |
| South Dakota | 41 | 42 | 1 |
| Washington | 57 | 58 | 1 |
| Arkansas | 82 | 80 | 2 |
| California | 56 | 58 | 2 |
| Delaware | 56 | 54 | 2 |
| Florida | 72 | 74 | 2 |
| Georgia | 87 | 85 | 2 |
| Massachusetts | 51 | 53 | 2 |
| Michigan | 48 | 50 | 2 |
| Mississippi | 94 | 96 | 2 |
| Nebraska | 41 | 43 | 2 |
| North Dakota | 46 | 44 | 2 |
| Oklahoma | 56 | 58 | 2 |
| South Carolina | 97 | 95 | 2 |
| Texas | 79 | 91 | 2 |
| Virginia | 70 | 68 | 2 |
| West Virginia | 59 | 57 | 2 |
| Illinois | 48 | 51 | 3 |
| Iowa | 45 | 48 | 3 |
| Missouri | 49 | 52 | 3 |
| Montana | 57 | 60 | 3 |
| New York | 49 | 52 | 3 |
| New Mexico | 53 | 56 | 3 |
| Ohio | 49 | 52 | 3 |
| Rhode Island | 54 | 57 | 3 |
| Vermont | 42 | 45 | 3 |
| Wisconsin | 48 | 51 | 3 |
| Arizona | 61 | 65 | 4 |
| Colorado | 45 | 49 | 4 |
| Indiana | 45 | 49 | 4 |
| Kentucky | 54 | 58 | 4 |
| Nevada | 56 | 60 | 4 |
| New Hampshire | 49% | 53% | 4% |
| North Carolina | 72 | 76 | 4 |
| Tennessee | 64 | 68 | 4 |
| Idaho | 49 | 54 | 5 |
| Pennsylvania | 49 | 54 | 5 |
| Maine | 43 | 49 | 6 |
| Utah | 55 | 62 | 7 |

**87.** (US Nov 19 '40) How long before the election had you made up your mind to vote for Roosevelt (Willkie)? Roosevelt supporters were asked about Roosevelt and Willkie supporters were asked about Willkie. (AIPO)

| | *Roosevelt* | *Willkie* |
|---|---|---|
| Before nomination | 35% | 27% |
| At the time of nomination | 34 | 39 |
| Three months before election | 4 | 6 |
| Two months before election | 5 | 6 |
| One month before election | 5 | 6 |
| Two weeks before the elections | 4 | 4 |
| One week before the election | 2 | 2 |
| Within the last week before the election | 2 | 2 |
| Election day | 2 | 1 |
| Indefinite answers | 3 | 1 |
| Always vote Democratic | 2 | — |
| Always vote Republican | — | 5 |
| No answer | 2 | 1 |

**88.** (US Nov 19 '40) What would you say is the chief reason why you decided to vote for him [Willkie, Roosevelt]? Roosevelt supporters were asked about Roosevelt and Willkie supporters were asked about Willkie. (AIPO)

*Roosevelt*

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt was the better man | 20% |
| Roosevelt has helped the common man | 14 |
| Roosevelt has done a lot of good for the country | 14 |
| Roosevelt's experience | 9 |
| The critical international situation | 11 |
| Roosevelt has helped labor | 7 |
| Roosevelt was the Democratic candidate | 6 |
| Bad time to change | 3 |
| To keep this country out of war | 1 |
| He has helped the farmer | 2 |
| Other reasons | 9 |
| No answer | 4 |

*Willkie*

| | |
|---|---|
| Willkie's business ability | 14% |
| Against a third term | 21 |
| We need a change | 16 |
| Against Roosevelt and the New Deal | 12 |
| Willkie was the better man | 12 |
| Willkie was the Republican candidate | 8 |
| Willkie would keep the country out of war | 2 |
| Critical international situation | 1 |
| Other reasons | 12 |
| No answer | 2 |

**89.** (US Feb '41) Now that the election is over, how do you feel about the outcome and its effect on the country? Which of these statements comes closest to describing what you think: (1) Roosevelt's re-election was the best thing that could have happened to the country. (2) Although it was better for the country to re-elect Roosevelt, Willkie would probably have been all right too. (3) It would have been better to elect Willkie, but we will probably get along all right with Roose-

velt. (4) Roosevelt's re-election was a very bad thing for the country? (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 47.7% | 15.4% | 21.9% | 10.3% | 4.7% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Roosevelt voters | 79.8% | 17.7% | 1.1% | 0.2% | 1.2% |
| Willkie voters | 3.8 | 10.9 | 55.0 | 26.5 | 3.8 |

**90.** (US Oct '44) Do you remember for certain whether or not you voted in the 1940 presidential election? 80% of the sample who said they had voted were asked: Did you vote for Roosevelt or Willkie? 16% who had not voted were asked: Do you remember why you didn't vote? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too young to vote | 2% |
| Don't remember whether or not voted | 2 |
| Voted for Roosevelt | 45 |
| Voted for Willkie | 34 |
| Voted for other candidate or refused to say | 1 |
| Didn't vote because: | |
| Inconvenience; sick; no transportation; too far to polls; mechanics of absentee ballot; busy; got there too late | 2 |
| Disinterested; one vote doesn't count; don't know about candidates; issues not important; not to kill husband's vote; neglect; no reason | 4 |
| Disqualified; not citizen; moved; poll tax; out of town | 4 |
| Unacquainted with mechanics of voting | * |
| Not registered; procrastinated too long | 3 |
| Disgusted; don't like candidates, issues, mud-slinging; disapprove third term | 1 |
| Politics crooked | * |
| Women shouldn't vote | * |
| Other reasons | * |
| Don't know why | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**91.** (US Oct '44) What is the main reason you voted for Roosevelt (Willkie)? Asked of 45% of the sample who said they voted for Roosevelt and 34% who said they voted for Willkie. (NORC)

*Roosevelt*

| | |
|---|---|
| Because of the war situation; if war comes | 3% |
| Roosevelt is the best diplomat; has the best foreign policy; best foreign relations; is the best statesman | 1 |
| Roosevelt has the best experience, record; is the best man; done good job | 26 |
| Roosevelt is best for the common man, farmer, and special groups | 5 |
| Appreciation; won't bite the hand that's feeding me; won't shoot Santa Claus | * |
| Roosevelt has the best program; promised to keep us out of war | 1 |
| Roosevelt has stated his policies clearly, is honest | * |
| Roosevelt is a Democrat; the party man; Democratic principles are best; always vote Democratic | 4 |
| To keep Republicans out; keep Willkie out | 3 |
| Other answers | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 45% |

*Willkie*

| | |
|---|---|
| We need a change, I am tired of the New Deal; I want to get Roosevelt out; anti-Roosevelt; has been in long enough; Roosevelt for Negroes and Jews | 10% |
| On account of labor union trouble and strikes; Roosevelt sponsors strikes, Willkie will stop them | * |
| Willkie is better businessman; has the best economic plan; is better for the country, for private business, for free enterprise; for the independent businessman; better conditions; best man for country | 2% |
| Willkie has a good record | 1 |
| I'm against three terms | 5 |
| Willkie is young, healthy, peppy, strong | * |
| Willkie is honest, sincere; not backed by gangsters | 1 |
| Willkie will balance the budget, straighten our the government, get rid of bureaus, stop government spending, prevent inflation, prevent depression, houseclean Washington; more efficient administration | 1 |
| Willkie has the best program for farmers, for soldiers, for the middleman; I like his principles or policies; best for domestic problems; best for postwar problems; best platform | 1 |
| To prevent Communism | * |
| To prevent dictatorship, civil war; to get government back into the hands of the people; Roosevelt too powerful | 1 |
| To prevent war; keep us out of war | * |
| He's a Republican; the party man; Republican principles are best; I always voted Republican | 5 |
| Foreign policy | * |
| Better man for the job; capable; smarter; has job training; progressive | 7 |
| Other answers | * |
| Don't know | * |
| | 34% |

* Less than 0.5%.

## U.S. (Election 1944)

**1.** (US Aug 27 '41) Please look at this card and tell me which of these men you think might be good enough to be President of the United States next time. Select as many as you wish. Two comparable cross-sections were asked about different lists. (AIPO)

| *First cross-section* | | *Second cross-section* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dewey | 31% | Willkie | 37% |
| Landon | 8 | Wallace | 19 |
| Hull | 31 | Hoover | 11 |
| Taft | 16 | Vandenberg | 14 |
| La Guardia | 17 | Farley | 17 |
| McNutt | 11 | Hopkins | 9 |
| Wheeler | 9 | Lindbergh | 9 |
| Stassen | 8 | Knox | 7 |
| Jackson | 6 | Douglas | 5 |
| Jones | 6 | Edison | 4 |
| Ickes | 4 | Clark | 3 |
| Roberts | 4 | Stark | 3 |
| Nye | 3 | Bricker | 2 |
| Pepper | 3 | Green | 2 |
| Byrd | 4 | Lewis | 2 |
| Lodge | 2 | Brooks | 2 |
| No answer | 24 | Donovan | 1 |
| | | No answer | 33 |
| | 187%* | | 180%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer. 20% of the sample mentioned other names not listed on card.

**2.** (US Mar 18 '42, Mar 31 '42, Nov 10 '42, Nov 17 '42, Jan 27 '43, Mar 10 '43) Will you tell me frankly what you think of each of these men as presidential material for 1944? Generally speaking, is your opinion of them favorable or unfavorable? The Nov 10 sample was asked about Republican presidential

material, and the Nov 17 sample was asked about Democratic presidential material. (AIPO)

*Bricker*

| | Favorable | Unfavorable | Not familiar | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nov 10 '42 | 12% | 11% | 63% | 14% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| *Nov 10 '42* | | | | |
| Republican | 19% | 9% | 59% | 13% |
| Democratic | 8 | 14 | 64 | 14 |
| | | | *Not familiar and No opinion* | |
| *Jan '43* | | | | |
| Republican | 25 | 10 | 65% | |
| OPINION IN OHIO | | | | |
| Nov 10 '42 | 54% | 37% | 9% | |

*Byrnes*

| | Favorable | Unfavorable | Not familiar | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| *Nov 17 '42* | | | | |
| Republican | 11% | 23% | 51% | 15% |
| Democratic | 13 | 14 | 57 | 16 |
| | | | *Not familiar and No opinion* | |
| *Jan '43* | | | | |
| Democratic | 19 | 12 | 69% | |
| DEMOCRATIC OPINION BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION IN JAN '43 | | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 19% | 13% | 68% | |
| East and West central | 19 | 11 | 70 | |
| South | 25 | 12 | 63 | |
| Far West | 12 | 12 | 76 | |

*Dewey*

| | Favorable | Unfavorable | Not familiar | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mar 18 '42 | 39% | 35% | 15% | 11% |
| Nov 10 '42 | 53 | 21 | 15 | 11 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| *Nov 10 '42* | | | | |
| Republican | 66% | 16% | 10% | 8% |
| Democratic | 46 | 26 | 16 | 12 |
| | | | *Not familiar and No opinion* | |
| *Jan '43* | | | | |
| Republican | 69 | 13 | 18% | |
| OPINION IN NEW YORK | | | | |
| Nov 10 '42 | 52% | 32% | 16% | |

*Douglas*

| | Favorable | Unfavorable | Not familiar | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mar 31 '42 | 20% | 18% | 48% | 14% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| *Nov 17 '42* | | | | |
| Republican | 9% | 23% | 52% | 16% |
| Democratic | 14 | 11 | 57 | 18 |
| | | | *Not familiar and No opinion* | |
| *Jan '43* | | | | |
| Democratic | 21 | 10 | 69% | |

DEMOCRATIC OPINION BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION IN JAN '43

| | | | *Not familiar and No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 25% | 11% | 64% |
| East and West central | 20 | 9 | 71 |
| South | 19 | 11 | 70 |
| Far West | 19 | 11 | 70 |

| | Favorable | Unfavorable | Not familiar | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Edison* | | | | |
| Mar 31 '42 | 10% | 19% | 61% | 10% |
| *Farley* | | | | |
| Mar 18 '42 | 21 | 55 | 12 | 12 |
| Mar '43 | 17 | 56 | 8 | 19 |
| *Henderson* | | | | |
| Mar 18 '42 | 13 | 39 | 35 | 13 |
| *Kaiser* | | | | |
| Mar '43 | 18 | 41 | 15 | 26 |
| *Knudsen* | | | | |
| Mar 31 '42 | 22 | 28 | 32 | 18 |
| *Lindbergh* | | | | |
| Mar 31 '42 | 10 | 80 | 2 | 8 |
| *MacArthur* | | | | |
| Mar 31 '42 | 56 | 30 | 3 | 11 |
| Mar '43 | 43 | 44 | — | 13 |
| *McNutt* | | | | |
| Mar 18 '42 | 22 | 32 | 34 | 12 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| *Nov 17 '42* | | | | |
| Republican | 16% | 52% | 17% | 15% |
| Democratic | 26 | 31 | 25 | 18 |
| | | | *Not familiar and No opinion* | |
| *Jan '43* | | | | |
| Democratic | 28 | 31 | 41% | |
| DEMOCRATIC OPINION BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION IN JAN '43 | | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 29% | 29% | 42% | |
| East and West central | 32 | 32 | 36 | |
| South | 24 | 32 | 44 | |
| Far West | 20 | 33 | 47 | |

| | Favorable | Unfavorable | Not familiar | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Nelson* | | | | |
| Mar 31 '42 | 29% | 22% | 35% | 14% |
| Mar '43 | 21 | 39 | 12 | 28 |
| *Rickenbacker* | | | | |
| Mar '43 | 20 | 55 | 4 | 21 |
| *Roberts* | | | | |
| Mar 31 '42 | 18 | 21 | 49 | 12 |
| *Rockefeller* | | | | |
| Mar '43 | 12 | 53 | 4 | 31 |
| *Roosevelt* | | | | |
| Mar 18 '42 | 60 | 35 | — | 5 |
| OPINION BY POLITICS NOV 17 '42 | | | | |
| Republican | 21% | 74% | — | 5% |
| Democratic | 73 | 22 | — | 5 |
| *Saltonstall* | | | | |
| Mar 31 '42 | 8 | 13 | 69 | 10 |
| REPUBLICAN OPINION ONLY | | | | |
| | | | *Not familiar and No opinion* | |
| Jan '43 | 15% | 9% | 76% | |

| | Favorable | Unfavorable | Not familiar | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Stassen* | | | | |
| Mar 18 '42 | 11% | 17% | 65% | 7% |
| Nov 10 '42 | 15 | 11 | 60 | 14 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| *Nov 10 '42* | | | | |
| Republican | 24% | 12% | 52% | 12% |
| Democratic | 10 | 12 | 63 | 15 |
| | | | *Not familiar and No opinion* | |
| *Jan '43* | | | | |
| Republican | 31 | 10 | 59% | |
| | *Favorable* | *Unfavorable* | *Not familiar* | *No opinion* |
| OPINION IN MINNESOTA | | | | |
| Nov 10 '42 | 62% | 29% | — | 9% |
| *Taft* | | | | |
| Mar 18 '42 | 23 | 33 | 34% | 10 |
| Mar 31 '42 | 29 | 36 | 24 | 11 |
| Nov 10 '42 | 26 | 29 | 31 | 14 |
| Mar '43 | 26 | 37 | 11 | 26 |
| OPINION BY POLITICS NOV 10 '42 | | | | |
| Republican | 37% | 29% | 23% | 11% |
| Democratic | 20 | 33 | 32 | 15 |
| *Vandenberg* | | | | |
| Mar 18 '42 | 16 | 33 | 41 | 10 |
| Mar '43 | 21 | 34 | 15 | 30 |
| *Wallace* | | | | |
| Mar 18 '42 | 32 | 40 | 18 | 10 |
| Mar 31 '42 | 31 | 39 | 17 | 13 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| *Nov 17 '42* | | | | |
| Republican | 20% | 57% | 11% | 12% |
| Democratic | 50 | 22 | 14 | 14 |
| | | | *Not familiar and No opinion* | |
| *Jan '43* | | | | |
| Democratic | 57 | 20 | 23% | |
| DEMOCRATIC OPINION BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION IN JAN '43 | | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 61% | 16% | 23% | |
| East and West central | 54 | 25 | 21 | |
| South | 52 | 22 | 26 | |
| Far West | 59 | 20 | 21 | |
| | *Favorable* | *Unfavorable* | *Not familiar* | *No opinion* |
| *Willkie* | | | | |
| Mar 18 '42 | 47% | 42% | 3% | 8% |
| Mar 31 '42 | 41 | 47 | 3 | 9 |
| Nov 10 '42 | 49 | 38 | 2 | 11 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| *Nov 10 '42* | | | | |
| Republican | 55% | 37% | — | 8% |
| Democratic | 45 | 41 | 3% | 11 |
| | | | *Not familiar and No opinion* | |
| *Jan '43* | | | | |
| Republican | 49 | 43 | 8% | |

**3.** (US Mar 18 '42) If the next presidential election were being held tomorrow and the two candidates were Willkie and Roosevelt, how would you vote? (July 7 '43, Aug 17 '43, Aug 24 '43, Sept 14 '43) If the presidential election were being held today, and Roosevelt were running for President on the Democratic ticket against Wendell Willkie on the Republican ticket, how do you think you would vote? In the Aug 24 and Sept questions, Willkie's first name was omitted. (Nov 9 '43) If the presidential election were being held today and Wendell Willkie were running for President on the Republican ticket against Roosevelt on the Democratic ticket, how do you think you would vote? A comparable cross-section was asked: How do you think you would vote if Willkie were running for President on the Republican ticket against Roosevelt? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Roosevelt* | *Willkie* | | *Undecided; don't know; no opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '42 | 61.5% | 25.5% | | 13.0% | = 100% |
| July '43 | 59 | 41 | = 100% | — | |
| Aug 17 '43 | 57 | 31 | | 12 | = 100 |
| Aug 24 '43 | 60 | 27 | | 13 | = 100 |
| Sept '43 | 60 | 28 | | 12 | = 100 |
| Nov '43 | 59 | 31 | | 10 | = 100 |
| MAJOR PARTY VOTE JULY '43 BY AGE | | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 67% | 33% | | | |
| 30–49 years | 58 | 42 | | | |
| 50 years and over | 55 | 45 | | | |
| MAJOR PARTY VOTE JULY '43 BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Upper | 39% | 61% | | | |
| Middle | 53 | 47 | | | |
| Lower | 66 | 34 | | | |
| MAJOR PARTY VOTE JULY '43 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| New England | 57% | 43% | | | |
| Middle Atlantic | 61 | 39 | | | |
| East central | 56 | 44 | | | |
| West central | 53 | 47 | | | |
| South | 71 | 29 | | | |
| Rocky Mountain | 54 | 46 | | | |
| Pacific coast | 59 | 41 | | | |
| MAJOR PARTY VOTE JULY '43 BY SELECTED GROUPS | | | | | |
| Skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers | 65% | 35% | | | |
| Union members | 71 | 29 | | | |
| Farmers | 50 | 50 | | | |
| Farmers outside the South | 48 | 52 | | | |

**4.** (US May 21 '42) If it came to a choice between Willkie and Dewey for Republican candidate for President in 1944, which man would you prefer? (Oct 6 '43) If you had to choose between Dewey and Willkie for the presidential nomination of the Republican Party, which would you prefer? (Nov 9 '43) If you had to choose between Dewey and Willkie as the Republican candidate for President, which would you prefer? (Jan 18 '44) If your choice of Republican candidate for President were limited to Willkie and Dewey, which would you prefer? All questions were asked of national cross-sections of Republicans. (AIPO)

| | *Dewey* | *Willkie* | *Undecided; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| May '42 | 48% | 52% | — |
| Oct '43 | 55 | 35 | 10% |
| Nov '43 | 48 | 38 | 14 |
| Jan '44 | 64 | 27 | 9 |
| *New England and mid-Atlantic* | | | |
| Oct '43 | 52 | 40 | 8 |

| | Dewey | Willkie | Undecided; no opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| *New England* | | | |
| Jan '44 | 50% | 42% | 8% |
| *Middle Atlantic* | | | |
| Jan '44 | 69 | 25 | 6 |
| *East central* | | | |
| Oct '43 | 69 | 23 | 8 |
| Jan '44 | 74 | 16 | 10 |
| *West central* | | | |
| Oct '43 | 57 | 32 | 11 |
| Jan '44 | 63 | 27 | 10 |
| *South* | | | |
| Oct '43 | 36 | 45 | 19 |
| Jan '44 | 47 | 39 | 14 |
| *Rocky Mountain* | | | |
| Jan '44 | 63 | 29 | 8 |
| *Pacific coast* | | | |
| Jan '44 | 56 | 36 | 8 |
| *Rocky Mountain and Pacific coast* | | | |
| Oct '43 | 48 | 42 | 10 |

THE VOTE OF BRICKER, MAC ARTHUR, AND STASSEN FOLLOWERS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Bricker followers* | | | |
| Oct '43 | 69% | 17% | 14% |
| Jan '44 | 77 | 11 | 12 |
| *MacArthur followers* | | | |
| Oct '43 | 56 | 24 | 20 |
| Jan '44 | 60 | 18 | 22 |
| *Stassen followers* | | | |
| Oct '43 | 50 | 38 | 12 |
| Jan '44 | 55 | 31 | 14 |

**5.** (US June 9 '42) If Roosevelt is a candidate for President in 1944, do you think you will vote for him? (AIPO)

Yes 44% No 41% No opinion 15%

**6.** (US Aug 13 '42) Do you think President Roosevelt is planning to run for re-election in 1944? (Dec 15 '43) Regardless of your own preference, do you think President Roosevelt will run for re-election next year? (June 20 '44) Do you think Roosevelt will be the Democratic candidate for President in the election this fall? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | No opinion; don't know | Qualified | Depends on war |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1942 | 42% | 29% | 29% | — | — |
| 1943 | 68 | 13 | 12 | 2% | 5% |
| 1944 | 92 | 8 | — | — | — |

**7.** (US Aug 13 '42) If Henry Wallace runs for President in 1944 on the Democratic ticket against Wendell Willkie on the Republican ticket, which man would you favor? (June 22 '43) If the presidential election were being held today, and Wendell Willkie were running for President on an Independent ticket against Governor John Bricker of Ohio on the Republican ticket and Henry Wallace on the Democratic ticket, how do you think you would vote? (Aug 17 '43 and Aug 24 '43) If the presidential election were being held today, and Wallace were running for President on the Democratic ticket against Willkie on the Republican ticket, how do you think you would vote? In the Aug 24 question the respondents were asked about Wallace running against Dewey. (May 23 '44) If Henry Wallace is the Democratic candidate for President and Governor Warren of California is the Republican candidate, how would you vote—for Wallace or Warren? (AIPO)

| | Bricker | Dewey | Wallace | Warren | Willkie | Undecided |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1942 | — | — | 38% | — | 37% | 25% |
| June 1943 | 20% | — | 28 | — | 29 | 23 |
| Aug 17 1943 | — | — | 32 | — | 50 | 18 |
| Aug 24 1943 | — | 60% | 40 | — | — | — |
| 1944 | — | — | 38 | 39% | — | 23 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE AUG 24 '43 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 69% | 31% |
| Middle Atlantic | 64 | 36 |
| East central | 62 | 38 |
| West central | 61 | 39 |
| South | 36 | 64 |
| Rocky Mountain | 61 | 39 |
| Pacific coast | 64 | 36 |

**8.** (US Nov 10 '42, Nov 17 '42, Dec 15 '43) Whom would you like to see elected President of the country in 1944? On Nov 17 a comparable cross-section was asked: It will be nearly two years before we elect another President in 1944, but from what you know of possible candidates at this time, whom would you like to see elected President? Results were combined. (Mar 10 '43 and Mar 24 '43) Whom would you like to see elected President of the country next year? (AIPO)

| | Nov 10 '42 | Nov 17 '42 | Mar 10 '43 | Mar 24 '43 | Dec '43 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 21% | 24% | 34% | 32% | 51% |
| Roosevelt, if still at war | 1 | 2 | 11 | 12 | 4 |
| Willkie | 14 | 15 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
| Dewey | 12 | 15 | 6 | 7 | 16 |
| Wallace | 3 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| MacArthur | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 7 |
| Taft | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | 1 |
| Bricker | 1 | — | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Stassen | — | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| McNutt | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Hull | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| Hoover | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| Marshall | — | — | — | — | 1 |
| Any Republican | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Any Democrat | 2 | — | — | — | * |
| Other Republicans | — | — | — | — | 1 |
| Other Democrats | — | — | — | — | 2 |
| Anyone but Roosevelt | — | 1 | 2 | 2 | — |
| Others | 3 | 4 | 7 | 3 | — |
| Don't know; too early to say | 38 | 28 | 28 | 26 | — |
| | | | 104%** | 102%** | |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (US Jan 27 '43) Would you prefer to see the Republicans or the Democrats win the presidential election next year? (Feb 23 '43, Mar 10 '43, June 22 '43) Which party do you want to see win the presidential election next year, the Democrats or the Republicans? In June '43 a comparable cross-section was asked: If the government required voters in every state to register now for the next presidential election, would you register Republican or Democratic? Results were combined. (Nov 23 '43, Dec 15 '43, Jan 4 '44, Jan 18 '44, Feb 1 '44, Feb 16 '44, Mar 1 '44, Mar 15 '44, Mar 29 '44, Apr 12 '44, Apr 25 '44, May 9 '44, May 23 '44, June 7 '44, June 20 '44, July 6 '44)

Which party do you want to see win the presidential election next year (next fall, this fall)—the Republican or the Democratic? In Nov '43 a comparable cross-section was asked: Will you look over these possible candidates and tell me which one man you'd like to see as the next President of the United States? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Republican* | *Democratic* | | *Other* | *Undecided* | *Qualified answers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '43 | 46% | 54% | = 100% | 2% | 28% | — |
| Feb '43 | 46 | 54 | | — | — | — |
| Mar '43 | 40.5 | 59.5 | | 1 | 16 | 12% |
| June '43 | 45 | 55 | | — | 23 | — |
| Nov '43 | 46 | 54 | | — | — | — |
| Dec '43 | 49 | 51 | | — | — | — |
| Jan 4 '44 | 47 | 53 | | 1 | 11 | 20 |
| Jan 18 '44 CIO and AFL members only | 36 | 64 | | — | — | — |
| Feb 1 '44 | 47 | 53 | | 2 | 17 | — |
| Feb 16 '44 | 46 | 54 | | 1 | 17 | — |
| Mar 1 '44 | 51 | 49 | | 5 | 42 | — |
| Mar 15 '44 | 47 | 53 | | 1 | 14 | — |
| Mar 29 '44 | 49 | 51 | | 1 | 13 | — |
| Apr 12 '44 | 53 | 47 | | 1 | 12 | — |
| Apr 25 '44 | 52 | 48 | | 1 | 10 | — |
| May 9 '44 | 47 | 53 | | — | 9 | — |
| May 23 '44 | 49 | 51 | | — | 11 | — |
| June 7 '44 | 50 | 50 | | 1 | 7 | — |
| June 20 '44 | 48 | 52 | | * | 10 | — |
| July '44 | 50 | 50 | | * | 12 | — |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE NOV '43 BY PAST VOTING

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Those who never voted before in the district where they live | 39% | 61% |
| Those who voted before in the district where they live | 51 | 49 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE DEC '43 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 48% | 52% |
| Middle Atlantic | 47 | 53 |
| East central | 55 | 45 |
| West central | 58 | 42 |
| South | 29 | 71 |
| Rocky Mountain | 52 | 48 |
| Pacific coast | 51 | 49 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE JAN 18 '44 BY UNION AFFILIATION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CIO members | 34% | 66% |
| AFL members | 36 | 64 |

In June '43 a national cross-section of persons who wanted to see the Republicans win the presidential election (45% of the sample) and a national cross-section of persons who wanted to see the Democrats win the presidential election (55% of the sample) were asked: How much chance is there that you might change your mind—a good chance, a fair chance, or not a chance?

| | *A chance may change mind* | *No chance at all* |
|---|---|---|
| Those who favored Republicans | 36% | 64% = 100% of those questioned |
| Those who favored Democrats | 35 | 65 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**10.** (US Jan 27 '43) If the war is over, would you prefer to see the Republicans or the Democrats win the presidential election next year? (AIPO)

Republicans 50% Democrats 50% = 100% Other 2% Undecided 26%

**11.** (US Feb '43) If the war is over before the next election, which one of these men do you think would make the best President in 1944? Asked of a national cross-section of factory workers. (Nov '43) If the war is over by election time next November, which would you choose? (FOR)

OPINION OF FACTORY WORKERS IN FEB '43

| | *All factory workers* | *Well-informed* | *Uninformed* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 37.8% | 30.2% | 46.1% |
| Willkie | 20.2 | 27.6 | 13.1 |
| MacArthur | 15.2 | 11.2 | 17.9 |
| Dewey | 9.8 | 13.3 | 6.3 |
| Wallace | 5.0 | 8.1 | 3.2 |
| Murray | 1.7 | 1.3 | .9 |
| Lewis | .5 | .9 | .5 |
| Don't know | 10.6 | 8.7 | 12.9 |
| | 100.8%* | 101.3%* | 100.9%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

NATIONAL OPINION IN NOV '43

| | *National total* | *High* | *Upper middle* | *Lower middle* | *Low* | *Negro* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 22.1% | 11.2% | 13.2% | 21.8% | 27.2% | 43.5% |
| Dewey | 16.3 | 17.2 | 21.9 | 17.0 | 12.9 | 5.2 |
| Willkie | 15.7 | 25.4 | 22.7 | 13.7 | 9.2 | 15.0 |
| MacArthur | 13.3 | 9.0 | 9.6 | 14.9 | 17.8 | 7.6 |
| Bricker | 4.3 | 8.5 | 6.4 | 4.2 | 2.3 | 1.4 |
| Wallace | 2.6 | 1.9 | 2.0 | 3.4 | 2.5 | 1.6 |
| Byrnes | 2.3 | 5.2 | 2.9 | 2.7 | .6 | .2 |
| Douglas | 1.1 | 1.4 | 1.3 | .9 | 1.5 | .2 |
| None | 3.6 | 3.0 | 4.6 | 3.6 | 3.8 | .9 |
| Don't know | 18.7 | 17.2 | 15.4 | 17.8 | 22.2 | 24.4 |

**12.** (US Feb 3 '43) Would you like to see Roosevelt run for President next year? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 39% |
| No | 42 |
| Don't know | 7 |
| Qualified answers | 2 |
| Depends on war | 10 |

**13.** (US Feb 23 '43) If the war is still going on, which party do you want to see win the presidential election next year—the Democrats or the Republicans? (AIPO)

Democrats 59% Republicans 41%

**14.** (US Apr 6 '43) If the presidential election were being held today, what party would you vote for? (Oct 6 '43 and Oct 26 '43) Leaving the question of candidates aside, if the presidential election were being held today, which party would you vote for? In the Oct 6 question the phrase "the Democratic or Republican" was added to the question and a comparable cross-section was asked: If you moved to a community in some other part of the country and had to register to vote in the next presidential election, as you feel today would you register as a Republican or a Democrat? Results were combined. (AIPO) (Jan '44) Of course no one can tell for sure as yet, but which party's candidate do you feel you will probably vote for in the next presidential election? (FOR)

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* | | *Other* | *No opinion; don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '43 | 55% | 45% | = 100% | 3% | 17% | |
| Oct 6 '43 | 54 | 46 | = 100 | — | — | |
| Oct 26 '43 | 52 | 48 | = 100 | — | — | |
| Jan '44 | 39.6 | 34.9 | | .6 | 24.9 | = 100% |

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* |
|---|---|---|
| MAJOR PARTY VOTE OCT 6 '43 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 51% | 49% |
| Middle Atlantic | 52 | 48 |
| East central | 49 | 51 |
| West central | 46 | 54 |
| South | 76 | 24 |
| Rocky Mountain | 55 | 45 |
| Pacific coast | 53 | 47 |
| MAJOR PARTY VOTE OCT 6 '43 AND OCT 26 '43 BY LABOR STATUS | | |
| Union members only, Oct 6 | 69% | 31% |
| Union members, Oct 26 | 66 | 34 |
| Non-union, Oct 26 | 56 | 44 |
| CIO members only, Oct 26 | 68 | 32 |
| AFL members only, Oct 26 | 65 | 35 |
| MAJOR PARTY VOTE OCT 26 '43 BY SEX | | |
| Men | 51% | 49% |
| Women | 53 | 47 |
| MAJOR PARTY VOTE OCT 26 '43 BY SELECTED GROUPS | | |
| Off-year voters | 47% | 53% |
| Additional voters in presidential year | 60 | 40 |
| Service men | 61 | 39 |
| Combined civilian and soldier vote | 53 | 47 |

**15.** (US Apr 6 '43) How would you vote if Roosevelt were the Democratic candidate and Governor Bricker of Ohio were the Republican candidate? (June 7 '44) How do you think you would vote if Governor Bricker were running for President on the Republican ticket against Roosevelt? A comparable cross-section was asked: If the presidential election were being held today and Governor Bricker were running for President on the Republican ticket against Roosevelt on the Democratic ticket, how do you think you would vote? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Roosevelt* | *Bricker* | *Undecided; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1943 | 55% | 24% | 21% |
| 1944 | 55 | 36 | 9 |

**16.** (US Apr 27 '43, June 3 '43, June 22 '43, Aug 24 '43, Sept 28 '43) Which one of these men would you prefer as the Republican candidate for President next year? In August a comparable cross-section was asked: If these were the candidates for the Republican presidential nomination next year, which one would you prefer? Results were combined. In September a comparable cross-section was asked: Will you look over this list and tell me which man you'd like to see as the next President of the United States? Results were combined. (Aug 17 '43) What man would you like to see win the Republican nomination for President next year? All questions were asked of national cross-sections of Republican supporters with the exception of the Aug 17 '43 question, which was asked of all voters. (AIPO)

| | *Apr 27 '43* | *June 3 '43* | *Aug 17 '43* | *Aug 24 '43* | *Sept 28 '43* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dewey | 38% | 37% | 19% | 35% | 32% |
| Willkie | 28 | 28 | 26 | 29 | 28 |
| MacArthur | 17 | 15 | 7 | 15 | 19 |
| Bricker | 8 | 10 | 5 | 8 | 8 |
| Stassen | 7 | 7 | 1 | 4 | 6 |
| Saltonstall | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Warren | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | 1 |
| Taft | — | — | 2 | 6 | 5 |
| Any other Republican | — | — | 1 | — | — |
| Any other Democrat | — | — | 1 | — | — |
| All others | — | — | 1 | — | — |
| No opinion | — | — | 37 | — | — |
| | | | 101%** | | |

JUNE 3 '43 AND AUG 24 '43 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | *Dewey* % | *Willkie* % | *MacArthur* % | *Bricker* % | *Stassen* % | *Saltonstall* % | *Taft* % | *Warren* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *New England and mid-Atlantic* | | | | | | | | |
| June '43 | 43 | 32 | 13 | 5 | 4 | 3 | — | * |
| *New England* | | | | | | | | |
| Aug '43 | 33 | 41 | 13 | 2 | * | 10 | 1 | * |
| *Middle Atlantic* | | | | | | | | |
| Aug '43 | 45 | 30 | 14 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| *East central* | | | | | | | | |
| June '43 | 37 | 16 | 15 | 24 | 7 | 1 | — | * |
| Aug '43 | 32 | 20 | 16 | 19 | 4 | * | 9 | * |
| *West central* | | | | | | | | |
| June '43 | 40 | 28 | 15 | 6 | 11 | — | — | * |
| Aug '43 | 34 | 28 | 16 | 5 | 9 | 1 | 7 | * |
| *South* | | | | | | | | |
| Aug '43 | 27 | 38 | 21 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 1 |
| *Rocky Mountain and Pacific coast* | | | | | | | | |
| June '43 | 29 | 30 | 17 | 7 | 11 | 2 | — | 4 |
| *Rocky Mountain* | | | | | | | | |
| Aug '43 | 29 | 35 | 19 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 5 | * |
| *Pacific coast* | | | | | | | | |
| Aug '43 | 29 | 34 | 14 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 4 | 10 |

JUNE 22 '43 RESULTS BY VOTING INTENTIONS

| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Voters now Republican who say there is no chance they will shift parties | 39 | 28 | 10 | 15 | 6 | 1 | — | 1 |
| Voters now Republican but who say they might decide to vote Democratic | 35 | 34 | 9 | 11 | 8 | 1 | — | 2 |
| Voters unable at present to decide between the two parties | 29 | 39 | 17 | 5 | 6 | 2 | — | 2 |
| Voters now Democratic but who say they might decide to vote Republican | 22 | 45 | 17 | 5 | 7 | 2 | — | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**17.** (US Apr 27 '43, June 3 '43, July 28 '43) Which one of these men would you prefer as the Democratic candidate for President next year? Asked of Democrats. (AIPO)

| | *Apr '43* | *June '43* | *July '43* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 79% | 83% | 84% |
| Wallace | 8 | 7 | 5 |
| Farley | 5 | 3 | 4 |
| McNutt | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| Douglas | 2 | 1 | * |
| Byrnes | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Winant | 1 | 1 | * |
| Byrd | — | — | 3 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**18.** (US Apr 27 '43 to Oct 26 '44, dates listed below) Suppose these were the candidates for President and Vice-President in the election next year, which ticket would you vote for—Roosevelt (Pres) and Wallace or Dewey (Pres) and MacArthur? (AIPO)

| | *Roosevelt* | *Dewey* | *Undecided* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apr 27 '43 | 54% | 46% = 100% | 13% | |
| *July 7 '43 | 55 | 45 = 100 | — | |
| **Sept 14 '43 | 58 | 33 | 9 | = 100% |
| (1)Apr 25 '44 | 51 | 49 = 100 | — | |
| (2)Sept 12 '44 | 51 | 49 = 100 | — | |
| (2)Sept 20 '44 | 51 | 49 = 100 | — | |
| (2)Oct 6 '44 | 51 | 49 = 100 | — | |
| (2)Oct 26 '44 | 51.5 | 48.5 = 100 | — | |

* The question was: If the presidential election were being held today, and Roosevelt were running for President on the Democratic ticket against Thomas Dewey on the Republican ticket, how do you think you would vote? A comparable cross-section was asked: Suppose these were the candidates for President and Vice-President in the election next year, which ticket would you vote for—Roosevelt (Pres) and Wallace or Dewey (Pres) and MacArthur? Results were combined.

** If the presidential election were being held today, and Roosevelt were running for President on the Democratic ticket against Dewey on the Republican ticket, how do you think you would vote?

(1) If the presidential election were being held today, and Roosevelt were running for President on the Democratic ticket against Dewey on the Republican ticket, how do you think you would vote? A comparable cross-section was asked: Suppose the war is still going on at election time this fall, but it looks as if Germany might be defeated in a few months, how do you think you would vote—for Roosevelt or Dewey? Results were combined.

(2) If the Presidential election were being held today how would you vote, for Dewey or for Roosevelt? Some cross-sections reversed the order of the candidates.

MAJOR PARTY VOTE APR 27 '43, JULY 7 '43, AND APR 25 '44 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | *Roosevelt* | *Dewey* |
|---|---|---|
| *New England and mid-Atlantic* | | |
| Apr '43 | 55% | 45% |
| *New England* | | |
| July '43 | 52 | 48 |
| Apr '44 | 52 | 48 |
| *Middle Atlantic* | | |
| July '43 | 57 | 43 |
| Apr '44 | 51 | 49 |
| *East central and West central* | | |
| Apr '43 | 47 | 53 |
| *East central* | | |
| July '43 | 50 | 50 |
| Apr '44 | 46 | 54 |
| *West central* | | |
| July '43 | 47 | 53 |
| Apr '44 | 44 | 56 |
| *South* | | |
| Apr '43 | 75 | 25 |
| July '43 | 72 | 28 |
| Apr '44 | 67 | 33 |
| *Rocky Mountain and Pacific coast* | | |
| Apr '43 | 50% | 50% |
| *Rocky Mountain* | | |
| July '43 | 51 | 49 |
| Apr '44 | 46 | 54 |
| *Pacific coast* | | |
| July '43 | 60 | 40 |
| Apr '44 | 52 | 48 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE APR 27 '43 AND JULY 7 '43 BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Upper and middle income* | | |
| Apr '43 | 46% | 54% |
| *Upper income* | | |
| July '43 | 43 | 57 |
| *Middle income* | | |
| July '43 | 50 | 50 |
| *Lower income* | | |
| Apr '43 | 62 | 38 |
| July '43 | 61 | 39 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE APR 27 '43, JULY 7 '43, JULY 6 '44, AND SEPT 20 '44 BY AGE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *21–29 years* | | |
| Apr '43 | 66% | 34% |
| July '43 | 64 | 36 |
| July '44 | 57 | 43 |
| Sept '44 | 59 | 41 |
| *30–49 years* | | |
| Apr '43 | 55 | 45 |
| July '43 | 54 | 46 |
| July '44 | 51 | 49 |
| Sept '44 | 51 | 49 |
| *50 years and over* | | |
| Apr '43 | 48 | 52 |
| July '43 | 51 | 49 |
| July '44 | 46 | 54 |
| Sept '44 | 47 | 53 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE JULY 7 '43, APR 25 '44, AND SEPT 20, '44 BY OCCUPATIONS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Business* | | |
| July '44 | 37% | 63% |
| Sept '44 | 35 | 65 |
| *Professional* | | |
| July '44 | 39 | 61 |
| Sept '44 | 39 | 61 |
| *White-collar* | | |
| July '44 | 48 | 52 |
| Sept '44 | 49 | 51 |
| *Skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers* | | |
| July '43 | 59 | 41 |
| Apr '44 | 59 | 41 |
| *Skilled workers* | | |
| July '44 | 54 | 46 |
| Sept '44 | 58 | 42 |
| *Semi-skilled workers* | | |
| July '44 | 59 | 41 |
| Sept '44 | 59 | 41 |
| *Unskilled workers* | | |
| July '44 | 63 | 37 |
| Sept '44 | 59 | 41 |
| *Farmers* | | |
| July '43 | 45 | 55 |
| July '44 | 45 | 55 |
| Sept '44 | 45 | 55 |

| | Roosevelt | Dewey |
|---|---|---|
| *Midwest farmers* | | |
| July '44 | 38% | 62% |
| Sept '44 | 35 | 65 |
| *Farmers outside the South* | | |
| July '43 | 39 | 61 |
| *Southern farmers* | | |
| July '44 | 66 | 34 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE JULY 7 '43, APR 25 '44, AUG 29 '44, AND SEPT 20 '44 BY LABOR STATUS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *All union members* | | |
| July '43 | 67% | 33% |
| Apr '44 | 66 | 34 |
| *CIO members* | | |
| Apr '44 | 68 | 32 |
| Aug '44 | 72 | 28 |
| Sept '44 | 72 | 28 |
| *AFL members* | | |
| Apr '44 | 64 | 36 |
| Aug '44 | 63 | 37 |
| Sept '44 | 64 | 36 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE JULY 6 '44 BY DEGREE OF CERTAINTY TO VOTE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Absolutely certain | 49% | 51% |
| Fairly certain | 56 | 44 |
| Others | 65 | 35 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE JULY 6 '44 BY PREVIOUS VOTING RECORD

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Those who haven't voted in their district | 59% | 41% |
| Those who have voted in their district | 48 | 52 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE SEPT 12 '44 BY EDUCATION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| College | 35% | 65% |
| High school | 47 | 53 |
| Grade school or less | 58 | 42 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE OF INDEPENDENT VOTERS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sept 12 '44 results | 55% | 45% |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE OCT 6 '44 BY SEX

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Men | 49% | 51% |
| Women | 52 | 48 |

MAJOR PARTY VOTE JULY 6 '44, AUG 29 '44, SEPT 20 '44, AND OCT 26 '44 STATE BY STATE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Alabama* | | |
| July '44 | 80% | 20% |
| Aug '44 | 78 | 22 |
| Sept '44 | 78 | 22 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 77 | 23 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 78 | 22 |
| *Arizona* | | |
| July '44 | 58 | 42 |
| Aug '44 | 57 | 43 |
| Sept '44 | 58 | 42 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 58 | 42 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 58 | 42 |
| *Arkansas* | | |
| July '44 | 78 | 22 |
| Aug '44 | 74 | 26 |
| Sept '44 | 74 | 26 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 70 | 30 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 72 | 28 |
| *California* | | |
| July '44 | 53 | 47 |
| Aug '44 | 55 | 45 |
| Sept '44 | 53 | 47 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 54% | 46% |
| Oct 26 '44 | 53 | 47 |
| *Colorado* | | |
| July '44 | 45 | 55 |
| Aug '44 | 43 | 57 |
| Sept '44 | 45 | 55 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 45 | 55 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 44 | 56 |
| *Connecticut* | | |
| July '44 | 51 | 49 |
| Aug '44 | 50 | 50 |
| Sept '44 | 51 | 49 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 52 | 48 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 52 | 48 |
| *Delaware* | | |
| July '44 | 51 | 49 |
| Aug '44 | 52 | 48 |
| Sept '44 | 52 | 48 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 50 | 50 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 51 | 49 |
| *Florida* | | |
| July '44 | 68 | 32 |
| Aug '44 | 71 | 29 |
| Sept '44 | 74 | 26 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 71 | 29 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 71 | 29 |
| *Georgia* | | |
| July '44 | 84 | 16 |
| Aug '44 | 81 | 19 |
| Sept '44 | 83 | 17 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 80 | 20 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 81 | 19 |
| *Idaho* | | |
| July '44 | 47 | 53 |
| Aug '44 | 48 | 52 |
| Sept '44 | 48 | 52 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 48 | 52 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 51 | 49 |
| *Illinois* | | |
| July '44 | 46 | 54 |
| Aug '44 | 47 | 53 |
| Sept '44 | 46 | 54 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 48 | 52 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 49 | 51 |
| *Indiana* | | |
| July '44 | 43 | 57 |
| Aug '44 | 45 | 55 |
| Sept '44 | 45 | 55 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 46 | 54 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 45 | 55 |
| *Iowa* | | |
| July '44 | 44 | 56 |
| Aug '44 | 45 | 55 |
| Sept '44 | 44 | 56 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 44 | 56 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 44 | 56 |
| *Kansas* | | |
| July '44 | 34 | 66 |
| Aug '44 | 37 | 63 |
| Sept '44 | 36 | 64 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 37 | 63 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 36 | 64 |
| *Kentucky* | | |
| July '44 | 54 | 46 |
| Aug '44 | 55 | 45 |
| Sept '44 | 55 | 45 |

| | Roosevelt | Dewey |
|---|---|---|
| Oct 6 '44 | 53% | 47% |
| Oct 26 '44 | 54 | 46 |
| *Louisiana* | | |
| July '44 | 76 | 24 |
| Aug '44 | 77 | 23 |
| Sept '44 | 77 | 23 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 78 | 22 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 78 | 22 |
| *Maine* | | |
| July '44 | 47 | 53 |
| Aug '44 | 46 | 54 |
| Sept '44 | 46 | 54 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 47 | 53 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 48 | 52 |
| *Maryland* | | |
| July '44 | 52 | 48 |
| Aug '44 | 52 | 48 |
| Sept '44 | 52 | 48 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 51 | 49 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 53 | 47 |
| *Massachusetts* | | |
| July '44 | 52 | 48 |
| Aug '44 | 52 | 48 |
| Sept '44 | 51 | 49 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 50 | 50 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 51 | 49 |
| *Michigan* | | |
| July '44 | 43 | 57 |
| Aug '44 | 45 | 55 |
| Sept '44 | 46 | 54 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 47 | 53 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 46 | 54 |
| *Minnesota* | | |
| July '44 | 47 | 53 |
| Aug '44 | 48 | 52 |
| Sept '44 | 48 | 52 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 47 | 53 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 47 | 53 |
| *Mississippi* | | |
| July '44 | 84 | 16 |
| Aug '44 | 84 | 16 |
| Sept '44 | 87 | 13 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 87 | 13 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 89 | 11 |
| *Missouri* | | |
| July '44 | 49 | 51 |
| Aug '44 | 50 | 50 |
| Sept '44 | 50 | 50 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 49 | 51 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 49 | 51 |
| *Montana* | | |
| July '44 | 57 | 43 |
| Aug '44 | 56 | 44 |
| Sept '44 | 53 | 47 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 54 | 46 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 54 | 46 |
| *Nebraska* | | |
| July '44 | 33 | 67 |
| Aug '44 | 34 | 66 |
| Sept '44 | 36 | 64 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 37 | 63 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 38 | 62 |
| *Nevada* | | |
| July '44 | 56 | 44 |
| Aug '44 | 54 | 46 |
| Sept '44 | 53 | 47 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 54% | 46% |
| Oct 26 '44 | 54 | 46 |
| *New Hampshire* | | |
| July '44 | 51 | 49 |
| Aug '44 | 52 | 48 |
| Sept '44 | 50 | 50 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 49 | 51 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 51 | 49 |
| *New Jersey* | | |
| July '44 | 49 | 51 |
| Aug '44 | 50 | 50 |
| Sept '44 | 48 | 52 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 48 | 52 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 48 | 52 |
| *New Mexico* | | |
| July '44 | 56 | 44 |
| Aug '44 | 53 | 47 |
| Sept '44 | 49 | 51 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 49 | 51 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 49 | 51 |
| *New York* | | |
| July '44 | 48 | 52 |
| Aug '44 | 49 | 51 |
| Sept '44 | 49 | 51 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 49 | 51 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 50 | 50+ |
| *North Carolina* | | |
| July '44 | 67 | 33 |
| Aug '44 | 68 | 32 |
| Sept '44 | 71 | 29 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 69 | 31 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 71 | 29 |
| *North Dakota* | | |
| July '44 | 38 | 62 |
| Aug '44 | 42 | 58 |
| Sept '44 | 45 | 55 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 40 | 60 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 38 | 62 |
| *Ohio* | | |
| July '44 | 46 | 54 |
| Aug '44 | 47 | 53 |
| Sept '44 | 47 | 53 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 47 | 53 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 48 | 52 |
| *Oklahoma* | | |
| July '44 | 51 | 49 |
| Aug '44 | 51 | 49 |
| Sept '44 | 51 | 49 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 50 | 50 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 51 | 49 |
| *Oregon* | | |
| July '44 | 49 | 51 |
| Aug '44 | 51 | 49 |
| Sept '44 | 50 | 50 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 50 | 50 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 51 | 49 |
| *Pennsylvania* | | |
| July '44 | 52 | 48 |
| Aug '44 | 51 | 49 |
| Sept '44 | 50 | 50 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 50 | 50 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 51 | 49 |
| *Rhode Island* | | |
| July '44 | 51 | 49 |
| Aug '44 | 53 | 47 |
| Sept '44 | 55 | 45 |

| | Roosevelt | Dewey |
|---|---|---|
| Oct 6 '44 | 56% | 44% |
| Oct 26 '44 | 56 | 44 |
| *South Carolina* | | |
| July '44 | 89 | 11 |
| Aug '44 | 92 | 8 |
| Sept '44 | 91 | 9 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 87 | 13 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 89 | 11 |
| *South Dakota* | | |
| July '44 | 37 | 63 |
| Aug '44 | 40 | 60 |
| Sept '44 | 38 | 62 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 37 | 63 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 36 | 64 |
| *Tennessee* | | |
| July '44 | 67 | 33 |
| Aug '44 | 65 | 35 |
| Sept '44 | 67 | 33 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 64 | 36 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 64 | 36 |
| *Texas* | | |
| July '44 | 75 | 25 |
| Aug '44 | 72 | 28 |
| Sept '44 | 74 | 26 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 64 | 36 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 78 | 22 |
| *Utah* | | |
| July '44 | 57 | 43 |
| Aug '44 | 57 | 43 |
| Sept '44 | 57 | 43 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 57 | 43 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 56 | 44 |
| *Vermont* | | |
| July '44 | 46 | 54 |
| Aug '44 | 45 | 55 |
| Sept '44 | 44 | 56 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 45 | 55 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 45 | 55 |
| *Virginia* | | |
| July '44 | 64 | 36 |
| Aug '44 | 64 | 36 |
| Sept '44 | 64 | 36 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 64 | 36 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 64 | 36 |
| *Washington* | | |
| July '44 | 53 | 47 |
| Aug '44 | 55 | 45 |
| Sept '44 | 54 | 46 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 54 | 46 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 54 | 46 |
| *West Virginia* | | |
| July '44 | 53 | 47 |
| Aug '44 | 55 | 45 |
| Sept '44 | 52 | 48 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 49 | 51 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 51 | 49 |
| *Wisconsin* | | |
| July '44 | 44 | 56 |
| Aug '44 | 46 | 54 |
| Sept '44 | 45 | 55 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 46 | 54 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 44 | 56 |
| *Wyoming* | | |
| July '44 | 45 | 55 |
| Aug '44 | 45 | 55 |
| Sept '44 | 44% | 56% |
| Oct 6 '44 | 47 | 53 |
| Oct 26 '44 | 47 | 53 |

**19.** (US June '43) If the war is still on (if the war is over) by election day next year, would you favor or oppose the re-election of Roosevelt for another term? (FOR)

| | Favor | Oppose | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| If war on | 64.8% | 27.8% | 7.4% |
| If war over | 33.3 | 59.2 | 7.5 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| High income if the war on | 42.1% | 50.3% | 7.6% |
| High income if war over | 12.6 | 84.0 | 3.4 |
| Upper middle if war on | 52.8 | 38.0 | 9.2 |
| Upper middle if war over | 18.9 | 74.6 | 6.5 |
| Lower middle if war on | 67.3 | 26.5 | 6.2 |
| Lower middle if war over | 31.9 | 60.7 | 7.4 |
| Low income if war on | 74.5 | 19.1 | 6.4 |
| Low income if war over | 47.1 | 44.7 | 8.2 |
| Negro if war on | 78.9 | 10.9 | 10.2 |
| Negro if war over | 61.2 | 25.9 | 12.9 |

**20.** (US June 3 '43) Do you think the farmers (businessmen, skilled or unskilled workers, white-collar workers) will be better off if the Republicans or the Democrats win the presidential election next year? (AIPO)

| | Democrats | Republicans | No difference | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Farmers | 36% | 24% | 17% | 23% |
| Businessmen | 23 | 41 | 14 | 22 |
| Skilled or unskilled | 40 | 19 | 19 | 22 |
| White-collar workers | 27 | 27 | 21 | 25 |

**21.** (US June 3 '43 and Nov 10 '43) Suppose that next year at election time the war with Germany is over but not the war with Japan. If this is the case, would you be likely to vote for Roosevelt or against him? (AIPO)

| | For | Against | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| June results | 59% | 34% | 7% |
| Nov results | 51 | 38 | 11 |

**22.** (US June 23 '43) If the presidential election were being held today, and Wendell Willkie were running for President on an Independent ticket against Thomas Dewey on the Republican ticket and Roosevelt on the Democratic ticket, how do you think you would vote? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Willkie | 15% |
| Dewey | 28 |
| Roosevelt | 47 |
| Undecided | 10 |

**23.** (US Aug 17 '43 and Sept 14 '43) If the presidential election were being held today, and Roosevelt were running for President on the Democratic ticket against MacArthur on the Republican ticket, how do you think you would vote? (AIPO)

| | Roosevelt | MacArthur | Undecided |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '43 | 58% | 42% | — |
| Sept '43 | 56 | 33 | 11% |
| MAJOR PARTY VOTE AUG '43 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 60% | 40% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 60 | 40 | |
| East central | 54 | 46 | |
| West central | 49 | 51 | |
| South | 69 | 31 | |
| Rocky Mountain | 51 | 49 | |
| Pacific coast | 60% | 40% | |

| | *Roosevelt* | *MacArthur* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| MAJOR PARTY VOTE AUG '43 BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 50 | 50 | |
| Middle income | 55 | 45 | |
| Lower income | 62 | 38 | |
| MAJOR PARTY VOTE AUG '43 BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 71% | 29% | |
| 30–49 years | 59 | 41 | |
| 50 years and over | 51 | 49 | |
| MAJOR PARTY VOTE OF FARMERS | | | |
| Aug '43 | 44% | 56% | |

**24.** (US Aug 17 '43) If Roosevelt is the Democratic candidate for President next year, what type of man would you prefer as the candidate for Vice-President—a conservative Democrat like Senator Byrd or a New-Deal Democrat like Henry Wallace? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with James Farley substituted for Senator Byrd. (AIPO)

| | *Conservative Democrat* | *New-Deal Democrat* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Like Byrd | 49% | 27% | 24% |
| Like Farley | 47 | 31 | 22 |

**25.** (US Aug 24 '43) If the war in Europe is not over next year by election time, would you be for or against postponing the next presidential election until the war in Europe is over? The question to a comparable cross-section omitted "in Europe." Results were combined. (AIPO)

For 47% Against 45% No opinion 8%

**26.** (US Sept 14 '43) Have you given any thought to the presidential election next year? (Feb 1 '44) Are you interested in the coming election for President? A comparable cross-section was asked: Have you given much thought or only a little thought to the coming election for President? (Mar 1 '44 and Mar 15 '44) These two samples were asked the same question as the second cross-section in Feb '44. The Mar 15 question omitted the word "coming." (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *Much* | *Little* | *No* | *None; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '43 | 58% | — | — | 42% | — |
| Feb '44: | | | | | |
| Interested | 92 | — | — | 8 | — |
| Given thought | — | 46% | 46% | — | 8% |
| Mar 1 '44 | — | 39 | 53 | — | 8 |
| Mar 15 '44 | — | 44 | 48 | — | 8 |

**27.** (US Sept 28 '43, Oct 6 '43, Mar 1 '44) Now just taking into account your own interests and problems, do you think you will be better off if a Republican President is elected next year (this year) or if a Democrat is elected President? The Oct '43 question omitted the word "now." (AIPO)

| | *Democrat* | *Republican* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '43 | 44% | 34% | 22% |
| Oct '43 | 47 | 32 | 21 |
| Mar '44 | 37 | 45 | 18 |

**28.** (US Sept 28 '43) If the presidential election were being held today and Senator Byrd were running for President on the Democratic ticket against Governor Warren on the Republican ticket, how do you think you would vote? (AIPO)

Byrd 30% Warren 24% Undecided 46%

**29.** (US Sept 28 '43) Do you think the Republican party should nominate a conservative or a liberal type of candidate for President next year? (AIPO)

Conservative 28% Liberal 40% No opinion 32%

**30.** (US Sept 28 '43) Which way do you think the most patriotic people are more likely to vote in the presidential election next year—to continue the present administration or vote for a Republican President? (AIPO)

Continue present 51% Republican 29% Undecided 20%

**31.** (US Sept 28 '43) Do you think our war effort would be helped or hurt if the country were to vote Roosevelt out of office and put in a Republican as President next year? (AIPO)

Helped 26% Hurt 52% Don't know 22%

**32.** (US Oct 26 '43) If you had to choose between MacArthur and Willkie as the Republican candidate for President next year, which would you prefer? Asked of a national cross-section of Republicans. (AIPO)

MacArthur 52% Willkie 42% No opinion 6%

**33.** (US Oct 26 '43) If you had to choose among Willkie, Dewey, and MacArthur as the Republican candidate for President, which would you prefer? Which would be your second choice? Asked of a national cross-section of Republicans. (AIPO)

| | *First choice* | *Second choice* |
|---|---|---|
| Willkie | 32% | 23% |
| Dewey | 38 | 35 |
| MacArthur | 26 | 28 |
| No opinion | 4 | 14 |

**34.** (US Nov '43) If the war is still on by election time next November, which of these eight men would you choose for President? If the war is still on by election time next November, which of these eight men would be your second choice for President? (FOR)

| | *First choice* | *Second choice* | *Second choice of those whose first choice was Roosevelt* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 51.5% | — | — |
| Dewey | 12.0 | 13.9% | 10.0% |
| Willkie | 9.8 | 16.3 | 21.3 |
| MacArthur | 8.3 | 16.2 | 20.1 |
| Bricker | 3.4 | — | — |
| Wallace | 1.0 | — | — |
| Byrnes | 1.0 | — | — |
| Douglas | .4 | — | — |
| None | 2.5 | — | — |
| The five others* and none | — | 30.6 | 29.8 |
| Don't know | 10.1 | 23.0 | 18.8 |

* Roosevelt, Bricker, Wallace, Byrnes, Douglas.

**35.** (US Nov 9 '43) Regardless of how you feel yourself, which party do you think will win the presidential election next year? All those who said it depended on the war were asked further: Suppose the war in Europe is over but not the war with Japan, which party do you think will win? (AIPO)

| | Democrats | Republicans | No opinion | Qualified |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Major party vote | 42% | 58% | — | — |
| National total | 33 | 45 | 17% | 5% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democratic | 65% | 17% | 18% | — |
| Republican | 31 | 49 | 20 | — |

**36.** (US Nov 23 '43 to June 20 '44, dates listed below) Will you look over all these possible candidates and tell me which one man you'd like to see as the next President of the United States? (AIPO)

THE CHOICE OF REPUBLICAN SUPPORTERS

| | Nov 23 '44 | Jan 4 '44 | Feb 1 '44 | Apr 12 '44* | May 9 '44 | June 7 '44 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dewey | 36% | 42% | 45% | 55% | 65% | 58% |
| Willkie | 25 | 23 | 21 | 7 | — | — |
| MacArthur | 15 | 18 | 19 | 20 | — | — |
| Bricker | 10 | 8 | 7 | 9 | 9 | 12 |
| Stassen | 6 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 6 |
| Taft | 5 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Saltonstall | 1 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Warren | 1 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 2 | — |
| Johnston | 1 | | | 1 | — | — |
| Others | — | — | — | — | 19 | 24 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| No opinion | — | 37% | — | — | — | — |

THE CHOICE OF DEMOCRATIC SUPPORTERS

*Union Members*

| | Nov 23 '44 | Jan 4 '44 | Apr 12 '44* | June 20 '44 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 85% | 88% | 89% | 90% |
| Wallace | 6 | 6 | 3 | 3 |
| Farley | 3 | 3 | — | 1 |
| Byrd | 2 | — | — | 2 |
| McNutt | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Rayburn | — | — | — | |
| Marshall | 1 | 1 | — | — |
| Byrnes | 1 | 1 | 1 | — |
| Douglas | 1 | — | — | — |
| Barkley | — | — | 2 | — |
| Hull | — | — | 4 | 3 |

REPUBLICAN CHOICE NOV 23 '43 BY SEX

| | Dewey | Willkie | MacArthur | Bricker | Stassen | Saltonstall | Warren | Johnston |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 38% | 27% | 13% | 11% | 7% | 1% | 1% | 2% |
| Women | 37 | 23 | 19 | 9 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 1 |

REPUBLICAN CHOICE IN LABOR UNIONS JAN '44

| | | | | | | | Warren and Johnston |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| All union members | 41% | 20% | 29% | 5% | 3% | — | 2% |

REPUBLICAN CHOICE JAN 4 '44, FEB 1 '44, APR 12 '44, AND JUNE 7 '44 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | Dewey | Willkie | MacArthur | Bricker | Stassen | Others |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *New England* | | | | | | |
| Jan '44 | 38% | 41% | 14% | 3% | — | 4% |
| Feb '44 | 40 | 38 | 16 | 2 | — | 4 |
| Apr '44 | 57 | — | 17 | 4 | 4% | 18 |
| June '44 | 64 | — | — | 14 | 4 | 18 |
| *Middle Atlantic* | | | | | | |
| Jan '44 | 54 | 21 | 16 | 4 | — | 5 |
| Feb '44 | 55 | 20 | 17 | 5 | — | 3 |
| Apr '44 | 62 | — | 19 | 7 | 4 | 8 |
| June '44 | 66 | — | — | 7 | 4 | 23 |
| *East central* | | | | | | |
| Jan '44 | 35 | 15 | 17 | 21 | — | 12 |
| Feb '44 | 41 | 12 | 20 | 19 | — | 8 |
| Apr '44 | 53 | — | 20 | 19 | 5 | 3 |
| June '44 | 45 | — | — | 21 | 4 | 30 |
| *West central* | | | | | | |
| Jan '44 | 40 | 23 | 19 | 3 | — | 15 |
| Feb '44 | 44 | 18 | 20 | 4 | — | 14 |
| Apr '44 | 54 | — | 19 | 4 | 17 | 6 |
| June '44 | 58 | — | — | 8 | 15 | 19 |
| *South* | | | | | | |
| Jan '44 | 30 | 36 | 24 | 6 | — | 4 |
| Feb '44 | 35 | 31 | 26 | 4 | — | 4 |
| Apr '44 | 48 | — | 27 | 6 | 4 | 15 |
| June '44 | 59 | — | — | 10 | 6 | 25 |
| *Rocky Mountain* | | | | | | |
| Jan '44 | 37 | 26 | 21 | 7 | — | 9 |
| Feb '44 | 43 | 22 | 21 | 5 | — | 9 |
| Apr '44 | 53 | — | 18 | 6 | 8 | 15 |
| June '44 | 54 | — | — | 7 | 5 | 34 |
| *Pacific coast* | | | | | | |
| Jan '44 | 35 | 27 | 12 | 4 | — | 22 |
| Feb '44 | 39 | 27 | 12 | 4 | — | 18 |
| Apr '44 | 52 | — | 14 | 6 | 8 | 20 |
| June '44 | 63 | — | — | 6 | 6 | 25 |

DEMOCRATIC CHOICE NOV 23 '43 BY SEX

| | Roosevelt | Wallace | Farley | Byrd | McNutt | Marshall | Byrnes | Douglas |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 82% | 7% | 3% | 2% | 2% | 2% | 2% | ** |
| Women | 88 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1% |

* The Apr '44 sample was asked further: Who would be your second choice of all these possible candidates—either Democratic or Republican? Of all voters who named Roosevelt as their first choice, 50% would prefer a Republican candidate, 50% a Democratic. Of the 20% who named MacArthur as their first choice, 11% chose Dewey second, 2% chose Bricker, 2% chose Stassen, 5% made other choices.

** Less than 0.5%.

**37.** (US Nov 23 '43) Can you think of any of your friends or relatives who have changed their views about Roosevelt since 1940? 51% of the sample who said friends or relatives had changed their views were asked: Are most of them more in favor of him or less? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know anyone whose views changed | 49% |
| More in favor of him | 8 |
| Less in favor of him | 41 |
| Other answers to second question | 2 |

**38.** (US Nov 23 '43) Do you think that both the Republicans and the Democrats should take exactly the same stand for an active part in world affairs in their party platforms next year? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 64% | 15% | 21% |
| Republicans only | 58 | 21 | 21 |

**39.** (US Dec 15 '43) Does it make much difference to you which party wins [the 1944 election]? (May 23 '44, July 18 '44, Sept 20 '44) Do you think it will make a great deal of difference which of these two men [Roosevelt or Dewey] is elected? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '43 | 44% | 48% | 8% |
| July '44 | 69 | 21 | 10 |
| Sept '44 | 73 | 16 | 11 |
| MAY '44 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Roosevelt supporters | 73% | 16% | 11% |
| Dewey supporters | 65 | 22 | 13 |

**40.** (US Jan '44) If both the war in Europe and the war in the Pacific are still going on, and you had to choose between Roosevelt and the best man you can think of for the Republicans, which would you probably vote for? 55.6% of the sample who said they would vote for Roosevelt were asked: If the war in Europe is over, but the war in the Pacific is still going on, which would you probably vote for—Roosevelt or the best man you can think of for the Republicans? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Best Republican if both wars still on | 32.0% |
| Don't know who would vote for if both wars still on | 12.4 |
| Roosevelt if European war is over but Pacific still on | 50.5 |
| Best Republican if European war is over but Pacific still on | 3.2 |
| Don't know who would vote for if European war is over but Pacific still on | 1.9 |

**41.** (US Jan '44) If the war is over in both places but the peace terms are not fully worked out, which would you probably vote for—Roosevelt or the best man you can think of for the Republicans? Asked of 55.6% of the sample who would vote for Roosevelt if both wars were still on. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 42.1% |
| Best Republican | 8.3 |
| Don't know | 5.2 |
| | 55.6% |

**42.** (US Jan '44) Who is this "best man you can think of for the Republicans"? Asked of those who would vote for a Republican over Roosevelt under any conditions. (FOR)

| | *National total* | *Those who expect to vote Republican if the war is still on* | *Those who expect to vote Republican only if the war is over in Europe or if the war is over on both fronts* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Willkie | 32.5% | 32.3% | 33.1% |
| Dewey | 17.9 | 19.8 | 11.1 |
| MacArthur | 4.3 | | |
| Bricker | 2.8 | | |
| Stassen | 2.1 | 15.3 | 10.6 |
| Taft | 1.3 | | |
| Others | 3.9 | | |
| Don't know | 36.6 | 34.2 | 45.3 |
| | 101.4%* | 101.6%* | 100.1%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents answering the question and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**43.** (US Jan 4 '44) Will you please look at this card and tell me which of these statements comes closest to the way you feel about the 1944 presidential election, assuming that Roosevelt will be the Democratic candidate? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| I would not consider voting for anyone but Roosevelt | 22% |
| While Roosevelt has made some mistakes, I am sure he would be better than anyone the Republicans would nominate | 30 |
| While I like many things that Roosevelt has done as President, particularly his war efforts, I think it is time to elect a Republican | 24 |
| I would not consider voting for anyone but a Republican | 13 |
| No opinion | 11 |

**44.** (US Jan 4 '44) Which political party do you think most men in the armed services will vote for, the Republican or the Democratic? (AIPO)

Republican 24% Democratic 39% No opinion 37%

**45.** (US Jan 18 '44) Regardless of your own particular choice, what is your guess as to the man whom the Republicans will nominate for President? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Willkie | 33% |
| Dewey | 35 |
| MacArthur | 6 |
| Bricker | 3 |
| Stassen | 1 |
| Roosevelt | 1 |
| Willkie or Dewey | 3 |
| Don't know | 18 |

**46.** (US Jan 18 '44) Do you happen to know what Republican candidate for President the public opinion polls show most popular today? 30% of the sample who said they did know were asked: Who? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know what polls show | 70% |
| Polls show Dewey most popular | 17 |
| Willkie most popular | 9 |
| MacArthur most popular | 2 |
| Willkie or Dewey | 2 |

**47.** (US Jan 18 '44) Do you happen to know which Republican candidate for President is most popular today with Republican voters? 49% of the sample who said they did know were asked: Which one? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know which one most popular | 51% |
| Dewey most popular with Republicans | 23 |
| Willkie most popular | 19 |
| MacArthur most popular | 4 |
| Bricker most popular | 1 |
| Willkie or Dewey | 1 |
| Couldn't say which one | 1 |

**48.** (US Feb 1 '44) Which of the Democrats on that card [handed to respondent] would you like to see nominated as Vice-President on the Democratic ticket? (June 6 '44) Will you look over these possible candidates and tell me which one man you'd like to see as the Democratic candidate for Vice-President? Who would be your second choice of all these possible candidates? All questions were asked of national cross-sections of Democrats. (AIPO)

| | *Feb '44* | *June '44 first choice* | *June '44 second choice* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wallace | 46% | 65% | 14% |
| Hull | 21 | — | — |
| Farley | 13 | — | — |
| Rayburn | 12 | 5 | 15 |
| Byrnes | 5 | 3 | 7 |

| | Feb '44 | June '44 first choice | June '44 second choice |
|---|---|---|---|
| Byrd | 3% | 4% | 10% |
| Barkley | — | 17 | 29 |
| Douglas | — | 2 | 10 |
| Truman | — | 2 | 7 |
| Stettinius | — | 2 | 8 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| Gave no second choice | — | — | 19% |

THE CHOICE OF DEMOCRATS FEB '44 AND JUNE '44 BY SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | East: Feb '44 | All coastal areas: June '44 | South: Feb '44 | South: June '44 | Midwest: Feb '44 | Midwest: June '44 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wallace | 47% | 71% | 42% | 43% | 46% | 68% |
| Hull | 22 | — | 20 | — | 20 | — |
| Farley | 14 | — | 15 | — | 12 | — |
| Rayburn | 9 | 1 | 14 | 15 | 14 | 4 |
| Byrnes | 5 | 2 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 2 |
| Byrd | 3 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 2 |
| Barkley | — | 12 | — | 30 | — | 17 |
| Douglas | — | 5 | — | * | — | 1 |
| Truman | — | 2 | — | * | — | 4 |
| Stettinius | — | 3 | — | * | — | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**49.** (US Feb 1 '44) Which of the Republicans on that card [handed to respondent] would you like to see nominated as Vice-President on the Republican ticket? Asked of a national cross-section of Republicans. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dewey | 17% |
| Johnston | 6 |
| Warren | 12 |
| Bricker | 22 |
| Willkie | 10 |
| MacArthur | 18 |
| Stassen | 15 |

**50.** (US Mar '44) The four candidates that are talked about most right now are President Roosevelt, Wendell Willkie, Thomas Dewey, and General MacArthur. Regardless of what other things about them may be better or worse, which of these four men do you feel could run the government most efficiently as President? do the best job, as President, of preventing unemployment after the war? do the best job, as President, of running the war? do the best job, as President, of handling our foreign affairs after the war? (FOR)

| | Willkie | Dewey | MacArthur | Roosevelt | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Efficient government | 12.2% | 21.1% | 8.0% | 41.6% | 17.1% |
| Prevent unemployment | 11.9 | 15.6 | 4.6 | 40.7 | 27.2 |
| Run the war | 5.3 | 6.5 | 22.2 | 52.1 | 13.9 |
| Handle foreign affairs | 13.6 | 10.2 | 9.2 | 43.3 | 23.7 |

**51.** (US Mar '44) Sometimes in the past, people who are not very well known have been nominated at the last minute by one party or the other. If such a dark horse should be nominated in 1944, which of these subjects would he have to agree with you on before you would vote for him? (FOR)

IN COMPARISON WITH A SURVEY MADE TWO MONTHS EARLIER

| | Current survey | Two months earlier |
|---|---|---|
| What should be done about preventing unemployment after war | 57.5% | 61.0% |
| The part the United States should play in world affairs after the war | 53.7 | 55.2 |
| What should be done about labor unions | 41.0 | 37.4 |
| Peace terms to be given Germany | 39.4 | 35.8 |
| Future Social-Security provisions [asked in first survey only] | — | 31.8 |
| How to improve the way national government runs its day-to-day business [asked in second survey only] | 31.6 | — |
| Don't know | 14.4 | 14.5 |
| | 237.6%* | 235.7%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**52.** (US Mar 1 '44 to Oct 17 '44, dates listed below) Which way are you leaning at the present time, toward Roosevelt or Dewey? The Mar '44 question read "toward the Democrats or toward the Republicans." All questions were asked of national cross-sections of persons undecided about their vote. (AIPO)

| | Roosevelt | Dewey | Undecided | Others |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mar 1 '44 | 37% | 22% | 41% | — |
| Aug 1 '44 | 27 | 24 | 49 | — |
| Aug 16 '44 | 30 | 22 | 48 | — |
| Aug 29 '44 | 31 | 25 | 44 | — |
| Sept 6 '44 | 34 | 24 | 42 | — |
| Sept 12 '44 | 29 | 23 | 47 | 1% |
| Oct 3 '44 | 30 | 23 | 46 | 1 |
| Oct 6 '44 | 30 | 26 | 43 | 1 |
| Oct 12 '44 | 30 | 20 | 49 | 1 |
| Oct 17 '44 | 32 | 26 | 42 | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**53.** (US Mar 1 '44) Which of these two men would you prefer to see nominated as Vice-President on the Democratic ticket, Henry Wallace or Senator Barkley? (AIPO)

Wallace 55% Barkley 27% Undecided 18%

**54.** (US Mar 15 '44) What do you think about your state—do you think this state will be carried by the Democrats or Republicans in the elections this fall? (AIPO)

Democrats 32% Republicans 51% No opinion 17%

**55.** (US Mar 29 '44) Are you more in favor of Roosevelt's re-election this fall than you were in 1940 or not as much in favor? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| More in favor | 30% |
| Not as much | 32 |
| Never favored him | 19 |
| No difference | 19 |

**56.** (US Mar 29 '44 to Oct 26 '44, dates listed below) Suppose Roosevelt is the Democratic candidate for President and Dewey is the Republican candidate, which one do you think will carry your State? (AIPO, NORC)

| | Roosevelt | Dewey | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| AIPO Mar 29 '44 | 48% | 39% | 13% |
| *AIPO July 18 '44 | 71 | 17 | 12 |
| **NORC Oct '44 | 72 | 16 | 12 |
| *AIPO Oct 26 '44 | 61 | 21 | 18 |

(US Oct 26 '44) Regardless of what you hope, who do you think will win—Roosevelt or Dewey? (FOR)

FORTUNE RESULTS IN COMPARISON WITH EARLIER DATES IN 1944

| | *July 10* | *Aug 7* | *Aug 19* | *Aug 26* | *Oct 7* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 66.4% | 72.4% | 70.4% | 70.0% | 67.9% |
| Dewey | 21.9 | 19.4 | 17.3 | 18.2 | 17.4 |
| Don't know | 11.7 | 8.2 | 12.3 | 11.8 | 14.7 |

* The question was: Regardless of how you, yourself, plan to vote, which presidential candidate do you think will win, Roosevelt or Dewey? In July '44 a comparable cross-section was asked: Regardless of how you, yourself, plan to vote, which presidential candidate do you think will carry this state—Dewey or Roosevelt? Results were combined.

** Regardless of who you're going to vote for, which man do you think has the best chance of being elected—Roosevelt or Dewey?

**57.** (US Mar 29 '44) If the war is still going on, and President Roosevelt runs for the Democrats against Governor Dewey for the Republicans, how do you think you will vote? (AIPO)

Roosevelt 55% Dewey 45%

**58.** (US Mar 29 '44) If the war is over, and Roosevelt runs for the Democrats against Dewey, how do you think you will vote? (AIPO)

Roosevelt 42% Dewey 58%

**59.** (US Mar 29 '44) Now suppose the war is still going on in Europe, but it looks as if it might be over in a few weeks or a few months, how do you think you will vote—for Roosevelt or Dewey? (AIPO)

| | *Roosevelt* | *Dewey* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 51% | 49% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 50% | 50% |
| East central | 48 | 52 |
| West central | 45 | 55 |
| South | 68 | 32 |
| Far West | 48 | 52 |
| BY SELECTED GROUPS | | |
| Business and professional | 42% | 58% |
| All farmers | 42 | 58 |
| Farmers outside the South | 35 | 65 |
| All workers | 61 | 39 |
| Union members | 65 | 35 |
| Non-union | 59 | 41 |

**60.** (US Apr 12 '44) Do you know anyone who voted for Roosevelt in 1940 but who won't vote for him again if he runs this year? (AIPO)

Yes 51% No 49%

**61.** (US Apr 12 '44) Do you know anyone who voted against Roosevelt in 1940 but who will vote for him this year? (AIPO)

Yes 13% No 87%

**62.** (US May '44) Which of the following four men would you prefer to see the next President? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dewey | 56.9% |
| Willkie | 29.0 |
| Roosevelt | 8.2 |
| MacArthur | 5.9 |

**63.** (US May 9 '44) Which of these two combinations of President and Vice-President on the Democratic ticket would you prefer, Roosevelt and Wallace or Roosevelt and Byrd? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt and Wallace | 47% |
| Roosevelt and Byrd | 24 |
| Don't know enough about Wallace | 1 |
| Don't know enough about Byrd | 5 |
| Don't know enough about Wallace or Byrd | 3 |
| No opinion | 20 |

**64.** (US May 9 '44) Which of these two combinations of President and Vice-President on the Republican ticket would you prefer, Dewey and Warren or Dewey and Stassen? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dewey and Warren | 30% |
| Dewey and Stassen | 28 |
| Don't know enough about Warren | 1 |
| Don't know enough about Stassen | 2 |
| Don't know enough about Warren or Stassen | 8 |
| No opinion | 31 |

**65.** (US May 23 '44) Is there a fair chance that you may change your mind between now and election, or are you pretty sure you will vote for [candidate selected]? (AIPO)

| | *May change* | *Will vote for man* |
|---|---|---|
| Roosevelt voters | 20% | 80% |
| Dewey voters | 25 | 75 |

**66.** (US May 23 '44) If a Republican President is elected this fall, do you think there will be fewer strikes and labor problems during the next few years? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 23% |
| No | 46 |
| Depends on who Republican candidate is | 1 |
| No opinion | 30 |

**67.** (US May 23 '44) If the CIO union supported a candidate, would you be more likely to vote for that candidate or against him? (AIPO)

| | *For* | *Against* | *No difference* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 10% | 53% | 20% | 17% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Republican | 6% | 68% | 14% | 12% |
| Democratic | 14 | 43 | 22 | 21 |
| Independent | 9 | 46 | 28 | 17 |

**68.** (US May 23 '44) If the National Association of Manufacturers supported a candidate, would you be more likely to vote for that candidate or against him? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| For | 16% |
| Against | 25 |
| No difference | 30 |
| No opinion | 29 |

**69.** (US May 23 '44) Is there any particular idea or plank which you would like your party to include in its party platform for the coming presidential election? (AIPO)

Yes 31% No 69%

**70.** (US June '44) Which do you think will play the biggest part in determining the candidate nominated at the Republican or Democratic convention? (FOR)

| | *Republican convention* | *Democratic convention* |
|---|---|---|
| Whom the public wants | 27.2% | 25.4% |
| Whom the regular party politicians want | 53.4 | 55.1 |
| Don't know | 19.4 | 19.5 |

**71.** (US June 7 '44) What would you say are the strongest arguments for voting for (against) Roosevelt for the next four years? (AIPO)

| | *Total* | *Roosevelt voters* | *Dewey voters* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *For Roosevelt* | | | |
| Superior ability to handle present and future situations | 63% | 76% | 51% |
| Past record of handling internal affairs | 17 | 24 | 10 |
| Personality and general ability | 3 | 3 | 1 |
| No arguments for voting for Roosevelt | 15 | * | 31 |
| Didn't say | 6 | 2 | 9 |
| | 104%** | 105%** | 102%** |
| *Against Roosevelt* | | | |
| Poor domestic policies | 43% | 22% | 64% |
| We need a change; Roosevelt has been in too long | 35 | 31 | 38 |
| Poor health and unreliability | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Poor foreign policies | 1 | * | 2 |
| No arguments for voting against him | 16 | 31 | 2 |
| Didn't say | 8 | 14 | 3 |
| | 109%** | 104%** | 115%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**72.** (US June 7 '44) What would you say are the strongest arguments for voting for (against) Dewey for President? (AIPO)

| | *Total* | *Roosevelt voters* | *Dewey voters* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *For Dewey* | | | |
| Qualifications as a businessman and executive | 49% | 30% | 66% |
| Desire for change of administration | 19 | 9 | 31 |
| Ability to handle war and foreign affairs | * | — | * |
| No arguments for voting for Dewey | 19 | 32 | 5 |
| Didn't say | 20 | 31 | 9 |
| | 107%** | 102%** | 111%** |
| *Against Dewey* | | | |
| His lack of ability | 32% | 35% | 28% |
| We shouldn't change during the war; Roosevelt is needed now | 10 | 17 | 5 |
| His policies | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Other men would be better | 4 | 8 | * |
| No arguments against him | 25 | 11 | 37 |
| Didn't say | 21 | 22 | 21 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 | 6 | 8 |
| | 105%** | 105%** | 105%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**73.** (US June 22 '44) Do you think Dewey (Willkie) would use his influence to get the Republicans to include these three things [United States should join international organization; provide full employment; allow freedom to labor unions] in their platform, or do you think he would prefer not to have them put so strongly? (FOR)

| | *Dewey* | *Willkie* |
|---|---|---|
| Use influence | 18.9% | 32.9% |
| Prefer not so strong | 33.4 | 17.0 |
| Don't know | 47.7 | 50.1 |

**74.** (US July 6 '44) What's your best guess about your friends, will most of them vote for Dewey this fall or for Roosevelt? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dewey | 37% |
| Roosevelt | 34 |
| Equally divided | 12 |
| Don't know | 17 |

**75.** (US July 6 '44) Did you happen to listen to any of the speeches given at the Republican convention in Chicago recently? (AIPO)

Yes 50% No 50%

**76.** (US July 6 '44) Leaving aside any feelings you may have about the two men, which do you think is the better radio speaker—Roosevelt or Dewey? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 58% |
| Dewey | 18 |
| No difference | 7 |
| Don't know | 17 |

**77.** (US Aug 1 '44) In your opinion, which man will handle affairs best in this country during the next four years—Dewey or Roosevelt? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dewey | 41% |
| Roosevelt | 48 |
| No opinion | 11 |

**78.** (US Aug 1 '44) In your opinion, which man is more likely to get the war over in the shortest time—Dewey or Roosevelt? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dewey | 22% |
| Roosevelt | 44 |
| No opinion | 34 |

**79.** (US Aug 1 '44) In your opinion, which man is likely to do the best job of dealing with foreign nations and preventing future wars—Dewey or Roosevelt? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dewey | 30% |
| Roosevelt | 51 |
| No opinion | 19 |

**80.** (US Aug 1 '44) Will you tell me what man was selected by the Democrats (Republicans) for the vice-presidency at Chicago? (AIPO)

| | *Democrats* | *Republicans* |
|---|---|---|
| Correct | 64% | 61% |
| Incorrect | 3 | 1 |
| Don't know | 33 | 37 |
| Definite description | * | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**81.** (US Aug 1 '44) Which of these two men [Truman or Bricker] do you prefer? Asked of those who named the two vice-presidential candidates correctly. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Truman | 31% |
| Bricker | 55 |
| No difference | 5 |
| Neither | 1 |
| Don't know | 8 |

**82.** (US Aug 1 '44 and Aug 16 '44) If Roosevelt is re-elected, do you feel that he should give retiring Vice-President Wallace some job in the Government? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug 1 '44 | 34% | 46% | 20% |
| Aug 16 '44 | 30 | 48 | 22 |

**83.** (US Aug 1 '44 and Aug 16 '44) What kind of job do you think Wallace should be given? Asked of 34% of the Aug 1 sample and 30% of the Aug 16 sample of farmers who thought Wallace should be given a government job. (AIPO)

| | *Aug 1* | *Aug 16* |
|---|---|---|
| Don't know; no answer | 39% | 83% |
| Secretary of Agriculture | 7 | 3 |
| Position to handle farmers' problems; Agriculture Department | 38 | 7 |
| Position to handle labor problems; Secretary of Labor | 1 | * |
| Position in judicial system; US Supreme Court judge | 3 | — |
| Position to handle peace problems; supervise military setup in Germany; help with foreign countries | 6 | 2 |
| Ambassador to China or other countries | 3 | 3 |
| Cabinet position; suited for advisory board | 3 | 2 |
| | 100%** | 100%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** 100% of those questioned.

**84.** (US Aug 16 '44) Do you feel strongly enough today about your choice for President to go out of your way to get other people to vote as you do? (AIPO)

Yes 53% No 47%

**85.** (US Aug 16 '44) Do you find that most of your friends are stronger for Roosevelt today than they were during the last presidential election or not so strong? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Stronger | 22% |
| Not so strong | 44 |
| No difference | 19 |
| Never for Roosevelt | 4 |
| No opinion | 11 |

**86.** (US Aug 17 '44) So far as you are concerned, do you think Governor Bricker is the best man for the Republican candidate for Vice-President, or would you have preferred some other Republican? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Bricker | 60.4% |
| Some other Republican | 8.3 |
| Don't know | 31.3 |

**87.** (US Aug 17 '44) So far as you are concerned, do you think Senator Truman is the best man for the Democratic candidate for Vice-President, or would you have preferred Wallace? (FOR)

| | *Truman* | *Wallace* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40.9% | 32.0% | 27.1% |
| BY ATTITUDE TOWARD ROOSEVELT | | | |
| Think Roosevelt's re-election very important | 31.4% | 39.0% | 29.6% |
| Think Roosevelt should be re-elected despite some mistakes | 41.1 | 36.4 | 22.5 |
| Think Roosevelt in office long enough; better change to Dewey | 45.6 | 26.4 | 28.0 |
| Think Roosevelt's re-election would be very bad thing | 51.6 | 26.5 | 21.9 |

**88.** (US Aug 29 '44) Do you think you will pay much, a little, or no attention to the political campaign this fall? (AIPO)

Much 53% Little 40% None 7%

**89.** (US Aug 29 '44) Why do you think that he [Roosevelt] is the best man? Asked of Roosevelt supporters. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Superior ability to handle present and future situations | 68% |
| Past record and handling of internal affairs | 29 |
| Party affiliation; he is a Democrat | 2 |
| Others | 2 |
| Didn't say | 4 |
| | 105%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**90.** (US Aug 29 '44) Why do you think that he [Dewey] is the best man? Asked of Dewey supporters. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Qualifications as a businessman and executive | 55% |
| Desire for change of administration | 51 |
| Ability to handle foreign affairs | 1 |
| Other | 2 |
| Didn't say | 4 |
| | 113%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**91.** (US Sept 7 '44) Is there anything you think might happen that would make you want to vote for Dewey? Asked of a national cross-section of Roosevelt supporters. (FOR)

No 79.8% Yes 11.9%* Don't know 8.3%

* Among the 11.9% who could think of something that would send them over to Dewey, 7.6% mentioned the end of the war, while 1.6% mentioned Roosevelt's health.

**92.** (US Sept 7 '44) Is there anything you think might happen that would make you want to vote for Roosevelt? Asked of a national cross-section of Dewey supporters. (FOR)

No 88.1% Yes 4.4%* Don't know 7.5%

* Of the 4.4% who could think of something that might make them desert Dewey, the largest single segment mentioned the war; 0.8% of Dewey's current followers said they would leave him if the war were not over by election time or if it took a turn for the worse, 0.6% said they would go to Roosevelt if the war were over.

**93.** (US Sept 12 '44) Do you, yourself, plan to vote in the election for President this fall? 88% of the sample who planned to vote were asked: Do you have any particular reason for wanting to vote in this election? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't plan to vote | 6% |
| Uncertain about voting | 6 |
| Have particular reason for voting | 68 |
| No special reason for voting | 20 |

**94.** (US Oct '44) Which man do you think will do more for the wealthy people in this country, Roosevelt or Dewey? Who will do more for the middle group of people? Who will do more for the poorer group of people? (NORC)

| | *Roosevelt* | *Dewey* | *No difference* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wealthy | 21% | 51% | 12% | 16% |
| Middle | 51 | 33 | 8 | 8 |
| Poorer | 61 | 25 | 7 | 7 |

**95.** (US Oct '44) Do you think the vote for President will be a close one in the state where your vote is counted, or do you think one man is going to get a lot more votes than the other? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Close | 60% |
| One man get a lot | 33 |
| Don't know | 7 |

**96.** (US Oct '44) Sometimes one man does a better job of handling certain problems than another man. Do you think Roosevelt or Dewey would do a better job of balancing the budget; winning the war; working with other countries to make a lasting peace; providing jobs after the war; settling race problems; getting business and labor to work together better? (NORC)

| | *Roosevelt* | *Dewey* | *No difference* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Balancing the budget | 32% | 46% | 8% | 14% |
| Winning the war | 56 | 14 | 23 | 7 |
| Working with other countries to make a lasting peace | 58 | 23 | 9 | 10 |
| Providing jobs after the war | 47 | 32 | 11 | 10 |
| Settling race problems | 36 | 28 | 13 | 23 |
| Getting business and labor to work together better | 43 | 37 | 7 | 13 |

**97.** (US Oct '44) Can you think of anything that has come up in this particular campaign that might have influenced you to vote one way or the other? 25% of the sample who said they could think of something were asked: What was it? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Couldn't think of anything | 75% |
| Mud-slinging and personalities by the other party | 6 |
| Equivocation; lack of clarity; insipid speeches; non-commitment; heading on policies by other party | 3 |
| Distortion of truth, of facts; misquoting; lies by the other party | 2 |
| Fact, quoting, clarity, commitment, honesty by party of my choice; good common sense | 2 |
| Those who campaigned for him hurt him | 1 |
| Those who campaigned for him helped him | * |
| Running mates hurt him | * |
| Communistic angle: PAC; CIO; forced contributions; no denial by Roosevelt of Communistic backing | 2 |
| Secrecy of Pearl Harbor incident | * |
| Roosevelt's health, age; (Dewey voters) want young blood | * |
| Fourth term issue; indispensable man idea | 2 |
| Demobilization and other veteran problems | * |
| Labor policies; employment situation | * |
| Big business policies and support; $1,000 club | 1 |
| Other domestic issues (unspecified) | 1 |
| Race policy; treatment of minority group problems; Negroes; Jews; Catholics; Mexicans | * |
| Foreign policy; the peace plan | 2 |
| Specific answers not relating to campaign, but to Roosevelt's past record (favorable) | 1 |
| Specific answers not relating to campaign, but to Roosevelt's past record (unfavorable) | 2 |
| Other answers | * |
| Don't know | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**98.** (US Oct '44) Do you think most big business (soldiers, factory workers, farmers, labor unions) would rather see Roosevelt or Dewey elected? (NORC)

| | *Roosevelt* | *Dewey* | *No difference* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Big business | 19% | 67% | 2% | 12% |
| Soldiers | 47 | 18 | 8 | 27 |
| Factory workers | 70 | 10 | 5 | 15 |
| Farmers | 36 | 39 | 6 | 19 |
| Labor unions | 72 | 9 | 4 | 15 |

**99.** (US Oct '44) Do you plan to vote in this election? 13% of the sample said they were not planning to vote and 2% didn't know. These two groups were asked: Why aren't you planning to vote? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Definitely plan to vote | 85% |
| Don't plan to vote because of inconvenience; sick; busy | 1 |
| Disinterested; one vote doesn't count; don't know enough about the candidates | 4 |
| Disqualified; moved; poll tax; out of town | 3 |
| Unacquainted with mechanics of voting | * |
| Not registered; procrastinated too long | 6 |
| Disgusted; don't like candidates | 1 |
| Women shouldn't vote | * |
| Other reasons for not voting | * |
| Don't know why | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**100.** (US Oct '44) If today were election day and you were going to vote, do you think you'd vote for Roosevelt, Dewey, or Thomas? Asked of 13% of the sample who did not plan to vote. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 8% |
| Dewey | 4 |
| Thomas | * |
| Other | * |
| Undecided | 1 |
| Refused | * |
| | 13% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**101.** (US Oct '44) Are you registered? Asked in all states where registration was required. 12% of the sample who said they were not registered were asked: Why not? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Already registered | 88% |
| Not registered because: | |
| Inconvenience; sick; too busy; too far | 3 |
| Disinterested; forgot; don't know candidates | 4 |
| Disqualified; moved; poll tax | 4 |
| Didn't intend to vote; didn't believe in women voting | 1 |
| Other answers | * |
| Don't know | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**102.** (US Oct '44) Do you feel you have definitely made up your mind who you are going to vote for, or are you still undecided? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Definitely made up mind | 79% |
| Undecided | 8 |
| Don't plan to vote | 13 |
| Don't know | * |

**103.** (US Oct '44) If today were election day, do you think you would vote for Roosevelt, Dewey, or Thomas? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 43% |
| Dewey | 39 |
| Thomas | * |
| Other | * |
| Undecided | 3 |
| Refused to say | 2 |
| Don't plan to vote | 13 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**104.** (US Oct '44) What is the main reason that you're voting for Roosevelt (Dewey)? Asked of the 43% who said they would vote for Roosevelt and the 39% who said they would vote for Dewey. (NORC)

*For Roosevelt*

| | |
|---|---|
| Should not change Presidents during the war | 7% |
| Roosevelt has best foreign policy, foreign relations | 2 |
| Roosevelt is the better one for war and peace | 6 |
| Roosevelt has good record; pulled us out of depression; has best experience | 18 |
| Roosevelt is best for common man, farmer, for labor, etc. | 7 |
| Appreciation; include those on relief | * |
| Roosevelt is anti-money, anti-trust | * |
| Roosevelt has best program; rationing; war production; job program; platform; old-age assistance; Social Security; wage adjustment; OPA; postwar adjustment | 1 |
| Roosevelt has stated his platforms clearly; is honest | * |
| Roosevelt is a Democrat; the party man | 1 |
| To keep Republicans out; to keep Dewey out | 1 |
| Other answers | * |
| Don't know | * |
| | 43% |

*For Dewey*

| | |
|---|---|
| We need a change; I'm tired of the New Deal; anti-Roosevelt | 15% |
| On account of labor trouble; Roosevelt sponsors strikes | * |
| Dewey is better businessman, is better for the country | 4 |
| Dewey has a good record in New York | 1 |
| I'm against three or four terms | 3 |
| Dewey is young, healthy, peppy, strong | 1 |
| Dewey is honest, sincere; not backed by gangsters | 2 |
| Dewey will straighten out the government, balance the budget | 3 |
| Dewey has the best program; best postwar program; best platform | 2 |
| To prevent Communism | * |
| To prevent dictatorship; to get the government back into the hands of the people | 1 |
| To stop war; Roosevelt is keeping us in the war on purpose | * |
| He's Republican; the party man; Republican principles best; always Republican | 2 |
| Foreign policy | * |
| Capable; smarter; has training; better man for the job | 5 |
| Other answers | * |
| Don't know | * |
| | 39% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**105.** (US Oct '44) Have you at any time since the nominations planned to vote for Dewey (Roosevelt)? 43% of the sample who thought they would vote for Roosevelt were asked about Dewey, and 39% of the sample who thought they would vote for Dewey were asked about Roosevelt. (NORC)

Yes 6% No 75% Don't know 1% = 82%

**106.** (US Oct '44) What made you change your mind [about your voting intentions]? Asked of 6% of the sample who said they had changed their minds. (NORC)

| | *Roosevelt* | *Dewey* |
|---|---|---|
| Hearing campaign speeches | 1% | 1% |
| Lack of commitment; hedging on policies | 1 | * |
| Mud-slinging | 1 | * |
| Labor policy | — | * |
| Foreign policy | * | * |
| Roosevelt's health | * | * |
| People who supported former choice | * | * |
| War needs the same leader | 1% | — |
| Don't know | * | * |
| Other answers | * | 1% |
| | 4% + | 2% = 6% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**107.** (US Oct '44) 3% of a national sample who were undecided about their vote and 2% who refused to say who they would vote for were asked: Who do you lean toward or favor at this time—Roosevelt, Dewey, or Thomas? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 2% |
| Dewey | 1 |
| Thomas | — |
| Other | * |
| Undecided | 1 |
| Refused | 1 |
| | 5% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**108.** (US Oct '44) In this election, would you say you're voting mostly to get one man into office or mostly to keep the other man out? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| One man in | 56% |
| Other man out | 25 |
| Don't know | 6 |
| Not planning to vote | 13 |

**109.** (US Oct '44) Which one of these ideas comes closest to the way you feel about this election? Each respondent was handed a card with the statements listed below. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| It is very important to the country that Roosevelt is elected | 31% |
| The country will be better off if Roosevelt is elected | 19 |
| It won't make much difference to the country who is elected | 9 |
| The country will be better off if Dewey is elected | 15 |
| It is very important to the country that Dewey is elected | 23 |
| Don't know or refused to say | 3 |

**110.** (US Oct '44) Have you heard or read what either the Gallup or the *Fortune* public opinion polls have said about who will win this election? 38% of the sample who had heard or read of the poll results were asked: The last you heard, who did they say would win? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Unfamiliar with the poll results | 62% |
| Say Roosevelt leading | 27 |
| Dewey leading | 5 |
| Close; neck and neck; tossup | 4 |
| Nothing definite; polls show trends only; polls don't know | 2 |

**111.** (US Oct '44) Will you read over these statements and tell me which comes closest to the way you feel about voting in this election? Each respondent was handed a card with the statements listed below. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| I'm not going to vote | 11% |
| I doubt if I'll be able to vote | 3 |
| I intend to vote if I can | 15 |
| It would take something pretty big to keep me from voting | 14 |
| I am positively going to vote | 57 |
| Refused to answer | * |
| Don't know | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**112.** (France Oct '44) Do you hope for the re-election of President Roosevelt? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

Yes 72% No 4% Don't know 24%

**113.** (US Oct 3 '44) Have you heard any of Dewey's recent campaign speeches over the radio? (AIPO)

Yes 62% No 38%

**114.** (US Oct 3 '44) Did you happen to hear Roosevelt's political speech over the radio on September 23? (AIPO)

Yes 52% No 48%

**115.** (US Oct 3 '44) Do you think Dewey is making a better or a worse campaign than you expected? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 31% |
| Worse | 19 |
| About as expected | 24 |
| No opinion | 26 |

**116.** (US Oct 6 '44) Do you have any particular reason for wanting to vote in the November election? The 74% who said they had a particular reason were asked: What is it? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer; don't know | 26% |
| Duty to vote; always vote | 14 |
| Time for a change; think there should be a change; Roosevelt has had his share; no fourth term; Roosevelt too old; let another man have a chance | 11 |
| No change in wartime; Roosevelt started it and should finish it; will end the war quicker | 6 |
| Support Roosevelt and administration; support Democrats; am a Democrat; want Roosevelt to get in; Roosevelt best man, has done a good job; want conditions to remain the same; Roosevelt only man capable, helped working man, always was a liberal | 23 |
| Election is of national and world importance | 2 |
| Fed up with administration; fed up with Roosevelt; get rid of bureaucracy; get rid of crackpots; caused war; labor too strong | 9 |
| Support Dewey: go-getter, young, will end war quicker; higher wages under Republicans; Dewey best man; support Republicans; will get taxes down | 7 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |

**117.** (US Oct 12 '44) Will you tell me who the Democratic vice-presidential candidate is? (AIPO)

| | *Truman* | *Incorrect or don't know* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 60% | 40% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Republicans | 69% | 31% |
| Democrats | 55 | 45 |

**118.** (US Oct 12 '44) Who is the Republican vice-presidential candidate? (AIPO)

| | *Bricker* | *Incorrect or don't know* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 64% | 36% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 54% | 46% |
| Republicans | 81 | 19 |

**119.** (US Oct 12 '44) Which of these two men [Truman or Bricker] do you think would make the better President? (Note: not Vice-President) Asked of all those who knew the names of both vice-presidential candidates. (AIPO)

Truman 23% Bricker 60% Undecided 17%

**120.** (US Oct 26 '44) Do you think people as a whole seem to be more interested in the elections campaign this year, less interested, or about the same as they have been in the past? (FOR)

IN COMPARISON WITH EARLIER DATES IN 1944

| | *July 10* | *Aug 7* | *Aug 19* | *Aug 26* | *Oct 7* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| More | 49.1% | 54.9% | 50.5% | 51.0% | 59.3% |
| Less | 16.5 | 14.1 | 17.3 | 17.2 | 10.9 |
| Same | 22.5 | 21.7 | 22.9 | 23.3 | 21.4 |
| Don't know | 11.9 | 9.3 | 9.3 | 8.5 | 8.4 |

**121.** (US Oct 26 '44) If Germany surrenders before November, whom do you think you would vote for—Roosevelt or Dewey? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 45.3% |
| Dewey | 47.9 |
| Other | .4 |
| Don't know | 6.4 |

**122.** (US Nov '44) In your opinion, were there any real differences between the Republican and Democratic platforms in this election? 27% of the sample who thought there were real differences were asked: What are some of the real differences? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| No differences | 56% |
| Don't know whether or not there were differences | 17 |
| Differences: | |
| On capital; business; moneyed interests | 5 |
| On working conditions; jobs; fewer depressions; labor unions | 7 |
| On tariff; free trade | 1 |
| On the Constitution; regimentation; dictatorship | 3 |
| On spending money; budgets; taxes | 2 |
| On foreign policy; international collaboration; peace terms; isolation | 6 |
| On conduct of war; unconditional surrender; demobilization | 1 |
| On minority-group problems; treatment of Negroes or foreigners; Southern States | * |
| Both are same except in methods used (Republicans copied what Democrats set up) | 1 |
| Other differences | 2 |
| Don't know differences | 5 |
| | 106%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**123.** (US Nov '44) If something prevented you from voting in a presidential election, how much difference would it make to you personally—would it make a great deal of difference, quite a bit of difference, or not much difference? 29% of the sample who said it would not make much difference were asked: Why would you say this is? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Would make a great deal of difference | 38% |
| Make quite a bit of difference | 32 |
| How much difference depends on candidate | 1 |
| Not much difference because: | |
| One vote is not important | 11 |
| Not interested; don't care who wins; both parties do same after they are elected | 8 |
| My candidate will win without my one vote | 1 |
| My candidate won't win with my one vote, has no chance; minority party | * |
| Lack of information; don't know how to vote | 1 |
| Women should not vote | 1 |
| Electoral votes decide it; electoral system makes the difference | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Personal inconvenience; illness | 1% |
| There is only one party in this state; vote doesn't count here | 1 |
| All candidates are the same; all good men | * |
| All candidates are crooks; politics crooked; are all bad; fixed before election | 1 |
| Other answers | * |
| Don't know why | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**124.** (US Nov '44) Regardless of who you voted for, who do you think made the best campaign—Roosevelt or Dewey? (NORC)

Roosevelt 57% Dewey 32% Don't know 11%

**125.** (US Nov '44) As far as you are concerned, did the presidential campaign do more to clear up or confuse the real issues of this election? (NORC)

Clear up 41% Confuse 37% Don't know 22%

**126.** (US Nov '44) Do you think that the United States will take a more active part in a world organization now that Roosevelt is elected, or would we have been just as active if Dewey had been elected? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More active with Roosevelt | 50% |
| More active with Dewey | 42 |
| Don't know | 8 |

**127.** (US Nov '44) Which one of these ideas comes closest to the way you feel about Roosevelt's re-election? Each respondent was handed a card with the statements listed below. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt's re-election was the best thing that could have happened to this country | 42% |
| It was better to have re-elected Roosevelt, but the country would probably have gotten along all right with Dewey | 16 |
| It won't make much difference to the country who was elected | 8 |
| It would have been better to have elected Dewey, but the country will probably get along all right with Roosevelt | 25 |
| Now that Roosevelt is in again we can expect the country to go from bad to worse | 8 |
| Don't know | 1 |

**128.** (US Nov '44) Some people said if Roosevelt were re-elected the Communists would have more influence in the government than they should have. Do you think the Communists will have more influence in the government than they should have or not? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More influence | 30% |
| Not more influence | 57 |
| None at all | 1 |
| Don't know | 12 |

**129.** (US Nov 3 '44) Following is the final election forecast presented state by state. (CP)

| | *National total* |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 52% |
| Dewey | 48 |

STATE BY STATE IN COMPARISON WITH MID-SEPTEMBER SAMPLE

PERCENTAGE FOR ROOSEVELT

| | *Mid-September** | *Late October** |
|---|---|---|
| *Pivotal states* | | |
| Maine | 47% | 47% |
| New Hampshire | 51 | 51 |
| Massachusetts | 53 | 50 |
| Rhode Island | 52 | 54 |
| Connecticut | 52 | 52 |
| New York | 50 | 50 |
| New Jersey | 50 | 50 |
| Pennsylvania | 51 | 51 |
| Ohio | 48 | 49 |
| Michigan | 46 | 48 |
| Illinois | 50 | 49 |
| Minnesota | 50 | 50 |
| Missouri | 53 | 51 |
| Delaware | 53 | 52 |
| Maryland | 53 | 51 |
| West Virginia | 49 | 50 |
| Kentucky | 53 | 53 |
| Oklahoma | 51 | 51 |
| Wyoming | 48 | 48 |
| Colorado | 48 | 44 |
| Idaho | 46 | 48 |
| Nevada | 54 | 53 |
| Oregon | 49 | 50 |

* These figures include estimates for the armed forces.

Fixed states for Roosevelt are: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Montana, New Mexico, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington.

Fixed states for Dewey are: Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Vermont, Wisconsin.

**130.** (US Nov 15 '44) How long before the election had you definitely made up your mind to vote for Dewey (Roosevelt)? Asked of Dewey and Roosevelt supporters. (AIPO)

| | *Dewey voters* | *Roosevelt voters* |
|---|---|---|
| Since convention; since nomination | 29% | 16% |
| When I knew he was going to run; soon as he started running | 3 | 7 |
| On announcement of candidacy; soon as he became a candidate | 3 | — |
| Always voted for Roosevelt; ever since he got into office; always intended to; all the time | — | 27 |
| Always a Democrat | — | 5 |
| Always a Republican | 7 | — |
| Since campaign started | 1 | 1 |
| After Dewey's speech | — | 1 |
| Before he was ever nominated | 2 | — |
| At the polls | 1 | — |
| One day before | 1 | 1 |
| From one day to and including one week | 2 | 4 |
| From one week up to and including one month | 7 | 8 |
| Two months | 5 | 4 |
| Three months | 5 | 4 |
| Four months | 4 | 3 |
| Five months | 1 | 1 |
| Six months | 2 | 4 |
| From six months to one year | 1 | — |

| | *Dewey voters* | *Roosevelt voters* |
|---|---|---|
| One year | 3% | 3% |
| Two years | 1 | 1 |
| Three years | 1 | 1 |
| Four years | 10 | 4 |
| Over four years | 5 | — |
| A long time ago | 5 | 3 |
| Other answers | 1 | 2 |
| | 100% | 100% |

**131.** (US Nov 15 '44) What would you say is the chief reason why you decided to vote for him [Roosevelt]? Asked of Roosevelt voters. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Win the war; no time for a change; shouldn't change horses (Dewey doesn't know war strategy) | 29% |
| Qualified; experienced; capable; have confidence in him; qualified to carry on | 16 |
| His accomplishments; like his policy; progressive social legislation; his ideals; helped everyone; has done a lot for country; progressive candidate | 12 |
| Foreign policy; best man for peace conference; can get along with Stalin and Churchill; not an isolationist | 8 |
| Best man; greatest living man | 9 |
| Represents common man; relief; helped needy; helped poor class | 7 |
| Helped working class; increased wages; helped labor | 7 |
| Am a Democrat | 5 |
| Dewey inadequate, immature, too young, not capable; don't like Dewey; Dewey's speeches | 5 |
| For the future welfare of the country; will get country back on its feet | * |
| Others; miscellaneous | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**132.** (US Nov 15 '44) People who had voted for Dewey were asked: What would you say is the chief reason why you decided to vote for him [Dewey]? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't like Roosevelt; no use for other side; don't like Roosevelt's method of doing things; disagree with Roosevelt policies; want a change; to get Roosevelt out; tired of present administration | 41% |
| Roosevelt in too long; no fourth term; opposed to dictatorship; too many terms | 15 |
| Am a Republican; because he was candidate of Republican party; believe in platform of Republican party; like his party | 10 |
| Domestic policies; straighten out domestic affairs; economy in government; economy; sounder administration; WPA and relief handled poorly by politicians and bureaucrats | 11 |
| Younger man; clean, honest, upright; better man; best man | 12 |
| Satisfactory record; outstanding ability; filled New York position satisfactorily; his speeches | 4 |
| Roosevelt holding down small business; too much government interference in business | 2 |
| Dewey would prosecute war better | 1 |
| Dewey's foreign policy; win peace | 1 |
| Against Political Action Committee | * |
| Roosevelt equalizes Negroes | * |
| Other miscellaneous reasons | 3 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**133.** (US Nov 15 '44) Did you, at any time, seriously think you would vote for the other candidate (Dewey or Roosevelt)? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Dewey voters | 13% | 87% |
| Roosevelt voters | 14 | 86 |

Those who had thought seriously of shifting their vote were asked: Why did you change your mind?

*Dewey voters*

| | |
|---|---|
| Best man after investigation | 8% |
| Political speeches on radio; campaign charges not answered | 13 |
| Roosevelt insisted on racial equality | 2 |
| Danger of Roosevelt's death | 3 |
| Against fourth term; time for a change | 28 |
| Democratic vice-presidential candidate; against Truman | 2 |
| Lack of confidence in Roosevelt | 3 |
| Am a Republican | 7 |
| Good on domestic issues | 6 |
| Dewey would prosecute war better | 4 |
| Dewey's foreign policy | 1 |
| Other miscellaneous answers | 23 |
| | 100% |

of the Dewey voters

*Roosevelt voters*

| | |
|---|---|
| Prosecution of war; friends in service | 28% |
| Didn't like Dewey's attitude during speeches; didn't like campaigning methods (no program) | 28 |
| Best man | 7 |
| Working people would be better off under Roosevelt | 2 |
| Experience | 4 |
| Dewey offered nothing constructive | 8 |
| Negro equality | 1 |
| Foreign policy; against isolation | 4 |
| Dewey too young | 3 |
| Am a Democrat | 1 |
| Other miscellaneous answers | 14 |
| | 100% |

of the Roosevelt voters

**134.** (US Released Nov 19 '44) Do you think most soldiers would rather see Roosevelt or Dewey elected? Asked more than a week before the election. (NORC)

| | *Roosevelt* | *Dewey* | *No difference* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 47% | 18% | 8% | 27% |
| Those with opinions | 72 | 28 | — | — |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Roosevelt voters | 74% | 3% | 4% | 19% |
| Dewey voters | 16 | 38 | 12 | 34 |

**135.** (US Dec '44) Judging from the last reports you heard, about how many electoral (popular) votes did Roosevelt get in his re-elections? Just your own best guess. (NORC)

*Electoral votes*

| | |
|---|---|
| Underestimate: from 100 to 399 | 20% |
| Close or correct: from 400 to 499 | 21 |
| Overestimate: 500 to 800 | 2 |
| Ridiculous estimate: anything under 99 or over 800 | 3 |
| Don't know | 54 |

*Popular votes*

| | |
|---|---|
| Underestimate: from 10 million to 24 million | 12% |
| Close or correct: from 25 million to 30 million | 9 |
| Overestimate: from 31 million to 45 million | 3 |
| Ridiculous estimate: anything below 10 million or over 46 million | 9 |
| Don't know | 67 |

**136.** (Canada Dec 2 '44) Do you happen to know the names of the two men who are running (ran) for President in the United States election? Those who said they knew the names of the candidates were asked: Which of these men would you like to see (like to have seen) elected as President of the United States? Some interviewing was done after the election. (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 79% |
| Dewey | 4 |
| Didn't know who was running | 12 |
| No opinion | 5 |

## U.S. (Election 1948)

**1.** (US Dec 12 '44) Regardless of what political party you happen to prefer, what is your guess as to who will be the Republican candidate for President in 1948? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dewey | 38% |
| Bricker | 6 |
| Stassen | 6 |
| Saltonstall | 2 |
| Warren | 2 |
| MacArthur | 2 |
| Taft | 1 |
| Dark horse; new man; some military figure | 1 |
| Others | 2 |
| No opinion; too far away | 40 |

**2.** (US Dec 12 '44) Who do you think will be the Democratic candidate [for President in 1948]? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 30% |
| Wallace | 11 |
| Truman | 6 |
| Stettinius | 4 |
| Byrnes | 1 |
| Byrd | 1 |
| Others | 5 |
| No opinion; too far away; too early to tell | 42 |

**3.** (US Apr 18 '45) Which party do you want to see win the presidential election in 1948—the Democratic or the Republican? (Dec 5 '45) Leaving aside the question of candidates, which party would you like to see win the next presidential election—the Republican or the Democratic? (AIPO)

| | *Republican* | *Democratic* | *Other* | *Undecided or no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '45 | 46% | 54% | — | — |
| Dec '45 | 41 | 37 | 2% | 20% |

**4.** (US Apr 18 '45 to Nov 13 '46, dates listed below) What man would you like to see elected President of the country in 1948? (AIPO)

THE REPUBLICAN CHOICE

| | *Apr 18 '45* | *Jan 3 '46* | *Feb 27 '46* | *Apr 10 '46* | *May 15 '46* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dewey | 59% | 38% | 37% | 35% | 38% |
| Bricker | 8 | 8 | 11 | 10 | 9 |
| Stassen | 15 | 27 | 33 | 34 | 28 |
| MacArthur | 7 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 6 |
| Vandenberg | 4 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 7 |
| Taft | 2 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| Warren | 1 | 1 | 1 | * | * |
| Hoover | 1 | — | 1 | 2 | — |
| Saltonstall | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Eisenhower | — | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Others | 2 | 7 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

| | *July 24 '46* | *July 24 '46 first voters* | *Oct 10 '46†* | *Oct 10 '46† "Shift" voters*** | *Nov 13 '46*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dewey | 37% | 42% | 40% | 34% | 52% |
| Bricker | 9 | 3 | 8 | 5 | 8 |
| Stassen | 25 | 25 | 22 | 31 | 17 |
| MacArthur | 4 | 12 | 5 | 7 | 2 |
| Vandenberg | 8 | — | 7 | 5 | 9 |
| Taft | 5 | 3 | 6 | 5 | 2 |
| Warren | 6 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 5 |
| Johnston | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| Saltonstall | 1 | — | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Eisenhower | 2 | 6 | 2 | 4 | 2 |
| Others | 3 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| | 100% | | 100% | | 100% |
| No opinion | 36% | | 33% | | 23% |

THE DEMOCRATIC CHOICE

| | *Apr 18 '45* | *Jan 3 '46* | *Apr 10 '46* | *July 24 '46* | *July 24 '46 first voters* | *Nov 13 '46†* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Truman | 63% | 67% | 61% | 62% | 59% | 48% |
| Wallace | 20 | 15 | 24 | 19 | 19 | 24 |
| Stettinius | 9 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 6 | — |
| Byrnes | 1 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 10 |
| Byrd | 1 | — | — | — | — | 1 |
| Eisenhower | — | 6 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 8 |
| La Guardia | — | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| Farley | — | 1 | — | — | — | 1 |
| O'Dwyer | — | * | — | — | — | — |
| Barkley | — | 1 | — | — | — | 1 |
| Vinson | — | — | — | 1 | — | 1 |
| Pepper | — | — | — | 1 | — | 1 |
| McNutt | — | — | — | 1 | — | — |
| E. Roosevelt | — | — | — | — | — | 1 |
| Douglas | — | — | — | — | — | 1 |
| Others | 6 | 4 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 3 |
| | | | | | | 100% |
| No opinion | — | — | — | — | — | 53% |

THE CHOICE OF SELECTED GROUPS OF REPUBLICANS IN JAN AND JUNE '46

| | *Mid-west Jan 3 '46* | *West central June 26 '46* | *East central June 26 '46* | *Farm areas and small towns Jan 3 '46* | *Cities over 100,000 Jan 3 '46* | *Under 35 years Jan 3 '46* | *Over 35 years Jan 3 '46* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dewey | 30% | 29% | 31% | 39% | 40% | 47% | 36% |
| Stassen | 33 | 49 | 21 | 28 | 27 | 25 | 29 |
| Bricker | 11 | 6 | 19 | 7 | 9 | 7 | 8 |
| MacArthur | 5 | 5 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 8 | 6 |
| Eisenhower | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 3 |
| Vandenberg | 6 | 5 | 11 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| Taft | 6 | 3 | 6 | 5 | 3 | — | — |
| Warren | * | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Saltonstall | * | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Johnston | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Others | 5 | 1 | 3 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 12 |

DEMOCRATIC CHOICE JAN 3 '46 BY LABOR STATUS

| | *Union voters* | *Nonunion voters* |
|---|---|---|
| Truman | 65% | 79% |
| Wallace | 19 | 10 |
| Eisenhower | 4 | 5 |
| Byrnes | 3 | 2 |
| Stettinius | 2 | 1 |
| La Guardia | 1 | 1 |
| Farley | 1 | — |
| O'Dwyer | 1 | — |
| Barkley | * | — |
| Others | 4 | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Democratic voters in 1944 who said they were shifting to vote GOP in the congressional elections in 1946.

† Question was: If you had to decide today, who would be your choice for President in 1948?

**5.** (US Apr 18 '45 and Nov 13 '46) Regardless of how you, yourself, feel, which party do you think will win the presidential election in 1948? (AIPO)

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apr 18 '45 | 45% | 55% | — |
| Nov '46 | 9 | 79 | 12% |

NOV '46 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Republican | 1% | 94% | 5% |
| Democratic | 19 | 62 | 19 |

**6.** (US June 12 '45, July 25 '45, Aug 8 '45) Three separate cross-sections were questioned. The first was asked in June: It is often said that persons not in politics would make good Presidents of this country. Can you think of any persons who are leaders in business, labor, professional, or educational fields who would be qualified for the presidency? The second was asked in July: If you were the one to decide and you could pick any person in the nation you thought qualified, whom would you choose to be the next President of the United States? The third was asked in Aug: It is often said that many people who have not held public office would make good Presidents. Can you think of anyone in this State or nation who you think might make a good President? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| MacArthur | 26% |
| Eisenhower | 24 |
| Kaiser | 8 |
| Ford | 5 |
| Baruch | 2 |
| Eleanor Roosevelt | 2 |
| Lindbergh | 1 |
| Knudsen | 1 |
| Donald Nelson | 1 |
| Charles Wilson | 1 |
| Owen D. Young | 1 |
| Alfred Sloan | 1 |
| Other businessmen | 2 |
| Robert M. Hutchins | 1 |
| James Bryant Conant | 1 |
| Nicholas Murray Butler | 1 |
| Robert G. Sproul | 1 |
| Other educators | 1 |
| General Patton | 1 |
| General Marshall | 1 |
| Other non-political government men | 2 |
| Sumner Welles | 1 |
| Writers | 1 |
| Newspaper men and radio commentators | 2 |
| Editors | 1 |
| John L. Lewis | 1 |
| Philip Murray | 1% |
| William Green | 1 |
| Other labor leaders | * |
| Clergymen | 2 |
| Actors | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**7.** (US June 27 '45, Nov 21 '45, Dec 19 '45, Feb 27 '46, Apr 24 '46, May 29 '46, June 26 '46, July 24 '46, Aug 28 '46, Sept 25 '46, Nov 13 '46, Nov 27 '46) If the presidential election were being held today, which party would you vote for—the Democratic or Republican? The July 24 '46 question was asked of a national cross-section of persons voting for the first time. (AIPO)

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| THE MAJOR PARTY VOTE | | | |
| June '45 | 58% | 42% | |
| Dec '45 | 55 | 45 | |
| Feb '46 | 55 | 45 | |
| Apr '46 | 52.5 | 47.5 | |
| May '46 | 52.5 | 47.5 | |
| June '46 | 49 | 51 | |
| July '46 (first voters) | 53 | 47 = 100% | 21% |
| Aug '46 | 50 | 50 | |
| Sept '46 | 47 | 53 | |
| Nov 13 '46 | 45 | 55 | |
| Nov 27 '46 | 47 | 53 | |
| MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN JUNE '45 AND DEC '46 BY AGE | | | |
| *21–29 years* | | | |
| Dec '45 | 62% | 38% | |
| June '46 | 53 | 47 | |
| *30–49 years* | | | |
| Dec '45 | 55 | 45 | |
| June '46 | 50 | 50 | |
| *50 years and over* | | | |
| Dec '45 | 49 | 51 | |
| June '46 | 46 | 54 | |
| MAJOR PARTY VOTE BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| *Professional and business* | | | |
| June '45 | 48% | 52% | |
| Apr '46 | 42 | 58 | |
| June '46 | 39 | 61 | |
| Aug '46 | 39 | 61 | |
| *Farmers* | | | |
| June '45 | 59 | 41 | |
| Apr '46 | 45 | 55 | |
| June '46 | 44 | 56 | |
| Aug '46 | 44 | 56 | |
| *White-collar* | | | |
| June '45 | 52 | 48 | |
| Apr '46 | 45 | 55 | |
| June '46 | 45 | 55 | |
| Aug '46 | 47 | 53 | |
| *Manual workers* | | | |
| June '45 | 64 | 36 | |
| Apr '46 | 61 | 39 | |
| June '46 | 58 | 42 | |
| Aug '46 | 60 | 40 | |
| MAJOR PARTY CHOICE OF INDEPENDENT VOTERS | | | |
| Dec '45 | 57% | 43% | |
| June '46 | 51 | 49 | |
| Sept '46 | 38 | 62 | |

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| **MAJOR PARTY CHOICE OF VETERANS** | | | |
| Nov '45* | 63% | 37% = 100% | 28% |
| Dec '45 | 65 | 35 | |
| June '46 | 51 | 49 | |
| **MAJOR PARTY CHOICE BY LABOR STATUS** | | | |
| Union members: | | | |
| Dec '45 | 70% | 30% | |
| June '46 | 62 | 38 | |
| Aug '46 | 65 | 35 | |
| CIO voters only Dec '45 | 74 | 26 | |
| AFL voters only Dec '45 | 69 | 31 | |
| Non-union voters (manual workers) Dec '45 | 60 | 40 | |
| Non-union manual & white-collar workers June '46 | 51 | 49 | |
| **MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN DEC '45 BY RACE** | | | |
| Colored voters | 60% | 40% | |
| White voters in skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled occupational groups | 58 | 42 | |
| **MAJOR PARTY VOTE BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY IN DEC '45** | | | |
| By vote in the thirteen largest cities in the United States | 62% | 38% | |
| By metropolitan areas of 100,000 to 500,000 population | 60 | 40 | |
| **THE CHOICE OF FARMERS IN DEC '45** | | | |
| Midwest farmers only | 42% | 58% | |
| All farmers | 51 | 49 | |
| **THE MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN JUNE '46 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION** | | | |
| New England | 44% | 56% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 45 | 55 | |
| East central | 44 | 56 | |
| West central | 44 | 56 | |
| South | 72 | 28 | |
| Rocky Mountain | 48 | 52 | |
| Pacific coast | 52 | 48 | |

* The choice of non-veterans between the ages of 21 and 29 years was exactly the same as the veterans with the exception of the undecided figure, which was 29%.

**8.** (US Aug 8 '45) Would you like to see a similar party [to England's Labor Party] win the next presidential election in this country? (AIPO)

Yes 20% No 52% No opinion 28%

**9.** (US Oct 3 '45, Dec 19 '45, June 12 '46,* Aug 28 '46, Nov 13 '46) If the presidential election were being held today, and Dewey were running for President on the Republican ticket against Truman on the Democratic ticket, how do you think you would vote? (AIPO) (June '46) Suppose Truman and Dewey should be candidates for President next time, which do you think you would be likely to favor? (FOR) (June 12 '46) How do you think you would vote if Dewey were running for President on the Republican ticket against Truman? (AIPO) (Dec '46) Suppose Truman and Dewey should be candidates for President next time. As you feel now, which one would you be likely to favor? Asked of a national cross-section of World War II veterans. (FOR)

| | *Dewey* | *Truman* | *Undecided; no opinion; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '45 | 30% | 58% | 12% |
| Dec '45 | 37 | 50 | 13 |
| June '46* | 43 | 39 | 18 |
| June '46 (FOR) | 40.7 | 40.6 | 18.7 |
| June 12 '46 | 42 | 40 | 18 |
| Aug '46 | 45 | 41 | 14 |
| Nov '46 | 57 | 29 | 14 |
| Dec '46 (FOR) | 48.4 | 36.5 | 15.1 |
| **FOR JUNE '46 RESULTS BY POLITICS** | | | |
| Republican | 73.6% | 12.1% | 14.3% |
| Democratic | 19.0 | 67.1 | 13.9 |
| Sometimes Republican, sometimes Democratic | 42.3 | 31.5 | 26.2 |
| Independent | 38.1 | 37.0 | 24.9 |

* Asked of a cross-section comparable to that used for the second June 12 question.

**10.** (US Oct 3 '45 to Dec '46, dates listed below) How do you think you would vote if MacArthur (Bricker, Stassen, Taft) were running for President on the Republican ticket against Truman? (AIPO, FOR, NYHT)

| | | *Truman* | *Republican opponent* | *No opinion; undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| AIPO | Oct 3 '45 MacArthur | 58% | 27% | 15% |
| AIPO | Oct 3 '45 Stassen | 56 | 20 | 24 |
| * AIPO | Oct 3 '45 Eisenhower | 54 | 26 | 20 |
| ** FOR | June '46 Stassen | 34.7 | 37.4 | 27.9 |
| AIPO | June 12 '46 Bricker | 41 | 34 | 25 |
| * AIPO | June 12 '46 Stassen | 35 | 39 | 26 |
| ** NYHT | July 25 '46 Bricker | 40.4 | 33.9 | 25.7 |
| AIPO | Aug 28 '46 Bricker | 38 | 40 | 22 |
| AIPO | Aug 28 '46 Taft | 46 | 33 | 21 |
| * AIPO | Aug 28 '46 Stassen | 33 | 47 | 20 |
| AIPO | Nov 13 '46 Bricker | 32 | 45 | 23 |
| AIPO | Nov 14 '46 Taft | 35 | 43 | 22 |
| * AIPO | Nov 14 '46 Stassen | 26 | 55 | 19 |
| (1) FOR | Dec '46 Taft | 45.0 | 28.7 | 26.3 |
| (1) FOR | Dec '46 Stassen | 33.1 | 40.2 | 26.7 |

* The question was: If the presidential election were being held today and Eisenhower (Stassen) were running for President on the Republican ticket against Truman on the Democratic ticket, how do you think you would vote?

** Suppose Truman and Stassen (Truman and Bricket) should be candidates for President next time, which do you think you would be likely to favor?

(1) Suppose Truman and Taft (Truman and Stassen) should be the candidates for President next time. As you feel now, which one do you think you would be likely to favor? Asked of a national cross-section of World War II veterans.

**FORTUNE'S TRUMAN VS STASSEN JUNE '46 RESULTS BY POLITICS**

| | *Truman* | *Stassen* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Republican | 16.2% | 60.4% | 23.4% |
| Democratic | 54.6 | 20.8 | 24.6 |
| Sometimes Republican, sometimes Democratic | 23.6 | 36.9 | 39.5 |
| Independent | 20.6 | 57.7 | 21.7 |

**NY HERALD TRIBUNE'S TRUMAN VS BRICKER JULY '46 RESULTS BY SEX**

| | *Truman* | *Bricker* | *No opinion; undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 37.4% | 38.9% | 23.7% |
| Women | 43.2 | 29.2 | 27.6 |

| | *Truman* | *Bricker* | *No opinion; undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| NY HERALD TRIBUNE'S TRUMAN VS BRICKER JULY '46 RESULTS BY AGE | | | |
| 21–34 years | 44.4% | 29.2% | 26.4% |
| 35–49 years | 38.6 | 35.1 | 26.3 |
| 50 years and over | 38.0 | 37.6 | 24.4 |
| NY HERALD TRIBUNE'S TRUMAN VS BRICKER JULY '46 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 27.6% | 55.2% | 17.2% |
| Upper middle | 33.5 | 43.9 | 22.6 |
| Lower middle | 41.9 | 33.1 | 25.0 |
| Poor | 47.8 | 19.9 | 32.3 |
| NY HERALD TRIBUNE'S TRUMAN VS BRICKER JULY '46 RESULTS BY MILITARY STATUS | | | |
| Respondent a veteran | 37.1% | 36.4% | 26.5% |
| Veteran in household | 42.5 | 29.5 | 28.0 |
| No veteran in household | 40.3 | 35.7 | 24.0 |
| NY HERALD TRIBUNE'S TRUMAN VS BRICKER JULY '46 RESULTS BY SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL SECTIONS | | | |
| Northwest | 38.9% | 33.9% | 27.2% |
| Midwest | 33.3 | 45.1 | 21.6 |
| South | 50.9 | 20.5 | 28.6 |
| Far West | 37.3 | 36.5 | 26.2 |

**11.** (US Nov 21 '45 and Dec 5 '45) Will you tell me frankly what you think of each of these men as Republican presidential material for 1948? Generally speaking, is your opinion of them favorable or unfavorable? (AIPO)

| | *Favorable* | *Unfavorable* | *Not familiar* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Dewey* | | | | |
| Nov '45 | 48% | 39% | 5% | 8% |
| Dec '45 | 48 | 40 | 3 | 9 |
| *Stassen* | | | | |
| Nov '45 | 41 | 9 | 37 | 13 |
| Dec '45 | 43 | 10 | 33 | 14 |
| *Warren* | | | | |
| Nov '45 | 23 | 16 | 45 | 16 |
| Dec '45 | 25 | 39 | 18 | 18 |
| *Vandenberg* | | | | |
| Nov '45 | 29 | 25 | 32 | 14 |
| Dec '45 | 30 | 24 | 28 | 18 |
| *Taft* | | | | |
| Nov '45 | 26 | 33 | 27 | 14 |
| Dec '45 | 31 | 32 | 21 | 16 |
| *Saltonstall* | | | | |
| Nov '45 | 16 | 10 | 57 | 17 |
| Dec '45 | 18 | 13 | 51 | 18 |
| *Ball* | | | | |
| Nov '45 | 13 | 18 | 54 | 15 |
| Dec '45 | 11 | 19 | 51 | 19 |
| *Bricker* | | | | |
| Nov '45 | 39 | 24 | 23 | 14 |
| Dec '45 | 35 | 23 | 27 | 15 |

**12.** (US Jan 3 '46, Jan 23 '46, Mar 13 '46, May 29 '46) If Truman is a candidate for President in 1948, do you think you would vote for him? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan 3 '46 | 36% | 37% | 27% |
| Jan 23 '46 | 32 | 39 | 29 |
| Mar 13 '46 | 22 | 46 | 32 |
| May '46 | 26 | 48 | 26 |

**13.** (US June '46) Whom would you like to see as candidate for President on the Republican ticket next time? (FOR)

| | *Total* | *Republicans* | *Democrats* | *Sometimes Republican, sometimes Democratic* | *Independents* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stassen | 15.7% | 21.6% | 11.6% | 13.6% | 25.9% |
| Dewey | 12.9 | 17.8 | 10.2 | 13.1 | 13.8 |
| Bricker | 4.2 | 7.0 | 2.4 | 3.7 | 8.5 |
| Vandenberg | 1.5 | 1.8 | .9 | 3.1 | 3.2 |
| Taft | .6 | 1.0 | .4 | .3 | — |
| MacArthur | .6 | .8 | .3 | 1.4 | .5 |
| All others | 3.6 | 4.2 | 2.4 | 5.4 | 9.0 |
| Don't know | 60.9 | 45.8 | 71.8 | 59.4 | 39.1 |

**14.** (US June '46) Whom would you like to see as candidate for President on the Democratic ticket next time? (FOR)

| | *Total* | *Republicans* | *Democrats* | *Sometimes Republican, sometimes Democratic* | *Independents* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Truman | 18.4% | 16.7% | 23.7% | 11.4% | 13.2% |
| Wallace | 6.9 | 3.2 | 7.9 | 9.4 | 16.9 |
| Byrnes | 3.9 | 3.0 | 5.0 | 4.3 | 4.8 |
| Eisenhower | .7 | .1 | 1.1 | .8 | 1.1 |
| Byrd | .7 | .9 | .5 | .3 | 2.1 |
| Stettinius | .6 | .3 | .9 | .6 | — |
| MacArthur | .6 | .2 | 1.0 | .6 | — |
| Farley | .5 | .6 | .5 | .6 | 1.1 |
| All others | 3.8 | 2.9 | 4.7 | 2.5 | 7.9 |
| Don't know | 63.9 | 72.1 | 54.7 | 69.5 | 52.9 |

**15.** (US Dec '46) Suppose Taft and Wallace (Wallace and Dewey, Wallace and Stassen) should be the candidates for President next time. As you feel now, which one do you think you would be likely to favor? Asked of a national cross-section of World War II veterans. (FOR)

| | *Wallace* | *Republican opponent* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Taft and Wallace | 40.6% | 30.6% | 28.8% |
| Wallace and Dewey | 30.0 | 50.1 | 19.9 |
| Wallace and Stassen | 31.3 | 41.3 | 27.4 |

**16.** (US Dec '46 and Dec 31 '46) Would you like to see General Eisenhower become a candidate for President in 1948? The *Fortune* Dec '46 sample was composed of World War II veterans. Since the AIPO question followed another question about the General, his name was not mentioned. The question read simply: Would you like to see him . . . etc. (FOR, AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion, don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| FOR Dec '46 | 30.6% | 54.3% | 15.1% |
| AIPO Dec 31 '46 | 38 | 45 | 17 |
| DEC '46 RESULTS BY AGE* | | | |
| 18–25 years | 32.0% | 52.1% | 15.9% |
| 26–39 years | 29.6 | 55.6 | 14.8 |
| 40 years and over | 26.2 | 66.0 | 7.8 |

| | Yes | No | No opinion; don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| DEC '46 RESULTS BY EDUCATION | | | |
| Grade school | 36.7% | 31.5% | 31.8% |
| High school | 32.9 | 55.1 | 12.0 |
| College | 22.3 | 68.0 | 9.7 |
| DEC '46 RESULTS BY RANK* | | | |
| Officers | 23.1% | 68.0% | 8.9% |
| Enlisted men | 31.4 | 52.8 | 15.8 |
| DEC '46 RESULTS BY THEATER OF SERVICE* | | | |
| Pacific | 28.3% | 55.2% | 16.5% |
| European | 33.2 | 55.3 | 11.5 |
| Other (outside US) | 30.6 | 55.0 | 14.4 |
| Continental US only | 30.4 | 50.8 | 18.8 |
| DEC '46 RESULTS BY BRANCH OF SERVICE* | | | |
| Army | 32.1% | 53.3% | 14.6% |
| Navy | 26.7 | 56.8 | 16.5 |

* Additional breakdowns from *New York Herald Tribune* Dec 12 '46.

**17.** (US Dec '46 and Dec 31 '46) Would you like to see General MacArthur become a candidate for President in 1948? The *Fortune* Dec '46 sample was composed of World War II veterans. Since the AIPO question followed another question about the General, his name was not mentioned. The question read simply: Would you like to see him . . . etc. (FOR, AIPO)

| | Yes | No | No opinion; don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| FOR Dec '46 | 16.1% | 68.1% | 15.8% |
| AIPO Dec 31 '46 | 28 | 56 | 16 |
| DEC '46 RESULTS BY AGE* | | | |
| 18–25 years | 16.3% | 66.4% | 17.3% |
| 26–39 years | 15.9 | 69.2 | 14.9 |
| 40 years and over | 14.2 | 75.2 | 10.6 |
| DEC '46 RESULTS BY EDUCATION | | | |
| Grade school | 30.4% | 39.4% | 30.2% |
| High school | 14.2 | 72.9 | 12.9 |
| College | 10.4 | 78.2 | 11.4 |
| DEC '46 RESULTS BY RANK* | | | |
| Officers | 12.5% | 78.5% | 9.0% |
| Enlisted men | 16.5 | 66.9 | 16.6 |
| DEC '46 RESULTS BY BRANCH OF SERVICE* | | | |
| Army | 16.8% | 66.5% | 16.7% |
| Navy | 14.2 | 71.9 | 13.9 |
| DEC '46 RESULTS BY THEATER OF SERVICE* | | | |
| Pacific | 13.7% | 72.6% | 13.7% |
| European | 17.3 | 67.6 | 15.1 |
| Other (outside US) | 14.2 | 69.6 | 16.2 |
| Continental US only | 19.7 | 61.5 | 18.8 |

* Additional breakdowns from *New York Herald Tribune* Dec 12 '46.

**18.** (US Dec 31 '46) Do you think General Dwight Eisenhower will become a candidate for President in 1948? A comparable cross-section was asked the same question about General Douglas MacArthur. (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| Eisenhower | 21% | 61% | 18% |
| MacArthur | 12 | 71 | 17 |

**19.** (US Dec 31 '46) If he [General MacArthur] does become a candidate, which ticket do you think he will run on—the Democratic or Republican? A comparable cross-section was asked the same question about General Eisenhower. (AIPO)

| | Democratic | Republican | Undecided |
|---|---|---|---|
| MacArthur | 18% | 46% | 36% |
| Eisenhower | 29 | 29 | 42 |

**20.** (US Dec 31 '46) If General MacArthur and General Eisenhower happen to be candidates in 1948, which do you think would make the better President? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with the names in reverse order. Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| MacArthur | 24% |
| Eisenhower | 43 |
| Equal | 16 |
| No opinion | 17 |

## U.S. (Term of Office)

**1.** (US Mar 7 '36, Aug 9 '37, Dec 16 '38, Nov 23 '43, Apr 18 '45) Would you favor changing the term of office of the President of the United States to one six-year term with no re-election? The Aug '37 question omitted the phrase "of the United States." In Apr '46 the phrase "of the United States in the future" was used. (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '36 | 26% | 74% | = 100% | — |
| Aug '37 | 22 | 78 | = 100 | 12% |
| Dec '38 | 24 | 76 | = 100 | 13 |
| Nov '43 | 34 | 66 | = 100 | — |
| Apr '45 | 27 | 73 | = 100 | 5 |
| MAR '36 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England | 23% | 77% | | |
| Middle Atlantic | 28 | 72 | | |
| East central | 27 | 73 | | |
| West central | 24 | 76 | | |
| Mountain | 28 | 72 | | |
| Pacific coast | 27 | 73 | | |
| South | 26 | 74 | | |
| MAR '36 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democratic | 26% | 74% | | |
| Republican | 27 | 73 | | |
| Socialist | 26 | 74 | | |
| Others | 29 | 71 | | |
| MAR '36 RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Farmers | 30% | 70% | | |
| Small towns | 29 | 71 | | |
| Large cities | 27 | 73 | | |

**2.** (US May 9 '36) Should a President be eligible for a third term? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 57% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic | 56% | 44% |
| Republican | 22 | 78 |
| Socialist | 39 | 61 |
| Others | 29 | 71 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 44% | 56% |
| Middle Atlantic | 42 | 58 |
| East central | 39 | 61 |
| West central | 42 | 58 |
| South | 45 | 55 |
| Mountain | 44 | 56 |
| Pacific coast | 44 | 56 |

**3.** (US Nov 4 '36 to Oct 24 '39, dates listed below) Should President Roosevelt be a candidate for a third term in 1940? (AIPO)

| | *Yes, favor* | *No, oppose* | | *Don't know; no answer; no opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nov 4 '36 | 31% | 69% | = 100% | 10% | |
| * Mar 15 '37 | 36 | 64 | = 100 | 7 | |
| ** July 5 '37 | 37 | 63 | = 100 | | |
| ** Nov 30 '37 | 34 | 66 | = 100 | | |
| ** Jan 11 '38 | 33 | 67 | = 100 | | |
| (1) Feb 26 '38 | 30 | 70 | = 100 | | |
| (1) Mar 23 '38 | 30 | 70 | = 100 | | |
| ** July 27 '38 | 31 | 69 | = 100 | 8 | |
| ** Oct 8 '38 | 32 | 68 | = 100 | | |
| ** Nov 5 '38 | 30 | 70 | = 100 | | |
| ** Jan 10 '39 | 31 | 69 | = 100 | 5 | |
| ** Apr 19 '39 | 23 | 77 | = 100 | 4 | |
| ** May 26 '39 | 32 | 68 | = 100 | 6 | |
| (2) June 29 '39 | 39 | 61 | = 100 | 6 | |
| ** Aug 30 '39 | 35 | 65 | = 100 | 7 | |
| ** Sept 11 '39 | 36 | 64 | = 100 | 4 | |
| ** Sept 19 '39 | 37 | 58 | | 5 | = 100% |
| ** Oct 24 '39 | 32 | 63 | | 5 | = 100 |

* The question was: Would you favor a third term for President Roosevelt if he ran again in 1940?

** Do you favor a third term for President Roosevelt?

(1) Would you favor a third term for President Roosevelt?

(2) Would you like to have President Roosevelt run for a third term in 1940?

BY POLITICS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Democratic* | | |
| Nov '36 | 45% | 55% |
| July '37 | 57 | 43 |
| Mar '38 | 46 | 54 |
| Nov '38 | 49 | 51 |
| *Republican* | | |
| Nov '36 | 8 | 92 |
| Mar '38 | 3 | 97 |
| Nov '38 | 3 | 97 |
| *Socialist* | | |
| Nov '36 | 17 | 83 |
| *Others* | | |
| Nov '36 | 25 | 75 |

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *New England* | | |
| Nov '36 | 32% | 68% |
| July '37 (Democrats only) | 57 | 43 |
| Feb '38 | 26 | 74 |
| *Middle Atlantic* | | |
| Nov '36 | 35 | 65 |
| July '37 (Democrats only) | 65 | 35 |
| Feb '38 | 30 | 70 |
| *East central* | | |
| Nov '36 | 25 | 75 |
| July '37 (Democrats only) | 56 | 44 |
| Feb '38 | 29 | 71 |
| *West central* | | |
| Nov '36 | 29 | 71 |
| July '37 (Democrats only) | 54 | 46 |
| Feb '38 | 27 | 73 |
| *South* | | |
| Nov '36 | 32% | 68% |
| July '37 (Democrats only) | 55 | 45 |
| Feb '38 | 38 | 62 |
| *Mountain* | | |
| Nov '36 | 32 | 68 |
| July '37 (Democrats only) | 51 | 49 |
| Feb '38 | 26 | 74 |
| *Pacific coast* | | |
| Nov '36 | 29 | 71 |
| July '37 (Democrats only) | 54 | 46 |
| Feb '38 | 32 | 68 |

NOV '36 RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Farmers | 25% | 75% |
| Small towns | 20 | 80 |
| Cities | 33 | 67 |

**4.** (US Apr '37, July '37, Oct '37, Jan '38) If there should be agitation for President Roosevelt to run for a third term, which would be your attitude—(1) opposed because you disapprove of Roosevelt; (2) opposed because you disapprove of both Roosevelt and third terms; (3) opposed because, though you approve of Roosevelt, you feel that no one should have more than two terms; (4) in favor of it; (5) in favor of it if his second term is successful? (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *Statement 5* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '37 | 8.0% | 11.1% | 28.3% | 24.2% | 28.4% |
| July '37 | 12.2 | 15.3 | 27.5 | 26.4 | 18.6 |
| Oct '37 | 17.6 | 16.9 | 22.2 | 29.5 | 13.8 |
| Jan '38 | 15.2 | 17.3 | 23.8 | 33.4 | 10.3 |

OPINION IN APR AND OCT '37 BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Prosperous* | | | | | |
| Apr '37 | 11.3% | 20.0% | 34.1% | 10.9% | 23.7% |
| Oct '37 | 29.0 | 30.0 | 23.0 | 10.5 | 7.5 |
| *Upper middle class* | | | | | |
| Apr '37 | 10.1 | 13.9 | 34.6 | 15.6 | 25.8 |
| Oct '37 | 21.6 | 23.2 | 24.2 | 19.7 | 11.3 |
| *Lower middle class* | | | | | |
| Apr '37 | 7.5 | 10.5 | 27.5 | 25.4 | 29.1 |
| Oct '37 | 17.0 | 14.5 | 25.3 | 28.6 | 14.6 |
| *Poor* | | | | | |
| Apr '37 | 6.8 | 6.6 | 22.8 | 32.4 | 31.4 |
| Oct '37 | 12.3 | 11.3 | 17.3 | 42.0 | 17.1 |
| *Negroes* | | | | | |
| Apr '37 | 2.7 | 3.6 | 14.9 | 46.2 | 32 6 |
| Oct '37 | 4.6 | 4.6 | 12.0 | 60.0 | 18.8 |

**5.** (US May 17 '37 to May 29 '40, dates listed below) If Roosevelt is a candidate for a third term in 1940, would you vote for him? (AIPO, FOR)

| | *Yes, for* | *No, against* | | *Depends on opposition* | *Undecided; no opinion; don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| May 17 '37 | 33% | 44% | | 14% | 9% | = 100% |
| * July 2 '38 | 42 | 58 | = 100% | | 11 | |
| * July 27 '38 | 40 | 60 | = 100 | | | |
| * Sept 13 '38 | 32 | 56 | | | 12 | = 100 |
| * Oct 1 '38 | 35 | 55 | | | 10 | = 100 |
| * Oct 8 '38 | 36 | 54 | | | 10 | = 100 |
| ** Nov 5 '38 | 40 | 60 | = 100 | | | |

| | *Yes, for* | *No, against* | | *Depends on opposition* | *Undecided; no opinion; don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Jan 10 '39 | 39% | 61% | = 100% | | 9% | |
| (2) Mar '39 (FOR) | 58.1 | 20.9 | | | 21.0 | = 100% |
| (1) Apr 19 '39 | 33 | 67 | = 100 | | 8 | |
| (2) May '39 (FOR) | 56.4 | 23.8 | | 14.8% | 5.0 | = 100 |
| ** June 16 '39 | 38 | 62 | = 100 | | 7 | |
| ** July 8 '39 | 39 | 61 | = 100 | | 13 | |
| ** Aug 8 '39 | 40 | 60 | = 100 | | 8 | |
| ** Aug 17 '39 | 34 | 66 | = 100 | | 8 | |
| ** Sept 11 '39 | 43 | 57 | = 100 | | 9 | |
| ** Sept 19 '39 | 46 | 54 | = 100 | | | |
| ** Oct 24 '39 | 43 | 57 | = 100 | | | |
| ** Dec 13 '39 | 46 | 54 | = 100 | | | |
| (3) Feb 20 '40 | 47 | 53 | = 100 | | | |
| (3) Apr 3 '40 | 47 | 53 | = 100 | | 8 | |
| (4) May 16 '40 | 57 | 43 | = 100 | | | |
| (4) May 23 '40 | 57 | 43 | = 100 | | | |
| (4) May 29 '40 | 57 | 43 | = 100 | | | |

* The question was: If President Roosevelt runs for a third term, will you vote for him?

** If President Roosevelt runs for a third term in 1940, will you vote for him? Some cross-sections were asked about "Roosevelt" instead of "President Roosevelt."

(1) If President Roosevelt runs for a third term, do you think you will vote for him?

(2) Would you vote for Roosevelt if he ran in 1940? Asked of a national cross-section of people who approved of Roosevelt. (FOR)

(3) If President Roosevelt runs for a third term this year, would you vote for him or against him?

(4) If President Roosevelt runs for a third term, do you think you would vote for him or against him?

OPINION IN NOV '38 AND DEC '39 BY POLITICS

| | *Yes, for* | *No, against* |
|---|---|---|
| *Democrats* | | |
| Nov '38 | 64% | 36% |
| Dec '39 | 79 | 21 |
| *Republicans* | | |
| Dec '39 | 7 | 93 |
| *Independents* | | |
| Dec '39 | 47 | 53 |

*Fortune's* MAR '39 RESULTS BY ATTITUDES TOWARD ROOSEVELT

| | | | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Roosevelt or man like him essential | 79.1% | 8.0% | 12.9% |
| Made mistakes, but good outweighs bad | 48.6 | 26.8 | 24.6 |

OPINION IN SEPT '39 AND MAY '40 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | *Yes, for* | *No, against* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *New England* | | | |
| Sept 11 '39 | 34% | 66% | |
| *New England and mid-Atlantic* | | | |
| May 29 '40 | 57 | 43 | |
| *Middle Atlantic* | | | |
| Sept 11 '39 | 45 | 55 | |
| *East central* | | | |
| Sept 11 '39 | 32 | 68 | |
| May 29 '40 | 52 | 48 | |
| *West central* | | | |
| Sept 11 '39 | 37 | 63 | |
| May 29 '40 | 53 | 47 | |
| *South* | | | |
| Sept 11 '39 | 61 | 39 | |
| May 29 '40 | 73 | 27 | |
| *West* | | | |
| Sept 11 '39 | 47% | 53% | |
| May 29 '40 | 55 | 45 | |

OPINION IN FEB AND MAY '40 BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Yes, for* | *No, against* |
|---|---|---|
| *Upper income* | | |
| Feb '40 | 27% | 73% |
| May 23 '40 | 37 | 63 |
| *Middle income* | | |
| Feb '40 | 44 | 56 |
| May 23 '40 | 54 | 46 |
| *Lower income* | | |
| Feb '40 | 63 | 37 |
| May 23 '40 | 70 | 30 |

**6.** (US Aug 9 '37 to Nov 27 '46, dates listed below) Would you favor a constitutional amendment prohibiting any President to run for a third term? (AIPO, NORC)

| | *Yes, favor* | *No, oppose* | | *Don't know; no opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug 9 '37 | 49% | 51% | = 100% | 9% | |
| * Aug 16 '38 | 48 | 52 | = 100 | 9 | |
| ** Nov 30 '39 | 42 | 58 | = 100 | 11 | |
| ** July 3 '40 | 41 | 59 | = 100 | | |
| ** Apr 6 '43 | 46 | 54 | = 100 | 7 | |
| (1) Apr 27 '43 | | | | | |
| First cross-section | 45 | 49 | | 6 | = 100% |
| Second cross-section | 45 | 46 | | 9 | = 100 |
| (2) May 12 '43 | 45 | 48 | | 7 | = 100 |
| (2) Nov 23 '43 | 54 | 46 | = 100 | 7 | |
| (2) Mar 15 '44 | 57 | 43 | = 100 | | |
| (3) June 7 '44 | 63 | 32 | | 5 | = 100 |
| (4) Nov '44 (NORC) | 58 | 37 | | 5 | = 100 |
| (5) Apr 18 '45 | 60 | 40 | = 100 | | |
| (5) July 12 '45 | 58 | 42 | = 100 | 5 | |
| (6) Nov 27 '46 | 52 | 40 | | 8 | = 100 |

* The question was: Would you favor a constitutional amendment prohibiting any President of the United States from serving a third term?

** Would you favor adding a law to the Constitution to prevent any President of the United States from serving a third term?

(1) Would you favor adding a law to the Constitution which would prevent any President of the United States from being re-elected in the future if he has already served two terms? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with the phrase "in the future from serving more than two terms."

(2) Would you favor adding a law to the Constitution which would prevent any President of the United States from being re-elected in the future if he has already served two terms?

(3) Would you favor adding a law to the Constitution which would prevent any President of the United States from being re-elected after this year's election if he has already served two terms?

(4) Would you be in favor of or against an amendment to the Constitution which would prevent all Presidents without exception from serving more than two terms? (NORC)

(5) Would you favor or oppose a law which would keep all Presidents of the United States from being elected for a third term?

(6) Would you favor adding a law to the Constitution to prevent any President of the United States in the future from serving more than two terms in a row?

BY POLITICS

| | *Yes, favor* | *No, oppose* |
|---|---|---|
| *Democratic* | | |
| Aug '37 | 38% | 62% |
| Aug '38 | 37 | 63 |
| Nov '39 | 23 | 77 |
| July '40 | 14 | 86 |
| Apr 6 '43 | 28 | 72 |
| Nov '43 | 28 | 72 |
| Mar '44 | 32 | 68 |

| | *Yes, favor* | *No, oppose* |
|---|---|---|
| June '44 | 44% | 56% |
| July '45 | 47 | 53 |
| *Republican* | | |
| Aug '37 | 67 | 33 |
| Aug '38 | 72 | 28 |
| Nov '39 | 65 | 35 |
| July '40 | 69 | 31 |
| Apr 6 '43 | 74 | 26 |
| Nov '43 | 81 | 19 |
| Mar '44 | 84 | 16 |
| June '44 | 88 | 12 |
| July '45 | 74 | 26 |

APR 6 '43 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 41% | 59% |
| East central | 52 | 48 |
| West central | 58 | 42 |
| South | 42 | 58 |
| Far West | 42 | 58 |

**7.** (US Aug 23 '37 to Jan 30 '40, dates listed below) Do you think President Roosevelt will be a candidate again in 1940? (AIPO, FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *Don't know; no opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug 23 '37 | 37% | 63% | = 100% | 10% | |
| * July 2 '38 | 36 | 64 | = 100 | 14 | |
| * Nov 14 '38 | 36 | 64 | = 100 | 12 | |
| ** Mar '39 (FOR) | 31.1 | 45.1 | | 23.8 | = 100% |
| (1) May 26 '39 | 48 | 52 | = 100 | 17 | |
| (1) Oct 18 '39 | 57 | 43 | = 100 | 21 | |
| * Jan 30 '40 | 52 | 48 | = 100 | 18 | |

* The question was: Do you think President Roosevelt will run for a third term?

** Regardless of what you think of Roosevelt, do you think he will run for a third term in 1940? (FOR)

(1) Do you think President Roosevelt will run for a third term in 1940?

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| MAR '39 RESULTS BY OPINION ON ROOSEVELT | | | |
| Roosevelt essential | 40.8% | 27.1% | 32.1% |
| Good outweighs bad | 25.8 | 50.2 | 24.0 |
| Roosevelt a calamity | 41.0 | 43.4 | 15.6 |
| Usefulness over | 29.4 | 53.6 | 17.0 |
| MAY '39 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 46% | 54% | |
| Middle income | 46 | 54 | |
| Lower income (including those on relief) | 54 | 46 | |
| Persons on relief and WPA only | 60 | 40 | |
| JAN '40 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 57% | 43% | |
| Republican | 47 | 53 | |

**8.** (US Nov 12 '37) Do you think it would help or hurt the Democrats' chances in 1940 to have Roosevelt as their candidate for a third term? (AIPO)

Help 31% Hurt 53% No opinion 16%

**9.** (US Aug 10 '38 to Apr. 23 '40, dates listed below) If Roosevelt runs for a third term for President against Senator Vandenberg, which would you favor? (AIPO)

| | *Roosevelt* | *Vandenberg* | | *Undecided* | *Don't know; no opinion; no answer* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug 10 '38 | 53% | 47% | = 100% | | 19% | |
| * Mar 21 '39 | 44 | 37 | | | 19 | = 100% |
| ** July 17 '39 | 50 | 50 | = 100 | | 14 | |
| (1) Oct 3 '39 | 62 | 38 | = 100 | | 15 | |
| (2) Nov 30 '39 | 46 | 37 | | 16% | 1 | = 100 |
| (3) Mar 25 '40 | 53 | 47 | = 100 | | | |
| (3) Apr 23 '40 | 53 | 47 | = 100 | | | |

* The question was: If President Roosevelt runs for a third term in 1940 on the Democratic ticket against Senator Arthur Vandenberg, which one do you think you would prefer?

** If Senator Vandenberg runs for President on the Republican ticket against President Roosevelt running for a third term on the Democratic ticket, which one would you prefer?

(1) If the war is still going on at the time of the Presidential election next year, and Roosevelt runs for a third term on the Democratic ticket against Senator Vandenberg on the Republican ticket, which do you think you would prefer?

(2) If President Roosevelt runs for a third term in 1940 on the Democratic ticket against Senator Arthur Vandenberg on the Republican ticket, which one do you think you would prefer?

(3) If President Roosevelt runs for a third term on the Democratic ticket against Senator Vandenberg on the Republican ticket, which one would you prefer?

MAR '40 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 52% | 48% |
| East central | 46 | 54 |
| West central | 49 | 51 |
| South | 71 | 29 |
| West | 59 | 41 |

**10.** (US Aug 10 '38 to June 11 '40, dates listed below) If Roosevelt runs for a third term against Thomas Dewey, which would you favor? (AIPO)

| | *Roosevelt* | *Dewey* | | *Undecided; don't know; no opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug 10 '38 | 52% | 48% | = 100% | 23% | |
| * Feb 16 '39 | 45 | 55 | = 100 | 12 | |
| ** June 7 '39 | 48 | 52 | = 100 | 14 | |
| (1) Sept 22 '39 | 59 | 41 | = 100 | 13 | |
| (2) Nov 8 '39 | 54 | 46 | = 100 | 14 | |
| (3) Nov 30 '39 | 52 | 48 | = 100 | 15 | |
| (4) Feb 6 '40 | 53 | 47 | = 100 | 10 | |
| ** Apr 9 '40 | 52 | 48 | = 100 | | |
| ** May 3 '40 | 58 | 42 | = 100 | | |
| ** May 16 '40 | 50 | 40 | | 10 | = 100% |
| ** May 23 '40 | 59 | 41 | = 100 | 9 | |
| ** May 29 '40 | 60 | 40 | = 100 | 11 | |
| ** June 11 '40 | 61 | 39 | = 100 | 11 | |

* The question was: If President Roosevelt runs for a third term in 1940 on the Democratic ticket and Dewey runs against him on the Republican ticket, which one would you prefer? A comparable cross-section was asked: If Dewey runs for President in 1940 on the Republican ticket against President Roosevelt running for a third term on the Democratic ticket, which one would you prefer? Results were combined.

** If President Roosevelt runs for a third term on the Democratic ticket against Thomas Dewey on the Republican ticket, which one would you prefer? For some cross-sections the order of the candidates was reversed.

(1) If the war is still going on at the time of the presidential election next year and Roosevelt runs for a third term on the Democratic ticket against Thomas Dewey on the Republican ticket, which do you think you would prefer?

(2) If Thomas Dewey runs for President in 1940 on the Republican ticket against Roosevelt running for a third term on the Democratic ticket, which one would you prefer?

(3) If President Roosevelt runs for a third term in 1940 on the Demo-

| | *Roosevelt* | *Dewey* |
|---|---|---|
| BY POLITICS | | |
| *Democratic* | | |
| June '39 | 74% | 26% |
| Nov '39 | 88 | 12 |
| Apr '40 | 79 | 21 |
| *Republican* | | |
| June '39 | 2 | 98 |
| Nov '39 | 8 | 92 |
| Apr '40 | 5 | 95 |
| NOV '39 RESULTS BY AGE | | |
| Under 30 years | 57% | 43% |
| 30–49 years | 52 | 48 |
| 50 years and over | 48 | 52 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| *Upper income* | | |
| Nov '39 | 33% | 67% |
| Apr '40 | 31 | 69 |
| *Middle income* | | |
| Nov '39 | 49 | 51 |
| Apr '40 | 48 | 52 |
| *Lower income (including those on relief)* | | |
| Nov '39 | 66 | 34 |
| Apr '40 | 66 | 34 |
| *Reliefers only* | | |
| Nov '39 | 73 | 27 |
| Apr '40 | 74 | 26 |
| APR '40 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 46% | 54% |
| Middle Atlantic | 53 | 47 |
| East central | 46 | 54 |
| West central | 48 | 52 |
| South | 71 | 29 |
| West | 55 | 45 |

**11.** (US Aug 10 '38) If Roosevelt runs for a third term for President against Bruce Barton (Alf Landon), which would you favor? (AIPO)

| | *Roosevelt* | *Republican opponent* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Barton | 58% | 42% = 100% | 25% |
| Landon | 54 | 46 = 100 | 13 |

**12.** (US Oct 1 '38 and Apr 19 '39) If another war like the World War is (was) being fought in Europe, would you vote for Roosevelt for a third term? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *Would vote for him in any case* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '38 | 12% | 41% | 12% | 35% |
| Apr '39 | 39 | 52 | 9 | — |

**13.** (Great Britain Jan '39) It is a tradition unbroken since the United States was founded that no President shall serve three successive terms. Do you believe the world would benefit or not benefit if President Roosevelt were re-elected a third time? (BIPO)

Benefit 91% Not benefit 9% = 100% No opinion 19%

cratic ticket against Thomas Dewey on the Republican ticket, which one do you think you would prefer?

(4) If President Roosevelt runs for a third term this year on the Democratic ticket against Thomas Dewey on the Republican ticket, which one do you think you would prefer? A comparable cross-section was asked: If Thomas Dewey runs for President this year on the Republican ticket against President Roosevelt running for a third term on the Democratic ticket, which one would you prefer? Results were combined.

**14.** (US Jan 10 '39) Would you like to see the Senate go on record against a third term for President Roosevelt? (AIPO)

Yes 49% No 51% = 100% No opinion 13%

**15.** (US Mar 21 '39 to June 11 '40, dates listed below) If President Roosevelt runs for a third term in 1940 on the Democratic ticket against Senator Robert Taft on the Republican ticket, which one do you think you would prefer? (AIPO)

| | *Roosevelt* | *Taft* | | *Undecided* | *No opinion; no answer* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mar 21 '39 | 50% | 50% | | — | — | |
| *Oct 10 '39 | 53 | 47 | = 100% | | 12% | |
| Nov 30 '39 | 45 | 39 | | 15% | 1 | = 100% |
| **Apr 17 '40 | 58 | 42 | = 100 | | 11 | |
| **Apr 23 '40 | 58 | 42 | = 100 | | | |
| **June 11 '40 | 64 | 36 | = 100 | | 13 | |

* The question was: If Roosevelt runs for a third term on the Democratic ticket against Senator Robert Taft on the Republican ticket, which one would you prefer? A comparable cross-section was asked: If Senator Robert Taft runs for President in 1940 on the Republican ticket against President Roosevelt running for a third term on the Democratic, etc.? Results were combined.

** If President Roosevelt runs for a third term on the Democratic ticket against Senator Taft on the Republican ticket, which one would you prefer? In June '40 the order of the candidates was reversed.

| | *Roosevelt* | *Taft* |
|---|---|---|
| BY POLITICS | | |
| *Democratic* | | |
| Mar '39 | 75% | 25% |
| Apr '40 | 84 | 16 |
| *Republican* | | |
| Mar '39 | 6 | 94 |
| Apr '40 | 8 | 92 |
| APR '40 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 56% | 44% |
| East central | 51 | 49 |
| West central | 57 | 43 |
| South | 72 | 28 |
| Far West | 64 | 36 |

**16.** (US Apr 19 '39) If the United States is fighting in a World War in 1940, do you think you will vote for Roosevelt for a third term? (AIPO)

Yes 36% No 54% No opinion 10%

**17.** (US May '39) Do you hope he [Roosevelt] will run again, or would you prefer to have someone approved by Roosevelt run instead? Asked of a national cross-section of Roosevelt supporters who would certainly or probably vote for him if he ran again. (FOR)

| | *Hope he runs* | *Prefer approved candidate* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 54.2% | 35.4% | 10.4% |
| BY DEGREE OF CERTAINTY TO VOTE FOR ROOSEVELT IN 1940 | | | |
| Yes, certainly | 66.5% | 26.8% | 6.7% |
| Depends | 14.5 | 60.6 | 24.9 |

**18.** (US May '39) Why wouldn't you vote for Roosevelt? Asked of a national cross-section of Roosevelt supporters who wouldn't vote for him in 1940 or said their vote would depend on circumstances. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Object to third terms | 64.7% |
| We need a change | 6.1 |
| Depends on opponent | 4.6 |
| Other leaders just as capable | 3.6 |
| Trend toward dictatorship | 2.5 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Too much spending | 2.0% |
| Vote Republican | 1.7 |
| Disapprove of policies | 1.4 |
| Disapprove of methods | 1.0 |
| Other, mainly critical | 11.3 |
| Don't know | 1.1 |

**19.** (US May '39) Do you hope Roosevelt will run again in 1940? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hope Roosevelt runs | 22.7% |
| Hope Roosevelt-approved candidate runs | 14.8 |
| Don't know | 4.4 |
| *Total who would or might vote for Roosevelt* | 41.9% |
| Would not vote Roosevelt | 55.2 |
| Don't know | 2.9 |

**20.** (US May 18 '39) If Hoover runs for President in 1940 on the Republican ticket, and Roosevelt runs against him for a third term on the Democratic ticket, which one do you think you would prefer? A comparable cross-section was asked: If Hoover was running for President on the Republican ticket and Roosevelt was running for a third term on the Democratic ticket, how do you think you would vote? Results were combined. (June 11 '40) If Herbert Hoover runs for President on the Republican ticket against President Roosevelt running for a third term on the Democratic ticket, which one would you prefer? (AIPO)

| | *Hoover* | *Roosevelt* | *Neither* | *Don't know; undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| May '39 | 35% | 52% | 1% | 12% |
| June '40 | 30 | 70 = 100% | | 13 |

**21.** (US May 26 '39) If he [President Roosevelt] runs for a third term in 1940, would you vote for him no matter what Republican runs against him? (July 17 '39) If President Roosevelt runs for a third term in 1940, will you vote for him, or will you vote against him no matter who the Republican candidate is? (AIPO)

| | *Yes, for* | *No, against* | *Depends on candidate and don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| May '39 | 39% | 61% = 100% | 12% |
| July '39 | 38 | 40 | 22 = 100% |

MAY RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Upper income | 19% | 81% |
| Middle income | 34 | 66 |
| Lower income (including reliefers) | 55 | 45 |
| Relief only | 66 | 34 |

JULY RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Democratic | 57% | 19% | 24% |
| Republican | 4 | 83 | 13 |

**22.** (US July 8 '39) As far as you know, has any President of the United States ever served a third term? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 3% | 85% | 12% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 2% | 91% | 7% |
| Middle income | 3 | 88 | 9 |
| Lower income | 4 | 78 | 18 |

**23.** (US July 8 '39) As far as you know, does the Constitution of the United States say that a President cannot serve a third term? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 4% | 78% | 18% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 2% | 88% | 10% |
| Middle income | 4 | 82 | 14 |
| Lower income | 5 | 67 | 28 |

**24.** (US July 8 '39) Do you think there are any circumstances when a third term might be a good thing? 57% of the sample who thought there were such circumstances were asked: What circumstances? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under no circumstances | 31% |
| Don't know whether or not might be a good thing | 12 |
| Third term might be a good thing: | |
| In the event of war | 16 |
| When a man has proved himself capable and has done a good job | 9 |
| In the event of all unfinished programs | 9 |
| In times of great stress or crisis, when a man is needed for his experience | 6 |
| When progress is being made, and a change would impede it | 2 |
| During a depression | 2 |
| When there is no one as capable for the presidency in view | 1 |
| If the majority of the people approve of him and want him again | 1 |
| When a change would unfavorably affect the needy | 1 |
| Other reasons | 1 |
| No opinion as to the circumstances | 9 |

**25.** (US Sept 11 '39, Sept 19 '39, Oct 24 '39) If the war is still going on next year, and if Roosevelt runs for a third term, would you vote for him? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *No opinion; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sept 11 '39 | 52% | 48% = 100% | — | 10% |
| Sept 19 '39 | 48 | 40 | — | 12 = 100% |
| Oct 24 '39 | 44 | 45 | 10% | 1 = 100 |

SEPT 11 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Democratic | 76% | 24% |
| Republican | 10 | 90 |
| All others | 55 | 45 |

**26.** (US Oct 3 '39) Would you like to see Roosevelt elected President for a third term in 1940? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, emphatically | 21% |
| Yes | 16 |
| No, emphatically | 36 |
| No | 18 |
| Don't know and no answer | 9 |

**27.** (US Nov 8 '39) Secretary Wallace says the war in Europe has made it necessary for President Roosevelt to have a third term. Do you agree or disagree? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Agree | 31% |
| Disagree | 60 |
| No answer | 1 |
| No opinion | 8 |

**28.** (US Dec '39) Do you think the European war has increased Roosevelt's chances for a third term? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 50.6% | 26.6% | 22.8% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 54.4% | 27.2% | 18.4% |
| Upper middle | 53.9 | 29.8 | 16.3 |
| Lower middle | 50.9 | 29.3 | 19.8 |
| Poor | 48.3 | 23.1 | 28.6 |
| Negroes | 43.3 | 14.1 | 42.6 |

**29.** (US Feb 6 '40 and May 3 '40) Which of the following statements comes closest to your own idea about President Roosevelt? (AIPO)

| | *Feb '40* | *May '40* |
|---|---|---|
| I would not vote for Roosevelt under any circumstances if he should run for a third term in the election this year | 33% | 35% |
| I do not believe at this time I would vote for Roosevelt if he should run for a third term, but I might, depending on the circumstances | 22 | 20 |
| Right now, I think Roosevelt looks like best man. If he should run for a third term, I would probably vote for him | 25 | 25 |
| I would vote for a third term for Roosevelt no matter who ran against him or what happens between now and election | 17 | 20 |
| | | 100% |
| No answer or no opinion | 3 | 2% |
| | 100% | |

**30.** (US Feb 20 '40) The Democrats will nominate their candidate for President next July. When do you think President Roosevelt should let the country know whether or not he is going to run for a third term? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Immediately | 49% |
| Up to Roosevelt; let him decide | 7 |
| Should have long ago | 7 |
| Anytime before the convention | 3 |
| At the convention | 6 |
| March | 2 |
| April | 2 |
| May | 1 |
| June | 2 |
| Soon | 3 |
| Other answers | 6 |
| No answer | 12 |

**31.** (US May 29 '40 to July 11 '40, dates listed below) If Wendell Willkie runs for President on the Republican ticket against President Roosevelt running for a third term on the Democratic ticket, which one would you prefer? (AIPO)

| | *Roosevelt* | *Willkie* | *Undecided* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| May 29 '40 | 65% | 35% = 100% | 16% | |
| June 11 '40 | 63 | 37 = 100 | | |
| *June 25 '40 | 43 | 47 | 10 | = 100% |
| **July 3 '40 | 53 | 47 = 100 | 10 | |
| **July 11 '40 | 54 | 46 = 100 | 15 | |

* The question was: If President Roosevelt runs for a third term on the Democratic ticket against Willkie on the Republican ticket, which candidate would you prefer?

** If President Roosevelt runs for a third term on the Democratic ticket against Wendell Willkie on the Republican ticket, how would you vote?

**32.** (US Nov '40) With which one of these statements concerning a third term do you come closest to agreeing? (FOR)

IN COMPARISON WITH RESULTS FROM AN AUGUST QUESTION PUBLISHED IN OCTOBER

| | *October (asked in August)* | *November (asked in September)* | *November (asked in October)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| The idea that a President should not hold office for three terms is a silly and outworn tradition | 13.2% | 16.0% | 15.8% |
| While it may not generally be a good idea for a President to serve three terms, there should be no rule preventing him at a time of national crisis | 51.8% | 50.1% | 46.6% |
| Never under any conditions should a President hold office for three terms | 29.9 | 30.2 | 33.8 |
| Don't know | 5.1 | 3.7 | 3.8 |

**33.** (US Sept 3 '42) Suppose Roosevelt runs for a fourth term for President in 1944—as of today, do you think you would vote for him? A comparable cross-section was asked: Suppose Roosevelt runs for a fourth term for President in 1944—as of today, do you think you would vote for him or against him? Results were combined. (Nov 17 '42) If President Roosevelt runs for a fourth term in 1944, will you vote for him or against him? (AIPO)

| | *For* | *Against* | *Don't know; undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '42 | 52.4% | 37.3% | 10.3% |
| Nov '42 | 39 | 44 | 17 |

**34.** (US Jan 7 '43) If Roosevelt runs for a fourth term for President next year against any of these candidates [Dewey, Bricker], how do you think you would vote? (AIPO)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 49% | Roosevelt | 49% |
| Dewey | 33 | Bricker | 18 |
| Don't know | 18 | Don't know | 33 |

**35.** (US Jan 27 '43, Feb 23 '43, May 12 '43) If the war is over and Roosevelt runs for a fourth term next year, do you think you will vote for him or against him? (AIPO)

| | *For* | *Against* | *No opinion; undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '43 | 39% | 50% | 11% |
| Feb '43 | 37 | 50 | 13 |
| May '43 | 31 | 69 | — |

**36.** (US Jan 27 '43, Feb 23 '43, May 12 '43) If the war is still going on and Roosevelt runs for a fourth term next year, do you think you will vote for him or against him? (AIPO)

| | *For* | *Against* | *No opinion; undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '43 | 51% | 37% | 12% |
| Feb '43 | 53 | 36 | 11 |
| May '43 | 56 | 44 | — |

**37.** (US Jan 27 '43 and Apr 25 '44) Do you think President Roosevelt will run for a fourth term next year? The 1944 sample was asked about "this year" instead of "next year." (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '43 | 61% | 39% | — |
| Apr '44 | 79 | 8 | 13% |

**38.** (US Feb 3 '43) Would you like to see President Roosevelt run for a fourth term next year? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 41% |
| No | 38 |
| Don't know | 6 |
| Qualified | 1 |
| Depends on war | 14 |

**39.** (US May 12 '43) If the war is not entirely over next year but looks as though it might be over soon, do you think you will vote for or against Roosevelt for a fourth term? (AIPO)

For 51% Against 49%

**40.** (US Nov 23 '43) Do you have any friend or relative whose views on politics you respect highly? 41% of the sample who said they had such a friend or relative were asked: Is this friend or relative for or against a fourth term for Roosevelt? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Have no such friend or relative | 59% |
| Friend or relative for fourth term | 11 |
| Friend or relative against fourth term | 23 |
| Don't know what views are | 7 |

**41.** (US Feb 1 '44) Do you think a majority, that is, more than half, of the people with whom you talk politics will vote for or against a fourth term for Roosevelt? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| For | 44% |
| Against | 38 |
| Never talk politics | 7 |
| Don't know | 11 |

**42.** (US Feb 1 '44) Do you think a majority, that is, more than half, of your friends will vote for or against a fourth term for Roosevelt? (AIPO)

For 42% Against 37% Don't know 21%

**43.** (US June 20 '44) If Roosevelt is re-elected President this fall, do you think thar he will try for a fifth term in 1948? (AIPO)

Yes 35% No 51% Undecided 14%

**44.** (US Nov 27 '46) The President is now elected for a four-year term and Congressmen for two years. Should the Constitution be changed so that the President and all Congressmen are elected at the same time to serve terms of four years? (AIPO)

Yes 35% No 45% No opinion 20%

## PRICE REGULATION

**1.** (US June 27 '36) Should the federal government fix minimum prices in the coal industry and other basic industries? (AIPO)

Yes 51% No 49% = 100% No opinion 24%

**2.** (US Apr 26 '37) The Michigan senate has passed a bill to prevent retail stores from cutting prices on standard or trade-marked goods. Would you favor such a law in this state? (AIPO)

Yes 43% No 39% No opinion 18%

**3.** (US Oct '40) In the event that rearmament or the incidence of war starts a sharp rise in prices, do you believe that the government should interfere directly, as in 1917, to fix prices and prevent any sharp rise not directly justified by production costs; trade associations should voluntarily take an active part in holding down prices; prices should be allowed to move freely, find their own levels? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| The government should interfere directly | 34.7% |
| Trade associations should take part in holding down prices | 24.9 |
| Prices be allowed to move freely | 26.7 |
| Don't know | 7.0 |
| No answer | 6.7 |

**4.** (US Dec '40) As between the National Recovery Act pro-price-fixing policy and the Thurman Arnold anti-price-fixing program, which do you prefer as a means of recovery now? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| National Recovery Act | 22.0% |
| Arnold | 33.0 |
| Depends | 45.0 |

**5.** (US Dec '40) In 1933 Mr. Roosevelt announced his determination to force prices back to the 1926 level. Did you agree with the policy at that time? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 24.0% | 76.0% |
| BY TYPE OF BUSINESS | | |
| Commercial and retail executives | 26.2% | 73.8% |
| Utility and railroad executives | 14.9 | 85.1 |

**6.** (US Dec '40) Do you think the government should continue its efforts to restore the 1926 price level? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 11.7% | 88.3% |
| BY TYPE OF BUSINESS | | |
| Commercial and retail executives | 13.5% | 86.5% |
| Utility and railroad executives | 6.6 | 93.4 |

**7.** (US Dec '40) Do you think industry (through its trade associations, possibly) should try to restore 1926 price levels? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 25.1% | 74.9% |
| BY TYPE OF BUSINESS | | |
| Commercial and retail executives | 26.8% | 73.2% |
| Utility and railroad executives | 18.5 | 81.5 |

**8.** (US Dec '40) In the early days of the New Deal, an attempt was made to achieve recovery through the National Recovery Act, under which trade associations were permitted to raise and fix prices by agreement (provided they also conformed to certain wage and hour codes). Many businessmen and most trade associations approved the National Recovery Act program at first. Did you favor the National Recovery Act price-raising program at the time? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 34.9% | 65.1% |
| Utility and railroad executives only | 15.1 | 84.9 |

**9.** (US Dec '40) Did you still consider the National Recovery Act price-raising plan a sound recovery measure in 1935 when the Supreme Court killed it? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 19.6% | 80.4% |
| Utility and railroad executives only | 8.5 | 91.5 |

**10.** (US Mar 19 '41) Would you like to see the federal government fix prices so that as long as the war in Europe lasts everything you buy will cost the same as it does now? (AIPO)

| | *Yes, fix prices* | *No, don't fix prices* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 68% | 32% = 100% | 9% |

BY OCCUPATION

| | *Yes, fix prices* | *No, don't fix prices* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Businessmen | 53% | 47% | |
| Farmers | 61 | 39 | |
| White-collar workers | 68 | 32 | |
| Semiskilled, unskilled, and skilled labor | 80 | 20 | |

**11.** (Australia Oct '41) Are you satisfied that price control is giving a fair deal? (APOP)

| | *Satisfied* | *Dissatisfied* | *Undecided; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 22% | 57% | 21% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Well-to-do | 50% | 31% | 19% |
| Comfortably off | 26 | 49 | 25 |
| Artisans, etc | 18 | 61 | 21 |
| Lowest incomes | 17 | 64 | 19 |
| STATE BY STATE | | | |
| New South Wales | 18% | 64% | 18% |
| Queensland | 24 | 55 | 21 |
| Victoria | 24 | 52 | 24 |
| Tasmania | 27 | 42 | 31 |
| South Australia | 28 | 41 | 31 |
| Western Australia | 33 | 41 | 26 |

**12.** (US Jan 28 '42, Aug 21 '42, Nov 27 '42) How do you feel about having the government regulate prices—in general, are you for it or against it? (NORC)

| | *For* | *Against* | *Don't know* | *Depends* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '42 | 84% | 6% | 5% | 5% |
| Aug '42 | 91 | 6 | 3 | — |
| Nov '42 | 91 | 6 | 3 | — |

**13.** (US Jan 28 '42) From what you have heard, is the government regulating prices on anything now? 54% of the sample who thought the government was regulating prices were asked: Is it your understanding that they are now regulating retail prices, wholesale prices, or both? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Government not regulating prices | 24% |
| Don't know whether or not government regulating prices | 22 |
| Regulating retail prices | 7 |
| Regulating wholesale prices | 13 |
| Regulating both wholesale and retail | 26 |
| Don't know what kind of prices being regulated | 8 |

**14.** (US May '42) It is now against the law for the prices of some products to go any higher during the war than they were last March. Do you think this a good or a bad idea? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good idea | 89% |
| Bad idea | 3 |
| Qualified answer | 4 |
| Don't know | 4 |

**15.** (US May 30 '42) In the stores where you shop do you check up to see whether you are paying more than the price set up by the government? (AIPO)

Yes 25% No 71% No answer 4%

**16.** (US Sept '42) Do you think the current system of price ceilings will prevent price rises, or will the ceilings have to be revised upward, and by what per cent? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Ceiling will prevent price rises | 33.6% |
| Prices will have to be revised upward | |
| By 10% or less | 12.8 |
| By 10%–20% | 37.3 |
| By 20%–50% | 13.3 |
| By over 50% | 3.0 |

**17.** (US Sept '42) Do you think the general price ceilings can be made to work by means of price ceilings on wages, price ceilings on farm products, government subsidies, or by any other means? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Price ceilings on wages | 90.5% |
| Price ceilings on farm products | 83.6 |
| Government subsidies | 26.4 |
| Price ceilings on everything | 6.3 |
| Strong government; less politics | 2.7 |
| Additional taxes; forced savings | 2.0 |
| Other methods | 5.5 |
| Price ceilings could not work no matter what is done | 5.9 |
| | 222.9%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**18.** (US Sept '42) Is your company having considerable, some, or no difficulty in meeting costs under present price ceilings? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Considerable | 14.5% |
| Some | 44.7 |
| None | 17.3 |
| Does not concern my business | 23.5 |

**19.** (US Sept 3 '42) Do you approve or disapprove of the government's policy with respect to price control? (AIPO)

Approve 55% Disapprove 39% No opinion 6%

**20.** (US Sept 24 '42) Do you think there is any real need for the government to regulate prices during the war? (NORC)

Yes 88% No 5% Don't know 7%

**21.** (US Sept 24 '42) Do you think the government will actually be able to control prices? (NORC)

Yes 65% No 19% Don't know 16%

**22.** (Sweden Oct '42) Do you think that prices have increased so much that, in some respects, the government should absolutely forbid any further increases? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 70% | 12% | 18% |
| BY SELECTED GROUPS | | | |
| Townspeople | 64% | 19% | 17% |
| Work parties | 79 | 7 | 14 |

**23.** (Sweden Oct '42) Do you think that interference of this kind [government regulation of prices] should include wages and food or only one of these? (SGI)

| | *Wages and food* | *Wages only* | *Food only* | *None* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 38% | 2% | 48% | 12% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Townspeople | 47% | 4% | 32% | 17% |
| Farmers | 36 | 4 | 41 | 19 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 38% | 1% | 53% | 8% |
| Work parties | 35 | 1 | 55 | 9 |

**24.** (Canada Mar 6 '43) Do you think that this [price and wage ceiling] law has been successful in keeping prices from going up? (CIPO)

Yes 62% No 28% No opinion 10%

**25.** (US Apr '43) Do you think it will be necessary for the government to continue controlling prices while we are getting back to peacetime conditions? (Mar '45) After the war, do you think it will be necessary or unnecessary for the government to continue controlling prices while we are getting back to peacetime conditions? (NORC)

| | *Necessary* | *Unnecessary* | *Don't know* | *Qualified answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '43 | 77% | 17% | 6% | * |
| Mar '45 | 84 | 11 | 5 | — |

* Less than 0.5%.

**26.** (Australia Apr '43) Do you think price control has been reasonably successful or not? (APOP)

Yes 47% No 43% No opinion 10%

**27.** (US May 12 '43) From what you have heard or read, do you think that Canada has been more successful than we have in keeping prices from rising during the war or less successful? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| More successful | 38% |
| Less successful | 7 |
| Same | 8 |
| Don't know | 47 |

**28.** (US May 12 '43) Have you followed the discussions about keeping prices srabilized through government subsidies? (AIPO)

Yes 55% No 45%

**29.** (US May 12 '43) Because of the cost of production, prices of some products can be kept down only if producers and retailers are given money by the government in place of profits they would normally get. Do you think the government should give money to these producers and retailers, or would it be better to let the prices of these products go up? (AIPO)

Yes 48% No 26% No opinion 26%

**30.** (US May 12 '43) Have you noticed any stores in this area violating price ceilings? 14% of the sample who said they had noticed some violations were asked: Did you report the fact to the local OPA office? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hadn't noticed any violations | 74% |
| Not sure of violations | 11 |
| Didn't say whether or not had noticed violations | 1 |
| Reported violations to OPA | 1 |
| Did not report violations | 12 |
| Didn't say whether or not had reported | 1 |

**31.** (US May 22 '43 and Sept 9 '43) During the next year, do you think the government will really be able to keep food prices under control? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| May '43 | 60% | 22% | 18% |
| Sept '43 | 63 | 25 | 12 |

**32.** (US May 22 '43) During the next year, do you think the government will really be able to keep the prices of manufactured goods under control? (NORC)

Yes 65% No 14% Don't know 21%

**33.** (US June '43) Do you think the government is doing all it can to control rising prices, or do you think it could do a better job? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| All it can | 47% |
| Could do better | 48 |
| Don't know | 5 |

**34.** (US Sept 9 '43) As you know, the government is trying to fix ceiling prices. Can you think of anyrhing else the government is doing to keep the cost of living down? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Rationing | 6% |
| Rationing fuel or cutting down on transportation | 1 |
| Controlling wages | 6 |
| Buying war bonds | 6 |
| Subsidies to farmers | 3 |
| Other help to farmers | 1 |
| Encouraging thrift, saving, and discouraging unnecessary buying | 4 |
| Discouraging black market and enforcing ceiling prices | 3 |
| Increasing production | 8 |
| Increasing taxes | 2 |
| Stabilizing rents | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Critical answers | 7 |
| Answers in terms of what government should do | 1 |
| Praise of government | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 60 |
| | 113%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**35.** (US Sept 9 '43) How about clothing prices? Do you think the government will really be able to keep the price of clothes under control during the next year? (NORC)

Yes 65% No 21% Don't know 14%

**36.** (US Sept 9 '43) What about prices on house furnishings? Will they [the government] be able to keep them under control? (NORC)

Yes 63% No 17% Don't know 20%

**37.** (Sweden Oct '43) For some years a ban on raising prices has been discussed. Has this general price-freezing actually been practiced? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 50% | 18% | 32% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 56% | 20% | 24% |
| Women | 44 | 16 | 40 |

**38.** (US Oct '43) After the war, do you think price ceilings in general should be abolished immediately in the interests of a free economy; maintained until adequate consumer stocks are built up? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Abolished immediately | 51.8% |
| Maintained | 46.9 |
| Don't know | 1.3 |

**39.** (US Oct 22 '43) From what you know, is there a top price fixed by the government on meat—in other words, a ceiling price above which stores can't charge? How about canned goods? Bread? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | *Yes, top price* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mear | 83% | 5% | 12% |
| Canned goods | 80 | 5 | 15 |
| Bread | 45 | 20 | 35 |

**40.** (US Oct 22 '43, Dec 10 '43, Jan 15 '44) Do you generally know what the ceiling prices are before you actually buy? In Oct '43, 40% of the sample and in Dec '43, 45% of the sample who said they did know the ceiling prices before buying were asked: Where do you find out what the prices are? Both questions were asked of women marketers. The 1944 sample was not asked the second part of the question. (NORC)

OCT '43 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Not questioned because didn't know ceiling prices existed | 11% |
| Don't check on ceiling prices before buying | 49 |
| Get ceiling prices from lists in stores | 17 |
| From newspapers | 9 |
| From newspapers and store lists | 7 |
| From tags on articles on shelves | 3 |
| From miscellaneous sources | 4 |
| Not ascertainable | * |

DEC '43 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't check on ceiling prices | 40% |
| Not questioned because of unfamiliarity with ceiling prices | 15 |
| Find out from lists or charts in stores | 22 |
| From newspapers | 20 |
| From tags on articles or on shelves | 7 |
| From radio | 3 |
| Get information from storekeeper | 2 |
| From OPA | 1 |
| Get information from friends | * |
| From miscellaneous sources | 2 |
| Don't know how | * |
| | 112%** |

JAN '44 RESULTS

Yes 45% No 55% No answer*

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**41.** (US Oct 22 '43 and Dec 10 '43) 49% of the Oct '43 sample who generally bought without knowing ceiling prices were asked: Why not? The corresponding 40% of the Dec '43 sample were asked: Why is that? (NORC)

| | *Oct '43* | *Dec '43* |
|---|---|---|
| Just don't bother; don't care about price | 17% | 18% |
| Trust the stores | 9 | 8 |
| Don't have enough time | 5 | 4 |
| They change too often | 5 | 3 |
| Prices are high anyway | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know where to look | 1 | 2 |
| Different stores have different prices | 1 | 1 |
| Improper posting in stores | 1 | 1 |
| Don't do enough buying | 6 | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 | 1 |
| Not ascertainable, don't know | 1 | 1 |
| | 49% | 41%* |

* Percentages add to more than 40 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**42.** (US Dec '43) As far as you know, is the government trying to do anything now to keep prices from going higher? 81% of the sample who said the government was doing something were asked: In general, do you think the government is doing a good job of keeping prices from going higher or not? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Government not doing anything | 10% |
| Don't know whether or not government is doing anything | 9 |
| Government doing a good job curbing prices | 47% |
| Not doing a good job | 28 |
| Don't know what kind of job they are doing | 6 |

**43.** (US Dec '43 and Mar '45) Do you think the government should be trying to keep prices from going higher than they are now? 94% of the Dec '43 sample and 97% of the Mar '45 sample who thought the government should be trying were asked: Do you think all prices should be kept where they are now, or do you think some should be allowed to go higher? (NORC)

| | *1943* | *1945* |
|---|---|---|
| Government shouldn't be trying to keep prices down | 4% | 2% |
| Don't know whether or not should try to keep prices down | 2 | 1 |
| All prices should be kept down or frozen | 57 | 65 |
| Some prices should be allowed to go higher | 33 | 20 |
| All frozen but some lower | — | 8 |
| Don't know whether or not some should be allowed to go higher | 4 | 4 |

**44.** (US Dec 10 '43 and June 2 '44) You hear a lot about ceiling prices these days. What do you think ceiling prices are? Asked of a national cross-section of women marketers. (NORC)

| | *Dec '43* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|
| *Correct* | | |
| Ceiling prices are top prices to be paid | 49% | 50% |
| *Possibly correct* | | |
| Prices fixed by government or government agency | 19 | 19 |
| Gives purposes of ceiling prices without telling what they are | 4 | 9 |
| Only food prices are fixed | 4 | 2 |
| *Misconceptions* | | |
| All stores must charge the same prices | 3 | 2 |
| Wrong idea of how ceiling price is set | 2 | 4 |
| Miscellaneous misconceptions | 1 | 3 |
| No knowledge of the subject | 14 | 10 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 3 | * |
| Not ascertainable | 1 | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**45.** (US Dec 10 '43) From what you know, who sets these ceiling prices? Asked of women marketers. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| OPA | 62% |
| Food administration | 2 |
| The government (no specific agency mentioned) | 8 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Don't know | 10 |
| Not questioned because of unfamiliarity with ceiling prices | 15 |

**46.** (US Dec 10 '43) Do you happen to know how they decide what the prices should be? How? Asked of women marketers. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Correct answers* | |
| Ceiling based on previous prices | 17% |
| Ceiling based on class of store | * |
| *Partly correct* | |
| Former prices plus cost of production | 1 |
| Former prices plus supply and demand | * |
| Former prices plus any other incorrect answers | * |
| *Incorrect answers* | |
| Ceiling based on supply and demand factors | 6 |
| Ceiling based on cost of production (profit over cost) | 4 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Ceiling based on average prices | 2% |
| Miscellaneous incorrect | 2 |
| *Correctness vague or dubious* | |
| OPA sets ceilings | 1 |
| Miscellaneous vague answers | 3 |
| Don't know | 49 |
| Not questioned because of unfamiliarity with ceiling prices | 15 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**47.** (US Dec 10 '43 and June 2 '44) Do you think it's really wrong for people to pay more than ceiling prices? Asked of women marketers. In 1944 the word "really" was omitted from the question. (NORC)

| | *Dec '43* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 78% | 81% |
| No | 4 | 4 |
| Not questioned because unfamiliar with ceiling prices | 15 | 11 |
| Don't know | 3 | 4 |

**48.** (US Dec 10 '43) Would you please look at this card and tell me which one of these things you'd do if a friend of yours paid more than ceiling prices for food? Asked of women marketers. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| It wouldn't make any difference to me at all, and I wouldn't do or say anything about it | 10% |
| I wouldn't like it, but I wouldn't do or say anything about it | 25 |
| I'd talk to him and try to get him not to do it again | 40 |
| I'd call him unpatriotic and avoid seeing him in the future | 5 |
| Not questioned because unfamiliar with ceiling prices | 15 |
| Don't know | 5 |

The 40% of the women marketers who would urge a friend not to pay more than ceiling prices and the 5% who would call him unpatriotic were then asked: Is there anything else you'd do about it? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Report him | 6% |
| Report him (qualified) | 2 |
| Call him unpatriotic (not avoid seeing him) | 1 |
| Report dealer | 2 |
| Report dealer (qualified) | * |
| Talk to dealer | 1 |
| Boycott dealer | 1 |
| No, wouldn't do anything else (general) | 23 |
| None of my business | 1 |
| Nothing else I could do | 1 |
| Too busy; don't want to get mixed up in anything | * |
| Disapprove but wouldn't do anything else for ethical reasons | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 4 |
| | 45% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**49.** (US Dec 10 '43) From what you know, is it against the law for a storekeeper to charge more than ceiling prices? Asked of women marketers. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 81% |
| No | 1 |
| Don't know | 3 |
| Not questioned because unfamiliar with ceiling prices | 15 |

**50.** (US Dec 10 '43) In case you wanted to know [what the ceiling prices are] is there any way of finding out what the stores are supposed to charge? How? Asked of a sample of women marketers who bought without knowing the ceiling prices. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Lists or charts in store | 16% |
| From OPA | 10 |
| Newspapers | 7 |
| Get information from storekeepers | 3 |
| Tags on articles or on shelves | 1 |
| Radio | * |
| Get information from friends | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 7 |
| Know ceiling prices before buying | 45 |
| Not questioned because unfamiliar with ceiling prices | 15 |
| | 105%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**51.** (US Dec 10 '43) Have you ever reported a dealer for charging more than ceiling prices? Asked of women marketers. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 2% |
| No | 83 |
| Not questioned because of unfamiliarity with ceiling prices | 15 |

**52.** (US Dec 10 '43) Do you think you would report a dealer that you knew was charging more than ceiling prices? Asked of 83% of a sample of women marketers who had never reported a dealer for charging more than ceiling prices. 26% of the sample said they thought they wouldn't report the dealer. This group was asked: Why not? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Have already reported dealer | 2% |
| Would report a dealer who was overcharging | 45 |
| Don't know whether or not would report the dealer | 12 |
| Not questioned because of unfamiliarity with ceiling prices | 15 |
| Wouldn't report dealer because: | |
| No dishonesty involved | 2 |
| General distaste for "squealing" | 5 |
| Distaste for "squealing" with fear of reprisal | 4 |
| Respondent says it isn't his business | 4 |
| General statement "Let the other guy do it" | 1 |
| Respondent hasn't time to do it | 1 |
| Respondent ignorant of reporting procedure | 1 |
| Miscellaneous reasons for not wanting to do it himself | * |
| Wouldn't buy there any more | 4 |
| No use reporting violations, it does no good | 1 |
| Would talk with dealer about it (no implication of eventually reporting him) | 1 |
| Would talk with dealer first—if that doesn't help, would report him | * |
| Miscellaneous answers | 1 |
| Don't know why wouldn't report him | 3 |
| | 102%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**53.** (US Dec 10 '43) If a storekeeper charges more than ceiling prices, do you think he should be punished in any way? 71% of the sample who thought he should be punished were asked: In what way? Only women marketers were questioned. (June 2 '44) If a storekeeper deliberately charges more than ceiling prices, do you think something should be done about it? 82% of a sample of women marketers who thought something should be done about it were asked: What? (NORC)

| | *Dec '43* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Should not be punished; nothing should be done | 5% | 2% |
| Don't know whether or not should be punished | 9 | 5 |
| Not questioned because unfamiliar with ceiling prices | 15 | 11 |
| He should be fined | 21 | 11 |
| Close up the shop; put him out of business | 14 | 9 |
| More drastic punishment suggested for more serious offenses or repeated offenders | 5 | 7 |
| Leave punishment up to courts | 7 | 38 |
| Mild punishment; reprimanded; talked to; scared a bit | 4 | 3 |
| Some popular measure | 2 | 3 |
| Arrested or jailed | 2 | 2 |
| Restrict sales in one way or another | 3 | 1 |
| Miscellaneous suggestions | 1 | * |
| Don't know what should be done | 12 | 8 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**54.** (US Dec 10 '43) How about the stores where you shop? Would you say they sometimes charge more than ceiling prices or do they always observe them? Asked of women marketers. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sometimes charge more | 9% |
| Always observe prices | 65 |
| Don't know | 11 |
| Not questioned because unfamiliar with ceiling prices | 15 |

**55.** (US Dec 10 '43 and June 2 '44) Are there ceiling prices on everything or just on certain things? 49% of the Dec '43 sample and 43% of the June '44 sample who thought there were ceiling prices only on certain things were asked: Here's a list of items. Would you tell me on which of them you think there are ceiling prices? Only women marketers were questioned. (NORC)

| | *Dec '43* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Ceiling prices on everything | 27%** | 32%** |
| Don't know whether or not there are ceiling prices on everything | 9 | 14 |
| Not questioned because of unfamiliarity with ceiling prices | 15 | 11 |
| Ceiling prices on: | | |
| Lamb | 39 | 30 |
| Women's dresses | 14 | 19 |
| Pots and pans | 7 | 9 |
| Watches; watch repairs | 9 | 4 |
| Haircuts | 10 | 13 |
| Sugar | 36 | 35 |
| Canned peaches | 37 | 33 |
| Pork | 44 | 33 |
| Beef | 45 | — |
| Chicken | 24 | — |
| Fur coats | 9 | — |
| Shoes | 19 | — |
| Used cars | 13 | — |
| Coffee | 27 | — |
| Butter | 40 | — |
| Oranges | 18 | — |
| Soap | 19 | — |
| Men's suits | 10 | — |
| On none of the above | * | * |
| Don't know which items have ceiling prices | 15 | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Since the women marketers were asked to name all the items they thought were controlled by ceiling prices, percentages add to considerably more than 100.

**56.** (US Dec 10 '43) In general, do you think you're better off or worse off under a system of ceiling prices? 70% of the sample who thought they were better off were asked: In what way? Only women marketers were questioned. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not questioned because of unfamiliarity with ceiling prices | 15% |
| About the same under ceiling prices | 6 |
| Worse off under ceiling prices | 4 |
| Don't know whether better or worse | 5 |
| Reason for being better off: | |
| Answers in terms of preventing high prices, profiteering, overcharging | 45 |
| Answers in terms of equalizing distribution | 8 |
| Answers in terms of preventing inflation | 7 |
| Answers in terms of keeping prices uniform | 3 |
| Answers in terms of getting more | 3 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 2 |
| Don't know why | 2 |

**57.** (US Dec 10 '43) How about after the war? Do you think we should keep on with price control, or should we do away with it then? 53% of the sample who thought we should keep price control after the war were asked: Do you think it ought to be continued for just a few months after the war or for quite a while? 17% of the sample who thought we should do away with price control after the war were asked: Why? Only women marketers were questioned. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know whether or not should continue price control after the war | 15% |
| Not questioned because of unfamiliarity with ceiling prices | 15 |
| Should be continued for a few months after the war | 10 |
| Should be continued quite a while after the war | 39 |
| Don't know how long it should be continued after the war | 4 |
| Should be discontinued because: | |
| Desire to return to normal prewar times | 5 |
| Desire to return to free enterprise | 4 |
| Economic reasons; supply and demand | 4 |
| Criticism of system | 3 |
| Miscellaneous reasons | 1 |
| Don't know why | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**58.** (US Dec 10 '43 and June 2 '44) From what you know, are storekeepers getting a fair deal from the OPA? 6% of the 1943 sample and 4% of the 1944 sample who thought storekeepers were not getting a fair deal were asked: In what way aren't they? Only women marketers were questioned. (NORC)

| | *Dec '43* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Storekeepers getting fair deal from OPA | 60% | 53% |
| Don't know whether or not they are getting fair deal | 34 | 43 |
| Not getting fair deal because: | | |
| Difficulty of getting merchandise; stocks low | 2 | * |
| Criticism of administration of OPA | 1 | 1 |
| Ceiling prices too low; expenses have risen | 1 | 1 |
| Too much red tape | 1 | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | * |
| Don't know how | 1 | 1 |
| | 101%** | |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**59.** (US Jan 15 '44) Have you found out after buying anything in the last few weeks that you paid more than ceiling price for it? (NORC)

Yes 11% No 89% No answer*

* Less than 0.5%.

**60.** (US Apr 12 '44) Do you think prices on most products should be allowed to go up, or should prices be held where they are now? (AIPO)

Go up 4% Held 91% Undecided 5%

**61.** (Sweden June '44) What do you think should happen to price control if and when, after the war, we return to normal conditions? Should it be continued, eased, or abolished altogether? (SGI)

| | *Continued* | *Eased* | *Abolished* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46% | 15% | 25% | 14% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 39% | 12% | 37% | 12% |
| Middle class | 43 | 15 | 28 | 14 |
| Workers | 48 | 15 | 22 | 15 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Country | 44% | 17% | 26% | 13% |
| Towns | 44 | 17 | 26 | 13 |
| Large towns | 68 | 11 | 10 | 11 |

**62.** (Sweden June '44) Do you think that farmers should continue to receive subsidies through import regulations and regulation of prices of agricultural products? (SGI)

| | *As before the war* | *More than before the war* | *Less than before the war* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 25% | 6% | 27% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 44% | 26% | 6% | 24% |
| Middle class | 42 | 28 | 5 | 25 |
| Workers | 42 | 22 | 7 | 29 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Country | 41% | 31% | 5% | 23% |
| Towns | 47 | 15 | 8 | 30 |
| Large towns | 41 | 14 | 6 | 39 |

**63.** (US June 2 '44) Have you ever seen this [OPA] list (either of these lists) of ceiling prices? 58% of the sample who had seen the list were asked: Do you have a copy of it? Only women marketers were questioned. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not questioned because of unfamiliarity with ceiling prices | 11% |
| No list shown respondent | 3 |
| Hadn't seen list | 27 |
| Didn't say whether or not had seen list | 1 |
| Had copy of list | 8 |
| Had seen list but had no copy | 49 |
| Didn't say whether or not had copy | 1 |

**64.** (US June 2 '44) What use have you made of it [OPA list]? Asked of women marketers. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Check prices | 4% |
| No use made of it | 2 |
| Used it, then stopped | 1 |
| List acquired too recently to make use of it | 1 |
| Miscellaneous or don't know | * |
| | 8% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**65.** (US June 2 '44) Are there any things about ceiling prices you feel you'd like to know more about? What? Asked of women marketers. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not questioned because of unfamiliarity with ceiling prices | 11% |
| Would like to know more about: | |
| Nothing (everything clear) | 47 |
| Nothing (uninterested) | 10 |
| Yes: | |
| Ceiling prices of things | 8 |
| Why variations in prices | 6 |
| Why ceiling prices are so high | 5 |
| Things in general | 3 |
| The way ceiling prices are derived | 3 |
| Where to get a price list | 2 |
| Why enforcement is lax | 1 |
| How long ceiling prices will continue | * |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Don't know | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**66.** (US June 2 '44) Have you ever thought you were being charged more than ceiling prices on anything? 32% of the sample who thought they were being overcharged were asked: On what sort of things? Only women marketers were questioned. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not questioned because unfamiliar with ceiling prices | 11% |
| Never overcharged | 56 |
| Didn't say whether or not overcharged | 1 |
| Overcharged on: | |
| Groceries | 16 |
| Meats | 10 |
| Clothing | 5 |
| Dry goods | 2 |
| Shoes | 1 |
| Children's clothing | 1 |
| Restaurant items | 1 |
| Poultry | 1 |
| Liquor | * |
| Gasoline | * |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Don't know what | 1 |
| | 109%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**67.** (US June 2 '44) Did you mention it [being charged more than ceiling prices] to the dealer? Asked of 32% of the sample of women marketers who thought they were being overcharged. 18% of those questioned said they hadn't mentioned it. This group was asked further: Why not? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Mentioned it to dealer | 14% |
| Didn't say whether or not mentioned it | * |
| Didn't mention it because: | |
| Desire to have commodity | 3 |
| Complaints are ineffectual | 3 |
| Didn't bother; no time | 3 |
| Wasn't sure of overcharge | 2 |
| Dislike of scenes | 2 |
| Just doesn't buy | 2 |
| Fear of reprisals | 1 |
| Miscellaneous reasons | * |
| Didn't know why | 2 |
| | 32% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**68.** (US June 2 '44) Have you ever reported a dealer for charging more than ceiling prices? Asked of 32% of a sample of

women marketers who thought they were being overcharged. 2% of the women questioned who said they had reported a dealer were asked further: What happened? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Never reported a dealer | 30% |
| Reported dealer with unsatisfactory results | 1 |
| Other answers or don't know what happened | 1 |
| | 32% |

**69.** (US June 2 '44) Do you think you would report a dealer that you knew was charging more than ceiling prices? Asked of 56% of a sample of women marketers who thought they were never charged more than the ceiling prices. (NORC)

Yes 32% No 13% Don't know 11% = 56%

**70.** (US June 2 '44) How does a person go about reporting a price violation? Asked of women marketers. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Inform OPA (no specific knowledge of further procedures) | 61% |
| Inform OPA (some knowledge of specific procedure) | 3 |
| Inform some agency other than OPA | 3 |
| Don't know | 22 |
| Not questioned because unfamiliar with ceiling prices | 11 |

**71.** (US June 2 '44) Would you pay a few cents over the ceiling price if you could get a scarce item you wanted by doing so? Asked of women marketers. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 30% |
| No | 51 |
| Don't know | 8 |
| Not questioned because unfamiliar with ceiling prices | 11 |

**72.** (US June 2 '44) Have you ever heard of a price panel? Asked of a national cross-section of women marketers. 13% of the sample who had heard of a price panel were asked: What does it do? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Unfamiliar with price panel | 87% |
| Correct answers about what it does: | |
| Check retail prices | 2 |
| Handle consumer complaints | 1 |
| Help retailer with problems | 1 |
| Help consumer with problems | * |
| Incorrect answers: | |
| Sets ceiling | 3 |
| Miscellaneous misconceptions | 1 |
| Don't know what it does | 5 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**73.** (US June 2 '44) Well, some communities have local groups known as price panels which receive complaints on prices and help retailers with their price problems. Do you happen to know if one has been organized here? This question, asked of the 87% of a sample of women marketers unfamiliar with the price panel, produced an additional 1% of the sample to add to the 13% already familiar with the price panel. The 14% was asked: As far as you know, do the members get paid for their work? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know whether or not price panel in community | 71% |
| No price panel in community | 15 |
| Members get paid | 1 |
| Members don't get paid | 6 |
| Don't know whether or not members are paid | 7 |

**74.** (US June 2 '44) From what you hear, would you say your local OPA board is doing a good job or a poor job? Asked of a national cross-section of women marketers. (NORC) (Jan 23 '46) What kind of a job do you think the OPA has done? (AIPO)

| | *June '44* | *Jan '46* |
|---|---|---|
| Excellent job, very good | 65% | 40% |
| Fair, fairly good | 11 | 40 |
| Poor job | 5 | 13 |
| No opinion; don't know | 19 | 7 |

**75.** (US June 2 '44) During the last six months, have you had any occasion to go to your local OPA board except to get your books? 22% of a sample of women marketers who had had occasion to go were asked: What was it about? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| No occasion to go to OPA except for books | 77% |
| Didn't say whether or not had gone to OPA except for books | 1 |
| Went for allotment of gasoline | 8 |
| For allotment of shoes | 4 |
| For allotment of sugar | 3 |
| For allotment of fuel | 3 |
| For allotment of tires | 2 |
| For miscellaneous rationing problems | 3 |
| For rent-control problems | 1 |
| Other miscellaneous reasons | * |
| Don't know what went for | 1 |
| | 103%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**76.** (US June 2 '44) Did they [your local OPA board] handle your problem very well, only fairly well, or poorly? Asked of 22% of a sample of women marketers who had gone to their local OPA board for some reason other than ration books. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Very well | 14% |
| Only fairly well | 3 |
| Poorly | 4 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 22% |

**77.** (US June 2 '44) Have you ever done any kind of volunteer work for OPA in your community? 7% of a sample of women marketers who said they had done volunteer work were asked: What? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Never done any or didn't say | 93% |
| Helped at registration or issuance of ration books | 4 |
| Assisted in ration board office | 2 |
| Miscellaneous assistance | 1 |
| Don't know what kind of work | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**78.** (US June 23 '44) Do you generally find out what the ceiling prices are before you actually buy? 44% of the sample who checked on ceiling prices were asked: Do you pay more attention to ceiling prices now that canned goods and most meats aren't rationed, or do you pay less attention? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't check on ceiling prices | 56% |
| Pay more attention since reduction of rationing | 10 |
| About same amount of attention | 27 |
| Less attention | 5 |
| Don't know whether more or less attention | 2 |

**79.** (Australia Nov '44) Would you agree to the Commonwealth having power to control prices for five years after the war? (APOP)

Yes 56% No 34% Don't know 10%

**80.** (US May 2 '45) From what you have seen and experienced, would you say that our present price-control setup—that is,

price ceilings—is satisfactory as it is, needs some changes, or should be abolished? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Satisfactory | 34% |
| Need changes | 48 |
| Abolish | 11 |
| No opinion | 7 |

**81.** (US June 21 '45) Do you think the government should take off all price ceilings as soon as the war is over, or do you think they should be kept for a while? (NYHT)

| | *Take off* | *Kept for a while* | *Don't know and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 17.2% | 75.7% | 7.1% |
| Women | 11.5 | 78.1 | 10.4 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 10.0% | 86.3% | 3.7% |
| Upper middle | 11.2 | 83.4 | 5.4 |
| Lower middle | 12.3 | 82.0 | 5.7 |
| Poor | 20.1 | 61.8 | 18.1 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| Grade school | 20.1% | 63.7% | 16.2% |
| High school | 10.8 | 84.7 | 4.5 |
| College | 8.1 | 89.5 | 2.4 |

**82.** (US Aug '45) If the government should remove the present price-control measures right after the war is over, do you think prices would go up a lot, a little, or stay about the same? 49.3% of the sample thought they would go up a lot, 12.8% thought they would go up a little, 6.1% thought they would go up but didn't know whether a lot or a little. These three groups totaling 68.2% of the sample were asked: So far as the country as a whole is concerned, do you think it would be a bad thing or a good thing if prices went up? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Prices will stay same | 17.3% |
| Will go down (volunteered) | 6.3 |
| Don't know what prices will do | 8.2 |
| Higher prices will be a good thing for the country | 4.8 |
| Higher prices will be bad | 59.0 |
| Don't know whether higher prices will be good or bad | 4.4 |

**83.** (US Aug 8 '45 and Oct 3 '45) Do you approve or disapprove of removing all price ceilings now? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '45 | 16% | 74% | 10% |
| Oct '45 | 21 | 72 | 7 |
| Oct '45 union members only | 21% | 75% | 4% |

**84.** (Hungary Sept '45 and Mar '46) Can price fixing by decree be effective? (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Uncertain* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '45 | 50% | 49% | 1% |
| Mar '46 | 20 | 76 | 4 |

**85.** (US Nov '45) Can you tell me which one of the organizations on this card is headed by Chester Bowles, or don't you remember right now? WMC, WPB, OPA, WLB, State, Interior were listed on a card. (NORC)

Right 42% Wrong 9% Don't know 49%

The 42% of the sample who knew what organization Bowles headed and the 9% who didn't know were both asked: Is your impression of Chester Bowles favorable, unfavorable, or haven't you heard enough to say?

| | *Favorable* | *Unfavorable* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Informed | 27% | 7% | 8% = 42% |
| Uninformed | 4 | 1 | 4 = 9 |

**86.** (Canada Dec 15 '45) Do you think the government should remove all price ceilings now, just some, or none at all? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Remove all now | 9% |
| Remove some | 18 |
| Remove none | 63 |
| Undecided | 10 |

**87.** (US Jan 23 '46) The present price ceiling law ends in June. Do you think the price ceiling law should be continued, or should it end in June? (AIPO)

| | *Continued* | *End in June* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 73% | 21% | 6% |
| Republicans only | 68 | 28 | 4 |

**88.** (US Feb 27 '46) The letters U.S.A., for example, stand for United States of America. Will you tell me what words these letters stand for? Among others was listed OPA. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct—Office of Price Administration | 70% |
| Incorrect | 3 |
| Partly correct—control prices; rationing | 13 |
| No answer or don't know | 14 |

**89.** (US Mar '46) During the next year, do you think it will be necessary or unnecessary for the government to continue to control prices? 82% of the sample who thought price control was necessary were asked: About how long do you think price control laws should be kept on? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Price control unnecessary | 13% |
| Don't know whether or not control necessary | 5 |
| Should be kept on 4 months or less; to June 30 '46 | * |
| Kept 5 to 10 months; to Dec 31 '46 | 3 |
| Kept 11 to 16 months; to June 30 '47 | 28 |
| Kept 17 to 28 months; to June 30 '48 | 25 |
| Kept 29 months or more; beyond June 30 '48 | 17 |
| Kept permanently | 2 |
| Depends | 3 |
| Don't know how long | 4 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**90.** (US Apr 24 '46) For the next year would you like to have OPA price ceilings kept on or taken off the following: food; rent; clothing; autos, radios, and other manufactured goods? (Sept 11 '46) Do you think the present price ceilings should be kept on or taken off the following items: autos, radios, and other manufactured goods? (Oct 10 '46) Should the Congress to be elected this November keep or do away with price control on autos, radios, and other manufactured goods? (AIPO)

| | *Kept on* | *Taken off* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| APR '46 RESULTS | | | |
| Food | 75% | 21% | 4% |
| Rent | 78 | 17 | 5 |
| Clothing | 70 | 26 | 4 |
| Autos, radios, and other manufactured goods | 66 | 27 | 7 |
| OPINION ABOUT AUTOS, ETC. IN SEPT AND OCT | | | |
| Sept '46 | 45% | 46% | 9% |
| Oct '46 | 35 | 57 | 8 |

**91.** (US Apr 24 '46) What would you say are the chief arguments for (against) continuing the OPA? (AIPO)

FOR

| | |
|---|---|
| Keep prices under control; keep prices from going higher | 44% |
| Prevent inflation | 23 |
| Keeping prices down | 8 |
| Prevent black markets; prevent profiteering | 4 |
| Protect those with fixed incomes; cannot afford higher prices | 4 |
| Stabilizing prices; stabilizing our economy | 2 |
| Help lower income group, poor people | 2 |
| We need it; favor it | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| No answer | 10 |
| None | 12 |
| | 111%* |

AGAINST

| | |
|---|---|
| Black market flourishing too well under present system | 11% |
| Prices aren't high enough | 6 |
| Holding down production; scarcity of goods | 16 |
| Inconsistent; unfair; not enforced | 15 |
| Too much control; government control | 5 |
| Encourages dishonesty | 1 |
| Not preventing inflation | 1 |
| Business wants more profit | 2 |
| Prices have gone higher; lack of competition delays reconversion; supply and demand will take care of it. | 8 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| No answer | 18 |
| None | 22 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**92.** (US Apr 24 '46) Do you think OPA price ceilings make it impossible for some manufacturers to produce goods at a profit? (AIPO)

Yes 51% No 35% No opinion 14%

**93.** (US Apr 24 '46) A year from now, which way do you think prices would be lower—if OPA is done away with now, or if it is kept on? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Done away with | 21% |
| Kept on | 68 |
| No opinion | 11 |

**94.** (US Apr 24 '46) Should OPA price ceilings make it impossible for some manufacturers to produce goods at a profit? (AIPO)

Yes 84% No 9% No opinion 7%

**95.** (US Apr 24 '46) Some people say that more goods will be produced if OPA price ceilings are done away with than are being produced today because ceilings make it unprofitable to produce some goods. Do you agree or disagree with this? (AIPO)

Agree 55% Disagree 33% No opinion 12%

**96.** (US June '46) Here are a few different groups in this country which might possibly be affected by the removal of ceiling-price controls. If all OPA price ceilings were taken off now, do you think that retail merchants (labor, large manufacturers, the general public, farmers) would gain or lose, or that it wouldn't make much difference? (FOR)

| | *Gain* | *Lose* | *No difference* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| The general public | 16.1% | 61.8% | 9.4% | 12.7% |
| Large manufacturers | 62.1 | 9.4 | 11.8 | 16.7 |
| Retail merchants | 52.4 | 13.1 | 20.8 | 13.7 |
| Farmers | 32.2 | 35.9 | 12.1 | 19.8 |
| Labor | 20.1 | 44.2 | 17.7 | 18.0 |

**97.** (US June '46) Which of these do you believe is the best way to keep prices within reason this next year—to control prices by government regulation; to have no regulation and let competition take care of prices? (FOR)

| | *Price control* | *Competition* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 67.2% | 23.8% | 9.0% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 63.5% | 29.5% | 7.0% |
| Women | 70.7 | 18.5 | 10.8 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republican | 58.3% | 34.6% | 7.1% |
| Democratic | 75.9 | 16.9 | 7.2 |

**98.** (US June 26 '46) What is your opinion of the action that Congress has taken on the OPA? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should have kept OPA | 13% |
| Strongly disapprove; terrible; Congress is wrong | 36 |
| Inadequate; should have been stronger | 3 |
| Should have acted sooner | 2 |
| Influenced by lobbyists, politics, NAM | 2 |
| Have not removed enough controls | * |
| Approve | 24 |
| Try it as experiment; experiment without OPA | * |
| OPA should be done away with completely | 4 |
| Haven't done anything yet | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| No answer; don't know | 15 |
| | 101%* |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**99.** (US July 24 '46) Please tell me which one of these statements comes closest to the way you feel about price control and the OPA? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| The former OPA was all right | 43% |
| The new OPA bill is an improvement | 9 |
| Do away with all price controls except rents | 20 |
| Do away with the OPA entirely | 23 |
| No opinion | 5 |

**100.** (US July 24 '46) Have you heard or read about what is in the new OPA bill? (AIPO)

Yes 56% No 41% No answer 3%

**101.** (Australia Aug '46) Do you favor or oppose removing the controls from prices now? (APOP)

Favor 21% Oppose 71% Undecided 8%

**102.** (Netherlands Aug '46) There now are goods again of which there is an ample supply. Do you think the government should continue to fix the prices for these goods, or do you think the government should abandon price control on these goods? 45% of the sample who thought price controls should be kept were asked: Why keep price controls for plentiful articles? 41% of the sample who thought price control should be abandoned were asked: Why free prices for plentiful goods? (NIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know whether or not government should continue price control | 14% |
| Should keep price control because: | |
| Otherwise prices become too high | 22 |
| In order to maintain control | 7 |
| Against black market | 5 |
| Goods become cheaper | 3 |
| Protest small tradesman | 2 |
| Miscellaneous reasons for keeping control | 4 |
| No reason given | 2 |
| Free prices because: | |
| No government interference; free trade; healthy commerce; back-to-normal business | 16 |
| Competitors must regulate prices | 8 |
| Things become cheaper that way | 6 |
| Competition will bring more goods | 2 |
| Miscellaneous reasons for freeing prices | 5 |
| No reason given | 4 |

**103.** (Germany Aug 9 '46) We should like to know if you have any criticisms about the following items, for often criticism is worth more than praise. Are you satisfied, not quite satisfied, or not satisfied at all with the measures taken for price control? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Satisfied | 41% |
| Not quite satisfied | 27 |
| Not at all satisfied | 21 |
| No opinion | 11 |

**104.** (US Sept '46) If you had your say about it, would there be more control over prices generally than there is now, or would there be less control? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 38% |
| About same | 4 |
| Less | 52 |
| Don't know | 6 |

## PRICES

**1.** (US June 7 '37 and Sept 16 '37) Do you think stock prices will go higher or lower in the next six months? (Jan 24 '38 and Sept 11 '46) Do you think prices for stocks will be higher or lower six months from now? (AIPO)

| | *Higher* | *Lower* | | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| June '37 | 75% | 25% | = 100% | 47% | |
| Sept '37 | 68 | 32 | = 100 | 47 | |
| Jan '38 | 40 | 15 | | 45 | = 100% |
| Sept '46 | 25 | 23 | | 52 | = 100 |
| Sept '37: | | | | | |
| Investors only | 70% | 30% | | | |

SEPT '37 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Democratic | 78% | 22% |
| Republican | 61 | 39 |

**2.** (US July '37) Who, in your opinion, is making the most money from the increased commodity prices? (FOR)

| | *Capital* | *Tax collector* | *Farmer* | *Labor* | *Others* | *Everybody* | *Nobody* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| National total | 41.0 | 20.1 | 4.9 | 3.9 | 2.6 | 7.8 | 2.8 | 16.9 | = 100 |

BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

| | *Capital* | *Tax collector* | *Farmer* | *Labor* | *Others* | *Everybody* | *Nobody* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Proprietors | 38.6 | 22.8 | 6.0 | 3.3 | 3.8 | 9.9 | 2.7 | 12.9 | = 100 |
| Factory labor | 55.3 | 11.2 | 2.0 | 3.6 | 2.0 | 9.2 | 1.5 | 15.2 | |
| Farm labor | 24.7 | 20.6 | 5.7 | 4.6 | 2.6 | 14.4 | 4.7 | 22.7 | |

BY OPINIONS ON THE THIRD TERM

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| For third term | 44.8 | 39.4 | 27.6 | 34.5 | 28.8 | 45.8 | 29.0 | 45.6 |
| Against third term | 51.3 | 56.1 | 57.7 | 62.1 | 69.1 | 47.8 | 64.1 | 39.6 |
| Don't know | 3.9 | 4.5 | 14.7 | 3.4 | 2.1 | 6.4 | 6.9 | 14.8 |

**3.** (US Oct 18 '37) Do you believe the fall of the stock-market prices means that a new depression is coming? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 26% | 74% | = 100% | 35% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Above average income | 21% | 79% | | |
| Average income | 22 | 78 | | |
| Below average income | 27 | 73 | | |
| Poor | 30 | 70 | | |
| On relief | 40 | 60 | | |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Republican | 32% | 68% | | |
| Democratic | 24 | 76 | | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England | 22% | 78% | | |
| Middle Atlantic | 32 | 68 | | |
| East central | 25 | 75 | | |
| West central | 20 | 80 | | |
| South | 30 | 70 | | |
| Rocky Mountain | 25 | 75 | | |
| Pacific coast | 22 | 78 | | |

**4.** (US Mar 23 '38, Mar 30 '38, Apr 6 '38) Do you think the price of articles you buy will be higher or lower three months from now? Both the Mar 30 and Apr 6 samples asked "of most of the articles you buy" instead of just "of articles you buy." (AIPO)

| | *Higher* | *Lower* | *About the same* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mar 23 '38 | 36% | 24% | 23% | 17% |
| Mar 30 '38 | 31 | 26 | 31 | 12 |
| Apr '38 | 44 | 32 | 4 | 20 |

**5.** (US Dec '40) If prices in those industries that had the worst unemployment during the depression had been generally reduced substantially lower than they were, do you believe the lower prices would have developed a substantial volume of additional business that would have made it unnecessary to lay off so many workers? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *Perhaps* | *No* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27.2% | 35.4% | 37.4% |
| BY TYPE OF BUSINESS | | | |
| Manufacturing and industry | 26.6% | 33.6% | 39.8% |
| Finance and investment | 27.4 | 40.6 | 32.0 |
| Utilities and railroads | 22.1 | 42.1 | 35.8 |
| Commerce and retail trade | 31.5 | 37.1 | 31.4 |

**6.** (US Dec '40) Do you believe this additional volume would have made up business for the smaller unit profit, leaving the total profit or loss about the same? Asked of 27.2% of a sample of business executives who believed that lower prices would have increased business and reduced unemployment. (FOR)

| | *More profit* | *About same* | *Less profit* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 20.5% | 45.7% | 29.5% | 4.3% | = 100.0% of those questioned |
| BY TYPE OF BUSINESS | | | | | |
| Finance and investment executives.. | 23.0% | 46.8% | 24.5% | 5.7% | |
| Utilities and railroads executives.. | 12.0 | 34.0 | 44.0 | 10.0 | |

**7.** (US Nov 13 '41) Do you think prices on most products you buy will be higher, lower, or about the same six months from now? (May 21 '42) Do you expect prices of the things you buy will be higher six months from now than they are today? (July 14 '42 and Nov 13 '46) Do you think prices in general will be higher, lower, or about the same six months from now? (June 26 '46) Do you think prices will go up in the next six months? (AIPO)

| | *Yes, higher* | *No, lower* | *Same* | *Undecided; no opinion; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '41..... | 83% | 1% | 10% | 6% |
| May '42..... | 43 | 49 | — | 8 |
| July '42..... | 56 | 2 | 35 | 7 |
| June '46..... | 92 | 5 | — | 3 |
| Nov '46..... | 31 | 38 | 26 | 5 |
| NOV '46 RESULTS BY SEX | | | | |
| Men..... | 32% | 40% | 24% | 4% |
| Women..... | 30 | 35 | 27 | 8 |
| NOV '46 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| White-collar..... | 32% | 42% | 22% | 4% |
| Farmers..... | 27 | 38 | 30 | 5 |
| Professional and business..... | 33 | 41 | 22 | 4 |
| Manual workers..... | 31 | 35 | 27 | 7 |
| NOV '46 RESULTS BY EDUCATION | | | | |
| College..... | 36% | 39% | 21% | 4% |
| High school..... | 31 | 40 | 26 | 3 |
| Grammar school or less | 30 | 37 | 26 | 7 |

83% of the 1941 sample who said they thought prices would be higher in six months were asked: About how much higher? (AIPO)

Median..... 10%

**8.** (US Nov 13 '41) Have you laid in any goods or products in order to protect yourself against higher prices later on? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 16% | 84% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper income..... | 20% | 80% |
| Middle income..... | 22 | 78 |
| Lower income..... | 14 | 86 |

The 16% of the sample who said they had laid in some things were asked: What things have you bought?

| | |
|---|---|
| Canned foods; staples such as sugar, etc. (includes food canned at home)..... | 11% |
| Clothing..... | 3 |
| Home furnishings (furniture, radio, refrigerators, etc.).. | 1% |
| Fuel for the winter..... | 1 |
| Automobile..... | 1 |
| Soap..... | 1 |
| Textiles; blankets..... | 1 |
| Miscellaneous items..... | 2 |
| No answer..... | 1 |
| | 22%* |

* Percentages add to more than 16 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (US Dec '41) After the present war is over, do you think that people will have to pay higher prices for things, about the same for things, or less for things than before it started? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Higher prices..... | 43.2% |
| About the same..... | 20.4 |
| Less..... | 29.6 |
| Don't know..... | 6.8 |

**10.** (US Jan 23 '42) Have you bought anything else [except sugar or canned goods] of any kind to protect yourself against higher prices or shortages later on? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Clothing (excluding rubber goods), etc..... | 3% |
| Rubber goods: tires, girdles, etc..... | 2 |
| Foods: flour, tea, coffee, etc..... | 1 |
| Household goods: sheets, towels..... | 1 |
| Metal articles: razor blades, bobby pins, etc..... | 1 |
| Leather goods, principally shoes..... | 1 |
| Electrical goods: radios, refrigerators, etc..... | 1 |
| Miscellaneous items..... | 2 |
| Nothing except sugar or canned goods..... | 80 |
| Didn't say..... | 10 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**11.** (US Jan 28 '42) Since we got into the war in December, have you found that prices on most things around here have gone up, stayed about the same, or gone down? 91% of the sample who found that prices had gone up were asked: Gone up quite a bit or only a little? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Prices have stayed same..... | 8% |
| Don't know what prices have done..... | 1 |
| Gone up quite a bit..... | 57 |
| Gone up only a little..... | 33 |
| Gone up, but don't know how much..... | 1 |

**12.** (US Jan 28 '42 and Aug 13 '42) Do you expect that in the next year prices on most things around here will go up, stay about the same, or go down? (Sept 19 '45) Do you think prices in general will be higher, lower, or about the same a year from now? (NORC)

| | *Go up* | *Stay same* | *Go down* | *Depends* | *No opinion; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '42..... | 70% | 16% | 1% | 8% | 5% |
| Aug '42..... | 55 | 37 | 1 | 4 | 3 |
| Sept '45..... | 28 | 38 | 27 | — | 7 |

70% of the Jan '42 sample and 55% of the Aug '42 sample who thought prices would go up were asked: Quite a bit or only a little?

| | *Quite a bit* | *Only a little* | *Depends* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '42..... | 40% | 22% | 5% | 3% | = 70% |
| Aug '42..... | 29 | 20 | 5 | 1 | = 55 |

**13.** (US Feb '42) Do you think that rising prices are a good thing or a bad thing for the United States at this time? (NORC)

Good 18% Bad 58% Depends 16% Don't know 8%

**14.** (US Sept 24 '42) Do you think there should be any limit on how high business profits should go during the war? (NORC)

Yes 85% No 6% Don't know 9%

If there is (is not) a limit on business profits, will this affect prices in general, or won't it make any difference to prices? Asked of the 91% of the sample who expressed an opinion on whether or not business profits should be limited.

| | *Affect prices* | *No difference* | *Not ascertainable* | *No answer* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 50% | 28% | 12% | 1% | = 91% |
| BY OPINIONS ON LIMITING PROFITS | | | | | |
| In favor of limitation | 57% | 30% | 13% | | = 100% |
| Don't limit | 31 | 51 | 18 | | = 100 |

50% of the sample who thought limiting business profits in wartime would affect prices were asked: Will it make them go up or down?

| | *Go up* | *Go down* | *Stay same* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 5% | 16% | 24% | 5% | = 50% |
| BY OPINIONS ON LIMITING PROFITS | | | | | |
| In favor of limitation | 5% | 18% | 28% | 6% | = 57% |
| Don't limit | 23 | 2 | 3 | 3 | = 31 |

The 5% of the sample who thought limiting profits would raise prices and the 23% who thought unlimited profits would raise prices were asked: How will this make prices go up? The 18% who thought limiting profits would lower prices and the 28% who thought limitation would stabilize prices were asked: How will this make prices go down or stay the same?

*Limiting profits will raise prices*

| | |
|---|---|
| Decreased volume of sales would necessitate raising prices to make any profit | 24% |
| Limit of profits will be too high | 11 |
| High levels on other things will raise prices even if profits are limited | 10 |
| Limitation of profits will limit production | 5 |
| Dealers will hold merchandise waiting for higher prices | 3 |
| Prices will be higher because bargains will disappear | 1 |
| Miscellaneous answers showing no confusion | 4 |
| General statements that greater profits result in higher prices | 9 |
| Miscellaneous confused replies | 6 |
| Not ascertainable | 29 |
| | 102%** |

*Limiting profits will lower or stabilize prices*

| | *Go down* | *Stay the same* |
|---|---|---|
| General statements that limitation of profits limits prices | 55% | 53% |
| Government will fix prices | 3 | 7 |
| Government would set profits lower than now | 5 | — |
| Decreased purchasing power | 15 | 14 |
| Reduce wages paid out | — | 3 |
| Prevent concentration of wealth | 2 | 2 |
| Reduction of cost of war materials and government expense | * | * |
| Manufacturers would increase production to increase earnings | 2% | — |
| Other statements of indirect connection | 1 | 2% |
| Profit limitations will be accompanied by other limitations | 3 | 7 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 15 | 13 |
| | 103%** | 103%** |

*Not limiting profits will raise prices*

| | |
|---|---|
| General statements that no limitation on profits raises prices | 38% |
| There will be more money in circulation | 21 |
| Business will be allowed free play | 4 |
| Wages will go up | 6 |
| If nothing is limited, prices would have to go up | 6 |
| Miscellaneous answers showing no confusion | 3 |
| Slowing down business creates higher prices | 7 |
| Miscellaneous confused replies | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 14 |

* Less than 0.5%.

** All percentages are based on the number of respondents questioned and add to more than 100 in some cases because some gave more than one answer.

**15.** (US Sept 24 '42) Do you think people's taxes next year should be higher than they were this year? (NORC)

Higher 44% No, not higher 44% Don't know 12%

If their taxes are (are not) higher, will this affect prices in general, or won't it make any difference to prices?

| | *Affect prices* | *No difference* | *Not ascertainable* | *Not questioned* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24% | 48% | 16% | 12% |
| BY OPINIONS ON TAX RATE | | | | |
| Taxes should go higher | 41% | 47% | 12% | |
| Taxes should not go higher | 14 | 62 | 24 | |

24% of the sample who thought the tax question would affect prices were asked: Will it make them go up or down?

| | *Go up* | *Go down* | *Stay the same* | *Not ascertainable* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 11% | 6% | 5% | 2% | = 24% |
| BY OPINIONS ON TAX RATE | | | | | |
| Taxes should go higher | 19% | 12% | 7% | 3% | = 41% |
| Taxes should not go higher | 6 | 3 | 4 | 1 | = 14 |

The 19% of the sample who thought higher taxes would make prices go up and the 6% who thought lower taxes would make prices go up were asked: How will this make prices go up? The 12% who thought higher taxes would reduce prices and the 7% who thought higher taxes would keep prices the same—totaling 19%—were asked: How will this make prices go down or stay the same?

*Higher taxes will raise prices*

| | |
|---|---|
| Taxes will be added to prices | 60% |
| Prices go up as taxes go up | 18 |
| Decreased buying power | 3 |
| Increased taxes necessitate higher wages and thus higher prices | 3 |

| | |
|---|---|
| More money in circulation | 1% |
| Government will have to get money from somewhere | 2 |
| Increased buying power goes with lower taxes | 1 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 12 |
| | 101%** |

*Lower taxes will raise prices*

| | |
|---|---|
| Government will have to get money from somewhere | 21% |
| Increased buying power | 20 |
| Taxes are added to prices | 23 |
| Taxes follow prices | 11 |
| Increased taxes cause higher wages and hence greater buying power | 4 |
| Decreased buying power | 2 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 18 |

*Higher taxes will reduce or stabilize prices*

| | *Go down* | *Stay same* |
|---|---|---|
| Decreased demand | 90% | 77% |
| As taxes go, so go prices | 1 | 3 |
| Taxes are added to prices | 1 | 2 |
| Government regulation will control all fields | 3 | 4 |
| Increased taxes necessitate increased wages and hence raise prices | — | 2 |
| Increased demand | * | — |
| Miscellaneous answers | 1 | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 5 | 12 |
| | 101%** | 102%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** All percentages are based on the number of respondents questioned and add to more than 100 in some cases because some gave more than one answer.

**16.** (US Sept 24 '42) Do you think we ought to start right now to ration all materials in which shortages may develop, or do you think we ought to wait until there really is a shortage? (NORC)

Ration right now 72% Wait for shortage 21%
Don't know 7%

If we start more rationing right now (if we wait until there really are shortages), will this affect prices in general, or won't it make any difference to prices?

| | *Affect prices* | *No difference* | *Not ascertainable* | *Not asked question* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 29% | 51% | 13% | 7% |
| BY OPINIONS ON RATIONING | | | | |
| Yes, ration now | 33% | 55% | 12% | |
| No, wait for shortage | 26 | 55 | 19 | |

29% of the sample who thought rationing would affect prices were asked: Will it make them go up or down?

| | *Go up* | *Go down* | *Stay same* | *Not ascertainable* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 13% | 4% | 10% | 2% = 29% |
| BY OPINIONS ON RATIONING | | | | |
| Yes, ration now | 12% | 6% | 13% | 2% = 33% |
| No, wait for shortages | 21 | 1 | 2 | 2 = 26 |

The 12% who thought immediate rationing would raise prices and the 21% who thought waiting would raise prices were asked: How will this make prices go up? The 19% comprising the groups who thought immediate rationing would lower or stabilize prices and the 3% who thought waiting would lower or stabilize prices were asked: How will this make prices go down or stay the same?

PRICES WILL GO UP

| | *Ration now* | *Wait for shortages* |
|---|---|---|
| No reason | 41% | 65% |
| Because merchants would have to compensate for loss of sales volume | 17 | 8 |
| Because people are willing to pay more | 15 | 12 |
| Unless ceilings are fixed | 10 | 3 |
| Because it occasions racketeering, bootlegging, etc. | 3 | 1 |
| Shortages in one thing tend to raise prices on others | 3 | ** |
| Miscellaneous ways that shortages will increase prices | 1 | 2 |
| Previous experience with rationing shows prices go up | 5 | 2 |
| Miscellaneous other ways | 1 | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 7 | 9 |
| | 103%* | 103%* |

PRICES WILL GO DOWN OR STAY SAME IF IMMEDIATE RATIONING

| | *Go down* | *Stay same* |
|---|---|---|
| Rationing now would prevent shortages and competitive buying | 79% | 57% |
| Rationing is always accompanied by a ceiling price | 12 | 26 |
| If other things were controlled, rationing would stabilize things | 2 | 4 |
| Miscellaneous pertinent answers | 1 | 1 |
| Nonpertinent answers | ** | ** |
| Not ascertainable | 8 | 12 |
| | 102%* | |

PRICES WILL GO DOWN OR STAY SAME IF WAIT FOR SHORTAGES

| | *Go down* | *Stay same* |
|---|---|---|
| Rationing now would prevent shortages and competitive buying | 32% | 37% |
| Rationing is always accompanied by a ceiling price | 6 | 10 |
| If other things were controlled, rationing would stabilize things | 6 | — |
| Miscellaneous pertinent answers | 25 | 17 |
| Nonpertinent answers | 6 | 7 |
| Not ascertainable | 25 | 30 |
| | | 101%* |

* All percentages are based on the number of respondents questioned and add to more than 100 in some cases because some gave more than one answer.

** Less than 0.5%.

**17.** (US Sept 24 '42) If everyone is required to buy bonds or stamps, would this affect prices in general, or wouldn't it make any difference to prices? 24% of the sample who thought prices would be affected were asked: Would it make prices go up or down? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Would make no difference in prices | 59% |
| Don't know whether or not would make a difference | 17 |
| Would make prices go up | 3 |
| Would make prices go down | 13 |
| Prices would stabilize or stay same | 6 |
| Don't know what effect would be | 2 |

The 3% who thought compulsory bond and stamp buying would make prices go up, the 13% who thought it would make them go down, and the 6% who thought it would make them stay the same were questioned further: How will this make prices go up? go down? stay same?

MAKE PRICES GO UP

| | |
|---|---|
| Producers have to raise prices to make more per unit with decreased sales volume | 16% |
| Producers will add cost of bonds to prices | 13 |
| Bond program will necessitate raising wages | 4 |
| People will cash bonds and buy | 1 |
| Program will affect credit | 1 |
| Less buying power | 50 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 3 |
| Not ascertainable | 18 |
| | 106%** |

MAKE PRICES GO DOWN

| | |
|---|---|
| Decreased buying power | 94% |
| Small volume of sales causes producers to raise prices | 3 |
| People will cash bonds and buy | * |
| Program will necessitate raising wages | * |
| Program will affect credit | * |
| Miscellaneous answers | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 3 |
| | 101%** |

MAKE PRICES STAY SAME

| | |
|---|---|
| Less purchasing power | 87% |
| People will cash bonds and buy | * |
| Small volume of sales causes producers to charge more per unit | 1 |
| Bond program will necessitate raising wages | * |
| Miscellaneous answers | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 11 |
| | 101%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** All percentages are based on the number of respondents questioned and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**18.** (US Dec 30 '42) Compared to six months ago, do you think prices on most things around here have gone up, stayed about the same, or gone down? 90% of the sample who said that prices had gone up in the preceding six months were asked: On what things have prices gone up? Of the 90% questioned, 82% said prices were higher on food. This group was asked: On what foods are prices higher? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Price stayed same | 9% |
| Don't know whether have gone up | 1 |
| Prices higher on meat | 30 |
| On dairy products | 23 |
| On canned goods | 19 |
| On fruits, vegetables | 12 |
| On staples | 5 |
| On coffee, tea, spices | 3 |
| On sugar | 2 |
| On bakery products | 1 |
| On frozen foods | * |
| On food in general | 41 |
| On miscellaneous other foods | 2 |
| On clothing | 29 |
| On other dry goods | 5 |
| On hardware | 4 |
| On feed and fertilizer | 4 |
| On services | 4 |
| On shoes | 3 |
| On luxuries | 3% |
| On livestock | 1 |
| On everything | 5 |
| On miscellaneous items | 5 |
| Didn't say on what | 1 |
| | 212%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**19.** (US May 22 '43) How about prices of manufactured goods? Are they about where they should be, too high, or too low? 42% of the sample who thought they were too high were asked: What do you think is mostly responsible for the fact that they are too high? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Prices about right | 42% |
| Too low | 1 |
| Don't know whether too high or not | 15 |
| Blame shortages (general) | 9 |
| Shortages of labor | 5 |
| Shortages because of war needs | 2 |
| High wages and demand | 4 |
| Both decreased supply and increased demand | 2 |
| Hoarding | 1 |
| Taking advantage (general) | 5 |
| Manufacturers taking advantage | 2 |
| Merchants and storekeepers taking advantage | 2 |
| Middlemen, jobbers, wholesalers, capitalists taking advantage | 1 |
| Black market | * |
| Miscellaneous groups taking advantage | 1 |
| Government (general) | 1 |
| Ceilings have not been put on uniformly or soon enough | 1 |
| Other criticism of OPA or ceiling | 1 |
| Rationing and other government restrictions | * |
| Labor costs | 5 |
| Other high costs | 2 |
| Other answers or didn't place blame | 5 |
| | 107%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**20.** (US May 22 '43, Sept 9 '43, Jan 7 '44) If everyone had to pay higher income taxes, would it have any effect on prices in general, or wouldn't it have any connection with prices? 44% of the May '43 sample, 45% of the Sept '43 sample, 42% of the Jan '44 sample who thought prices would be affected were asked: Would it make them go up, stay the same, or go down? (NORC)

| | *May '43* | *Sept '43* | *Jan '44* |
|---|---|---|---|
| No connection between taxes and prices | 35% | 36% | 36% |
| Don't know whether or not taxes affect prices | 21 | 19 | 22 |
| Higher income tax would make prices go up | 19 | 16 | 15 |
| Would make prices stay same or go down | 23 | 27 | 25 |
| Don't know what effect would have on prices | 2 | 2 | 2 |

**21.** (US Sept 9 '43) How about clothing prices? Would you say they're about where they should be, too high, or too low? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| About where should be | 38% |
| Too high | 53 |
| Too low | — |
| Don't know | 9 |

**22.** (US Sept 9 '43) And how about prices on house furnishings? Are they about where they should be, too high, or too low? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| About where should be | 22% |
| Too high | 36 |
| Too low | — |
| Don't know | 42 |

**23.** (US Sept 9 '43) How about clothing prices? Have they changed since the beginning of the summer? 41% of the sample who thought clothing prices had changed were asked: Have they gone up or down? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Haven't changed | 38% |
| Don't know whether or not have changed | 21 |
| Have gone up | 38 |
| Have gone down | * |
| Some up, some down | 2 |
| Changed, but don't know how | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**24.** (US Sept 9 '43) From what you have heard, have prices on house furnishings changed any since the beginning of the summer? 24% of the sample who said prices on house furnishings had changed were asked: Have they gone up or down? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Haven't changed | 27% |
| Don't know whether or not have changed | 49 |
| Have gone up | 22 |
| Have gone down | * |
| Some up, some down | 1 |
| Changed, but don't know how | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**25.** (US Sept 9 '43, Jan 7 '44, June 23 '44) Do you think that buying war bonds affects prices in general, or doesn't that have any connection with prices? 23% of the Sept '43 sample, 26% of the Jan '44 sample, and 25% of the June '44 sample who thought prices were affected were asked: Does it make them go up, stay the same, or go down? (NORC)

| | *Sept '43* | *Jan '44* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|---|
| No connection between bonds and prices | 68% | 62% | 66% |
| Don't know whether or not prices affected | 9 | 12 | 9 |
| Buying bonds makes prices go up | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| Makes prices stay same or go down | 20 | 23 | 21 |
| Don't know what effect bonds have on prices | 1 | 1 | 1 |

**26.** (US Jan 7 '44) What do you think has been mainly responsible for the price increases we have had since we got into the war? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Shortages of material and manufactured goods | 25% |
| Demand (with or without mention of shortages) | 19 |
| Profiteering and graft | 19 |
| Higher wages | 12 |
| Shortage of labor | 12 |
| Increased production costs | 8 |
| Government inefficiency | 7 |
| Pressure groups | 2 |
| Distribution and transportation difficulties | 2 |
| Increased taxes | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2% |
| Don't know | 12 |
| | 121%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**27.** (US Jan 7 '44) Just to sum up, here are some things the government is doing or asking people to do. Which of them do you think help to keep prices from rising? (June 23 '44) Just to sum up, which of these things do you think help keep prices from rising? (NORC)

JAN '44 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Growing victory gardens | 81%* |
| Paying subsidies to farmers | 43 |
| Paying higher taxes | 32 |
| Obeying rationing | 80 |
| Buying life insurance | 30 |
| Buying war bonds | 56 |
| Keeping wages from going too high | 72 |
| Not buying on the installment plan | 55 |
| Keeping business profits from going too high | 64 |
| Buying only what you need | 87 |
| Increased savings accounts | 56 |
| Not wasting things | 90 |
| Avoiding black markets | 86 |
| None | 1 |
| Don't know | 3 |

JUNE '44 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Buying life insurance | 24%* |
| Buying on the installment plan | 7 |
| Buying real estate | 19 |
| Keeping business profits from going too high | 55 |
| Buying only what you need | 88 |
| Increasing savings accounts | 61 |
| Not wasting things | 88 |
| Avoiding black market | 87 |
| None | 1 |
| Don't know | 4 |

* Since respondents were encouraged to name as many things as they could, percentages add to considerably more than 100.

**28.** (US June 23 '44) Do high wartime taxes have any effect on prices in general, or don't they have any connection with prices? 57% of the sample who thought prices were affected were asked: Do they make prices go up, stay the same, or go down? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| No connection between taxes and prices | 24% |
| Don't know whether or not taxes affect prices | 19 |
| Wartime taxes make prices go up | 45 |
| Wartime taxes make prices stay the same or go down | 11 |
| Don't know what effect wartime taxes have on prices | 1 |

**29.** (Germany Jan 14 '46, Feb 14 '46, May 8 '46, June 7 '46) Do you think that most prices will stay the same as they are at present, or that they will go up or down? (OMGUS)

| | *Go up* | *Go down* | *Stay same* | *Some up, some down* | *Depends* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '46 | 29% | 15% | 36% | — | — | 19% | 1% |
| Feb '46 | 56 | 7 | 24 | — | — | 12 | 1 |
| May '46 | 40 | 4 | 41 | — | — | 15 | * |
| June '46 | 50 | 9 | 22 | * | 2% | 17 | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

The 50% of the June sample who thought prices would go up, the 9% who thought they would go down, and the 22%

who thought they would stay the same were all asked: Why do you think so?

*Prices will go up because*

| | |
|---|---|
| Shortage of goods; very little available; raw material shortage; are forced to import, and imports are so expensive | 14% |
| Black market; goods being held back | 4 |
| Taxes; reparations are so high; shipping costs | 10 |
| The mark is unstable; until the currency standard is settled | 4 |
| Always inflation after a war; as long as there's money, prices will go up; if government loosens control | 17 |
| Without industry our money is worthless | * |
| Germany is an impoverished nation; crop will be poor this year | 1 |
| Because of lack of interzonal trade | * |
| Other | * |
| Can't say; don't know | 1 |
| People say so; you hear about it everywhere; rumor | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 53% |

*Prices will go down because*

| | |
|---|---|
| Not enough money; can't afford even daily necessities; people don't earn enough to pay present prices | 6% |
| If prices go any higher, will be unbearable | 1 |
| As soon as currency is regulated, standardized | 1 |
| Other | 1 |
| | 9% |

*Prices will stay the same because*

| | |
|---|---|
| Wages remain the same; in order to have inflation, people must earn more money; people earn the same or less, so prices can't go up; when there is no earning power, prices can't get higher, must go down | 7% |
| Prices must stay the same, otherwise there would be inflation | 3 |
| So that purchasing power will stay the same | 2 |
| Government and/or military government, United States will be able to maintain price control | 3 |
| Government and/or military government, United States will stabilize the currency; currency standard will be set | 1 |
| Goods getting more plentiful | * |
| Other | * |
| Can't say; don't know; hope so; want it that way | 1 |
| No answer | 5 |
| | 22% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**30.** (Germany Jan 14 '46, Feb 14 '46, June 7 '46) Do you think that the American military government and the German civil administration will be able to keep most prices at their present level? (OMGUS)

| | *Yes, emphatically* | *Yes* | *No, emphatically* | *No* | *Worried; don't know* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '46 | 40% | 31% | 3% | 4% | 14% | 8% | * |
| Feb '46 | 32 | 45 | 7 | 7 | — | 8 | 1% |
| June '46 | 28 | 26 | 6 | 7 | 21 | 12 | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**31.** (France Jan 16 '46, July 16 '46, Aug '46,* Sept '46*) Do you think prices will continue to rise, will go down, or will remain where they are? (FIPO)

| | *Rise* | *Stay same* | *Drop* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '46 | 66% | 15% | 8% | 11% |
| July '46 | 56 | 11 | 10 | 23 |
| Aug '46* | 64 | 17 | 11 | 8 |
| Sept '46* | 62 | 20 | 5 | 13 |
| JAN '46 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| White-collar | 71% | 15% | 6% | 8% |
| Business | 69 | 15 | 9 | 7 |
| Workers | 68 | 13 | 7 | 12 |
| Professional | 63 | 13 | 13 | 11 |
| Private income and pensions | 60 | 15 | 12 | 13 |
| Farmers | 60 | 16 | 6 | 18 |
| AUG '46* RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Communist | 61% | 11% | 19% | 9% |
| Socialist | 61 | 12 | 20 | 7 |
| Radical-Socialist | 63 | 15 | 16 | 6 |
| MRP | 62 | 12 | 18 | 8 |
| PRL | 74 | 9 | 13 | 4 |

* These are the dates the questions were asked, others are release dates.

**32.** (Sweden May '46) Which do you think is better from your point of view: that the producers fix the retail price for their branded goods, not to be exceeded or cut, or that retailers themselves decide the price? (SGI)

| | *Producers fix the price* | *Retailers fix the price* | *Cannot decide which is better* | *Do not understand these things* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 61% | 10% | 18% | 11% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 63% | 16% | 13% | 8% |
| Middle class | 61 | 13 | 17 | 9 |
| Workers | 60 | 8 | 19 | 13 |

**33.** (Germany June 7 '46) Do you think that the military government and the civil administration will actually do their best to hold prices at their present levels? (OMGUS)

Yes 82% No 4% Don't know 14%

**34.** (US June 26 '46) If prices do go up in the next six months, whose fault do you think this will be? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No one; rises are to be expected; usual trend of affairs | 7% |
| Congress and Senate | 20 |
| People; our own fault | 17 |
| OPA; laxness of OPA | 7 |
| Administration; Truman | 7 |
| Big business | 12 |
| Government officials | 9 |
| Labor organization; strikes | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | 8 |
| No answer | 14 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**35.** (US July 24 '46) Do you blame anyone for present high prices? 40% of the sample who said they did blame someone were asked: Whom do you blame? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Blame no one | 49% |
| Don't know whether or not anyone to blame | 11 |
| Didn't say who was to blame; rises are to be expected; usual trend of affairs | 2 |
| Blame Congress | 3 |
| Blame people; our own fault | 6 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Blame OPA; laxness of OPA | 4% |
| Blame Roosevelt administration and New Dealers | 2 |
| Blame administration; Truman | 3 |
| Blame big business; NAM | 6 |
| Blame government officials | 6 |
| Blame inflation caused by taking off OPA | * |
| Blame labor organizations; strikers | 4 |
| Blame miscellaneous other persons or things | 7 |
| | 103%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**36.** (US Sept '46) Which one of these groups do you think is most to blame for the rising prices—business, labor, or government? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Business | 19% |
| Labor | 22 |
| Government | 43 |
| Not specified and miscellaneous | 1 |
| Labor and business | 1 |
| Business and government | 1 |
| Labor and government | 1 |
| All three | 4 |
| Don't know | 8 |

**37.** (Canada Sept 9 '46 and Australia Dec '46) Are there any articles you want and could get, but which you refuse to buy just now because the price is too high? In Canada the follow-up question was: What are they? In Australia: Could you tell me what, in particular? (CIPO, APOP)

| | *Canada* | *Australia* |
|---|---|---|
| No article mentioned | 32% | 21% |
| Clothing | 20 | 22 |
| Cars | 18 | 12 |
| Furniture | 15 | 12 |
| Electrical appliances; refrigerator | 14 | 7 |
| Houses | 7 | 5 |
| Building products | 3 | 3 |
| Food | 5 | 3 |
| Luxury items (fur coats, jewelry, etc.) | 8 | — |
| Machinery | 6 | — |
| Household goods | — | 5 |
| Miscellaneous items | 8 | 10 |
| | 136%* | |

(Great Britain Sept 14 '46) Are there any articles you need and could get, but which you refuse to buy just now because the price is too high? What? (BIPO)

| | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| Clothes (general) | 15% | 13% |
| Children's clothes | — | 1 |
| Suit; costume; dress; overcoat | 4 | 3 |
| Underwear; corsets | — | 1 |
| Boots and shoes | 1 | 3 |
| Fur coat | — | 1 |
| Sheets | 1 | 8 |
| Blankets | 1 | 5 |
| Table linen | 1 | 4 |
| Curtains | 1 | 8 |
| Rugs; carpets | 4 | 12 |
| Linoleum | 1 | 2 |
| Furniture | 12 | 15 |
| House; bungalow | 5 | 3 |
| Motorcar; motorcycle | 13 | 3 |
| Bicycle | 2 | 1 |
| Refrigerator | 1 | 1 |
| Vacuum cleaner | — | 1% |
| Hardware; utensils | — | 2 |
| China; crockery | — | 4 |
| Household fittings | 1% | 1 |
| Household goods | 2 | 6 |
| Washing machine | — | 1 |
| Stove | — | 1 |
| Tools | 1 | — |
| Radio | 5 | 2 |
| Camera | 1 | — |
| Watch; clock | 2 | 1 |
| Piano | — | 1 |
| Handbag | — | 2 |
| Toys | — | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 8 | 6 |
| Nothing mentioned | 32 | 21 |
| | 114%* | 134%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(US Sept 25 '46) Are there any articles you need and could get, but which you refuse to buy now because the price is too high? What are they? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Nothing or don't know | 32% |
| Automobile | 21 |
| Clothes | 25 |
| Meat | 7 |
| Refrigerator | 5 |
| Home | 5 |
| Butter | 7 |
| Radio | 3 |
| Furniture | 10 |
| Washing machine | 2 |
| Vacuum cleaner | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| Stove | 2 |
| Various electrical supplies | 2 |
| Building materials and tools | 3 |
| Food; lard; milk; eggs | 9 |
| Fur coat; jewelry; etc. | 2 |
| Miscellaneous items | 1 |
| Don't know what | 1 |
| | 142%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**38.** (France Oct 16 '46) Mr. Georges Bidault, the president, has announced that prices would be frozen after September 20. Do you believe that prices will continue to rise, will go down, or will remain the same? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Prices will rise | 62% |
| Prices will go down | 5 |
| Prices will stay the same | 20 |
| No answer | 13 |

**39.** (Canada Oct 23 '46) Where do you place the blame for present high prices in Canada? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| The government; prices board; etc. | 22% |
| Labor union tactics; high wages; etc. | 14 |
| The people hoarding; consumer selfishness; black market; etc. | 11 |
| Natural after-effects of war; scarcity; shortages | 10 |
| Financial interests; the manufacturer; the middleman; the capitalist system; etc. | 9 |
| Exports | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 8 |

No blame..... 5%
Don't know..... 19

**40.** (US Nov 27 '46) Do you think that the price of houses (price of farms) in your community will be higher, lower, or about the same six months from now? (AIPO)

Higher 20% Lower 25% About the same 48%
No opinion 7%

**41.** (Hungary Dec '46) Do you approve or disapprove of putting prices in the shopwindows? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Neither* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 88.8% | 4.5% | 6.7% |
| Women | 78.4 | 12.1 | 9.5 |

**42.** (US Dec 11 '46) Do you think that prices on the following items will be higher, lower, or about the same six months from now? (AIPO)

| | *Higher or about same* | *Lower* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Food | 46% | 48% | 6% |
| Clothing | 55 | 38 | 7 |
| Automobiles | 70 | 19 | 11 |
| Manufactured goods: radios, refrigerators | 65 | 30 | 5 |
| Rent | 83 | 13 | 4 |
| Real estate | 56 | 37 | 7 |

## PRICES, AGRICULTURAL

**1.** (US July 5 '37) Should the government fix the price of farm products? (Nov 12 '37) Should the federal government try to regulate the level of farm prices? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| July '37 | 45% | 55% = 100% | 11% |
| Nov '37 | 43 | 57 = 100 | 17 |

**2.** (US July 5 '37) If the government does fix the price of farm products, should these prices be set higher, lower, or about the same as they are at this time? (AIPO)

Higher 27% Lower 16% About same 31%
No opinion 26%

**3.** (US Jan '38) Do you believe it is wise for the government to guarantee to farmers a minimum price for certain crops, or do you think that farmers should take whatever prices they can get for what they produce? (FOR)

| | *Guarantee* | *No guarantee* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48.2% | 38.0% | 13.8% |
| BY EXTREMES IN SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Cities over 1,000,000 | 35.9% | 39.5% | 24.6% |
| Rural | 55.6 | 32.2 | 12.2 |

**4.** (US Jan '38) For which of the following reasons do you think so [the government should not guarantee a minimum price for certain crops]? Asked of 38.0% of the sample who thought the government should not guarantee a minimum price for certain crops. (FOR)

| | *Unfair to nonfarmers* | *Raise everyone's taxes* | *Government can't afford it* | *Just won't work* | *All others* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| National total | 25.8 | 8.4 | 11.8 | 43.4 | 6.2 | 4.4 = | 100 |

of those questioned

BY EXTREMES IN SIZE OF COMMUNITY

| | | | | *All others and Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cities over 1,000,000 | 38.6% | 12.6% | — | 28.1% | 20.7% |
| Rural | 13.7 | 6.0 | — | 54.9 | 25.4 |

**5.** (US Feb 6 '40, Aug 26 '41, Apr 15 '42, Apr 30 '42) Considering the cost of production, do you think this [the price being paid for your chief crop] is a fair price? (July 29 '42) Considering the cost of production, do you think the price you are now getting for this crop (or product) is a fair price? (Jan 21 '43) Considering costs of production, do you think you get a fair price for all your chief crops or products? All questions were asked of national cross-sections of farmers. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided; no opinion; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '40 | 36% | 64% | — |
| Aug '41 | 52 | 34 | 14% |
| Apr 15 '42 | 57 | 27 | 16 |
| Apr 30 '42 | 58 | 28 | 14 |
| July '42 | 71 | 28 | 1 |
| Jan 21 '43 | 59 | 41 | — |
| BY TYPE OF CROP OR PRODUCT | | | |
| *Wheat* | | | |
| Feb '40 | 25% | 75% | — |
| Apr 30 '42 | 52 | 43 | 5% |
| *Corn* | | | |
| Feb '40 | 45 | 55 | — |
| Apr 30 '42 | 67 | 25 | 8 |
| *Hogs* | | | |
| Feb '40 | 11 | 89 | — |
| Apr 30 '42 | 87 | 9 | 4 |
| *Cotton* | | | |
| Feb '40 | 11 | 89 | — |
| Apr 30 '42 | 57 | 31 | 12 |
| *Dairy products* | | | |
| Apr 30 '42 | 52 | 45 | 3 |
| *Tobacco* | | | |
| Feb '40 | 32 | 68 | — |
| *Others* | | | |
| Apr 30 '42 | 55 | 20 | 25 |
| MIDWEST FARMERS CONTRASTED WITH OTHERS IN AUG '41 | | | |
| Midwest farmers | 56% | 29% | 15% |
| All other farmers | 48 | 38 | 14 |
| JAN '43 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 47% | 53% | |
| East central | 62 | 38 | |
| West central | 75 | 25 | |
| South | 55 | 45 | |
| Far West | 56 | 44 | |

41% of the Jan '43 sample of farmers who felt they weren't getting a fair price were asked: Which crops do you consider are not getting a fair price?

| | |
|---|---|
| Cotton | 45% |
| Wheat | 27 |
| Milk | 23 |
| Corn | 13 |
| Potatoes | 13 |
| Eggs | 12 |
| | 133%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of farmers who thought they were not getting a fair price for their chief crop and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**6.** (US Aug 26 '41 and July 29 '42) Would you be willing to have the government keep prices where they are now on the things you sell, provided the government also fixes the prices of the things you buy at the present level? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion; undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '41 | 55% | 28% | 17% |
| July '42 | 78 | 17 | 5 |
| MIDWEST FARMERS CONTRASTED WITH OTHERS IN AUG '41 | | | |
| Midwest farmers | 54% | 28% | 18% |
| All other farmers | 55 | 29 | 16 |

**7.** (US Sept 24 '42) How about the prices farmers can get for their products? Do you think there should be any limit on how high they should go during the war? (NORC)

Yes 78% No 14% Don't know 8%

If farm prices are (are not) limited, will this affect prices in general, or won't it make any difference to prices?

| | *Affect prices* | *No difference* | *Not ascertainable* | *Not asked question* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 24% | 12% | 8% |
| BY OPINIONS ON LIMITING FARM PRICES | | | | |
| In favor of limitation | 65% | 24% | 11% | — |
| Don't limit | 37 | 42 | 21 | — |

56% of the sample who thought farm prices affected general prices were asked: Will it make them go up or down?

| | *Go up* | *Go down* | *Stay same* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 9% | 13% | 28% | 6% | = 56% |
| BY OPINIONS ON LIMITING FARM PRICES | | | | | |
| In favor of limitation | 7% | 16% | 35% | 7% | = 65% |
| Don't limit | 30 | 3 | 2 | 2 | = 37 |

All those who thought farm prices could make general prices go up—7% of those who favored limitation and 30% of those who didn't—were asked: How will this make prices go up? The 16% in favor of limitation who thought this would reduce prices and the 35% who thought it would stabilize prices were asked: How will this make prices go down or stay the same?

PRICES WILL RISE IF FARM PRICES LIMITED

| | |
|---|---|
| Farmers' ceiling prices will be fixed too high | 38% |
| Shortage of farm labor and/or decreased production | 21 |
| Cynical statements that fixing prices will be circumvented | 3 |
| Farmers' purchasing power will be reduced | 2 |
| Farmers will hoard waiting for higher prices | 1 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 19% |
| Nonpertinent answers | 4 |
| Not ascertainable | 16 |
| | 104%* |

PRICES WILL RISE IF FARM PRICES NOT LIMITED

| | |
|---|---|
| Increase in farm prices will directly increase retail prices | 52% |
| Farmer will be able to meet the cost of farm labor and supplies | 14 |
| Farmers never make enough no matter how high prices go | 10 |
| Supply and demand will govern prices | 5 |
| Miscellaneous pertinent answer | 10 |
| Nonpertinent answers | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 9 |
| | 102%* |

PRICES WILL DROP OR STAY SAME IF FARM PRICES LIMITED

| | *Prices go down* | *Prices stay same* |
|---|---|---|
| General statements that limitation on farm prices means limitation on other prices | 45% | 32% |
| Specific mention that farm prices determine other prices | 13 | 16 |
| Statements implying farm prices and labor are closely related | 6 | 8 |
| There will be less money in circulation and decreased buying power | 6 | 6 |
| Control of farm prices will affect supply and demand | 6 | 5 |
| Government will not control farm prices without controlling other things | 2 | 5 |
| General statement that all prices are interrelated | 1 | 3 |
| Redundant statements that this effect would be inevitable | 2 | 6 |
| Redundant statements that things would thus be equalized | 3 | 6 |
| Redundant statements that it would curb inflation | 1 | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 13 | 12 |
| | 101%* | 103%* |

* All percentages are based on the number of respondents questioned and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**8.** (US Jan 21 '43) Can you tell me what is meant by a price ceiling? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Understand the term | 58% |
| Do not understand the term | 42 |

**9.** (US Jan 21 '43) In general, do you favor or oppose price ceilings as a policy? Asked of a cross-section of farmers who were familiar with price ceilings. 58% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Favor 64% Oppose 18% No opinion 8%
Qualified 10% = 100% of those questioned

**10.** (US Jan 21 '43) Would you rather have the government keep price ceilings on agricultural products or leave them uncontrolled? Asked of a cross-section of farmers who were familiar with price ceilings. 58% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Keep 56% Uncontrolled 28% Undecided 8%
Qualified answer 8% = 100% of those questioned

**11.** (US Jan 21 '43) Do you think price ceilings will or will not help to prevent inflation? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Will 58% Will not 13% No opinion 26%
Qualified answers 3%

**12.** (US May 22 '43) How about the actual prices farmers themselves get for their products? Are they about where they should be, too high, or too low? 9% of the sample who thought farm prices were too high were asked: What do you think is mostly responsible for the fact that they are too high? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Farm prices about right | 37% |
| Too low | 32 |
| Don't know whether or not too high | 22 |
| Too high because: | |
| Miscellaneous specific shortages | 1 |
| Shortages because not enough produced; shortage of labor | 1 |
| Taking advantage; specific criticism of farmers | 2 |
| Government to blame (general) | 1 |
| Criticism of ceiling regulations | 1 |
| High costs | 1 |
| Miscellaneous reasons | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |

**13.** (US May 22 '43) During the next year, do you think the government will really be able to keep under control the prices farmers get for their products? (NORC)

Yes 62% No 16% Don't know 22%

**14.** (US Nov 9 '43) In general, do you approve or disapprove of government ceilings on farm products? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Approve 38% Disapprove 51% Undecided 11%

**15.** (US Aug 23 '45) There have been all sorts of ideas suggested for things we should do in this country after the war, and we'd like to know how you feel about some of them. Do you think it is a good idea or not such a good idea to let the price of farm products rise or fall without the government doing anything about it? (NYHT)

| | *Good idea* | *Not so good* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 26.3% | 54.4% | 19.3% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| Grade school | 25.3% | 47.8% | 26.9% |
| High school | 26.0 | 57.1 | 16.9 |
| College | 28.8 | 60.8 | 10.4 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Urban | 25.8% | 54.1% | 20.1% |
| Rural | 28.2 | 55.4 | 16.4 |

**16.** (France Sept '46) The price of wheat has been fixed at 1,000 francs a quintal [112 pounds]. Do you consider this a fair price, too high, or too low? (FIPO)

| | *Fair* | *Too high* | *Too low* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 34% | 31% | 12% | 23% |
| Farmers only | 42 | 9 | 43 | 6 |

## PRIORITIES, INDUSTRIAL

**1.** (US Sept '40) Do you believe that adequate priorities can be secured by voluntary cooperation of industry, or should they be determined by federal order? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Voluntary 69.6% By order 28.5%
Don't know or no answer 1.9%

**2.** (US Sept '41) Have priorities and diversions of goods or services kept you from making repairs or additions you would normally make? Asked of a national cross-section of manufacturers. (FOR)

Yes 23% No 77%

**3.** (US Sept '41) Would you call the effect upon your plant of this deferment of repairs serious now; would be serious in another six months; would be serious in another year; not serious? Asked of 23% of the sample of manufacturers who said that priorities and diversion of goods had kept them from making normal repairs or additions. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Serious now | 8.1% |
| Would be serious in another six months | 26.8 |
| Would be serious in another year | 32.4 |
| Not serious | 32.7 |
| | 100.0% |
| | of those questioned |

**4.** (US Sept '41 and Nov '41) Have priorities or the diversion of any goods or services to war purposes kept, or threatened to keep, your concern from doing any business it might otherwise be engaged in? Asked of national cross-sections of manufacturers. (FOR)

| | *Sept '41* | *Nov '41* |
|---|---|---|
| Kept from doing business | 14.1% | 22.6% |
| Threatened to keep it | 36.8 | 35.6 |
| No effect yet | 41.7 | 34.8 |
| No effect expected | 7.4 | 7.0 |

**5.** (US Sept '41) If priorities or the diversion of any goods or services to war purposes have kept, or threatened to keep, your concern from doing business it might otherwise be engaged in, what goods or services have been, or will be, wanting? Asked of 50.9% of a sample of manufacturers whose business has been hampered or threatened by priorities or diversion of goods or services to war purposes. (FOR)

| | *Have kept* | *Threatened to keep* |
|---|---|---|
| *Metals* | | |
| Iron and steel | 31.4% | 41.9% |
| Aluminum | 13.8 | 11.2 |
| Other | 42.1 | 50.8 |
| *Raw materials* | | |
| Rubber | 2.7 | 9.5 |
| Unclassified | 11.7 | 16.8 |
| *Manufactured and semi-manufactured* | | |
| Chemicals | 15.4 | 13.8 |
| Machinery and tools | 13.3 | 14.8 |
| Paper | 5.8 | 8.4 |
| Textiles | 5.3 | 7.1 |
| Petroleum products | 0.5 | 5.8 |
| Transportation | 9.6 | 6.7 |
| Skilled labor | 4.8 | 2.6 |
| Miscellaneous | 14.4 | 20.0 |
| | 170.8%* | 209.4%* |

* Percentages are based on 50.9% of the executives who were interviewed and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**6.** (US Sept '41 and Nov '41) Has this condition resulted, or is this condition likely to result, in unemployment for any of

your employees? Asked of 50.9% of the Sept '41 sample of manufacturers and 58.2% of the Nov '41 sample of manufacturers who said priorities and diversion of goods or services had threatened to keep or kept their company from doing some business. (FOR)

| | *Has resulted* | *Is likely to result* | *No effect expected* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Percentage of those answering in Sept | 6.8% | 68.0% | 25.2% = 100.0% of those questioned |
| Percentage of manufacturing executives in Sept | 3.5 | 34.6 | 12.8 = 50.9% |
| Percentage of those answering in Nov | 12.8 | 66.8 | 20.4 = 100.0% of those questioned |

**7.** (US Sept '41) About what percentage of them [your employees are unemployed]? Asked of 3.5% of the preceding Sept sample who were affected. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| 5% | 31.4% |
| 10% | 27.4 |
| 25% | 29.4 |
| 50% | 7.8 |
| 75% | 2.0 |
| 100% | 2.0 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned |

**8.** (US Sept '41) As you see it now, can all or nearly all of these displaced workers be re-employed readily in other jobs in your own activities? Or in your locality? Asked of 3.5% of the sample of manufacturers affected. (FOR)

| | *In own activities* | *In own locality* |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 18.5% | 39.5% |
| Not sure | 42.6 | 51.2 |
| No | 38.9 | 9.3 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned | 100.0% of those questioned |

**9.** (US Nov '41) Does your concern employ anyone whose direct responsibility it is to keep your management informed of changes in priorities or supplies that will affect your business? Asked of a national cross-section of manufacturers. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 35.2% |
| Such information is cleared through our regular system for reporting other pertinent economic factors | 18.8 |
| No, except as that is the duty of the company's officers | 49.8 |
| | 103.8%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**10.** (US Sept 29 '42) If there is a shortage of raw materials for manufacture of war goods, which branch of the service do you think should have first claim on materials—the army, navy, or air force? (AIPO)

Army 9% Navy 11% Air force 52% No opinion 28%

**11.** (US May '44) If some industries are to receive priority in materials and in other ways to begin to change over, which should have first preference? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Industries in places where there are large war-industry layoffs | 45.7% |
| Makers of consumer goods | 44.2 |
| Makers of capital goods | 11.5 |
| Don't know | 8.2 |
| | 109.6%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## PRISONS

**1.** (US Feb 15 '37) Do you believe the parole system helps to restore prisoners to a useful place in society? (AIPO)

Yes 46% No 54%

**2.** (US Feb 15 '37) Should parole boards be more strict, less strict, or about the same as they are now in granting paroles? (AIPO)

More strict 82% Less strict 3% About same 15%

**3.** (US Mar 22 '37) Do you think the prison system in this country should be changed? (AIPO)

Yes 68% No 32% = 100% No opinion 20%

**4.** (US Mar 22 '37) Would you deal more severely with prisoners, or would you give more attention to teaching them useful occupations? Asked of a national cross-section of persons in favor of changing the prison system. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Deal more severely | 29% |
| More teaching | 71 |
| | 100% |
| No opinion | 23% |

**5.** (US June 9 '42) It has been suggested that men in American prisons who are eligible for parole in the next two or three years be paroled now to enlist in the armed forces. Do you favor or oppose this proposal? (AIPO) (Canada July 29 '42) It has been suggested that men in Canadian prisons who are eligible for parole in the next two or three years be paroled now to enlist in the armed forces. Would you approve or disapprove if this were done? (CIPO)

| | *Favor or approve* | *Oppose or disapprove* | *Qualified answers* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| United States | 66% | 21% | 6% | 7% |
| Canada | 57 | 31 | — | 12 |
| CANADIAN RESULTS BY LANGUAGE SPOKEN | | | | |
| French-Canadians | 47% | 41% | — | 12% |
| English-Canadians | 60 | 29 | — | 11 |

**6.** (Sweden Apr '45) Do you think that attempts to make life more bearable for the prisoners in jails is a step in the right direction, or do you think that such alleviation should not take place? (SGI)

| | *Alleviation should be attempted* | *Alleviation should not be attempted* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 57% | 24% | 19% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 56% | 27% | 17% |
| Women | 58 | 20 | 22 |

| | *Alleviation should be attempted* | *Alleviation should not be attempted* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 53% | 27% | 20% |
| 30–49 years | 60 | 21 | 19 |
| 50–64 years | 58 | 24 | 18 |
| 65 years and over | 49 | 27 | 24 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 66% | 24% | 10% |
| Middle class | 53 | 27 | 20 |
| Workers | 59 | 21 | 20 |

**7.** (Sweden Apr '45) What punishment, for instance, do you consider suitable for a burglar—to work alone or with other prisoners in, say, a garden colony? (SGI)

| | *Most suitable to work with others* | *Better to work alone* | *Equally suitable* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48% | 28% | 6% | 18% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 49% | 32% | 5% | 14% |
| Women | 46 | 26 | 6 | 22 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 54% | 21% | 10% | 15% |
| Middle class | 46 | 31 | 6 | 17 |
| Workers | 49 | 28 | 5 | 18 |

# PROBLEMS

## Australia

**1.** (Australia Dec 17 '41) What do you think is the most important problem the Australian government must solve during the next few months? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Conscription | 31% |
| Manpower and recruiting | 5 |
| Defend Australia | 11 |
| Win the war | 15 |
| Other war references | 17 |
| Social problems | 10 |
| Indefinite replies | 11 |

**2.** (Australia Mar '43) Which of these proposals would you place first, second, and third among our domestic post-war aims? More than eight out of ten persons interviewed placed full employment either first, second, or third. (APOP)

| *First and Second choice** | | *Third choice* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Better housing | 29% | Better housing | 40% |
| Old-age security | 27 | Improved education | 31 |
| Improved education | 24 | Free medical services | 29 |
| Free medical service | 20 | | |

* Full employment excluded since it was overwhelmingly first choice.

## Canada

**1.** (Canada June 16 '45) What do you think will be the greatest task the federal government elected in June will have to face in the next few years? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Rehabilitation and jobs | 31% |
| Jobs and good wages for everyone | 28 |
| Other answers or no opinion | 41 |

**2.** (Canada Oct 10 '45) What do you think is the greatest single problem facing the government at the present time? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Full employment; prevent unemployment; etc. | 40% |
| Rehabilitation of returned men and women in jobs, houses, etc. | 27 |
| Reconversion | 8 |
| Settling labor disputes | 3 |
| Housing | 3 |
| Meat rationing | 2 |
| Preventing inflation | 1 |
| Peace problems; maintaining world peace | 1 |
| All others | 9 |
| No opinion | 6 |

## Denmark

**1.** (Denmark Oct 20 '45) Which problem do you consider the most important for the government to solve after the election? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Employment | 40% |
| Supplies | 21 |
| Houses | 10 |
| Expurgation | 10 |
| Social care | 9 |
| Wage question | 2 |
| Other replies | 8 |

## Finland

**1.** (Finland July 5 '46) Which do you consider the most important task confronting us in the near future? (FGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Work, particularly to raise the production and the standard of living | 25% |
| Concluding a final peace; payment of war reparations | 22 |
| Stabilization of currency and economic life | 14 |
| Solving the housing question | 11 |
| Promoting a cooperative spirit | 7 |
| Bringing morals on a higher level; more religious seriousness | 6 |
| Others | 2 |
| Don't know | 22 |
| | 109%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## France

**1.** (France Apr 16 '45) What problem of internal policy do you consider of the greatest importance to yourself at the moment? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Food distribution | 35% |
| Elections; agreement of parties; organization of the government after the war | 13 |
| Purge; struggle against the black market; confiscation of illicit profits | 11 |
| Economic questions: cost of living, salaries, production | 10 |
| Financial problems | 6 |
| Social questions; nationalization; management of industry; old-age pensions | 5 |
| Reconstruction; housing and city planning | 4 |
| Other problems | 8 |
| Did not say | 8 |

**2.** (France Aug 1 '46) In your opinion, what are the most important problems which the Constituent Assembly must solve? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Wages and prices | 55% |
| New Constitution | 33 |
| Recovery | 31 |
| Economic rehabilitation | 10 |
| The financial problem | 9 |
| Fight against black market | 9 |
| Reconstruction | 5 |
| Others | 6 |
| No opinion | 6 |
| | 164%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (France asked in Dec '46) In your opinion, what is the most pressing job of the new National Assembly? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| The financial problem | 39% |
| The problem of salaries and prices | 21 |
| Political economy | 3 |
| The fight against scandals | 1 |
| The Constitution of the government | 9 |
| The problem of domestic politics | 5 |
| The food supply | 11 |
| Reconstruction | 2 |
| The problems of foreign politics | 1 |
| Other answers | 5 |
| No answer | 3 |

## Great Britain

**1.** (Great Britain Nov '40, Mar '41, Aug 30 '41, Dec 19 '41, Apr '42, Aug 22 '42, Jan 24 '43, Apr '43, Sept '43) What do you think is the most important war problem the British government must solve this winter (this spring, in the next few months)? In Apr '42, Jan '43, Apr '43 and Sept '43 the question read "the government" instead of "the British government." (BIPO)

| | *Nov '40* | *Mar '41* | *Aug '41* | *Dec '41* | *Apr '42* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % |
| Maintaining sufficient food supplies; maintaining supplies | 12 | 16 | 11 | 8 | 6 |
| Submarine warfare; shipping losses | 8.2 | 28 | 6 | 6 | 13 |
| Second front; invading the continent; preparing for coming offensive | 3.6 | 5 | 17 | 5 | 20 |
| Production of armaments and aircraft | 5.2 | 4 | — | — | — |
| Production and organization of resources | — | — | 12 | 29 | 10 |
| Organize our manpower | — | — | 6 | 11 | 2 |
| Gaining air supremacy | 3.2 | — | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Be prepared against invasion | — | 7 | 4 | 2 | 3 |
| Night bombing | 12 | 8 | 9 | 1 | — |
| Middle East, Near East, Balkan problems | 2.7 | 3 | — | 2 | 1 |
| Far East situation | — | — | — | 5 | 7 |
| India | — | — | — | — | 4 |
| Ending the war; victory | 4.3 | — | 5 | 2 | 6 |
| Helping Russia with supplies | — | — | 7 | 4 | 3 |
| Safer shelters | 11.5 | — | — | — | — |
| Providing for air-raid victims | 2.9 | — | — | — | — |
| Nation's health | 4.3 | — | — | — | — |
| Internal economic situation | 2.8 | — | — | — | — |
| Evacuating problems | 1.8 | — | — | — | — |
| Smash Italy | 1.8 | — | — | — | — |
| Control and distributing of food | — | — | 3 | — | — |
| Coordination of war effort with Allies | — | — | — | — | 1 |
| Other problems | 23.7 | 29 | 17 | 14 | 7 |
| Don't know or didn't say | — | — | — | 9 | 15 |

| | *Aug '42* | *Jan '43* | *Apr '43* | *Sept '43* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % |
| Maintaining sufficient food supplies | 4 | 6 | 6 | 3 |
| Submarine warfare; shipping losses; maintaining supplies from abroad | 13 | 30 | 30 | 2 |
| Second front; invading the continent; preparing for coming offensive | 29 | 15 | 15 | 21 |
| Production and organization of resources | 6 | 5 | 5 | 2 |
| Organize our manpower | 1 | 6 | 6 | 3 |
| Helping Russia with supplies | 10 | 2 | 2 | — |
| Ending the war; victory | 7 | 6 | 6 | 9 |
| Postwar reconstruction; postwar unemployment | 1 | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| Coal situation | — | — | 16 | 9 |
| Middle Eastern situation | 2 | — | — | — |
| India | 3 | — | — | — |
| Gaining air supremacy | 1 | — | — | — |
| Clearing up the North African situation | — | 5 | — | — |
| Strikes and labor troubles | — | — | — | 10 |
| Beveridge plan; social security; pensions | — | — | — | 2 |
| Coordination with the Allies | — | — | — | 1 |
| Allied relations with Russia | — | — | — | 1 |
| Housing | — | — | — | 1 |
| Demobilization problems | — | — | — | 1 |
| Clearing up in Italy | — | — | — | 1 |
| Feeding people in Europe | — | — | — | 1 |
| Bombing Germany, Italy | — | — | — | 1 |
| Other problems | 8 | 11 | — | 9 |
| Don't know or didn't say | 15 | 10 | 10 | 18 |

**2.** (Great Britain Dec '43 and Apr '44) What will be the most urgent problem on the home front after the war? (BIPO)

| | *Dec '43* | *Apr '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Employment on demobilization | 51% | 43% |
| Housing | 23 | 29 |
| Food supply; clothing | 7 | 4 |
| Finance control | — | 2 |
| Education; health | — | 2 |
| Repatriation of refugees | — | 1 |
| Position of women | — | 1 |
| Overseas trade | — | 1 |
| Changeover of industry to peacetime production | 4 | — |
| Social security in all forms | 3 | — |
| Miscellaneous | 9 | 6 |
| Don't know; no answer | 3 | 11 |

**3.** (Great Britain Aug '44) If you had to say which question should be tackled the very first by the government returned at the general election, what would it be? (Oct '44) What do you think is the most urgent problem the government must solve during the next few months? (Feb '45 and June '46) What do you think is the most important home-front problem which the government must solve in (during) the next few months? (July '45) What do you think is the most urgent problem that the next government should tackle? (Jan 12 '46) What do you think is the most urgent home-front problem that the government must solve during the next few months? (BIPO)

| | *Aug '44* | *Oct '44* | *Feb '45* | *July '45* | *Jan '46* | *June '46* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Housing | 39 | 32 | 54 | 63 | 61 | 31 |
| Employment; postwar employment; better working conditions; reconstruction | 29 | 12 | 13 | 8 | 7 | 4 |

| | Aug '44 | Oct '44 | Feb '45 | July '45 | Jan '46 | June '46 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Rehabilitation of ex-service men and women; preparation for return of forces | — | 7 | 4 | — | 1 | 1 |
| Food; food shortages; rationing | 1 | — | — | 3 | 10 | 42 |
| Cost of living; wages; inflation | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Social security; pensions; Beveridge Plan | 7 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| Coal; coal supplies; coal crisis | — | 3 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| Production; trade; organization of resources | — | 2 | 1 | — | 4 | 2 |
| Switch-over to peace production | — | 1 | 3 | — | — | — |
| Export trade | 1 | — | — | 1 | 1 | — |
| Demobilization | 2 | — | — | 3 | 3 | — |
| Education | 1 | — | 1 | 1 | — | — |
| Nationalization of industry | 1 | — | — | 1 | — | — |
| Finishing war; speedy victory | — | 13 | 1 | — | — | — |
| Organizing the peace | — | 5* | 1 | 2 | — | — |
| Finance | 1 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Health | 1 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Treatment of Germany, Japan | 1 | — | — | — | — | — |
| International cooperation after the war | 1 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Provisioning our forces abroad | — | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| Relief of Europeans | — | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| Far Eastern situation; Japan | — | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| Russo-Polish dispute | — | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| Coordination with our Allies | — | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| Economic reconstruction; industry | — | — | — | 2 | — | — |
| Reduction of taxes | — | — | — | 2 | — | — |
| Japanese war | — | — | — | 2 | — | — |
| Nationalization of mines | — | — | — | 1 | — | — |
| Foreign policy | — | — | — | 1 | — | — |
| Relaxation of restrictions, controls | — | — | — | 1 | — | — |
| Clothing | — | — | — | — | 2 | — |
| Black market; crime | — | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| Other problems | 7 | 7 | 8 | 2 | 3 | 7 |
| Don't know; didn't say | 5 | 11 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 4 |

* Includes treatment of war criminals.

## U.S.

**1.** (US Sept 19 '35 to Nov 5 '41, dates listed below) What do you regard as the most vital issue before the American people today? (AIPO)

| | Sept 19 '35 | Dec 7 '36 | Dec 13 '37 | Jan 7 '39* | Apr 19 '39* | Nov 8 '39** | Aug 8 '40** | Nov 5 '41 (1) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Unemployment | 27 | 30 | 21 | 42 | 36 | 24 | 17 | 2 |
| Neutrality; keeping out of war | 10 | 24 | — | — | 36 | 47 | 8 | 37 |
| Balance the budget; reduce the national debt | 16 | 5 | — | 3 | 3 | 2 | — | — |
| Depression; recovery | 4 | 5 | 9 | 10 | 8 | 6 | 1 | — |
| Reduce taxes | 6 | 4 | — | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Labor problems; labor vs. capital; strikes | 3 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 9 |
| Better farm conditions; aid to farmers | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | — | — |
| Relief; care of poor | — | 4 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 3 | — | — |
| National defense; increased national defense; expenditures for national defense | 1 | — | — | 3 | — | — | 25 | 1 |
| Peace; preservation of world peace | — | — | 17 | 11 | — | — | 2 | 2 |
| Changes in the fundamentals of our government; trend toward dictatorship; Fascism; etc. | — | — | 5 | 5 | — | 3 | — | — |
| Religion; more religion needed | 2 | — | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | — |
| Pensions; old-age pensions | 2 | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — |
| Social security | 1 | 8 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Redistribution of wealth | 2 | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Present situation between U.S. and Japan; question of war | — | — | 5 | — | — | — | — | 2 |
| Japanese-Chinese war | — | — | 5 | — | — | — | — | — |
| The war problem | — | — | — | — | — | — | 11 | — |
| Keeping out of European affairs | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| Conscription problem | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| Getting supplies to Britain and Allies; revision of Neutrality Act | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 7 |
| Question of how much aid we should give Allies | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 8 |
| Aftermath of war | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 |
| Outcome of war; defeat of Hitler | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 8 |
| National unity; seriousness of situation | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 |
| Speeding up defense program; production and military training | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 14 |
| Preserving democracy, Constitution | 4 | 2 | — | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| Revised Constitution | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Communism and other "isms"; subversive elements | — | 2 | — | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| Axe Roosevelt, New Deal | 5 | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| Support Roosevelt, New Deal | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Less control of business | 3 | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Cooperation of business and the government | — | — | 3 | — | — | — | — | — |
| High cost of living; inflation; high taxes | — | 1 | 3 | — | — | — | — | 6 |
| High standard of living | — | 5 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Economic situation in general | — | — | — | — | — | — | 3 | — |
| Earning a living | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| Extravagance of the federal government | — | — | — | 2 | — | — | — | — |
| Soldiers' bonus | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Townsend plan | 3 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Liquor control | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |

| | Sept 19 '35 | Dec 7 '36 | Dec 13 '37 | Jan 7 '39* | Apr 19 '39* | Nov 8 '39** | Aug 8 '40** | Nov 5 '41 (1) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Political honesty | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| The presidential election | — | — | — | — | — | — | 3 | — |
| Other problems | 2 | — | 12 | 12 | 8 | 9 | 16 | 14 |
| | 100 | 100 | | 100 | 100 | 100 | | |
| No answer; no opinion | — | — | 7 | — | 4 | 5 | 6 | 3 |
| | | | 100 | | | | 100 | 116† |

* The question was: What do you regard as the most important problem before the American people today?

** What do you think is the most important problem before the American people today?

† Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(1) What do you think is the most important issue before the country today?

(US Nov 25 '41) In your opinion, what is the most important problem the United States government must solve in the next few months? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Defeat of Hitler | 7% |
| Extent of our participation in the war | 14 |
| Keeping the United States out of war | 9 |
| Strengthening our national defense | 31 |
| Financial problems resulting from the defense effort | 8 |
| Our policy regarding Japanese situation | 18 |
| Promoting world peace | 2 |
| War situation; foreign policy | 9 |
| Miscellaneous | 8 |
| No answer | 14 |
| | 120%* |

(US Aug 24 '43) Looking ahead to the next presidential term, that is from 1944 through 1948, what do you think will be the greatest problem facing this country? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Unemployment; jobs for service men and war workers; economic readjustment of the country | 58% |
| Making a lasting peace and workable peace treaties; determining what to do with the axis | 13 |
| Postwar financial problems of the government; paying off national debt; reducing taxes; economy | 11 |
| Postwar food problems | 6 |
| Handling of labor problems; regulating unions; dealing with strikes | 4 |
| Dangers of centralized government, bureaucracy, and invasion of states' rights | 3 |
| Winning the war; prosecution of war | 2 |
| Labor shortages | 1 |
| Other problems | 3 |
| No answer | 10 |
| | 111%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(US Oct '44) What do you expect to be one of the most important problems facing this country in the next four years? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Economic problems (inflation, depression, prosperity, high prices) | 6% |
| Wage adjustment | 1 |
| Jobs; unemployment; soldier employment; women in industry | 36 |
| Industrial conversion; reconversion; shortages; housing | 5 |
| Changing from government regulation of business to independent business; free enterprise | * |
| Changing government setup; reactions against bureaucracy | 2% |
| Labor relations and problems | 6 |
| Danger of Communism, Socialism | * |
| Domestic finance; national debt; taxes | 2 |
| Ending and winning the war; get the boys back home | 7 |
| Social problems (race, religion, old-age security, etc.) | 4 |
| Psychological adjustment; rehabilitation of soliders (other than jobs) | 4 |
| Farm problems; food distribution | 2 |
| Domestic problems; rehabilitation; readjustment; getting back to normal | 4 |
| Foreign problems or policy | 2 |
| Making the peace | 12 |
| Specific foreign problems (relating to Allied nations); relation problems | * |
| Specific foreign problems (relating to Axis nations); reparations; debts | * |
| Humanitarian; feeding or rebuilding Europe, the world (economic, not political) | 1 |
| Problem of world organization; joining the United Nations | * |
| Other answers | 1 |
| Don't know; depends on anything | 5 |

* Less than 0.5%.

(US Aug 22 '45 and Oct 3 '45) What do you think will be the most important problem facing this country during the next year? (AIPO)

AUG '45 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Unemployment | 53% |
| Employment for veterans | 9 |
| Labor troubles; strikes | 4 |
| Depression; avoiding depression | 1 |
| Reconversion; back to normal | 15 |
| Inflation | 3 |
| Food shortage | 3 |
| Housing; slum clearance | 1 |
| Keeping wages high | 1 |
| Keep the peace | 5 |
| Occupation; occupation forces | 1 |
| Demobilization | 2 |
| Rehabilitation of soldiers | 3 |
| Racial problems; colored situation | 2 |
| Rehabilitation of Europe | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| Don't know | 5 |
| | 114%* |

OCT '45 RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Jobs for all | 42% |
| Strikes and labor troubles | 32 |
| Reconversion | 19 |
| Working out world peace | 7 |
| Demobilization | 5 |
| Wages | 3 |
| Food shortages | 2 |
| Controlling atom bomb | 2 |
| Others | 9 |
| | 121%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(US Feb 27 '46) In your opinion, what is the most important problem the government must solve in the next few months? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Strikes; labor problems | 34% |
| Housing | 12 |
| Price control; inflation; wages | 11 |
| Employment | 7 |
| Reconversion; getting production going | 4 |
| Food shortages | 6 |
| Clothing and material shortages | 1 |
| Continuing the draft | 1 |
| Continuing the OPA | 1 |
| Relations with Russia | 11 |
| Peace; United Nations | 8 |
| Atomic bomb | 3 |
| Taking care of returning soldiers | 1 |
| Demobilization of soldiers | 1 |
| International policies | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| Don't know | 4 |
| | 113%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(US June 26 '46) What do you think will be the most important problem facing this country during the next six months? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Control of inflation (high prices, OPA) | 46% |
| Food and other shortages | 20 |
| Maintenance of peace and conducting foreign affairs | 10 |
| Strikes and labor troubles | 9 |
| Housing | 5 |
| Jobs | 4 |
| Reconversion | 3 |
| Atom bomb | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 |
| No opinion | 4 |
| | 111%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(US Dec 31 '46) In your opinion, what is the most important problem the United States government must solve in the next year? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Strikes; labor problems; unions | 40% |
| Peace; foreign policy; atomic bomb | 26 |
| Cost of living; prices; inflation | 13 |
| Housing | 10 |
| Taxation | 4 |
| Shortages | 1 |
| Employment | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 10 |
| No opinion | 4 |
| | 110%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

All those of the Aug '43 AIPO sample who mentioned problems were asked: Which party will be best able to deal with this problem, the Republican or the Democratic? The Oct '44 NORC sample was asked: Who do you think will do the best job of handling this problem—Roosevelt, Dewey, or Thomas? AIPO's Aug '45 sample was asked: Which political party do you think would be better able to deal with this particular problem, the Democratic or Republican? AIPO's June '46 sample was asked: Which political party do you think can deal best with this particular problem, the Democratic or Republican? In all cases, only those who mentioned problems were questioned.

| | *Republican; Dewey* | *Democratic; Roosevelt* | *Thomas* | *Others* | *No difference* | *Refused answer* | *Don't know; undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '43 (AIPO) | 45% | 55% | — | — | — | — | — |
| Oct '44 (NORC) | 36 | 51 | 1% | * | 3% | 1% | 8% |
| Aug '45 (AIPO) | 23 | 48 | — | — | — | — | 29 |
| June '46 (AIPO) | 35 | 34 | — | — | — | — | 31 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**2.** (US Apr '38) Which of these—labor unions, public utilities, stock exchanges, the Supreme Court—is most in need of reform? (FOR)

| | *Labor unions* | *Public utilities* | *Stock exchanges* | *The Supreme Court* | *All of them* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 38.6% | 13.6% | 13.2% | 3.9% | 1.1% | 29.6% |
| BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS | | | | | | |
| Executives | 52.9% | 13.9% | 18.9% | 3.3% | 1.2% | 9.8% |
| Factory labor | 35.6 | 17.1 | 14.6 | 7.8 | 1.5 | 23.4 |

**3.** (US Nov 19 '41) What problems do you think this country will be likely to face when the war is over? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Boom and inflation | 4% |
| General readjustment and economic problems | 19 |
| Depression | 38 |
| Unemployment | 24 |
| High taxes | 4 |
| Trade stabilization | 4 |
| Adjustment of production and employment to peacetime needs | 6 |
| National debt | 6 |
| Farm problems | * |
| Lower our standard of living | 8 |
| Maintaining large army and navy for protection and world police force | 1 |
| Other economic problems | 3 |
| Labor problems | 4 |
| Spiritual, moral, and psychological problems | 1 |
| Regimentation; trend toward militarism | 2 |
| Trying to rehabilitate the victims of war; readjusting service men to civil life | 3 |
| Continuation of social problems disrupted by the war | * |
| Racial problems | * |
| Other social and political problems | 4 |
| Feeding Europe | 3 |
| Default of Europe debts | * |
| Setting up fair and workable peace terms | 2 |
| Reconstruction of Europe | 6 |
| Other problems connected with Europe | 3 |
| Don't know | 10 |
| | 155%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**4.** (US Mar 31 '42) What do you regard as the greatest problem the country now faces in winning the war? (July 14 '42) What would you think is the most important problem the United States faces at this time in connection with winning the war? (AIPO) (Oct 6 '42 and June 18 '43) In our effort to win the war, what do you think is the biggest problem we face right now? (NORC)

| | AIPO Mar '42 | AIPO July '42 | NORC Oct '42 | NORC June '43 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Speeding up war production | 28% | 18% | 17% | 10% |
| Shipping and transportation problems; shortage of transportation | 19 | 37 | 24 | 11 |
| Getting labor into line; labor disputes and conflicts | 9 | 3 | — | 24 |
| Labor shortage and manpower problem | — | 3 | 6 | 3 |
| Financing the war | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Getting an offensive started; opening second front | 3 | 5 | 5 | 3 |
| Preventing inflation | — | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Uniting the people behind the war effort | 15 | 8 | — | — |
| Arousing the public; keeping up public morale | — | — | 10 | 11 |
| Farm labor shortage and food production | — | — | 7 | 18 |
| Increasing the armed forces | 5 | 3 | — | — |
| Military training | — | — | 5 | 2 |
| Eliminating government red tape and political inefficiency, irresponsibility | 4 | 2 | — | — |
| Criticism of the government | — | — | 5 | 5 |
| Spies; sabotage; cleaning up fifth columnists | 3 | 2 | — | — |
| Beating the Japs | — | — | 2 | 3 |
| Bond buying | — | — | 2 | 2 |
| Problems in relation to our Allies | — | — | 2 | 1 |
| Raw material shortage | — | — | 9 | 2 |
| Solving the problem of war material shortage | 5 | — | — | — |
| Solving shortage problems | — | 5 | — | — |
| More unity of command in armed forces; coordination | — | 1 | 1 | — |
| Getting aid to Russia | — | 1 | — | — |
| Poor administration of war effort | — | 2 | — | — |
| Building up powerful air force | — | 4 | — | — |
| Unity; cooperation | — | — | 2 | — |
| Minority problems | — | — | — | 5 |
| No particular problems; nothing | — | — | — | 1 |
| Other problems | 17 | 9 | 5 | 5 |
| Undecided; no answer | | 9 | 13 | 9 |
| | 111%* | 114%* | 117%* | 118%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents mentioned more than one problem.

**5.** (US Dec 15 '42 and Mar 7 '45) Aside from winning the war, what do you think is the most important problem facing this country today? (AIPO)

| | Dec '42 | Mar '45 |
|---|---|---|
| Jobs for everyone after the war; prevent future unemployment; make sure soldiers all get jobs | 7% | 20% |
| Solve economic problems; prevent inflation; prevent depression; get war paid for without devaluing currency; paying off national debt; reconversion of industry; other economic problems | 16 | 16 |
| To make a lasting peace; a permanent world peace | 11% | 15% |
| Food shortages here and abroad; rationing; clothing shortages | 12 | 5 |
| Preservation of our democracy; to have a more literal democracy; to maintain our present form of government during the readjustment period; to save our nation from bureaucracy; to prevent dictatorship; to avoid Fascism | 6 | — |
| Conditions after the war; reconstruction of the world; etc | 8 | — |
| The present labor problem; the manpower shortage; scarcity of farm labor; proper distribution of manpower | 10 | — |
| To put through social reforms; improve situation of the poor; reduce racial discrimination | 4 | — |
| Winning the war is the only important problem, there is no other problem | 3 | — |
| Labor union troubles; labor vs. capital; strikes; curbing and controlling unions | — | 10 |
| Rehabilitating returning veterans; wounded and maimed | — | 6 |
| How to reduce government control and stimulate free enterprise | — | 5 |
| Racial and color tolerance; how to keep harmony between races and religious creeds in United States | — | 5 |
| Juvenile delinquency | — | 3 |
| Return to religion; get closer to the Lord | — | 2 |
| Miscellaneous problems; other answers | 19 | 8 |
| Don't know; no problems named | 11 | 10 |
| | 107%* | 105%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (US Mar 1 '44 and June 7 '44) What do you think will be the greatest problem the President elected this year will have to face? The June '44 question used the phrase "elected this fall for the next four years" instead of "this year." (AIPO)

| | Mar '44 | June '44 |
|---|---|---|
| Winning the war | 31% | 14% |
| Making a workable peace; handling enemy nations | 15 | 16 |
| Relations with other countries | 5 | 8 |
| Economic problem of getting this country back to normal | 20 | 19 |
| Postwar employment, principally for service men and war workers | 16 | 27 |
| Financial problems; paying off debt; lowering taxes; preventing inflation | 11 | 11 |
| Labor problems; strikes; curtailing the power of labor | 5 | 4 |
| Rehabilitation of service men | 4 | 5 |
| Straightening out affairs in Washington | 2 | 1 |
| Racial problems | — | 1 |
| Food problems: shortages, rationing | — | 1 |
| Getting along with Congress | 2 | — |
| Wartime employment needs | 2 | — |
| Other domestic problems | 4 | 1 |
| No opinion | — | 8 |
| | 117%* | 116%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(US Mar 1 '44) Which of the possible presidential candidates do you think would handle this problem [mentioned by respondent in preceding question] best? (AIPO)

| *Democrats* | | *Republicans* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 95% | Dewey | 54% |
| Hull | 2 | Willkie | 24 |
| Wallace | 1 | MacArthur | 10 |
| Other Democrats | 2 | Bricker | 6 |
| | | Stassen | 3 |
| | 100% | Other Republicans | 3 |
| | | | 100% |

**7.** (US Aug 16 '44) Which do you think will be the greatest task the President elected this year will have to face during the four years in office? Which man do you think can handle this particular job better, Dewey or Roosevelt? (AIPO)

| | *Total sample* | *Dewey* | *Roosevelt* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Can do job better | — | 35% | 53% | 12% |
| PROBLEMS TO BE FACED | | | | |
| Winning the war | 6% | 3% | 9% | 6% |
| Achieving the peace | 22 | 16 | 29 | 18 |
| Foreign relations | 6 | 6 | 6 | 13 |
| Postwar employment problem | 18 | 19 | 19 | 19 |
| Reconversion to peacetime economy; getting back to normal | 23 | 29 | 22 | 25 |
| Financial problems: taxes, war debt | 9 | 17 | 6 | 5 |
| Rehabilitation of veterans | 12 | 8 | 16 | 11 |
| Labor problems; capital vs. labor; working conditions | 3 | 6 | 2 | 4 |
| Racial problems | 3 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| National unity | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| General domestic problems | 4 | 7 | 2 | 7 |
| Postwar planning; postwar problems | 5 | 5 | 6 | 5 |
| No opinion | 6 | — | — | — |
| | 118%* | 118%* | 120%* | 116%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**8.** (US Dec 29 '44) Which two or three of these things do you think are the most important to America? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| What should be done about preventing unemployment after the war | 68.2% |
| The part the United States should play in world affairs after the war | 59.3 |
| Peace terms to be given Germany | 38.5 |
| Future social-security provisions | 36.7 |
| What should be done about labor unions | 32.2 |
| Don't know | 4.2 |
| | 239.1%* |

BY POLITICS

| | *Roosevelt voters* | *Dewey voters* |
|---|---|---|
| What should be done about preventing unemployment after the war | 68.7% | 68.3% |
| The part the United States should play in world affairs after the war | 56.2 | 65.0 |
| Peace terms to be given Germany | 39.6 | 38.0 |
| Future social-security provisions | 41.5 | 30.6 |
| What should be done about labor unions | 26.7% | 40.0% |
| Don't know | 3.8 | 3.5 |
| | 236.5%* | 245.4%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (US Aug '45) Which of the things on this list do you think are going to be troublesome problems for this country in the next few years? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Major problems* | |
| Unemployment | 58.9%* |
| Our relations with Russia | 55.6 |
| Handling of Germany | 51.9 |
| Handling of Japan | 50.1 |
| *Intermediate problems* | |
| Labor unions | 48.8 |
| Feeling against certain races or religions | 42.8 |
| Working out an international organization | 36.9 |
| Returning veterans | 36.0 |
| *Minor problems* | |
| Runaway prices | 25.2 |
| Our relations with England | 15.7 |
| Our relations with France | 8.4 |
| Our relations with China | 7.4 |
| None or don't know | 6.1 |

* Since respondents were asked to name all the problems they regarded as troublesome, percentages add to considerably more than 100.

**10.** (US Sept 25 '46) Now will you tell me which one of these issues interests you most—solving the housing problem; helping farmers to have good income; reducing the number of strikes; cutting down government expense; dealing with Russia; or reducing the cost of living? A second cross-section was questioned about: getting factories to produce more; keeping farmers prosperous; cutting taxes; keeping peace in the world; holding prices down; or keeping unemployment low. Both cross-sections were asked: Which is second most interesting to you? Each respondent was handed a card with the various issues on it. (AIPO)

| | *Most interesting* | *Second most interesting* |
|---|---|---|
| Solving the housing problem | 17% | 18% |
| Helping farmers to have a good income | 8 | 9 |
| Reducing the number of strikes | 18 | 13 |
| Cutting down government expenses | 13 | 7 |
| Dealing with Russia | 15 | 14 |
| Reducing the cost of living | 25 | 37 |
| No response to first group of issues | 4 | 2 |
| | 100% | 100% |
| Getting factories to produce more | 7% | 11% |
| Keeping farmers prosperous | 6 | 11 |
| Cutting taxes | 5 | 11 |
| Keeping peace in the world | 63 | 14 |
| Holding prices down | 10 | 24 |
| Keeping unemployment low | 8 | 27 |
| No response to second group of issues | 1 | 2 |
| | 100% | 100% |

**11.** (US Nov 13 '46) In the recent election, the Republicans won control of Congress. What is the first problem you would like to see the new Congress take up? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Labor strikes | 30% |
| Prices; cost of living; inflation | 12 |
| Housing | 8 |
| Taxes; taxation | 8 |
| Balance the budget; national debt | 1 |
| Shortages | 2 |
| Peace in world; relations with Russia | 4 |
| Veterans' problems | 3 |
| Controls | 6 |
| Politics; getting along with Truman; clean house | 4 |
| Get country back to normal | 1 |
| Education | 2 |
| Employment | 1 |
| Communism | 1 |
| Free enterprise | 1 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 5 |
| No opinion | 14 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## PROBLEMS, AGRICULTURAL

**1.** (US Jan 21 '43) What is the biggest problem facing farmers around here today? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Labor shortage; shortage of help, farm hands; need experienced farm help | 77% |
| Lack of equipment, necessary machinery, farm implements; getting plowing done; getting team for plowing | 19 |
| Finance; to get money to keep farm going | 8 |
| Inability to get needed fertilizer, seeds, and feed | 6 |
| Prices; getting living price for produce | 4 |
| Too much regimentation; being bossed around too much; rights have been taken away; can't use own judgment any longer | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 |
| No answer | 2 |
| | 126%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (US Jan 21 '43) What do you consider is the most difficult thing about running a farm today? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Labor shortage; hard to get good help | 70.3% |
| Shortage of equipment and poorer quality; repairs difficult to get | 26.9 |
| Expenses; getting money to buy supplies, fertilizer; high taxes; costs; lack of finance; price of equipment | 6.5 |
| Getting fertilizer, seed, feed | 4.7 |
| Government interference; too many restrictions, forms to fill out; listening to government adviser and then trying to do something you know damn well won't work on your farm | 4.0 |
| Low prices for products; poor return on produce makes it difficult to make ends meet; hard to show a profit keeping price of production beneath selling price | 2.3 |
| Shottage of gasoline | 1.2 |
| Uncertainty of government policies; difficulty in keeping up with government | 1.0 |
| Miscellaneous | 3.4% |
| No answer | 4.7 |
| | 125.0%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## PRODUCTION, AGRICULTURAL

**1.** (US Jan 21 '43) Do you expect to increase production on any of your crops or products this year? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Yes 64% No 29% Don't know 7%

**2.** (US Jan 21 '43) Which ones [do you plan to increase production on]? Asked of farmers only. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Milk and dairy products | 12% |
| Eggs | 5 |
| Beef | 11 |
| Hogs | 20 |
| Poultry | 11 |
| Corn (field) | 19 |
| Potatoes (white) | 9 |
| Soy beans | 5 |
| Peanuts | 6 |
| Dried beans | * |
| Tomatoes | 1 |
| Peas | 2 |
| Sweet corn | * |
| Green (snap) beans | 1 |
| Cotton | 6 |
| Wheat | 3 |
| Tobacco | 3 |
| Fruit | 1 |
| Mutton | 2 |
| Other products | 17 |
| None | 29 |
| Don't know; no opinion | 7 |
| | 170%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (US Jan 21 '43) Which one product can you increase production on most easily? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Milk and dairy products | 9% |
| Eggs | 2 |
| Beef | 6 |
| Hogs | 17 |
| Poultry | 8 |
| Corn (field) | 19 |
| Potatoes (white) | 7 |
| Soy beans | 5 |
| Peanuts | 6 |
| Dried beans | * |
| Tomatoes | 1 |
| Peas | 1 |
| Sweet corn | * |
| Green (snap) beans | 1 |
| Cotton | 5 |
| Wheat | 4 |
| Tobacco | 2 |
| Fruit | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Mutton | 1% |
| Other products | 13 |
| Any product | 1 |
| None | 5 |
| Don't know; no opinion | 4 |
| | 118%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**4.** (US Jan 21 '43) What is going to be your greatest difficulty in trying to increase your production this year? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't expect to have any difficulty | 5% |
| Already have reached limit, cannot increase further; have reached capacity of the farm | 6 |
| Labor shortage | 62 |
| Machinery shortage; difficulty in getting repairs | 10 |
| Shortage of seeds, fertilizer (soda) feed, and hay | 14 |
| High costs; high price of grain; the cattle and fertilizer | 5 |
| Government interference; AAA | 2 |
| Inability to get lumber, etc. to build barn in which to keep cows intend to buy; limited dairy barn facilities; chicken houses can't be built without supplies; fencing hard to get; etc. | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| No answer | 5 |
| | 115%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**5.** (US Jan 21 '43) Do you know what crops or products the government wants farmers to increase production on? 82% of the sample of farmers who said they did know were asked: Which? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Named one or more correctly | 69% |
| Named wrong crop | 13 |
| Didn't know | 18 |

**6.** (US Mar '43) Does it look now as though you would have to produce less this year than last because of a shortage of help? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

BY SIZE OF FARM

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Under 10 acres | 28.8% | 61.2% | 10.0% |
| 10–49 acres | 44.4 | 48.8 | 6.8 |
| 50–99 acres | 47.7 | 45.4 | 6.9 |
| 100–499 acres | 54.6 | 39.3 | 6.1 |
| 500 acres and over | 62.2 | 30.5 | 7.3 |

**7.** (US May 12 '43) This year will your production on this [your chief cash] product be higher or lower than it was last year? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Higher 51% Lower 15% About same 34%

**8.** (US May 12 '43) This year will your total production of all things on your farm be greater or smaller than it was last year? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Greater 58% Smaller 17% About same 25%

**9.** (US May 12 '43) Has the weather to date increased or lowered your estimate of what you will produce? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Increased 13% Lowered 52% No change 35%

**10.** (Hungary Apr '46) Is there hope of agricultural production being raised at the conclusion of the government's program for land reform? (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Other; undecided; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BUDAPEST RESIDENTS BY SOCIAL STATUS AND TYPE OF INCOME | | | |
| *Fixed income* | | | |
| Educated class | 57.4% | 39.8% | 2.8% |
| Bourgeoisie | 61.5 | 34.9 | 3.6 |
| Workers | 62.4 | 31.7 | 5.9 |
| *Variable income* | | | |
| Educated class | 36.4 | 63.6 | — |
| Bourgeoisie | 55.8 | 41.3 | 2.9 |
| Workers | 51.2 | 46.3 | 2.5 |
| COUNTRY TOWNS AND VILLAGES BY SEX | | | |
| *Town* | | | |
| Men | 61.7% | 31.4% | 6.9% |
| Women | 65.9 | 24.7 | 9.4 |
| *Village* | | | |
| Men | 70.6 | 23.8 | 5.6 |
| Women | 41.0 | 47.6 | 11.4 |

## PROFIT

**1.** (US Jan 11 '37) Do you think that in wartime the federal government should regulate all profits from business and industry? (AIPO)

Yes 71% No 29% = 100% No opinion 11%

**2.** (US Feb 22 '37) Do you think that profits made by big business concerns are too little, too big, or about right? (AIPO) (May 22 '43 and Sept 9 '43) In general, do you think business profits are about where they should be, too high, or too low? (NORC)

| | *Too high* | *Too low* | *About right* | *No opinion; don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '37 | 62% | 4% | 34% = 100% | 23% | |
| May '43 | 28 | 7 | 36 | 29 | = 100% |
| Sept '43 | 39 | 7 | 30 | 24 | = 100 |

(US May 22 '43) What do you think is mostly responsible for the fact that they [business profits] are too high? Asked of 28% of the May '43 sample who thought business profits were too high. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Shortages* | |
| Miscellaneous specific | 1% |
| Shortage of labor | * |
| *Demand* | |
| High wages and demand | 4 |
| *Taking advantage* | |
| No mention of specific group | 8 |
| Middlemen, wholesalers, jobbers, capitalists | 2 |
| Merchants, dealers, and shopkeepers | 1 |
| Manufacturers themselves | 1 |
| Political and pressure groups | * |
| Black market | * |
| *Other means of getting more profit* | |
| Government taken advantage of | 2 |
| Labor taken advantage of | * |
| *Government to blame* | |
| Government (general) | 1 |
| Ceilings have not been put on uniformly or soon enough | 1 |
| Criticism of ceiling regulation | 1 |

*Other costs*

| | |
|---|---|
| Labot costs | 1% |
| Other high costs | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 3 |
| | 28% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**3.** (US May 24 '37) Do you think most of our local merchants make too much profit? (AIPO)

Yes 23% No 65% No opinion 12%

**4.** (US Nov '38) There must be strong incentives to cause a people to develop a country to the prosperous state America has attained. Some hold that the desire to make a profit has been the strongest incentive responsible for this development. Do you agree? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 66.8% | 14.4% | 18.8% |
| BY SELECTED GROUPS | | | |
| Prosperous | 75.7% | 15.6% | 8.7% |
| Poor | 62.5 | 11.5 | 26.0 |
| Executives | 82.6 | 14.6 | 2.8 |
| Unemployed | 65.6 | 8.7 | 25.7 |
| BY DEFINITION OF LIBERALISM | | | |
| Reform with laissez faire | 74.3% | 17.0% | 8.7% |
| Regulated capitalism | 69.4 | 14.3 | 16.3 |
| New profitless setup | 69.5 | 17.4 | 13.1 |

**5.** (Great Britain Nov '38) Should the profits on the manufacture of armaments be limited by law? (BIPO)

Yes 91% No 9% = 100% No opinion 10%

**6.** (Great Britain June '39) Do you approve of the new armaments profits duty? (BIPO)

Approve 78% Disapprove 8% No opinion 14%

**7.** (Great Britain June '39) Would you like to see it widened in scope; and/or made heavier; left as it is? Asked of 78% who approved of the new armaments profits duty. (BIPO)

Widened 55% Made heavier 44% Left as is 29% = 128%*

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents questioned and add to more than 100 because some thought the duty should be both widened and made heavier.

**8.** (Great Britain Sept '39) What do you think about profiteering—that it is widespread and serious; some serious cases; frequent but slight; some slight cases? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Widespread and serious | 23% |
| Some serious cases | 22 |
| Frequent but slight | 11 |
| Some slight cases | 19 |
| Don't know | 25 |

**9.** (US Mar '40) Which one of these statements comes closest to describing your own point of view—if a business pays top wages, it is fully entitled to keep for its stockholders any amount of profit it can earn; if a business pays top wages, it should pay a certain fixed per cent to stockholders, and everything over that should be divided somehow between workers and stockholders; regardless of how much the profits are, stockholders are entitled only to a certain fixed per cent, and everything over that should be distributed among the workers. (FOR)

| | *All profits to stockholders* | *Profit sharing after dividends* | *All profits to labor after dividends* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33.6% | 36.8% | 17.7% | 11.9% |
| BY EXTREMES IN ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 56.5% | 34.0% | 5.9% | 3.6% |
| Poor | 21.3 | 36.7 | 25.2 | 16.8 |
| BY SELECTED GROUPS | | | | |
| Stockholders | 47.0% | 38.8% | 9.9% | 4.3% |
| Nonstockholders | 30.5 | 36.5 | 19.5 | 13.5 |
| Executives | 51.1 | 39.3 | 7.9 | 1.7 |
| Factory labor | 18.4 | 45.6 | 27.2 | 8.8 |

**10.** (US July 3 '40) Business firms planning to build factories to make war supplies are to be limited to a small profit. If the government limits profits, should it make up losses to these firms on war contracts if they occur in the next few years? (AIPO)

Yes 50% No 25% No opinion 20% Qualified answers 5%

**11.** (US Sept '40) Do you think a limit of some sort should be put on profits from government contracts? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, but not less than 5% | 9.5% |
| Yes, but not less than 10% | 28.1 |
| Yes, but not less than 15% | 5.5 |
| Yes, but no arbitrary limit; it should be set by administrator negotiating contract | 25.0 |
| No, for limits of any kind would slow things up and problem is not serious enough to warrant red tape | 29.3 |
| No answer | 2.6 |

**12.** (US Dec 16 '40) Do you happen to know whether or not the government limits the profits that companies working on defense contracts can make? 33% of the sample who thought profits were limited were asked: About what rate of profit is allowed? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No limit on profits | 8% |
| Don't know whether or not profits limited | 59 |
| Limited to less than 10% | 7 |
| Limited to 10% | 5 |
| Limited to more than 10% | 4 |
| Don't know limit | 17 |

Median 10%

**13.** (US Dec 16 '40) What do you think would be a fair rate of profit on defense contracts? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 5% | 4% |
| 5% | 6 |
| 6%–9% | 10 |
| 10% | 21 |
| 11%–19% | 7 |
| 20% | 6 |
| More than 20% | 9 |
| Don't know | 37 |

Median 10%

**14.** (US Sept '41) As it looks now, how do you think new profits of your company in 1941, before income and excess-profits taxes, will compare with those for the average of the past three years or so? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Above* | *Same* | *Below* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 63.9% | 19.1% | 17.0% |
| BY TYPE OF BUSINESS | | | |
| Manufacturing | 69.2% | 16.4% | 14.4% |
| Finance | 46.0 | 33.5 | 20.5 |
| Commerce and retailing | 61.0 | 17.3 | 21.7 |
| Railroads and utilities | 62.0 | 16.5 | 21.5 |

**15.** (US Feb '43) Do you feel that Congress should or should not pass a law further limiting profits for the duration of the emergency? (FOR)

Yes, should 79.2% No, should not 9.3% Don't know 11.5%

**16.** (US May '42) Here are a few suggestions which some people think would help the war effort. I would like to read them off and have you tell me which ones you think are good ideas and which ones you think are bad. A law to limit the amount of profits a business can make for the rest of the war. (Do you think this would be a good idea or a bad idea?) (NORC)

Good idea 73% Bad idea 13% Qualified answer 2% Don't know 12%

**17.** (US May 30 '42 and Oct 6 '42) In general, do you think companies making war materials are making too big a profit, that their profits are about what they should be, or that they are making too small a profit? (NORC)

| | *Too big a profit* | *About right* | *Too small a profit* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| May '42 | 33% | 35% | 2% | 30% |
| Oct '42 | 32 | 30 | 2 | 36 |

**18.** (US May 30 '42) How big a profit do you think they [companies making war materials] should make on war contracts? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| None at all | 2% |
| 1% or 2% | 2 |
| 3% or 4% | 4 |
| 5% or 6% | 15 |
| 7% to 10% | 18 |
| More than 10% | 10 |
| Don't know | 49 |

**19.** (US Nov '42) Which one of these groups would you say is getting the most financially out of the war? Asked of a national cross-section of high-school students. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Businessmen | 29.9% |
| People now important in Washington | 26.3 |
| Labor leaders | 13.6 |
| Factory workers | 22.8 |
| Farmers | 1.6 |
| Soldiers and sailors | .9 |
| None or don't know | 4.9 |

**20.** (US Feb '43) If a company pays top wages and salaries and pays fair dividends to stockholders, which of these groups do you think should get the profits that are left over—the management, the workers, the stockholders, or the government? (You can name more than one if you think they should be divided.) Asked of a national cross-section of workers. (FOR)

| | *Workers* | *Government* | *Stockholders* | *Management* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Factory workers | 61.9 | 40.4 | 23.6 | 17.2 | 7.9 = | 151.0* |
| Well-informed workers only | 65.1 | 35.9 | 34.1 | 25.4 | 5.2 = | 165.7* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**21.** (Canada Feb 17 '43) Do you think there are some people in Canada who are making large fortunes out of the war? (CIPO)

Yes 67% No 21% No opinion 12%

**22.** (US Mar '43) If you think someone is getting more than his share of profits from the consumer's dollar, who do you think it is? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

| | *Good* | *Fair* | *Poor* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | |
| Wholesaler, broker, packer, middleman, etc. | 68.1% | 63.4% | 47.3% |
| Retailer | 18.6 | 19.6 | 33.3 |
| Labor | 7.4 | 7.9 | 1.3 |
| Other | 9.3 | 7.5 | 4.0 |
| No one or don't know | 6.9 | 11.3 | 18.0 |
| | 110.3%* | 109.7%* | 103.9%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**23.** (US May 22 '43 and Sept 9 '43) During the next year, do you think the government will really be able to keep business profits under control? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| May '43 | 58% | 17% | 25% |
| Sept '43 | 57 | 18 | 25 |

**24.** (US Nov '44) After the war, do you think business should be able to make all the profit it can, or do you think business profits should be limited in some way? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Make all profits it can | 32% |
| Limit profit in some way | 63 |
| Don't know | 5 |

**25.** (US Mar 7 '45) Some war plants working on a cost-plus basis hire more workers than are actually needed because in that way these companies increase their profits. Would you favor or oppose having the government set a limit on the number of workers every war plant and business in the United States can hire? (AIPO)

Favor 47% Oppose 30% No opinion 23%

**26.** (France Mar 16 '45) Do you think the government is doing everything possible to confiscate illicit profits? (FIPO)

Yes 10% No 75% No opinion 15%

**27.** (US May 29 '45) What class or group of people in this country has done best financially during the war compared to what they made before the war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Labor; war workers; other workers | 60% |
| Business executives; upper class people | 15 |
| Farmers | 5 |
| White-collar workers | 3 |
| Miscellaneous or no particular group | 17 |

**28.** (Denmark June 15 '45) How would you punish the profiteers? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Death penalty | 5.2% |
| Prison | 21.4 |
| Take away their civic rights | 3.3 |
| Take away their civic rights for life | 9.0 |
| Take away their civic rights for a shorter time | 4.7 |
| Confiscation of fortune and property | 51.1 |
| Confiscation of war profit | 4.1 |
| Other replies | .9 |
| No punishment | .3 |

**29.** (US Sept '45) Who would you like to see decide what is a fair profit for big businessmen (small businessmen) to make—should each businessman decide for himself, or should the government decide? (NORC)

| | *Big businessmen* | *Small businessmen* |
|---|---|---|
| Each businessman | 27% | 41% |
| Government | 57 | 47 |
| Other answers | 4 | 2 |
| Both businessmen and government | 5 | 3 |
| Don't know | 7 | 7 |

**30.** (US Sept '45) From what you've heard, at the present time do most big businessmen (small businessmen) make about what you'd consider a fair profit or more than a fair profit? (NORC)

| | *Big businessmen* | *Small businessmen* |
|---|---|---|
| Fair profit | 29% | 54% |
| Less than fair | 3 | 28 |
| More than fair | 58 | 10 |
| Don't know | 10 | 8 |

**31.** (Canada Jan 23 '46) If a company improves its methods of manufacturing so that it can produce the same quality product for less money, which of the following do you think should be done with the saving: (1) Should the company sell its product to the consumer for less money, or (2) should the company sell its product to the consumer at the same price but increase workers' wages? (CIPO)

| | *Lower prices* | *Raise wages* | *Other* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 35% | 42% | 11% | 12% |
| BY LABOR STATUS | | | | |
| Union families | 31% | 51% | 10% | 8% |
| Non-union families | 36 | 40 | 11 | 13 |

**32.** (US Mar '46) Do you think the profits a company makes should be taken into consideration in setting the wage rates it pays? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Yes 13.1% No 67.0% Depends 19.8% Don't know 0.1%

**33.** (US Sept '46) Do you think there were any people or groups in the United States who wanted us to get into World War II for their own personal gain? 60% of the sample who thought there were such people or groups were asked: What people or groups generally do you have in mind? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| No such people or groups | 25% |
| Don't know whether or not such exist | 15 |
| Yes, have in mind: | |
| War material contractors | 13 |
| Industrialists; monopolies; millionaires; financiers; black market | 34 |
| Government; politicians | 7 |
| Roosevelt | 1 |
| Labor unions | 1 |
| Unemployed | 1 |
| Propagandists | 8 |
| Jews | 2 |
| Others | 2 |
| Don't know what people or groups | 4 |
| | 113%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**34.** (Brazil Sept '46) Do you think industry, commerce, or agriculture is getting the best margin of profits? (IBOPE)

| | |
|---|---|
| Industry | 52% |
| Commerce | 43 |
| Agriculture | 4 |
| No opinion | 1 |

**35.** (US Nov '46) Take an industry where most of the companies in it make about the same profit. If one company makes much more profit than the rest of them, do you think it should pay its workers more for the same jobs than the workers in the other companies are paid or about the same? (FOR)

| | *More* | *About the same* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 37.1% | 53.6% | 9.3% |
| BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS | | | |
| Owners of businesses | 31.6% | 61.8% | 6.6% |
| Salaried executives | 33.3 | 62.8 | 3.9 |
| Wage earners | 42.5 | 49.7 | 7.8 |

**36.** (US Dec 31 '46) How much profit do you think automobile companies made in 1946—very large profits, small profits, no profits—or do you think that they lost money? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Large | 33% |
| Small | 38 |
| None | 6 |
| Lost | 13 |
| No opinion | 8 |
| No answer | 2 |

## PROHIBITION

**1.** (US Oct '36) Do you think the repeal of prohibition has been good or bad? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good | 48.6% |
| Bad | 25.5 |
| Both | 17.2 |
| Neither | 4.3 |
| Don't know | 4.4 |

All those except the 25.5% who declared repeal bad were asked: Do you or members of your family drink beer, wine, spirits? Of those questioned, 74.6% answered in the affirmative.

**2.** (US Nov 30 '36 to Nov 27 '46, dates listed below) If the question of national prohibition should come up again, would you vote to make the country dry? (AIPO)

| | *Dry* | *Wet* |
|---|---|---|
| Nov 30 '36 | 33% | 67% |
| Dec 13 '37 | 34 | 66 |
| *Oct 8 '38 | 36 | 64 |
| June 7 '39 | 33 | 67 |
| Dec 22 '39 | 34 | 66 |
| **Oct 24 '40 | 32 | 68 |
| **Jan 23 '42 | 36 | 64 |
| (1) Feb 10 '42 | 36 | 64 |
| (2) Aug 25 '42 | 38 | 62 |
| (2) Nov 10 '42 | 36 | 64 |
| (2) July 28 '43 | 34 | 66 |
| (2) Jan 18 '44 | 35 | 65 |
| (2) Aug 29 '44 | 36 | 64 |
| (2) Sept 6 '44 | 37 | 63 |
| (2) Sept 12 '44 | 34 | 66 |
| (2) Oct 3 '44 | 39 | 61 |
| (2) Oct 6 '44 | 34 | 66 |
| (2) Oct 12 '44 | 37 | 63 |

| | *Dry* | *Wet* |
|---|---|---|
| (2) Oct 26 '44 | 33% | 67% |
| (2) Oct 3 '45 | 35 | 65 |
| (2) Nov 21 '45 | 33 | 67 |
| (2) July 24 '46 | 33 | 67 |
| (2) Nov 27 '46 | 36 | 64 |

Those with no opinion on the subject never comprised more than 10% of the sample.

* The question was: If the question of national prohibition should come up again, would you vote for it?

** If the question of national prohibition should come up again, would you vote for prohibition or against it?

(1) Would you favor or oppose a law forbidding the sale of all beer, wines, and liquor throughout the nation?

(2) If the question of national prohibition should come up again, would you vote wet or dry?

BY SEX

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Men* | | |
| Nov '42 | 29% | 71% |
| July '43 | 27 | 73 |
| Oct 12 '44 | 31 | 69 |
| *Women* | | |
| Nov '42 | 43 | 57 |
| July '43 | 41 | 59 |
| Oct 12 '44 | 44 | 56 |

BY AGE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *21–29 years* | | |
| Nov '42 | 29% | 71% |
| *30–49 years* | | |
| Nov '42 | 32 | 68 |
| *Under 50 years* | | |
| Dec '39 | 43 | 57 |
| *50 years and over* | | |
| Dec '39 | 28 | 72 |
| Nov '42 | 46 | 54 |

BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Farms* | | |
| Nov '36 | 46% | 54% |
| Dec '37 | 48 | 52 |
| Dec '39 | 48 | 52 |
| Oct '40 | 46 | 54 |
| Jan '42 | 50 | 50 |
| Nov '42 | 49 | 51 |
| July '43 | 51 | 49 |
| *Small towns* | | |
| Nov '36 | 47 | 53 |
| Dec '37 | 45 | 55 |
| Dec '39 | 43 | 57 |
| Oct '40 | 38 | 62 |
| Jan '42 | 43 | 57 |
| Nov '42 | 48 | 52 |
| July '43 | 45 | 55 |
| *10,000 to 100,000 population* | | |
| Oct '40 | 29 | 71 |
| Jan '42 | 31 | 69 |
| Nov '42 | 32 | 68 |
| July '43 | 30 | 70 |
| *Over 100,000 population* | | |
| Nov '36 | 28 | 72 |
| Dec '37 | 28 | 72 |
| Dec '39 | 27 | 73 |
| Oct '40 | 21 | 79 |
| Jan '42 | 23 | 77 |
| Nov '42 | 22 | 78 |
| July '43 | 19 | 81 |

DEC '37 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Democratic | 29% | 71% |
| Republican | 43 | 57 |

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | *New England* | *Middle Atlantic* | *East central* | *West central* | *South* | *Rocky Mountain* | *Far West* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Dry* | | | | | | | |
| Dec '37 | 26% | 24% | 36% | 41% | 47% | 42% | 24% |
| Dec '39 | 27 | 23 | 37 | 41 | 50 | 32 | |
| Oct '40 | 24 | 23 | 35 | 36 | 44 | 34 | |
| Nov '42 | 24 | | 35 | 42 | 59 | 27 | |
| *Wet* | | | | | | | |
| Dec '37 | 74 | 76 | 64 | 59 | 53 | 58 | 76 |
| Dec '39 | 73 | 77 | 63 | 59 | 50 | 68 | |
| Oct '40 | 76 | 77 | 65 | 64 | 56 | 66 | |
| Nov '42 | 76 | | 65 | 58 | 41 | 63 | |

**3.** (US Oct 8 '38 and Dec 13 '39) Do you think young people would be better off if we had national prohibition again? (Jan 23 '42) Do you think it would be better for young people if we had national prohibition again? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '38 | 43% | 57% = 100% | 9% |
| Dec '39 | 42 | 58 = 100 | 7 |
| Jan '42 | 45 | 55 = 100 | — |

**4.** (Canada Mar 7 '42, Sept 23 '42, Dec 23 '42, Mar 24 '43, May 1 '43, June 9 '43, Nov 24 '43, Apr 1 '44) Would you favor or oppose a law to prohibit the sale of all alcoholic beverages (including wine and beer) in Canada? (CIPO)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *Undecided; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '42 | 20% | 72% | 8% |
| Sept '42 | 29 | 65 | 6 |
| Dec '42 | 37 | 57 | 6 |
| Mar '43 | 30 | 65 | 5 |
| May '43 | 27 | 68 | 5 |
| June '43 | 23 | 68 | 9 |
| Nov '43 | 27 | 68 | 5 |
| Apr '44 | 33 | 77 | — |

BY SEX

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Men* | | | |
| Mar '42 | 15% | 78% | 7% |
| Dec '42 | 30 | 66 | 4 |
| *Women* | | | |
| Mar '42 | 26 | 66 | 8 |
| Dec '42 | 45 | 48 | 7 |

BY PROVINCES

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Maritimes* | | | |
| Dec '42 | 49% | 44% | 7% |
| May '43 | 36 | 60 | 4 |
| Apr '44 | 30 | 70 | — |
| *Quebec* | | | |
| Dec '42 | 32 | 61 | 7 |
| May '43 | 25 | 70 | 5 |
| Apr '44 | 17 | 83 | — |
| *Ontario* | | | |
| Dec '42 | 37 | 56 | 7 |
| May '43 | 28 | 67 | 5 |
| Apr '44 | 27 | 73 | — |
| *Prairies* | | | |
| Dec '42 | 39 | 56 | 5 |
| Apr '44 | 24 | 76 | — |
| *Manitoba* | | | |
| May '43 | 23 | 70 | 7 |

| | Favor | Oppose | Undecided; no opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Saskatchewan* | | | |
| May '43 | 33 | 60 | 7 |
| *Alberta* | | | |
| May '43 | 24 | 71 | 5 |
| *British Columbia* | | | |
| Dec '42 | 26 | 70 | 4 |
| May '43 | 19 | 77 | 4 |
| Apr '44 | 11 | 89 | — |
| DEC '42 RESULTS BY EXTREMES IN SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Farm areas | 51% | 42% | 7% |
| Cities over 100,000 | 24 | 69 | 7 |
| JUNE '43 RESULTS BY DRINKING HABITS | | | |
| Total abstainers | 42% | 45% | 13% |
| Liquor users | 7 | 87 | 6 |

**5.** (Sweden Apr '42) In 1922 we had a plebiscite concerning total prohibition of alcoholic drinks. If this should be repeated today, how would you vote? (SGI)

| | For prohibition* | Against prohibition* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 51% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | |
| Towns | 37% | 63% |
| Country | 56 | 44 |
| BY SEX AND AGE | | |
| Older men | 40% | 60% |
| Younger men | 33 | 67 |
| Older women | 65 | 35 |
| Younger women | 56 | 44 |

* 14% of the total sample had no opinion on the subject.

**6.** (Australia Sept '42) Would you favor or oppose prohibition in wartime? (Aug–Sept '43) Would you favor or oppose prohibition of liquor till the end of the war? (APOP)

| | Oppose | Favor | Undecided |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '42 | 67% | 24% | 9% |
| Aug–Sept '43 | 61 | 32 | 7 |

**7.** (Canada Sept 23 '42) Would you favor or oppose a law prohibiting their [alcoholic beverages including wine and beer] sale in Canada for the duration of the war? (CIPO)

Favor 43% Oppose 51% No opinion 6%

**8.** (US Mar '43) Do you think that during the war there should or should not be a law prohibiting the sale of hard liquor? beer and wines? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

| | No prohibition | Prohibit hard liquor only | Prohibit beer and wine too | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Farmers | 47.4% | 7.7% | 37.9% | 7.0% |
| Wives | 26.8 | 11.5 | 53.8 | 7.9 |
| Hands | 49.2 | 31.0 | 11.4 | 8.4 |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION* | | | | |
| Good | 57.7% | 7.1% | 30.8% | 4.4% |
| Poor | 37.0 | 6.9 | 45.2 | 10.9 |

* Determined by 13 current-information questions.

**9.** (US Jan 18 '44) There is a bill in Congress which would forbid the sale of liquor in this country until the war is over. Do you think this bill should be passed? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | = 100% | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 36% | 64% | | 5% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 30% | 70% | | |
| Women | 42 | 58 | | |

## PROPERTY

**1.** (Germany Dec 13 '45) What do you think should be done with the property of Nazi party members who are now in jail? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 1% |
| Take it away from them; should be taken away; divided up (unqualified) | 11 |
| Give it to those that suffered under National Socialism, concentration camp people, refugees, displaced persons | 9 |
| Give it to the poor and needy, bombed out, war invalids, war prisoners, people who have lost everything | 27 |
| Use for reconstruction, social purposes | 11 |
| Use to pay war debts, reparations | 5 |
| Take it away in part: leave them enough to get along on; leave wives and children something; go easy if they have families | 4 |
| Let them keep it: should not be taken away; let them keep it; give it back to them; should be mercifully treated; they have been punished enough already | 5 |
| Should be taken away only if they are really guilty; if it was illegally acquired; if they were big Nazis little Nazis should not suffer | 23 |
| Other answers | 1 |
| Don't know; no opinion; can't say; too early to tell | 7 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## PUBLIC HEALTH

**1.** (US Mar 30 '39 and Mar 19 '41) When was the last time you had a complete physical examination by a doctor? (AIPO)

| | Mar '39 | Mar '41 |
|---|---|---|
| Within the past 3 months | 12% | 15% |
| One year ago | 26 | 27 |
| Two years ago | 12 | 11 |
| 2–10 years ago | 22 | 24 |
| 10 years ago and over | 12 | 12 |
| Never | 10 | 11 |
| | | 100% |
| No answer | 6 | 6% |

**2.** (Great Britain July '39) When was the last time you visited a dentist? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 23% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 15 |
| 1 year to 3 years | 23 |
| Over 3 years | 39 |

**3.** (US Mar 6 '40) Have you ever had a complete physical examination? (AIPO)

Yes 71% No 29%

**4.** (US Mar 6 '40) How long ago [did you have a complete physical examination]? Asked of those who had been examined. 71% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Within past 3 months; 1940 | 11% |
| Within last year; 1939 | 29 |
| Two years ago; 1938 | 13 |
| Three years ago; 1937 | 8 |
| Four years ago; 1936 | 5 |
| Five years ago; 1935 | 7 |
| Six years ago; 1934 | 3 |
| Seven years ago; 1933 | 2 |
| Eight years ago; 1932 | 2 |
| Nine years ago; 1931 | 1 |
| Ten or more years ago; 1930 | 17 |
| Several years ago | 2 |
| | 100% of those who gave an answer when questioned |
| No answer | 2% |

Median 2 years

**5.** (US Mar 6 '40) Would you say that your health is good, fair, or poor? (Mar 19 '41) In general, would you say your health is good, fair, or poor? (AIPO)

| | *Good* | *Fair* | *Poor* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '40 | 62% | 31% | 7% |
| Mar '41 | 73 | 23 | 4 |

**6.** (Great Britain Nov '40) In view of the danger of epidemics under wartime conditions, do you think that the government should make inoculation against diseases like typhoid compulsory and free? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Compulsory and free | 33% |
| Free but not compulsory | 50 |
| Not necessary | 9 |
| Don't know | 8 |

**7.** (US Nov 30 '40) A university professor says American young men are lazy and soft and need to be toughened up. Do you agree? (AIPO)

Yes 52% No 48%

**8.** (US Nov 30 '40) What would you suggest to toughen up young men? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who thought young American men needed to be toughened up. 52% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Military training (army, conscription, etc.) | 50% |
| More manual work | 19 |
| Jobs | 8 |
| Exercise (sports, etc.) | 6 |
| More responsibility in their work | 2 |
| Some type of physical training | 2 |
| Other answers | 4 |
| Don't know | 9 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**9.** (Great Britain Mar '41) Do you consider that your health is now as good as, better than, or worse than it was before the war? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| As good | 66% |
| Better | 11 |
| Worse | 19 |
| Don't know | 4 |

**10.** (US Mar 19 '41) Have you found that the things you eat have any effect on the general state of your health? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 50% | 50% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 45% | 55% |
| Women | 56 | 44 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper income | 59% | 41% |
| Middle income | 51 | 49 |
| Lower income | 46 | 54 |

**11.** (US Mar 19 '41) Have you had a complete physical examination by a doctor in the past twelve months? (AIPO)

Yes 34% No 66%

**12.** (Great Britain Nov '41) Have you ever been inoculated? (BIPO)

For colds and influenza 9% For other illnesses 29%
No 64% = 102%*

* Since some respondents were uncertain about the meaning of inoculation and may have confused it with vaccination, results should be interpreted with caution. Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents had been inoculated for both colds and other illnesses.

**13.** (Great Britain Nov '41) Have you been inoculated during the last three months? (BIPO)

For colds and influenza 2%* For other illnesses 2% No 96%

* Number of cases is so small results should be interpreted with caution.

**14.** (Australia Dec '41) Should medical certificates be exchanged by people before they marry? (July '46) Would you favor or oppose a law to compel couples to exchange medical certificates before marriage? (APOP)

| | *Yes, favor* | *No, oppose* | *Undecided; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '41 | 73% | 14% | 13% |
| July '46 | 75 | 17 | 8 |

**15.** (US Feb 10 '42) Is anyone in your family sick from any other illness [than colds]? (AIPO)

Yes 12% No 88%

**16.** (Canada Mar 25 '42) Have you missed any hours of work during the past month because of illness? Unemployed persons were asked: Have you been ill at any time during the past month? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 15% | 85% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | |
| Under 10,000 population | 11% | 89% |
| 10,000 to 30,000 population | 18 | 82 |
| 30,000 to 100,000 population | 16 | 84 |
| 100,000 and over | 13 | 87 |
| Farm | 18 | 82 |

**17.** (Sweden June '43) Do you consider vaccination against smallpox to be effective, or do you think it ineffective or even risky? (SGI)

| | *Effective* | *Ineffective* | *Risky* | *Other objections* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 59% | 9% | 6% | 1% | 25% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | |
| Town | 63% | 7% | 5% | 1% | 24% |
| Country | 56 | 10 | 6 | 2 | 26 |

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Effective* | *Ineffective* | *Risky* | *Other objections* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Upper class | 72% | 4% | 7% | 3% | 14% |
| Middle class | 62 | 6 | 6 | 1 | 25 |
| Workers | 55 | 11 | 6 | 2 | 26 |

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| North Sweden | 44% | 13% | 7% | 2% | 34% |
| Mälar district | 64 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 24 |
| East Gotland | 61 | 11 | 6 | 4 | 18 |
| Skåne | 60 | 8 | 8 | 1 | 23 |
| West Gotland | 66 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 22 |

**18.** (US July 7 '43) Would you say that your health is better or not so good as a result of food rationing? A second cross-section comparable to that used for the preceding question was asked: Would you say your health is better or not so good since food rationing began? (AIPO)

| | *Better* | *Not so good* | *No difference* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| First cross-section | 7% | 10% | 82% | 1% |
| Second cross-section | 11 | 11 | 77 | 1 |

**19.** (US July 7 '43) Have you lost weight or gained weight as a result of food rationing? A second cross-section comparable to that used for the preceding question was asked: Have you lost weight or gained weight since food rationing began? (AIPO)

| | *Lost* | *Gained* | *Same* |
|---|---|---|---|
| First cross-section | 11% | 6% | 83% |
| Second cross-section | 19 | 12 | 69 |

**20.** (US July 7 '43) In general, do you think most people you know would be better off if they ate less? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 64% | 21% | 15% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 61% | 22% | 17% |
| Women | 67 | 20 | 13 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 56% | 25% | 19% |
| 30–49 years | 65 | 21 | 14 |
| 50 years and over | 68 | 18 | 14 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper and middle income | 70% | 19% | 11% |
| Lower | 59 | 23 | 18 |

**21.** (Great Britain July '44) Are you taking any medicine regularly? 23% of the sample who were taking medicine regularly were asked: Was it ordered by a doctor? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not taking medicine regularly | 77% |
| Medicine ordered by doctor | 15 |
| Medicine not ordered by doctor | 8 |

**22.** (US Mar 13 '46 and Mar 27 '46) Do you think your health would be better or worse if you ate less? (AIPO)

| | *Better* | *Worse* | *Same* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mar 13 '46 | 44% | 27% | 25% | 4% |
| Mar 27 '46 | 41 | 27 | 29 | 3 |

**23.** (Sweden May '46) Have you been ill since midsummer 1945 so that you could not work for at least one whole day? Asked of a national cross-section of employed persons. (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 35% | 65% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 35% | 65% |
| Women | 37 | 63 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 20–24 years | 43% | 57% |
| 25–29 years | 35 | 65 |
| 30–49 years | 34 | 66 |
| 50–64 years | 37 | 63 |
| 65 years and over | 29 | 71 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | |
| Large towns | 46% | 54% |
| Other towns | 32 | 68 |
| Country | 34 | 66 |

**24.** (Sweden May '46) How many days could you not go to work? Asked of 35% of a national sample of employed persons who had been ill since midsummer 1945. (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Women* | *Men* | *20–24 years* | *25–29 years* | *30–49 years* | *50–64 years* | *65 years and over* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 day | 2% | 2% | 2% | 4% | 1% | 2% | 2% | 1% |
| 2 days | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 3 |
| 3 days | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 4 | — |
| 4 days | 2 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 3 |
| 5–6 days | 6 | 7 | 6 | 9 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 5 |
| More than one, less than 2 weeks | 5 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 3 |
| More than 2, less than 4 weeks | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 3 |
| 1–2 months | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| More than 2, less than 6 months | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Longer | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| | 35% | 37% | 35% | 43% | 35% | 34% | 37% | 29% |

**25.** (Sweden May '46) What illness/es did you have? Asked of a national cross-section of employed persons. (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Influenza | 32% |
| Cold, catarrh | 18 |
| Rheumatic diseases (sciatica, arthritis, rheumatism, lumbago) | 11 |
| Accident | 10 |
| Abdominal diseases (gastritis, ulcers, etc.) | 7 |
| Illnesses in the throat (tonsilitis, boils, asthma) | 4 |
| Nervous disease | 2 |
| Diseases in the lungs (pneumonia, pleurisy, tuberculosis) | 2 |
| Disease of the eyes, ears, and nose | 2 |
| Other diseases | 15 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**26.** (US May 2 '46) Roughly, about how many times have you been to a dentist—never, once or twice, three or four times, five or six times, a dozen times, or more than that? (NYHT)

| | Never | Once or twice | 3 or 4 times | 5 to 11 times | 12 times | More than 12 | No answer |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 2.6% | 6.1% | 10.8% | 14.5% | 9.0% | 56.6% | .4% |
| BY AGE | | | | | | | |
| 21–34 years... | 3.7% | 7.5% | 11.5% | 17.1% | 9.3% | 50.7% | .2% |
| 35–49 years... | 1.5 | 6.0 | 11.2 | 14.1 | 7.5 | 59.6 | .1 |
| 50 years and over..... | 2.7 | 4.9 | 9.7 | 12.4 | 10.2 | 59.2 | .9 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | | | | | |
| Grade school. | 5.6% | 10.9% | 16.3% | 17.5% | 7.4% | 41.4% | .9% |
| High school.. | 1.1 | 3.6 | 9.0 | 14.8 | 10.7 | 60.7 | .1 |
| College..... | — | 1.9 | 3.5 | 7.5 | 8.6 | 78.5 | — |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | | | |
| Northwest... | 1.5% | 3.8% | 8.0% | 14.4% | 9.4% | 62.4% | .5% |
| Middle West. | 2.0 | 3.5 | 8.5 | 10.8 | 10.3 | 64.6 | .3 |
| South..... | 5.2 | 11.7 | 17.0 | 17.7 | 7.3 | 40.9 | .2 |
| Far West..... | .4 | 5.3 | 8.4 | 17.3 | 8.4 | 59.3 | .9 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | | | |
| Over 100,000. | 3.1% | 6.4% | 8.3% | 13.6% | 8.3% | 60.0% | .3% |
| 25,000 to 100,000.... | 1.7 | 3.0 | 11.0 | 13.5 | 9.7 | 60.7 | .4 |
| Under 25,000. | 1.5 | 4.7 | 10.2 | 13.4 | 9.6 | 60.2 | .4 |
| Rural farm... | 4.5 | 10.1 | 15.7 | 18.7 | 8.6 | 41.9 | .5 |

**27.** (Germany May 8 '46) Did you suffer from any other illness [than a cold] last month? Those who said they had some other illness than a cold were asked: Which? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, didn't say what illness | 3% |
| Not ill during last month | 79 |
| General malnutrition; lack of strength; dizziness | 2 |
| Grippe | 1 |
| Throat infection; inflammation of throat | 1 |
| Circulatory disease; tuberculosis | 1 |
| Rheumatism | 2 |
| Abscesses | 1 |
| Heart disease | 3 |
| Fever | * |
| Other | 8 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 104%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**28.** (Germany May 8 '46) Do you know if you have lost any weight since the first of the year? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| No, don't know | 20% |
| Didn't lose any weight | 14 |
| Yes, lost weight but didn't say how much | 1 |
| Lost 1–3 kg.** | 19 |
| Lost 4–5 kg | 21 |
| Lost 6–10 kg | 19 |
| Lost 11–15 kg | 4 |
| Lost 16–20 kg | 2 |
| Lost 21–25 kg | * |
| Lost 26–35 kg | * |
| Lost over 35 kg | * |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.
** The kilogram is equal to 2.2 pounds avoirdupois.

**29.** (Australia July '46) Would you prohibit the marriage of people not likely to have healthy children? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, would prohibit | 51% |
| Would allow such marriages | 34 |
| No opinion | 15 |

## PUBLIC LAW #346

**1.** (US May 29 '45) Does the G.I. Bill of Rights apply to all men in the merchant marine? (AIPO)

Yes 17% No 38% Don't know 45%

**2.** (US May 29 '45) Should the G.I. Bill of Rights be extended to include all men in the merchant marine? Asked of 38% of the sample who knew the G.I. Bill did not apply to men in the merchant marine. (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 33% No opinion 7% = 100% of those questioned

**3.** (US Aug 22 '45) Should all young men who are now being drafted into the army or navy receive all the benefits of the G.I. Bill of Rights? (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 19% Don't know 20%

**4.** (US Aug 22 '45) A cross-section comparable to that used for the preceding question was asked: Should all young men who are drafted into the army or navy from now on receive all the benefits of the G.I. Bill of Rights? (AIPO)

Yes 67% No 18% Don't know 15%

## PUBLIC OPINION

**1.** (US May 17 '37) Did you receive a *Literary Digest* straw-vote ballot in the presidential campaign last fall? 29% of the sample who said they had received a ballot were asked: Did you send it in? 18% of the total sample who said they had sent the ballot back were then asked: Did you change your mind regarding the candidates between the time you sent it in and the election? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't receive a ballot | 63% |
| Didn't remember or wouldn't say whether or not had received a ballot | 8 |
| Received a ballot but didn't send it in | 10 |
| Didn't remember or wouldn't say whether or not had sent ballot in | 1 |
| Changed mind after sending the ballot | 1 |
| Didn't change mind after sending the ballot | 16 |
| Didn't remember or wouldn't say whether or not had changed mind after returning ballot | 1 |

**2.** (US July 17 '39) Do you think that the majority of the people in this country are usually correct in their ideas on important questions? (AIPO)

Yes 38% No 42% Don't know and no answer 20%

**3.** (US Sept 3 '42) Do you think the government should conduct its own public opinion polls? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 30% |
| No | 45 |
| Don't know what public opinion polls are | 8 |
| No opinion | 17 |

**4.** (US Aug 22 '45) Have you ever been interviewed within the past year on any opinion or product survey besides this one? Those who said they had been interviewed within the

past year were asked: How many times within the past year, excluding this time? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, once | 6% |
| Yes, twice | 1 |
| Yes, three to six times | * |
| Can't remember how many times | 1 |
| No, not interviewed | 92 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**5.** (Germany Feb 21 '46) The military government is interested in public opinion and tests it continually. Have you read the results of these tests? 19% of the sample who said they had read the results were asked: What have you read about them? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Haven't read any results | 80% |
| Didn't say whether or not had read results | 1 |
| Read story announcing expansion of service; McClure; office will be established, etc.; statistical commentary on German life; interviews will be made with people | 5 |
| Read election prediction or results; people uninformed about politics | 3 |
| Read story about economic or living conditions, difficulties, or worries | 1 |
| Read about denazification | 1 |
| Read other results | 4 |
| Didn't say what read | 5 |

**6.** (Germany Feb 21 '46) What do you think of the method of going directly to the people in order to question them about their opinions, as we are doing now? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Very good; excellent | 14% |
| Good | 55 |
| O K; nothing wrong with it | 12 |
| Not much; can't see it makes any sense | 4 |
| Bad; undemocratic; Gestapo-like | 1 |
| Other answers | 2 |
| Can't say; no opinion | 8 |
| No answer | 4 |

**7.** (Germany Feb 21 '46) Why do you think that way? Asked of all those who expressed an opinion in answer to the preceding question. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good to inform the Americans about what we think; they need to see how the Germans look at problems; Americans will learn to know us; people in United States can find out how things go with us | 37% |
| We can make suggestions, speak our minds, unburden our hearts; free speech; little people are consulted; it's democratic; people's opinions are decisive | 30 |
| It is useless, people will not be truthful | 4 |
| It is useless, Americans will not listen; have real interest, promise but can't act | 1 |
| It may help; give us food; try anything in our situation | 4 |
| Not interested; no opinion; can't say | 8 |
| Other general expressions of approval; it's wonderful, praise the Lord; will give us the truth | 1 |
| Other general expressions of disapproval; it's no good; undemocratic | 1 |
| Other | 1 |
| No answer | 13 |

**8.** (Hungary May '46) Do you approve of constant public opinion research? Asked of the participants of the Independent Smallholders, Farmworkers, and Middle Class party's general assembly and Journalistic Congress in Vác. (HIPOR)

Yes 97% No 2% Other 1%

**9.** (Hungary May '46) What question should be asked for public opinion research? The question was put to the participants of the Independent Smallholders, Farmworkers, and Middle Class party's general assembly and Journalistic Congress in Vác, the twelfth of May 1946. (HIPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| The democratic problems | 7.9% |
| Hungary's fate and future in general | 3.6 |
| Foreign-policy questions; peace treaty; frontier question; minority questions; Transylvanian affairs; international cooperation after the peace treaty; war prisoners; etc | 30.9 |
| Home affairs; new elections; political parties; reaction; general conditions; coalition; Fascist plots; dismissal of employees; republican form of government; Jewish question; etc | 17.8 |
| Reconstruction | 1.9 |
| Economic questions; inflation; nationalization; etc | 23.5 |
| Social problems | 2.7 |
| Cultural questions | 0.4 |
| Various questions affecting every subject | 1.2 |
| Other | 4.8 |
| Undecided; no answer | 5.3 |

**10.** (US May 29 '46) It has been suggested that Congressmen poll citizens living in their districts to get their opinions when important issues arise. Would you favor or oppose a plan to have the federal government conduct and pay for these polls? (AIPO)

Favor 49% Oppose 34% No opinion 17%

**11.** (US May 29 '46) A cross-section comparable to that used for the preceding question was asked: Do you approve or disapprove of the idea of Congressmen conducting polls of the citizens of their own districts to find out how they feel on important issues? (AIPO)

Approve 73% Disapprove 13% No opinion 14%

**12.** (US May 29 '46) If polls like these [mentioned in preceding question] were made, do you think the federal government should pay the expense of conducting a certain number of these polls each year? (AIPO)

Yes 52% No 32% No opinion 16%

## PUBLIC UTILITIES

**1.** (US July '35) Do you regard your monthly electric bill as high, low, or reasonable? (FOR)

| | *High* | *Low* | *Reasonable* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40.8% | 1.9% | 53.9% | 3.4% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 39.7% | 2.8% | 55.5% | 2.0% |
| Upper middle class | 39.9 | 1.7 | 54.9 | 3.5 |
| Lower middle class | 41.1 | 1.9 | 53.4 | 3.6 |
| Poor | 43.7 | 2.1 | 50.4 | 3.8 |
| Negro | 38.3 | — | 54.6 | 7.1 |

**2.** (US July '35) Do you regard your monthly telephone bill as high, low, or reasonable? (FOR)

| | *High* | *Low* | *Reasonable* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 39.8% | 1.3% | 55.5% | 3.4% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Cities over 1,000,000 | 47.0% | 1.4% | 48.1% | 3.5% |
| Cities 100,000 to 1,000,000 | 47.6 | 2.3 | 47.6 | 2.5 |
| Small cities | 32.2 | .4 | 63.1 | 4.3 |
| Towns | 36.7 | .8 | 57.9 | 4.6 |
| Rural | 35.8 | 1.2 | 60.0 | 3.0 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 39.9% | .8% | 56.0% | 3.3% |
| Upper middle class | 40.9 | 1.1 | 54.7 | 3.3 |
| Lower middle class | 40.1 | 1.4 | 55.3 | 3.2 |
| Poor | 39.7 | 2.6 | 53.5 | 4.2 |
| Negro | — | 5.9 | 82.4 | 11.7 |

**3.** (US Feb 3 '38) In your opinion, are the rates you pay for electricity fair? (AIPO)

Yes 50% No 34% Don't have electricity 12% No answer 4%

**4.** (US Feb 3 '38) A cross-section comparable to that used for the preceding question was asked the question differently: In your opinion, are the rates you pay for electricity too high? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 50% |
| No | 34 |
| Don't have electricity | 11 |
| No answer | 5 |

**5.** (US Apr 6 '38) Do you have a telephone in your home? 46% of the sample who had no telephone were asked: If telephone charges were reduced one-quarter, do you think you would install a telephone? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Already have telephone | 53% |
| Didn't say whether or not had telephone | 1 |
| Would install telephone if charges reduced | 18 |
| Would not install telephone if charges reduced | 21 |
| Don't know whether or not would install telephone if charges reduced | 7 |

**6.** (US Apr 6 '38) Do you think the charges of the telephone company are too high? (AIPO)

Yes 48% No 30% No opinion 22%

**7.** (US Apr 6 '38) If [telephone] charges were reduced one-quarter, do you think the telephone company could give the same service it gives now? (AIPO)

Yes 53% No 19% No opinion 28%

**8.** (US July 31 '40) Do you have electricity in your home? 86% of the sample who had electricity were asked: Do you think the rates you pay for your electricity are too high, about right, or cheap? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't have electricity | 12% |
| Didn't say whether or not have electricity | 2 |
| Rates too high | 36 |
| Rates about right | 43 |
| Rates cheap | 4 |
| Don't know about rates | 3 |

**9.** (US Sept 25 '46) From whom do you buy your electricity? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Electric company | 77% |
| City | 6 |
| Rural Electrification Administration | 3 |
| Home plant | 1 |
| Don't have electricity | 4 |
| Consolidated Edison | 1% |
| Brooklyn Edison | * |
| Landlord pays | * |
| Consumers' power company | 1 |
| No answer | 7 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**10.** (US Sept 25 '46) Do you think the rates you pay for your electricity are too high, about right, or cheap? Asked of 88% of the sample who used electricity and got it from sources other than a home plant. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too high | 21% |
| About right | 55 |
| Cheap | 4 |
| No opinion | 8 |
| | 88% |

## PUBLIC UTILITIES AND STATE

**1.** (US July '36) Do you believe that the following utilities should be privately or publicly owned: light? gas? water? telephone? trolleys and busses? (FOR)

| | *For public ownership* |
|---|---|
| Water | 60.1% |
| Light | 55.6 |
| Gas | 54.8 |
| Telephone | 50.0 |
| Trolleys and busses | 49.2 |
| Don't know | 14.0 |

**2.** (US Nov 20 '36) Do you favor government ownership of public utilities? (AIPO)

Yes 40% No 52% No opinion 8%

**3.** (US Jan 25 '37 to Dec 31 '46, dates listed below) Do you prefer public ownership or private ownership of the electric power industry? (AIPO)

| | *Government ownership* | *Private ownership* | *Don't know; no opinion; undecided* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan 25 '37 | 67% | 33% = 100% | 13% | |
| *Jan 18 '38 | 54 | 34 | 12 | = 100% |
| **July 31 '40 | 31 | 49 | 20 | = 100 |
| (1) June 12 '45 | 29 | 50 | 21 | = 100 |
| (2) Sept 6 '45 | 27 | 61 | 12 | = 100 |
| Union members only | 38 | 39 | 23 | = 100 |
| (3) Dec 31 '46 | 28 | 64 | 8 | = 100 |

* The question was: Would you prefer public or private ownership of the electric power industry?

** Do you think the government should own the electric companies?

(1) Should the government own the electric power companies in this country?

(2) Do you think the government should own the electric power companies in this country?

(3) Do you think the United States government should own the electric power companies in this country?

**4.** (US Nov 30 '37) Do you think the attitude of the Roosevelt administration toward the electric power companies has been too severe? (AIPO)

Yes 35% No 65% = 100% No opinion 46%

**5.** (US Jan 25 '38) Do you think the electric power companies would be run more efficiently if the government owned and

operated them? (Mar 23 '38) Do you think government ownership would be more efficient or less efficient than private ownership? Asked of a national cross-section of people living in communities where the electrical power systems were not government-owned. 73% of a national sample is represented. A cross-section comparable to that used for the preceding question was asked simultaneously: Do you think the electric system would be run more efficiently or less efficiently under government ownership? 74% of a national sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | *More* | *Less* | *About same* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '38..... | 37% | 49% | — | | 14% |
| Mar '38: | | | | | |
| First cross-section..... | 30 | 40 | 18% | = 100% of those questioned | 12 |
| Second cross-section..... | 32 | 39 | 16 | = 100% of those questioned | 13 |

**6.** (US Feb 3 '38) Is the electric power company that serves your community privately or publicly owned? (Mar 23 '38) Is the electric power system in this community owned by the local government? (AIPO)

RESULTS IN FEB '38

Private 63% Public 23% No opinion 14%

RESULTS IN MAR '38

Yes 12% No 74% Don't know and no answer 14%

**7.** (US Feb 3 '38) Would you like to see your local government buy, own, and operate the electric power system that serves this community? (Mar 23 '38) Would you like to see the local government buy and operate the electric power system in this community? Asked of a national cross-section of people living in communities where the electrical power systems were not government-owned. 73% of a national sample is represented. A cross-section comparable to that used for the preceding question was asked simultaneously: Would you favor government ownership of the electric system here? 74% of a national sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '38..... | 42% | 35% | 14% | | 9% |
| Mar '38: | | | | | |
| First cross-section..... | 41 | 47 | 12 | = 100% of those questioned | |
| Second cross-section..... | 44 | 47 | 9 | = 100% of those questioned | |

**8.** (US Mar 23 '38) Do you think your electric bill would be larger or smaller if the local government operated the electric system here? Asked of a national cross-section of people living in communities where the electrical power systems were not government-owned. 73% of a national sample is represented. (AIPO)

Larger 19% Smaller 46% Same 17%
No opinion 18% = 100% of those questioned

A cross-section comparable to that used for the preceding question was asked simultaneously: Do you think government ownership would result in cheaper electricity rates? 74% of a national sample is represented.

Yes 50% No 35%
No opinion 15% = 100% of those questioned

**9.** (US June '39) Do you think our government should or should not regulate all public-utility rates like electricity, gas, etc.? (FOR)

Should 48.5% Should not 38.9%
Don't know or depends 12.6%

**10.** (US June '39) Do you think that our government should produce and sell all, some, or none of the nation's electric power? (FOR)

| | *All* | *Some* | *None* | *Don't know or depends* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 19.7% | 24.3% | 41.9% | 14.1% |
| BY OPINIONS ON FEDERAL REGULATION | | | | |
| Advocating federal regulation..... | 34.9% | 27.4% | 27.2% | 10.5% |
| Opposing federal regulation..... | 4.7 | 22.2 | 64.1 | 9.0 |

**11.** (US June '39) Do you think the government should own and operate all, some, or none of the telephone and telegraph systems? (FOR)

All 15.0% Some 14.5% None 57.7%
Don't know or depends 12.8%

**12.** (US Aug '39) Do you believe the government should own or more closely control the electric utilities? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Own..... | 15.0% |
| More closely control..... | 20.2 |
| Leave alone..... | 48.0 |
| Don't know..... | 16.8 |

**13.** (US Sept '41) If a more even distribution of the load within systems is undertaken, how do you think industrial, commercial, and residential customers can best be persuaded to cooperate? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| By educational programs conducted by the utilities themselves..... | 54.8% |
| By local general committees..... | 26.2 |
| By government order..... | 23.8 |
| By all these methods with emphasis on the one checked above..... | 47.6 |
| | 152.4%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**14.** (US Dec '41) After the war is over, do you think there will be more, the same, or less government regulation of public utilities? (FOR)

More 46.4% , Same 22.4% Less 8.2% Don't know 23.0%

**15.** (US July '42) After the war is over, do you think the government should own and operate all telephone companies, only regulate them, or leave them entirely alone? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Leave alone..... | 46.9% |
| Regulate..... | 31.7 |
| Own and operate..... | 7.2 |
| Don't know..... | 14.2 |

**16.** (US Feb '43 and Apr '43) After the war is over, would you like to see the government own and operate electric-light companies, only regulate them, or leave them alone? The Feb results represent the opinions of factory workers and the Apr results the opinions of farmers. (FOR)

| | *Leave alone* | *Regulate* | *Own and operate* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb factory workers.. | 39.2% | 29.7% | 22.6% | 8.5% |
| Apr farmers..... | 35.4 | 25.8 | 21.5 | 17.3 |

**17.** (US Nov '43) After the war, do you think the federal government should regulate gas and electric companies more or less than it did before the war started (say 1938)? (NORC)

More 34% Same 30% Less 15%
Depends 2% Don't know 19%

**18.** (Canada Dec 29 '43) Do you think that all public utilities such as water, gas, and electricity should be owned by the government, or should private companies be allowed to operate public utilities? (CIPO)

Government 61% Private companies 27% Undecided 12%

**19.** (France Jan 16 '45) Do you favor nationalization of the Paris Gas Company? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Paris | 68% | 17% | 15% |
| Provinces | 48 | 13 | 39 |

**20.** (Belgium Apr–June '46) Are you in favor of the nationalization of electric companies? (INSOC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 28% | 30% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 50% | 34% | 16% |
| Women | 30 | 25 | 45 |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | | |
| Urban | 44% | 30% | 26% |
| Rural | 36 | 33 | 31 |
| Industrial | 48 | 24 | 28 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farm and farm labor | 32% | 37% | 31% |
| Workers and artisans | 55 | 16 | 29 |
| White-collar | 48 | 35 | 17 |
| Merchants, manufacturers, and foremen | 32 | 54 | 14 |
| Professional | 37 | 61 | 2 |
| Living on income | 52 | 30 | 18 |
| Housewives | 30 | 25 | 45 |

**21.** (Great Britain Oct '46) Do you think that the government should or should not nationalize gas and electricity undertakings? (BIPO)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48% | 35% | 17% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 56% | 35% | 9% |
| Women | 40 | 36 | 24 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 60% | 26% | 14% |
| 30–49 years | 52 | 36 | 12 |
| 50 years and over | 45 | 36 | 19 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 39% | 58% | 3% |
| Middle | 48 | 42 | 10 |
| Lower | 54 | 26 | 20 |
| Very poor | 52 | 24 | 24 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative | 24% | 65% | 11% |
| Labor | 72 | 14 | 14 |
| Liberal | 42 | 40 | 18 |
| Other | 57 | 30 | 13 |
| Non-voters | 44 | 27 | 29 |

**22.** (Australia Nov '46) Do you favor government or private ownership of gas companies? (APOP)

| | *Government* | *Private* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 37% | 46% | 17% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Labor voters | 52% | 29% | 19% |
| Liberal-Country | 19 | 65 | 16 |

## PUBLIC WORKS

**1.** (US Oct '36) Do you believe that the WPA (work-relief projects) has been doing useful work in this locality? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Partly* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 54.2% | 13.5% | 22.2% | 10.1% = 100% |
| BY OPINIONS ON WHAT FORM RELIEF SHOULD TAKE | | | | |
| Cash payment | 7.7% | 17.8% | 8.1% | 6.2% |
| Jobs created by government | 82.7 | 57.5 | 69.5 | 64.6 |
| Both | 4.6 | 2.0 | 5.5 | 3.8 |
| Neither | 2.3 | 20.1 | 13.3 | 6.4 |
| Don't know | 2.7 | 2.6 | 3.6 | 19.0 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |

**2.** (US Jan 25 '37) Do you believe the TVA should be copied elsewhere in the United States? (Apr 19 '38) Do you think TVA projects should be tried in other parts of the country? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '37 | 67% | 33% = 100% | 44% |
| Apr '38 | 28 | 20 | 52 = 100% |

**3.** (US June 14 '37) Do you think local governments should be required to pay at least forty per cent of the cost of all new WPA projects? (AIPO)

Yes 69% No 31% = 100% No opinion 22%

**4.** (US Oct '37) Which kind of government—federal, state, local—do you feel should take care of conservation and flood control? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Federal | 67.4% |
| State | 12.4 |
| Local | 3.8 |
| Combinations of these | 3.3 |
| None of them | .6 |
| Don't know | 12.5 |

**5.** (US Apr 19 '38) Have you followed the arguments over the TVA? (AIPO)

Yes 28% No 70% No opinion 2%

**6.** (US Apr 19 '38) Do you approve of the TVA? (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 17% No opinion 53%

**7.** (US Apr 19 '38) In the fight between ex-chairman Morgan and the other commissioners of the TVA which side do you sympathize with? (AIPO)

Morgan 15% Others 10% No opinion 75%

**8.** (US July '38) On the whole, do you approve or disapprove of President Roosevelt's attitude toward TVA? (FOR)

| | *Like* | *Dislike* | *Undecided* | *Uninformed* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 26.8% | 23.9% | 16.1% | 33.2% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION* | | | | |
| Southwest | 87.2% | 12.8% | | |
| Southeast | 75.2 | 24.8 | | |
| Mountain states | 55.6 | 44.4 | | |
| Middle West | 46.7 | 53.3 | | |
| Pacific coast | 42.2 | 57.8 | | |
| Northwest plains | 40.8 | 59.2 | | |
| Northeast | 40.3 | 59.7 | | |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS AND NEGROES* | | | | |
| Negroes | 77.9% | 22.1% | | |
| Poor | 64.2 | 35.8 | | |
| Lower middle class | 56.2 | 43.8 | | |
| Upper middle class | 45.3 | 54.7 | | |
| Prosperous | 31.7 | 68.3 | | |
| BY OCCUPATION* | | | | |
| Factory labor | 76.5% | 23.5% | | |
| Farm labor | 74.0 | 26.0 | | |
| Other labor | 68.5 | 31.5 | | |
| Proprietors | 54.5 | 45.5 | | |
| Farmers | 53.6 | 46.4 | | |
| Unemployed | 53.3 | 46.7 | | |
| Housekeeper | 52.6 | 47.4 | | |
| White-collar | 49.5 | 50.5 | | |
| Professional | 42.2 | 57.8 | | |
| Students | 41.6 | 58.4 | | |
| Retired | 35.9 | 64.1 | | |
| Executives | 27.5 | 72.5 | | |

* Those who were undecided or uninformed were excluded from these breakdowns.

**9.** (US Jan 7 '39) Do you think government spending should be increased or decreased on public works (such as roads, dams, etc.)? (AIPO)

Increased 35% Decreased 25% Remain same 31% No opinion 9%

**10.** (US Jan 25 '39) Have you heard of the Passamaquoddy power project in Maine? (AIPO)

Yes 39% No 60% No opinion 1%

**11.** (US Jan 25 '39) Should the federal government spend $36,000,000 for this [Passamaquoddy] project? Asked only of those informed on the subject. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 73% = 100% of those questioned |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Republican | 7% | 93% |
| Democratic | 43 | 57 |

**12.** (US Jan 25 '39) Have you heard of the proposal to build a ship canal across Florida? (AIPO)

Yes 50% No 49% No answer 1%

**13.** (US Jan 25 '39) Should the federal government spend $150,000,000 for this [Florida ship canal] project? Asked only of those informed about the project. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 25% | 75% = 100% of those questioned |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Republican | 13% | 87% |
| Democratic | 34 | 66 |

**14.** (US Mar 30 '39) Do you think federal government spending for public works (slum clearance) should be reduced by ten per cent? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Public works | 53% | 47% = 100% | 15% |
| Slum clearance | 27 | 73 = 100 | 15 |

**15.** (US Apr 19 '39) Do you think the WPA in your community would be handled more efficiently if the local government had to pay a larger share of its cost? (AIPO)

Yes 50% No 30% No opinion 20%

**16.** (US Apr 19 '39) At the same time as the preceding question, a comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think the WPA in your community would be run more efficiently or less efficiently if the local government had more to say about running it? (AIPO)

More 43% Less 26% Same 15% No opinion 16%

**17.** (US Jan 10 '40) The President proposes a twenty-one per cent (about one-fifth) reduction in federal government spending for public works. Do you approve or disapprove of this cut? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 62% | 38% = 100% | 11% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 52% | 48% | |
| Republican | 74 | 26 | |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Farmers | 71% | 29% | |
| Small towns | 64 | 36 | |
| City | 58 | 42 | |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 79% | 21% | |
| Middle income | 68 | 32 | |
| Lower income | 44 | 56 | |

**18.** (US Jan 10 '40) Would you favor a smaller reduction [in public works funds]? How much? Those who, in answer to the preceding question, favored a cut of twenty-one per cent were excluded from the cross-section. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, 5% | 2% |
| 10% | 7 |
| 15% | 2 |
| Over 15% | * |
| Yes, didn't say how much | 3 |
| No | 55 |
| No answer | 31 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**19.** (US Jan 10 '40) A cross-section comparable to the one sampled with the preceding question was asked this and the following question: Do you think government spending for public works should be increased or decreased? (AIPO)

Increased 27% Decreased 40% No change 33% = 100% No opinion 17%

**20.** (US Jan 10 '40) The President proposes a twenty-one per cent (about one-fifth) reduction in spending for public works. Do you think this reduction is too large, about right, or too small? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who thought government spending on public works should be decreased. 40% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

Too large 3% About right 58% Too small 32% No opinion 7% = 100% of those questioned

**21.** (US Apr '40) Of these kinds of public construction—federal power plants, flood control, big national highways, airports—which do you think is, or might be, the most important on which to spend money in order to build up a better and stronger nation? Which second? Third? Fourth? (FOR)

| | *Flood control* | *Big national highways* | *Airports* | *Federal power plants* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| First | 38.0% | 21.0% | 18.1% | 13.9% |
| Second | 21.5 | 26.5 | 21.4 | 16.1 |
| Third | 16.3 | 23.0 | 23.7 | 18.3 |
| Fourth | 10.8 | 13.3 | 20.7 | 25.4 |
| Unimportant | 0.9 | 2.1 | 1.5 | 1.7 |
| Don't do at all | 1.0 | 1.8 | 1.6 | 9.0 |
| Don't know | 11.5 | 12.3 | 13.0 | 15.6 |

**22.** (US July 11 '40) Do you think the National Youth Administration should be continued as a regular department of the government? Asked of a national cross-section of people who have heard of the National Youth Administration. (AIPO)

Yes 82% No 10% No opinion and undecided 8%

**23.** (Sweden June '44) Do you follow the resolutions passed by your local municipality? (SGI)

| | *Often* | *Sometimes* | *Never* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9% | 25% | 66% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 14% | 32% | 54% |
| Women | 4 | 18 | 78 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 15% | 32% | 53% |
| Middle class | 11 | 27 | 62 |
| Workers | 7 | 23 | 70 |

**24.** (Sweden June '44) Is there anything you would like to have done in your locality, any larger project or the like, even if this means a higher municipal tax? Asked of 34% of the sample who followed the local municipal resolutions. (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Theater; concert hall; community hall; etc. | 19% |
| Warm and cold baths | 15 |
| Water; drains; light | 6 |
| Streets; roads; bridges | 6 |
| Parks; playgrounds; sports grounds | 6 |
| School building | 6 |
| Municipal hall | 2 |
| Industrial works | 2 |
| No particular wish | 38 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**25.** (US Apr 18 '45) Have you ever heard of the Tennessee Valley Authority—TVA? Those who had heard of the project were asked: Will you tell me briefly what it is? 41% of the sample who gave a reasonably correct answer were then asked: From what you know, is your opinion of TVA, in general, favorable or unfavorable? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Incorrect answers | 19% |
| Favorable opinions | 32 |
| Unfavorable opinions | 5 |
| No opinion | 4 |
| Never heard of TVA | 40 |

**26.** (US Apr 18 '45 and Aug 8 '45) Would you like to see something similar [to the TVA] organized for the Missouri valley? Asked only of those informed on the subject. The results are not really comparable because the Apr 18 results represent the opinions of those who gave a reasonably correct definition of TVA (41%) while the Aug 8 sample used all those who said they had heard of TVA (67%) including the confused respondents. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *Uninformed* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '45 | 27% | 5% | 9% | 59% |
| Aug '45 | 42 | 5 | 20 | 33 |

**27.** (US Aug 8 '45) Have you ever heard of the Tennessee Valley Authority—TVA? 67% of the sample who said they had heard of it were asked: Will you tell me briefly what it is? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Never heard of TVA | 33% |
| Government valley project to develop water power, irrigation systems, and flood control | 1 |
| Source for electric supply | 32 |
| Flood-control project | 3 |
| Irrigation project | 2 |
| Electricity and flood control | 6 |
| Electricity and irrigation | 2 |
| Irrigation and flood control | * |
| Power project; big dam; etc. | 5 |
| Incorrect and vague descriptions | 4 |
| Admitted didn't know | 12 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**28.** (US Aug 8 '45) All those who said they had heard of TVA (67%) including the confused respondents were asked: In general, is your opinion of the TVA favorable or unfavorable? (AIPO)

Favorable 47% Unfavorable 5% No opinion 15% = 67%

**29.** (US Aug 8 '45) Have you ever heard of the proposed Missouri Valley Authority? 38% of the sample who said they had heard of the project were asked: Can you tell me briefly what it is? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Unfamiliar with MVA | 62% |
| Source for electric supply | 8 |
| Flood-control project | 4 |
| Irrigation project | 3 |
| Electricity and flood control | 3 |
| Electricity and irrigation | 1 |
| Irrigation and flood control | 2 |
| Similar to TVA | 5 |
| Power project; big dam project | 2 |
| Incorrect and vague descriptions | 1 |
| Admitted didn't know | 9 |

**30.** (US Aug 8 '45) Do you approve or disapprove of it [Missouri Valley Authority]? Asked of 38% of the sample who said they had heard of the project. (AIPO)

Approve 22% Disapprove 4% No opinion 12% = 38%

**31.** (US Aug 23 '45) There have been all sorts of ideas suggested for things we should do in this country after the war, and we'd like to know how you feel about some of them. Do you think it is a good idea or not such a good idea to have the government start a large program of building things like dams, roads, etc.? (NYHT)

| | *Good idea* | *Not so good* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total* | 58.0% | 28.9% | 13.1% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 54.6% | 37.8% | 7.6% |
| Upper middle | 55.1 | 36.8 | 8.1 |
| Lower middle | 57.9 | 30.5 | 11.6 |
| Poor | 60.5 | 21.3 | 18.2 |

* National total from *Fortune* Aug '45.

**32.** (Canada Jan 30 '46) Have you heard of the St. Lawrence seaway plan? Those who said they knew what the St. Lawrence seaway plan was were asked: In general do you favor or oppose it? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes (incorrect) | 10% |
| Yes, favor seaway | 40 |
| Yes, oppose seaway | 6 |
| "On the fence" | 7 |
| Don't know what it is | 37 |

**33.** (US Feb 27 '46) The letters USA, for example, stand for United States of America. Will you tell me what words these letters stand for: TVA? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct: Tennessee Valley Authority | 35% |
| Incorrect: airlines, etc | 6 |
| Partly correct: Tennessee Valley, Tennessee Valley Association | 16 |
| Don't know and no answer | 43 |

## PUBLIC WORSHIP

**1.** (US Nov 20 '36) Does your church membership mean more or less to you than it did ten years ago? Asked of a national cross-section of church members. (AIPO)

More 75% Less 25% = 100% No opinion 22%

**2.** (Great Britain Nov '37) Are you a member of a church? (BIPO)

Yes 78% No 22%

**3.** (Great Britain Nov '37) Do you attend [church] regularly? (BIPO)

Yes 42% No 58%

(France Apr 16 '46) Do you go to Mass regularly on Sunday? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 33% |
| No | 55 |
| Belong to independent church | 4 |
| No answer | 8 |

(Australia Aug '46) Are you a churchgoer? (APOP)

BY RELIGION

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Roman Catholic | 68% | 32% |
| Methodist | 58 | 42 |
| Baptist | 52 | 48 |
| Presbyterian | 50 | 50 |
| Church of England | 69 | 31 |
| Other Protestant | 37 | 63 |

**4.** (Great Britain Feb '38) Do you ever stay away from church (or chapel) because you can hear the service on the radio? (BIPO)

Yes 25% No 75%

**5.** (Great Britain Jan '39) How often do you go to a place of worship? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Regularly | 27% |
| Occasionally | 41 |
| For weddings | 17 |
| Never | 15 |

(US Feb 22 '39) About how often do you go to church? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than once a month | 34% |
| Once a month to once a week | 28 |
| Once a week | 30% |
| More than once a week | 8 |

(US Nov 19 '40) About how many times a year do you go to church? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1–5 times a year | 11% |
| 6–10 times a year | 6 |
| 11–15 times a year | 7 |
| 16–25 times a year | 9 |
| 26–35 times a year | 7 |
| 36–40 times a year | 6 |
| 41–51 times a year | 6 |
| 52 times a year | 14 |
| 53 times a year and over | 6 |
| Never go | 18 |
| Not often | 4 |
| Several times a year | 1 |
| Quite often | 3 |
| No answer | 2 |

(Sweden Feb '42, Denmark Jan 2 '44, Czechoslovakia July '46) How often do you go to church? (SGI, DGI, CZIPO)

SWEDISH RESULTS

| | *At least once a month* | *From time to time* | *Christmas Eve* | *Never* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 20% | 50% | 10% | 20% |

SWEDISH RESULTS BY SEX

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 16% | 46% | 13% | 25% |
| Women | 25 | 53 | 7 | 15 |

SWEDISH RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Towns | 17% | 45% | 11% | 27% |
| Country | 22 | 53 | 9 | 16 |

DANISH RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Once a week | 5% |
| Once a fortnight | 9 |
| Once a month | 20 |
| Seldom | 50 |
| Never | 16 |

50% of the Danish sample who said they seldom went to church were asked: What is the reason?

| | |
|---|---|
| No time | 18% |
| No desire | 11 |
| Listen to the radio service | 9 |
| Don't feel like it | 5 |
| Go out of duty on special occasions | 4 |
| A long way to church | 2 |
| Illness | 2 |
| Don't like the vicar | 1 |
| Don't like clergymen | 1 |
| No benefit from it | 1 |
| Don't know | 46 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

CZECHOSLOVAKIAN RESULTS

| | *Regularly* | *Occasionally* | *On major occasions* | *Never* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 20.0% | 42.8% | 13.6% | 23.6% |

CZECHOSLOVAKIAN RESULTS BY AGE

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18–29 years | 16.4% | 41.0% | 16.0% | 26.6% |
| 30–49 years | 17.4 | 42.4 | 15.4 | 24.8 |
| 50 years and over | 26.8 | 44.5 | 9.4 | 19.3 |

CZECHOSLOVAKIAN RESULTS BY OCCUPATION

| | *Regularly* | *Occasionally* | *On major occasions* | *Never* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Laborers | 20.0% | 39.1% | 13.4% | 27.5% |
| White-collar | 16.6 | 40.7 | 19.2 | 23.5 |
| Civil service | 17.6 | 47.0 | 14.7 | 20.7 |
| Farmers | 30.0 | 50.0 | 8.6 | 11.4 |
| Business | 17.8 | 46.2 | 12.4 | 23.6 |

(US Dec '42 and Mar '43) About how often do you go to church as a usual thing? The December question was asked of a national cross-section of high-school students, and the March question was asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

DECEMBER '42 RESULTS

| | *Weekly or more often* | *Two or three times a month* | *Monthly* | *Less often than monthly* | *Do not attend church* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| All students | 56.5% | 22.0% | 7.8% | 8.6% | 5.1% |
| 1942 RESULTS BY SEX | | | | | |
| Boys | 49.6% | 24.3% | 9.2% | 10.0% | 6.9% |
| Girls | 63.5 | 19.5 | 6.4 | 7.3 | 3.3 |
| 1942 RESULTS BY EDUCATION | | | | | |
| Seniors | 48.8% | 24.6% | 10.1% | 10.8% | 5.7% |
| Freshmen | 61.4 | 19.1 | 5.7 | 8.4 | 5.4 |
| MARCH '43 RESULTS | | | | | |
| Farmers | 29.1% | 18.9% | 14.7% | 23.3% | 14.0% |
| Wives | 44.3 | 19.7 | 11.8 | 17.3 | 6.9 |
| Hands | 19.3 | 19.0 | 17.0 | 21.3 | 23.4 |

(Netherlands Dec '46) How often do you usually go to church? (NFS)

| | *Every day* | *Some days a week* | *One day a week* | *Some days a month* | *One day a month or less* | *Never* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 4% | 9% | 37% | 8% | 12% | 30% |
| BY RELIGION | | | | | | |
| Roman Catholic | 11% | 31% | 51% | 1% | 2% | 4% |
| Dutch Reformed | — | — | 35 | 18 | 26 | 21 |
| Calvinist | — | — | 88 | 6 | 2 | 4 |
| Other religions | — | — | 32 | 18 | 28 | 22 |
| Secular | — | — | — | 1 | 7 | 92 |

**6.** (US Feb 22 '39, Nov 19 '40, May 30 '42) Did you happen to go to church last Sunday? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Feb '39 | 41% | 59% |
| Nov '40 | 37 | 63 |
| May '42 | 36 | 64 |

**7.** (US Feb 22 '39) What did you do last Sunday morning? Asked of 59% of a national sample who hadn't attended church the preceding Sunday. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Slept, rested | 27% |
| Worked (house, yard, job) | 24 |
| Did nothing in particular | 11 |
| Read (Sunday papers, books) | 9 |
| Listened to radio | 5 |
| Cooked and baked | 6 |
| Visited | 3 |
| Outdoor sports and walking | 2 |
| Took a drive; was away on a trip | 4 |
| Took care of sick person in family | 4 |
| All others | 5 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**8.** (US Feb 22 '39) Do you go to church more often or less often than your parents did? (AIPO)

Less 50% More 18% About same 32% = 100%
No answer 2%

**9.** (US Feb 22 '39) Do you make your children go to Sunday school regularly? A comparable cross-section was asked: Do your children go to Sunday school regularly? Asked of parents only. Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 39%

**10.** (US Feb 22 '39) What could the churches do to get you to attend more often? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| More socials | 3% |
| More interesting sermons | 2 |
| Cut out hypocrisy | 1 |
| Have better ministers | 2 |
| Become more modern | 1 |
| Not cry for money so often; stop dunning people for money | 1 |
| Have better music | 1 |
| Provide transportation | 1 |
| Get out of politics | 1 |
| Show more interest in young people | 1 |
| Ministers should be more liberal | 1 |
| Visits from the clergy | 1 |
| Show more friendly spirit | 1 |
| Teach about the Bible instead of about trouble and liquor | 1 |
| More services | 1 |
| Apply sermons to everyday conditions | 1 |
| Nothing | 23 |
| Not church's fault | 4 |
| All others | 12 |
| No answer | 41 |

**11.** (US Feb 22 '39) Did you listen to any church services on the radio last Sunday? (AIPO)

Yes 31% No 69%

**12.** (US May 30 '42) Do you go to church more often or less often than you did a year ago? (AIPO)

More often 13% Less often 19% About the same 68%

**13.** (US Sept 14 '43 and Nov 15 '44) Have you attended a religious service (church, Mass, synagogue) within the past four weeks? Those who said they had attended religious services were asked: How many times [have you attended] in the past four weeks? (AIPO) (Canada Aug 21 '46) Have you attended a religious service within the past four weeks? (CIPO)

RESULTS IN UNITED STATES

| | *1943* | *1944* |
|---|---|---|
| Have not attended | 43% | 42% |
| Once in the past four weeks | 10 | 11 |
| Twice | 13 | 12 |
| Three times | 6 | 6 |
| Four times | 20 | 19 |
| Five times | 1 | 1 |
| Six times | 2 | 1 |
| Seven times | — | 1 |
| Eight times | 2 | 2 |
| Ten times or more | — | 2 |
| Have attended but didn't say how many times | 3 | 3 |

CANADIAN RESULTS

Yes 66% No 32% Not sure or couldn't recall 2%

**14.** (Canada May 12 '45) Have you attended a religious service since Easter? (CIPO)

BY AGE

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| 21–29 years | 69% | 31% |
| 30–49 years | 64 | 36 |
| Over 50 years | 64 | 36 |

**15.** (Denmark Dec 22 '45) Do you go to church or do you listen to the wireless service on Christmas Eve? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Church | 38% |
| Wireless | 32 |
| Nothing | 18 |
| Church and wireless | 7 |
| Have no time | 5 |

## PUNISHMENT

**1.** (US Aug 2 '37) Would you be in favor of restoring the whipping post as a means of punishing certain types of criminals? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 39% | 61% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 43% | 57% |
| Women | 34 | 66 |

**2.** (US Aug 2 '37) 39% of the sample who favored the restoration of the whipping post for certain types of criminals were asked: What types of criminals? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sex criminals | 16% |
| Petty criminals | 14 |
| Wife beaters | 14 |
| Kidnapers | 9 |
| Murderers | 9 |
| Habitual criminals | 7 |
| Thieves and swindlers | 7 |
| Juvenile offenders | 5 |
| All types | 4 |
| Drunkards | 4 |
| Drunken drivers | 3 |
| All others | 8 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**3.** (Great Britain Mar '38) Do you favor the abolition of flogging as a punishment for offenders against the law? (BIPO)

Yes 44% No 52% No opinion 4%

**4.** (Great Britain Mar '38) Would you agree to flogging being kept as a punishment for serious breaches of prison discipline? (BIPO)

Yes 42% No 51% No opinion 7%

**5.** (Great Britain Dec '38 and June '39) A bill now before Parliament abolishes flogging and birching except for offenses committed in prison. Do you approve or disapprove? In June '39 the question read: A bill now before Parliament proposes to abolish flogging and birching except for offenses committed in prison. Do you approve or disapprove of the proposal? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '38 | 47% | 45% | 8% |
| June '39 | 44 | 54 | 2 |

**6.** (Great Britain Dec '38 and June '39) Should flogging and birching be abolished entirely? Asked of national cross-sections who approved of abolishing flogging except for prison offenses. (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '38 | 69% | 26% | 5% |
| June '39 | 61 | 35 | 4 |

**7.** (Great Britain Mar '39) Motorists are fined or imprisoned for dangerous driving. Should walkers also be punished if found guilty of careless walking, endangering the safety of others? (BIPO)

Yes 79% No 12% No opinion 9%

**8.** (Great Britain June '40) Do you approve of the prosecutions there have been under the act which makes it an offense to say or do anything "calculated to cause alarm or despondency"? (BIPO)

Yes 48% No 21% Not in all cases 24% Don't know 7%

**9.** (Denmark Jan 21 '45) Do you think the Danish penal code should be made more severe for murder, violence, or theft where weapons are used, even when only threatened? (DGI)

Yes 73.6% No 15.5% Don't know 10.9%

**10.** (Sweden Feb '45) Do you think that the present penal code makes worse characters out of burglars, for instance, makes them better, or has only a little influence on their characters? (SGI)

| | *Worse* | *Better* | *Little influence* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 13% | 14% | 43% | 30% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 15% | 14% | 46% | 25% |
| Women | 11 | 14 | 39 | 36 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 16% | 11% | 41% | 32% |
| Middle class | 11 | 14 | 46 | 29 |
| Workers | 14 | 14 | 39 | 33 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–24 years | 16% | 22% | 37% | 25% |
| 25–29 years | 12 | 14 | 47 | 27 |
| 30–49 years | 11 | 13 | 45 | 31 |
| 50–64 years | 12 | 12 | 43 | 33 |
| 65 years and over | 18 | 11 | 34 | 37 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Country | 12% | 14% | 43% | 31% |
| Large towns | 15 | 10 | 45 | 30 |
| Other towns | 14 | 15 | 40 | 31 |

**11.** (Netherlands Oct '45) Should misbehavior in the camps of those condemned be punished by corporal punishment? (NFS)

Yes 25% No 72% No opinion 3%

**12.** (Netherlands Oct '45) Plans are being considered to release the so-called light cases [of political criminals] before they have answered to a tribunal but on the condition of a certain supervision, e.g. a compulsory registration. However, objections are also raised against these plans because people want to see them tried first. What is your opinion? (NFS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Release them under supervision | 45% |
| Have them tried first | 52 |
| No opinion | 3 |

**13.** (Netherlands Oct '45) Should political prisoners be admitted in society again after having undergone their punishment? (NFS)

Yes 68% No 23% No opinion 9%

**14.** (Germany Nov 26 '45) Do you know any former party members who seem to you to have been dealt with too harshly? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Respondent | 5% |
| Relatives | 13 |
| Friends | 4 |
| Acquaintances | 15 |
| Other party members | 6 |
| Other answers | 4 |
| None | 39 |
| No opinion | 11 |
| No answer | 10 |
| | 107%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**15.** (Canada Jan 19 '46) Recently a good many judges have been senrencing men convicted of armed robbery to flogging in addition to jail terms. Do you think judges should be allowed to do this or not? (CIPO)

| | *Yes, allowed* | *No, not allowed* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 61% | 28% | 11% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 65% | 25% | 10% |
| Women | 57 | 31 | 12 |

**16.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statement: Stern treatment and infliction of death penalties were necessary to rule the German people. (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| American zone and Berlin | 27% | 62% | 11% |
| Berlin only | 39 | 58 | 3 |

**17.** (Czechoslovakia Sept '46) Would you approve or disapprove of the proposal to introduce fines for arriving late at work? (CZIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 70% | 17% | 13% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Laborers | 66% | 21% | 13% |
| White-collar | 72 | 20 | 8 |
| Farmers | 74 | 9 | 17 |
| Business | 73 | 9 | 18 |

## QUESTIONS TO GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

**1.** (US Feb 23 '43) If you could ask any question you wanted to of any of these men which one would you like to ask a question? Two comparable cross-sections were questioned about two different lists of men. (AIPO)

| *First group* | | *Second group* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wickard | 18% | Nelson | 11% |
| Hershey | 12 | Davis | 10 |
| McNutt | 16 | Brown | 12 |
| Stimson | 6 | Byrnes | 17 |
| Morgenthau | 9 | Knox | 11 |
| Jeffers | 11 | Wallace | 8 |
| Couldn't say | 28 | Couldn't say | 31 |

**2.** (US Mar 10 '43) Many people have questions they want to ask government officials. You must have questions you'd like to ask. If you could ask questions of a government official from Washington on any of these subjects, which subject would you pick? (Mar 24 '43 and Apr 6 '43) Suppose you could ask a government official a question on one of these subjects, which subject would you pick? (AIPO)

| | *Mar 10 '43* | *Mar 24 '43* | *Apr '43* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rationing (Prentiss Brown) | 18% | 31% | — |
| Prices and wages (James Byrnes) | 17 | — | 11% |
| Manpower and draft (Paul McNutt, Gen. Hershey) | 19 | 24 | 11 |
| Reporting war information (Elmer Davis) | 12 | — | — |
| World postwar plans (Cordell Hull) | — | 7 | 38 |
| Agriculture and farming (Claude Wickard) | 14 | — | — |
| Food problem (Chester Davis) | — | — | 9 |
| Food production (Claude Wickard) | — | 7 | — |
| War bonds (Henry Morgenthau) | — | — | 13 |
| Postwar Social-Security plan (Frederic Delano) | — | 5 | — |
| No answer; no question | 20 | 26 | 18 |

**3.** (US Mar 24 '43, Apr 6 '43, May 12 '43) Have you ever thought you'd like to write a letter to your Congressman or to a government official? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Mar '43 | 45% | 55% |
| Apr '43 | 46 | 54 |
| May '43 | 46.5 | 53.5 |

**4.** (Canada Apr 22 '44) Suppose you could sit down with Prime Minister Mackenzie King and could ask him any question you wished, what questions would you like to ask the Prime Minister about problems here in Canada? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Problems dealing with postwar matters other than demobilization | 15% |
| Plans for the demobilization and rehabilitation of soldiers | 13 |
| Various questions dealing with social legislation | 7 |
| Income tax questions | 5 |
| Farm problems | 5 |
| Questions concerning Quebec | 4 |
| Questions concerning the war effort | 4 |
| Conscription | 3 |
| Labor problems | 3 |
| Elections | 3 |
| Immigration | 3 |
| Foreign relations | 2 |
| Liquor | 2 |
| Housing | 1 |
| Rationing | 1 |
| Miscellaneous questions | 10 |
| No questions to ask | 19 |

**5.** (US Aug 17 '43) If your Congressman asked you, would you be willing to take the time each month to write him a letter giving him your views on all major issues? (Jan 17 '45)

Would you be willing to give your views on national and local problems if your Congressman wanted them from time to time? (Jan 31 '45, Feb 20 '45) Would you be willing to give your views on national and local problems if your Congressman sent you a questionnaire to fill out each month? (Mar 7 '45) Would you be willing to give your views on local and national problems if you were sent a questionnaire to fill out each month? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '43 | 64% | 26% | 10% |
| Jan 17 '45 | 71 | 29 | — |
| Jan 31 '45 | 60 | 40 | — |
| Feb '45 | 62 | 38 | — |
| Mar '45 | 48 | 52 | — |

**6.** (US May 29 '46) Have you ever written or wired your Congressman or Senator in Washington? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 14% | 86% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | |
| Business and professional | 32% | 68% |
| White-collar | 17 | 83 |
| Farmers | 12 | 88 |
| Manual workers | 7 | 93 |
| BY EDUCATION | | |
| College | 35% | 65% |
| High schoól | 15 | 85 |
| Grammar school or no school | 9 | 91 |

**7.** (US May 29 '46) Did you do it [write or wire your Congressman or Senator] yourself, or did some person or organization suggest that you do it? Asked of 14% of the sample who had written or wired their Congressman or Senator. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Self | 9% |
| Person or organization | 5 |
| | 14% |

## RACE

**1.** (Germany Mar 29 '46) It was often said that the Nordic race was superior to all other races in the world. Is this your opinion or not? A cross-section comparable to that used for the preceding question was asked: Hitler also often said that the Nordic race was superior to all other races in the world. Is this your opinion or not? (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| First cross-section | 14% | 71% | 15% |
| Second cross-section | 11 | 75 | 14 |

**2.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statements: (OMGUS)

| | AMERICAN ZONE AND BERLIN | | | BERLIN ONLY | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
| Men and women should be allowed to marry regardless of race | 68% | 29% | 3% | 80% | 20% | — |
| The international bankers and Communists belong to various races and countries | 80 | 6 | 14 | 84 | 9 | 7% |
| Negroes are members of an inferior race | 30% | 59% | 11% | 28% | 67% | 5% |
| If a pure German marries a non-Aryan wife, he should be looked down on and criticized | 10 | 85 | 5 | 6 | 93 | 1 |
| It has been scientifically established that there is no such thing as a superior people or a master race | 67 | 19 | 14 | 72 | 23 | 5 |
| Negroes have the same abilities as other races | 57 | 28 | 15 | 74 | 20 | 6 |

**3.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Do you think that some races are inferior to others? (OMGUS)

Yes 32% No 56% No opinion 12% No answer*

* Less than 0.5%.

**4.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Do you think that some races are more suited to rule than others? (OMGUS)

Yes 48% No 35% No opinion 17% No answer*

* Less than 0.5%.

**5.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Should a German who marries a non-Aryan wife be outlawed and condemned? (OMGUS)

Yes 3% No 91% No opinion 6%

## RADIO

**1.** (US June 8 '38) Do you think broadcasting stations are fair in the way they handle political issues? (AIPO)

Yes 63% No 11% No opinion 26%

**2.** (Great Britain Oct '39) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the British Broadcasting Corporation is doing its wartime job? (BIPO)

Satisfied 49% Dissatisfied 34% Don't listen 10% Don't know 7%

**3.** (US Nov '39) If you had to give up either going to the movies or lisrening to the radio, which one would you give up? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Going to the movies | 79.3% |
| Lisrening to the radio | 13.9 |
| Don't know | 6.8 |

**4.** (US Dec 31 '40) Do you own a radio? (AIPO)

Yes 89% No 11%

**5.** (US Dec 31 '40) Do you have more than one radio in working order in your home? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, 2 radios | 20% |
| Yes, 3 radios | 6 |
| Yes, 4 radios | 2 |
| Yes, 5 or more radios | 1 |
| Yes, didn't say how many | 2 |
| No | 58 |
| No answer | 11 |

**6.** (Great Britain Jan 16 '42, Apr 4 '43, Jan '45) Is there a wireless set in your home? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Jan '42 | 90% | 10% |
| Apr '43 | 89 | 11 |
| Jan '45 | 91 | 9 |

**7.** (Great Britain Jan 16 '42, Apr 4 '43, Jan '45) Is it [your wireless set] in working order? Asked of a national cross-section of wireless owners. 10% of the 1942 sample, 12% of the 1943 sample, and 8% of the 1945 sample who said their sets were out of order were asked: What is wrong with it? (BIPO)

| | *1942* | *1943* | *1945* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Set in working order | 90% | 88% | 92% |
| Set needs repairs | 4 | 7 | — |
| No batteries | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| No valves | 2 | 4 | 2 |
| Blitzed | 1 | — | — |
| Lacks other component parts | — | — | 2 |
| Miscellaneous things wrong | — | — | 1 |
| Don't know what's wrong | — | — | 2 |
| | | 101%* | |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

How long has it [the wireless set in your home] been out of order? Asked of 8% of the 1945 sample of wireless owners whose sets were not in working order.

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 3 months | 4% |
| 3–6 months | 1 |
| 6–12 months | 1 |
| 12 months | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 8% |

**8.** (Australia July–Aug '42) Would you say you listen to the radio more frequently or less frequently than a year ago? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| More frequently | 49% |
| About the same | 31 |
| Less frequently | 14 |
| No radio | 6 |

**9.** (Denmark June 20 '43) Do you listen daily or only now and again to station Copenhagen-Kalundborg? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Every day | 78% |
| Now and again | 22 |

**10.** (Denmark June 20 '43) How many hours do you listen to Copenhagen-Kalundborg? Asked of 78% of the sample who listened daily. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| One hour | 12.8% |
| Two hours | 25.8 |
| Three hours | 22.5 |
| Four hours | 9.5 |
| Five hours | 5.1 |
| Six hours | 2.5 |
| Seven hours | 0.6 |
| Eight hours | 0.7 |
| Ten hours | 0.2 |
| More than ten hours | 0.4 |
| Don't know | 19.9 |
| | 100.0% of those questioned |

**11.** (Denmark June 20 '43) At what time of the day do you listen to Copenhagen Kalundborg? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| From 7 to 12 o'clock | 27.1% |
| From 12 to 2 o'clock | 49.4 |
| From 2 to 6 o'clock | 20.7 |
| From 6 to 11 o'clock | 91.7 |
| Other times | 29.3 |
| | 218.2%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**12.** (Denmark June 20 '43) What time is it, generally, when you first switch on the radio? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Before 8 | 22.7% |
| 8 a.m. to 12 noon | 5.5 |
| 12 noon to 1 p.m. | 34.1 |
| Afternoon 1 to 6 p.m. | 6.5 |
| Evening 6 to 7 | 13.1 |
| Evening 7 to 10 | 6.8 |
| Other times | 11.3 |

**13.** (Denmark July 14 '43) Do you listen daily, now and then, or hardly ever to the Swedish radio? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Daily | 28.6% |
| Now and then | 38.4 |
| Hardly ever | 11.4 |
| Never | 21.6 |

**14.** (Denmark Aug 1 '43) Do you switch on the radio as soon as you get home, or do you study the program beforehand so that you switch on to hear only what interests you? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Switch on at once | 36.1% |
| First study program | 62.7 |
| Don't know | 1.2 |

**15.** (Denmark Oct 10 '43) Do you often discuss with your family or others the contenrs of what you hear on the radio? (DGI)

Yes 65.5% No 30.6% Don't know 3.9%

**16.** (Denmark Oct 10 '43) Do you regard the radio exclusively as a means of entertainment? (DGI)

Yes 47.2% No 48.0% Don't know 4.8%

**17.** (Denmark Oct 10 '43) Does the radio mean anything essential to your cultural development? (DGI)

Yes 39.5% No 49.6% Don't know 10.9%

**18.** (US Nov 15 '43) Do you have a radio? 10% of the sample who said they did not own a radio were asked: Do you ever listen to a radio—someone else's perhaps? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Own radio | 89% |
| Didn't say whether or not radio owner | 1 |
| Listen to someone else's radio | 3 |
| Never listen | 6 |
| Didn't say whether or not listened to someone else's | 1 |

**19.** (US Nov 15 '43) On an average weekday, about how many hours do you listen during the daytime—that is, before 6 o'clock in the evening? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| No radio and doesn't listen to anyone else's | 7% |
| Radio out of order | 1 |
| Doesn't listen during the daytime | 30 |
| Listens up to 15 minutes during the day | 5 |
| Listens over 15 minutes to half hour during the day | 10 |
| Listens over half hour to one hour during the day | 15 |
| Listens over one hour to two hours during the day | 12 |
| Listens over two hours to three hours during the day | 6 |
| Listens over three hours to four hours during the day | 5 |
| Listens over four hours to five hours during the day | 3 |
| Listens over five hours to six hours during the day | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Listens over six hours during the day | 3% |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |

**20.** (US Nov 15 '43) How about after 6 o'clock in the evening? (About how many hours do you listen to the radio on an average weekday?) (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| No radio and doesn't listen to anyone else's | 7% |
| Radio out of order | 1 |
| Doesn't listen during the evening | 6 |
| Listens up to 15 minutes during the evening | 3 |
| Listens over 15 minutes to half hour during the evening | 7 |
| Listens over half hour to one hour during the evening | 18 |
| Listens over one hour to two hours during the evening | 24 |
| Listens over two hours to three hours during the evening | 17 |
| Listens over three hours to four hours during the evening | 11 |
| Listens over four hours to five hours during the evening | 4 |
| Listens over five hours to six hours during the evening | 1 |
| Listens over six hours during the evening | * |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**21.** (US Nov 15 '43) Would you say that you listen to the radio more now than you did a year ago or not as much? 27% of the sample said they listened more, and 26% said they didn't listen as much. These two groups were asked: Why? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't own radio | 11% |
| Listen about the same amount of time | 35 |
| Didn't say whether listened more or less | 1 |
| Listen more because: | |
| War; war news | 12 |
| More opportunity | 9 |
| To get news (no mention of war) | 5 |
| Just more interested in radio offerings (no mention of news) | 1 |
| Radio offers more interesting fare now (no mention of news) | 1 |
| Miscellaneous reasons or don't know why | * |
| Listen less because: | |
| Less time; work longer hours | 17 |
| Dislike of program (news not mentioned) | 3 |
| Surfeited with war news | 2 |
| Household arrangements or change in household | 1 |
| No radio or difficulty getting radio repaired | 1 |
| Miscellaneous reasons or don't know why | 2 |
| | 101%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**22.** (France Jan 1 '45) Do you intend to buy a radio after the war? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Paris | 47% | 44% | 9% |
| Provinces | 49 | 44 | 7 |

**23.** (Canada Mar 28 '45) On the whole, do you think the radio is a good influence or a bad influence on young people? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good influence | 70% |
| Bad influence | 12 |
| Undecided | 18 |

**24.** (Canada Sept 29 '45) What about radios [do you think those manufactured in the next few years will be very different from what they were before the war, or do you think they will be about the same]? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Different | 55% |
| About the same | 29 |
| Undecided | 16 |

**25.** (Great Britain Sept 29 '45) If you have a complaint against the British Broadcasting Corporation in general, what is it? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too highbrow; too much classical music; too pedantic; too much prose and poetry reading | 5% |
| Not enough variety programs | 2 |
| Too much music | 1 |
| Not enough light music | 1 |
| Not enough dance music | 1 |
| Too many talks | 1 |
| Too much dance music; too many crooners | 4 |
| Not enough plays | 2 |
| Not enough serious music | 1 |
| Too much poor-class variety; feeble humor | 1 |
| Not enough good quality talks | 1 |
| General dissatisfaction; poor talent | 8 |
| Programs too dull; old-fashioned; slow | 3 |
| Sunday programs too dull | 1 |
| Listen only to the news; hardly ever listen | 6 |
| Programs insufficiently varied; too many repeated items; not well balanced | 5 |
| Poor reception since change-over; cannot get the Light Program | 4 |
| Not enough regional programs | 1 |
| Too many gramophone records | 1 |
| Programs should begin earlier | 1 |
| No wireless set; no reply | 10 |
| No complaint mentioned | 40 |

**26.** (Germany Oct 26 '45) Do you have a radio? 54% of the sample who said they had a radio in working order were asked: At what hours do you usually listen to it? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Have radio, but it is broken | 12% |
| No radio | 33 |
| Didn't say whether or not had radio | 1 |
| Listen early morning | 3 |
| Housewives morning | 1 |
| Listen at midday | 12 |
| In the afternoon | 1 |
| At suppertime | 2 |
| Evening, 7 to 10 | 42 |
| At night | 5 |
| All day | 3 |
| Other answers | 4 |
| | 119%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**27.** (Australia Dec 45–Jan '46) In the evening, do you listen mostly to commercial stations or national stations? (APOP)

| | *Commercial stations* | *National stations* | *No preference* | *Don't listen* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 21% | 15% | 8% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Capital cities | 64% | 15% | 14% | 7% |
| Other towns | 49 | 27 | 15 | 9 |
| Farmers | 41 | 31 | 21 | 7 |

**28.** (Germany Jan 21 '46) How long do you listen to the radio daily? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than one-half hour | 7% |
| A half to one hour | 15 |
| One to two hours | 28 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Two to four hours | 30% |
| Four hours and over | 17 |
| No answer | 3 |

**29.** (Denmark Feb 23 '46) Do you think that the broadcasting company's management has been good, fairly good, or bad during the post-liberation period? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good | 37% |
| Fairly good | 36 |
| Bad | 13 |
| Don't know | 14 |

**30.** (Netherlands Feb 25 '46) Do you have a radio? (NIPO)

| | *Before the war* | *At present* |
|---|---|---|
| Had radio or subscribed to *Centrale* (center of broadcasting or radio program) | 79% | 61% |
| Did not have radio | 21 | 39 |

**31.** (US Mar 13 '46) Do you have a radio? 92% of the sample who said they had radios were asked: Is it in working order? 88% who had usable radios were then asked: Did you use it yesterday? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No radio | 8% |
| Radio not working | 4 |
| Used radio preceding day | 74 |
| Didn't use radio preceding day | 14 |

**32.** (France Apr 16 '46) How often do you listen to the radio? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Every day | 47% |
| Often | 17 |
| Sometimes | 23 |
| Never | 13 |

**33.** (France Apr 16 '46) Did you listen to the radio before the war? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Every day | 45% |
| Often | 20 |
| Sometimes | 21 |
| Never | 14 |

**34.** (Canada Aug 31 '46) Which is your favorite Canadian radio station? 31% of the sample chose a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation operated station, 25% chose an independent station not affiliated with CBC networks, and 24% chose independent stations affiliated with CBC. These three groups were asked: Do you happen to know whether this is an independent or a CBC station? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Had no favorite station | 20% |
| Correctly identified their favorite station | 53 |
| Wrong or didn't know | 27 |

**35.** (Germany Oct 14 '46) Do you listen to the radio? (OMGUS)

Yes 51% No 49%

**36.** (Germany Oct 14 '46) How long do you listen to the radio every day? Asked of radio listeners only. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than half an hour | 9% |
| Half an hour to an hour | 21 |
| An hour to two hours | 29 |
| Two to four hours | 28 |
| Four hours or longer | 11 |
| Different; indefinite | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |

**37.** (Germany Oct 14 '46) During what time of the day do you usually listen? Asked of radio listeners. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| †6 a.m. | 14% |
| 7 a.m. | 21 |
| 8 a.m. | 9 |
| 9 a.m. | 1 |
| 10 a.m. | * |
| 11 a.m. | 3 |
| 12 noon | 26 |
| 1 p.m. | — |
| 2 p.m. | 2 |
| 3 p.m. | 1 |
| 4 p.m. | 2 |
| 5 p.m. | 6 |
| 6 p.m. | 19 |
| 7 p.m. | 40 |
| 8 p.m. | 69 |
| 9 p.m. | 29 |
| 10 p.m. | 7 |
| 11 p.m. | 1 |
| Midnight and later | * |
| The whole day** | 1 |
| Different times | 1 |
| No answer | 16 |
| | 268%*** |

† Hour given includes any time up to one minute before the next hour, e.g. 8:45 is considered as 8:00.
* Less than 0.5%.
** When more than 9 hours, a whole day was coded.
*** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## News Reports

**1.** (US Apr 12 '37) Do you depend on the radio for any of your daily news? (AIPO)

Yes 70% No 30% = 100% No opinion 2%

**2.** (US Mar 30 '39) Do you listen regularly to news broadcasts? 60% of the sample who said they listened regularly were asked: Do you think radio news broadcasters are fair in their treatment of political news? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't listen regularly | 40% |
| Think news broadcasters fair | 37 |
| Think news broadcasters unfair | 16 |
| No opinion as to whether fair or unfair | 7 |

**3.** (US Mar 30 '39) Do you think radio news broadcasters leave out news that is unfavorable to the companies which sponsor the broadcast? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 33% |
| No | 16 |
| No opinion | 11 |
| Don't listen to news broadcasters | 40 |

**4.** (US Mar 30 '39 and Apr 6 '39) Do you listen to any radio news commentators? (AIPO)

| | *Mar '39* | *Apr '39* |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 70% | 70% |
| No | 30 | 30 |

**5.** (US Mar 30 '39 and Apr 6 '39) Do you think they [radio news commentators] report the news truthfully? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '39 | 68% | 13% | 19% |
| Apr '39 | 70 | 10 | 20 |

**6.** (US Apr 6 '39 and June 20 '44) Do you listen regularly to news broadcasts? (AIPO)

| | *Apr '39* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 62% | 74% |
| No | 38 | — |
| Only occasionally or not at all | — | 26 |

**7.** (US Apr 6 '39) Do you think radio news broadcasters are fair in their treatment of political news? (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 21% No opinion 19%

**8.** (US Jan '40) Who is your favorite radio news commentator? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Lowell Thomas | 24.8% |
| H. V. Kaltenborn | 20.8 |
| Edwin C. Hill | 9.3 |
| Walter Winchell | 6.8 |
| Boake Carter | 6.0 |
| Raymond Gram Swing | 3.8 |
| Elmer Davis | 3.5 |
| Other | 25.0 |

**9.** (US Mar 13 '40) Do you listen regularly to news broadcasts? Asked of a national cross-section of radio owners. (AIPO)

Yes 72% No 28%

**10.** (US Mar 13 '40) At what time of the day do you listen to news broadcasts? Asked of a national cross-section of radio owners who listened regularly to news broadcasts. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Morning | 32% |
| Afternoon | 51 |
| Didn't say | 3 |
| All other answers | 14 |

**11.** (US Dec 19 '41) During the past week have you listened to any of the following types of broadcasts of war news? Have you listened to any American news broadcasts from American stations? Have you listened to any news broadcasts from correspondents abroad that come over American stations? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| American news broadcasts | 91% | 9% | — |
| Correspondents abroad | 76 | 22 | 2% |

**12.** (Sweden Apr '42) Do you usually listen to the foreign news on the wireless? 31.4% of the sample who listened were asked: Which ones? (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't listen to foreign news | 68.6% |
| Listen to England only | 9.9 |
| Listen to Germany only | 2.7 |
| Listen to Russia only | 0.2 |
| England and Russia | 1.0 |
| England and Germany | 12.1 |
| Germany and Russia | 0.4 |
| England, Germany, and Russia | 5.1 |

**13.** (Sweden Apr '42) Which broadcasts in Swedish from abroad do you consider to be most reliable? (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| England | 34.3% |
| Germany | 4.0 |
| Russia | 0.2 |
| None | 18.2 |
| No opinion | 43.3 |

**14.** (US July 1 '42) Do you listen regularly to news broadcasts? (AIPO)

Yes 71% No 29%

**15.** (Sweden Oct '42) Did you listen in the last week on the radio to any emergency news from the authorities aside from news about the new rationing period [for flour, bread, coffee, fats, and meat]? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't remember* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 32% | 51% | 17% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 34% | 51% | 15% |
| Women | 28 | 52 | 20 |

**16.** (Sweden Oct '42) Do you think these official notices [from the authorities on the radio] are usually easy to understand? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 17% | 28% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 56% | 20% | 24% |
| Women | 54 | 15 | 31 |

**17.** (US Feb 6 '43) Which do you prefer to listen to on the radio, straight news broadcasts or commentators (that is, people who explain or give the meaning of the news)? 50% of the sample who said they preferred commentators were asked: About how much time on an average day do you spend listening to news commentators? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Prefer straight news | 41% |
| No preference | 9 |
| Listen to news commentators: | |
| Almost never; practically no time; none | 1 |
| Up to but not including 15 minutes | 1 |
| 15 minutes | 8 |
| Over 15 minutes to ½ hour | 16 |
| Over ½ hour to 1 hour | 16 |
| Over 1 hour to 2 hours | 5 |
| Over 2 hours to 3 hours | 1 |
| Over 3 hours | * |
| Time not ascertainable | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**18.** (Sweden June '43) Do you listen to the news in Swedish from foreign radio stations? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 66% | 33% | 1% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 76% | 24% | — |
| Women | 55 | 43 | 2% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 73% | 27% | — |
| 30–49 years | 70 | 29 | 1% |
| 50 years and over | 54 | 44 | 2 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 74% | 26% | — |
| Middle class | 67 | 32 | 1% |
| Workers | 64 | 35 | 1 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Town | 65% | 34% | 1% |
| Country | 66 | 33 | 1 |

**19.** (Denmark June 20 '43) Do you hear the Danish news every day? 64.6% of the sample who said they heard the news every day were asked: What time? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't hear news every day | 35.4% |
| Hear it at 12:30 p.m. | 40.1 |
| Hear it at 6:35 p.m. | 57.9 |
| Hear it at 10:00 p.m. | 18.0 |
| | 151 4%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents listened to more than one news broadcast.

**20.** (US May 2 '45) Do you listen regularly to any commentator on the radio? 63% of the sample who listened regularly were asked: Who? Those who mentioned more than one commentator were asked: Which one do you like best? (AIPO)

| | *Listen regularly* | *Like best* |
|---|---|---|
| Gabriel Heatter | 31% | 14% |
| H. V. Kaltenborn | 25 | 14 |
| Lowell Thomas | 19 | 12 |
| Walter Winchell | 16 | 8 |
| Drew Pearson | 7 | 5 |
| Fulton Lewis | 6 | 5 |
| Baukhage | 6 | 2 |
| John W. Vandercook | 4 | 2 |
| Raymond Swing | 4 | 3 |
| William L. Shirer | 3 | 2 |
| Cedric Foster | 3 | 2 |
| Robert St. John | 3 | * |
| Cecil Brown | 2 | 2 |
| Edwin C. Hill | 2 | 1 |
| Upton Close | 1 | 1 |
| Fred VanDeventer | 1 | 1 |
| John B. Kennedy | 1 | — |
| Frank Singiser | 1 | 1 |
| Ted Malone | 1 | * |
| George Elliott | 1 | * |
| Edward Murrow | 1 | * |
| Martin Agronsky | 1 | * |
| John Kieran | 1 | * |
| Paul Schubert | 1 | * |
| All of them | 6 | * |
| Miscellaneous | 33 | 17 |
| No answer | 1 | 5 |
| | 181%* | * = 3 |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who listened regularly to a news commentator and add to more than 100 in the first column because some gave more than one answer.

**21.** (US July '45) Do you think the radio stations you listen to tell you enough about what goes on in foreign countries, or do you think they should tell you more? (NORC)

Should tell more 39% Enough 53% Don't know 8%

**22.** (Hungary Feb '46) Does the foreign radio news service influence the opinions of the listener? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

BY SOCIAL STATUS

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Sometimes* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Educated class | 49.8% | 36.7% | 7.8% | 5.7% |
| Small bourgeoisie | 51.7 | 39.9 | 5.5 | 2.9 |
| Workers | 52.1 | 45.2 | 2.7 | — |

**23.** (Netherlands May '46) Do you listen to news broadcasts at present of the British Broadcasting Corporation Home Service? BBC European Service? (NFS)

| | *Yes* | *No and no opinion* |
|---|---|---|
| BBC Home Service | 15% | 85% |
| BBC European Service | 17 | 83 |

**24.** (Netherlands May '46) Are you interesred in the musical programs of the British Broadcasting Corporation European Service for Dutch listeners? Asked of 17% of the sample who listened currently to the BBC European Service. (NFS)

Yes 79% No 16%
No answer 5% = 100% of those questioned

**25.** (Netherlands May '46) Are you interested in the talks in Dutch about politics, arts and science, sports? Asked of 17% of the sample who listened currently to the BBC European Service. (NFS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Politics | 46% | 38% | 16% |
| Arts and science | 21 | 56 | 23 |
| Sports | 28 | 51 | 21 |

**26.** (France Apr 16 '46) Do you like the daily news summary of Henri Bénazet? (FIPO)

Yes 35% No 13% Don't listen to it 52%

**27.** (Hungary Sept '46) How many times do you listen to news and commentary on the radio weekly? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

BY SOCIAL STATUS

| | *Educated* | *Bourgeoisie* | *Workers* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Once or twice | 0.9% | 1.1% | 2.3% |
| Occasionally | 2.1 | 2.3 | 5.7 |
| Daily; continually | 83.5 | 82.2 | 76.7 |
| Seldom; rarely | 5.9 | 3.3 | 5.7 |
| Other; no answer | 7.6 | 11.1 | 9.6 |

**28.** (Germany Oct 14 '46) Which manner of presenting the daily news do you prefer, straight facts or comments and discussion? Asked of radio listeners. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Facts | 51% |
| Comments | 26 |
| No opinion | 23 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**29.** (Germany Oct 14 '46) Do you prefer the presentation of news to be given a personal note by a known announcer, or do you prefer news just read by an anonymous announcer? Asked of radio listeners. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Personal note | 37% |
| Just read | 40 |
| No opinion | 22 |
| No answer | 1 |

**30.** (Czechoslovakia Nov–Dec '46) Do you listen to the Sunday broadcast of E. F. Buriana?* (CZIPO)

| | *Regularly* | *Sometimes* | *Never* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 30% | 43% | 26% | 1% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 32% | 45% | 22% | 1% |
| Women | 27 | 41 | 30 | 2 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Laborers | 29% | 40% | 29% | 2% |
| White-collar | 33 | 45 | 21.5 | 0.5 |
| Farmers | 26 | 40 | 30 | 4 |
| Business | 30 | 48 | 21 | 1 |

* Buriana is a news commentator.

**31.** (Czechoslovakia Nov–Dec '46) Do you agree or disagree with the point of view which Buriana takes up in his daily questions? (CZIPO)

| | *Agree* | *Sometimes yes, sometimes no* | *Disagree* | *Don't listen and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total... | 34% | 35% | 4% | 27% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men..... | 34% | 39% | 5% | 22% |
| Women..... | 34 | 31 | 3 | 32 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Laborers..... | 37% | 30% | 3% | 30% |
| White-collar..... | 34 | 40 | 4 | 22 |
| Farmers..... | 33 | 32 | 2 | 33 |
| Business..... | 28 | 44 | 8 | 20 |

**32.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Do you listen to the radio? (OMGUS)

Yes 53% No 47% No answer *

* Less than 0 5%.

**33.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) In your opinion, has the news service become better and more complete since the end of the war? Asked of radio listeners. (OMGUS)

Yes 51% No 21% No opinion 28%
No answer * = 100% of those questioned

## Short Wave

**1.** (Great Britain Oct '39 and Jan '40) Do you ever happen to listen to foreign stations? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Oct '39..... | 53% | 47% |
| Jan '40..... | 65 | 35 |

**2.** (Great Britain Oct '39 and Jan '40) Which was the last one [foreign station] you heard? Asked of 53% of the 1939 sample and 65% of the 1940 sample who had listened to foreign stations. (BIPO)

| | *1939* | *1940* |
|---|---|---|
| Germany Freedom..... | 1% | — |
| Moscow..... | 4 | 2% |
| Schenectady..... | 1 | 2 |
| New York..... | 2 | — |
| Paris..... | 10 | 4 |
| Toulouse..... | 1 | 1 |
| Radio Normandy..... | 1 | — |
| Brussels..... | 1 | 1 |
| Luxembourg..... | 4 | 1 |
| Hilversum..... | 3 | 2 |
| Berlin..... | 5 | 77 |
| Hamburg..... | 50 | |
| Seesen..... | 3 | |
| Munich and others..... | 4 | 1 |
| Rome..... | 6 | 4 |
| Athlone..... | 2 | 2 |
| Scandinavian..... | 1 | — |
| Miscellaneous..... | 1 | 3 |
| | 100% of those questioned | 100% of those questioned |

**3.** (US Jan 22 '41) Have you a radio in your home which can get short-wave broadcasts direct from countries in Europe (not rebroadcasts of European broadcasts or broadcasts from Europe on American stations)? (Dec 19 '41) Have you a radio in your home which has a special short-wave band for getting short-wave broadcasts direct from European stations (not rebroadcasts over American stations)? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '41..... | 31% | 67% | 2% |
| Dec '41..... | 35 | 63 | 2 |

**4.** (US Jan 22 '41) Have you ever seen a set anywhere else—in someone's home, or in a club—that could get short-wave broadcasts direct from Europe? (AIPO)

Yes 53% No 32% Don't know 15%

**5.** (US Jan 22 '41) During the past month, have you happened to hear any of these short-wave radio programs direct from any European country? (AIPO)

Yes 11% No 72% Don't know 17%

**6.** (US Dec 19 '41) Have you listened to any short-wave news broadcasts from European stations picked up and rebroadcast by American stations? (AIPO)

Yes 41% No 53% Don't know 6%

**7.** (US Dec 19 '41) During the past week have you listened to short-wave news broadcasts direct from European stations which can be heard in this country only on the short-wave band of a radio? (AIPO)

Yes 7% No 90% Don't know 3%

**8.** (US Dec 19 '41) Aside from news broadcasts, have you heard—within the past week—any short-wave broadcast of any other type direct from Europe on the short-wave band of a radio? (AIPO)

Yes 5% No 93% Don't know 2%

**9.** (US Dec 19 '41) Have you ever listened to a short-wave radio broadcast coming direct from Europe and heard on the short-wave band of a radio? Those who had listened to a short-wave broadcast direct from Europe were then asked: How long ago did you hear a program of this sort? The cross-section was made up of those who had not heard a short-wave broadcast within the past week direct from Europe, or did not know whether they had. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 week up to but not including one month.. | 6% |
| 1 month up to but not including 6 months.. | 11 |
| 6 months up to but not including 1 year... | 4 |
| One year and over..... | 9 |
| Quite a while ago..... | 1 |
| Didn't say when..... | 4 |
| Never listened..... | 59 |
| Don't know whether or not ever listened.. | 6 |

**10.** (US Dec 24 '41) Can you get short-wave stations in foreign countries on your radio? (Jan 28 '42) Can you get short-wave stations direct from foreign countries on your radio? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *Have no radio* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '41..... | 32% | 62% | 2% | 4% |
| Jan '42..... | 27 | 64 | 4 | 5 |

**11.** (US Dec 24 '41) Do you ever listen to short-wave stations in foreign countries? Asked of 32% of the sample who could get foreign short-wave stations. (NORC)

Yes 43% No 57% = 100% of those questioned

**12.** (US Dec 24 '41) From which countries [can you get short-wave stations]? Asked of foreign short-wave listeners. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany..... | 44% |
| England..... | 31 |
| South America..... | 24 |
| Italy..... | 17 |
| Mexico..... | 7 |
| France..... | 7 |
| Japan..... | 6 |
| Russia..... | 5 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Canada | 3% |
| Philippines | 3 |
| | 147%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who listened to foreign stations and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**13.** (US Jan 28 '42) Have you ever listened to short-wave stations direct from foreign countries—not those relayed over American stations, but stations actually broadcasting direct from foreign nations? (NORC)

Yes 26% No 68% Don't know 6%

**14.** (US Apr 28 '42) Have you heard in the last week any short-wave radio programs direct from London—not those rebroadcast over American stations, but actual broadcasts direct from London? (NORC)

Yes 12% No 86% Don't know 2%

**15.** (US Apr 28 '42) Do you think people over here ought to be allowed to listen to short-wave broadcasts direct from Germany and Japan? (NORC)

Yes 57% No 31% Don't know 12%

**16.** (Netherlands May '46) Do you listen at present to foreign news broadcasts from other than English stations in the Dutch language? in a foreign language? (NFS)

| | *Yes* | *No and no opinion* |
|---|---|---|
| Dutch language | 13% | 87% |
| Foreign language | 12 | 88 |

**17.** (Netherlands May '46) Did you listen during the years of occupation to the transmissions from London of Radio Orange, Belgian Radio, British Broadcasting Corporation European Service, British Broadcasting Corporation Home Service? (NFS)

| | *Yes* | *No and no opinion* |
|---|---|---|
| Radio Orange | 78% | 22% |
| Belgian Radio | 57 | 43 |
| BBC European Service | 50 | 50 |
| BBC Home Service | 23 | 77 |

**18.** (US July '46) It has been proposed that the United States government start broadcasting programs to other countries in the world. With which group [of the three described below] do you agree? Half of the respondents were asked the question in the form just given. When rewarded for the other half by substituting the inflammatory term "propaganda" for the more restrained phrase "point of view" different answers emerge. (FOR)

| | *Total* | *Grade school* | *High school* | *College* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Sample I* | | | | |
| Some people say this is a good idea if the programs stick to news only | 11.5% | 9.1% | 13.2% | 11.8% |
| Other people say it would be better to explain our point of view as well as give the news | 42.8 | 31.0 | 45.2 | 54.6 |
| Other people think the government ought to stay entirely out of this | 34.3 | 39.8 | 32.8 | 29.7 |
| Don't know | 11.4 | 20.1 | 8.8 | 3.9 |
| *Sample II* | | | | |
| Some people say this is a good idea if the programs stick to news only and don't include any propaganda | 27.9% | 23.4% | 32.2% | 26.0% |
| Other people say it would be better to include some propaganda as well as give the news | 24.7 | 15.7 | 24.8 | 37.4 |
| Other people think the government ought to stay entirely out of this | 37.4 | 40.8 | 37.1 | 32.9 |
| Don't know | 10.0 | 20.1 | 5.9 | 3.7 |

All those who backed broadcasts to other countries in either form suggested were asked: If we could only broadcast programs to one country, which country would be your first choice?

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia | 40.1% |
| Great Britain | 15.7 |
| Germany | 12.3 |
| Argentina | 2.8 |
| Japan | 2.1 |
| France | 2.1 |
| China | 1.9 |
| All others | 3.3 |
| Don't know | 19.7 |

## RADIO ADDRESSES, DEBATES, ETC.

**1.** (US Apr '36) Would you like to hear more, less, or no political speeches on the air? (FOR)

| | *More* | *Same* | *Less* | *None* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 15.8% | 38.0% | 27.9% | 18.3% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 20.3% | 34.3% | 29.4% | 16.0% |
| Women | 11.2 | 41.6 | 26.8 | 20.4 |

**2.** (US Nov 19 '37) Do you think radio stations should broadcast discussions of social diseases? (AIPO)

Yes 62% No 26% No opinion 12%

**3.** (US Apr 19 '39) Have you heard any of the radio debates between Senator Taft of Ohio and Representative Smith of Illinois? (AIPO)

Yes 6% No 94%

**4.** (US Apr 19 '39) Which of them [Senator Taft or Representative Smith] do you think had the better of the argument? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who had heard debates. (AIPO)

Taft 66% Smith 34% = 100% No answer 33%

**5.** (US Sept 20 '40) Should Communist party candidates be allowed the same amount of time on the radio as the Democratic and Republican candidates? A comparable cross-section was asked the same question about "free time." (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| First cross-section | 29% | 71% = 100% | 10% |
| Second cross-section | 25 | 75 = 100 | 11 |

**6.** (US Sept 20 '40) Do you think Communist party candidates should be allowed any time on the radio? A comparable cross-section was asked the same question about "free time." (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| First cross-section | 37% | 63% = 100% | 13% |
| Second cross-section | 31 | 69 = 100 | 15 |

**7.** (Great Britain Feb '42) Provided that on each occasion Parliament gives special permission, would you approve or disapprove if important speeches in the House of Commons were put on records and later broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation? (BIPO)

Approve 65% Disapprove 18% Don't know 17%

**8.** (US Feb 3 '42) Apart from radio news commentators, do you ever listen to any political discussions or educational programs over the radio where several different people take part? (AIPO)

Often 22% Occasionally 40% No 37% No answer 1%

**9.** (US July 29 '42) Did you happen to hear or read Secretary Hull's radio broadcast Thursday night of last week (July 23)? (AIPO)

Yes 26% No 74%

**10.** (US Nov 3 '42) Suppose a government official were going to make regular radio talks to the people—what would you like to have him talk about? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Progress of war | 40% |
| Role of leaders | 12 |
| General role of civilians | 6 |
| Conservation of manpower | 1 |
| Economy | 1 |
| General postwar conditions | 5 |
| Specific postwar problems | 3 |
| Production | 5 |
| Welfare and morale of troops | 2 |
| Shipping | 1 |
| Fighting equipment | 1 |
| Evils of our enemies | 1 |
| Rumor control | 1 |
| Budget; finances | 5 |
| Farm labor | 3 |
| Rationing | 3 |
| Cost of living | 2 |
| Shortages | 1 |
| 18–19 draft | 1 |
| Miscellaneous domestic issues | 7 |
| Nothing | 7 |
| Miscellaneous other answers | 5 |
| Not ascertainable | 7 |
| | 120%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**11.** (Sweden Dec '42) Would you like the more important debates in Parliament to be broadcast over the radio? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 47% | 26% | 27% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY AND SEX | | | |
| Country men | 58% | 25% | 17% |
| Country women | 36 | 24 | 40 |
| Town men | 54 | 30 | 16 |
| Town women | 42 | 25 | 33 |

**12.** (US Dec 30 '42) Did you hear the broadcast by Elmer Davis and Food Administrator Wickard last Sunday night—the one in which they talked about food rationing? (NORC)

Yes 40% No 60% Don't know *

* Less than 0.5%.

**13.** (US Dec 30 '42) Did you read either Elmer Davis' or Food Administrator Wickard's speech [about food rationing] in the papers or hear any talk about them? (NORC)

Yes 37% No 62% Don't know 1%

**14.** (US Dec 30 '42) As a whole, did you approve or disapprove of what they [Davis and Wickard] said [about food rationing]? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve | 48% |
| Disapprove | 3 |
| Don't know | 6 |
| Not questioned because unfamiliar with speech | 43 |

**15.** (US Dec 30 '42) What one thing in the speech [about food rationing] impressed you most? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not questioned because unfamiliar with speech | 43% |
| Explanation of the necessity for rationing | 10 |
| Explanation of the reasons for advance notice | 6 |
| Explanation that rationing provides equitable distribution | 4 |
| Appreciation for the advance notice of rationing | 3 |
| Appreciation for naming items to be rationed | 2 |
| Appreciation for simplicity of speeches | 2 |
| Other overall comments | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| No special part | 7 |
| Miscellaneous derogatory | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 18 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**16.** (US Dec 30 '42) Was there anything in particular in the speech [about food rationing] that you didn't like? 9% of the sample who said they disliked something were asked: What? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not questioned because not familiar with speech | 43% |
| Disliked nothing | 46 |
| Didn't say whether or not disliked something | 2 |
| Announcing rationing in advance | 5 |
| Didn't say enough | 2 |
| No necessity for rationing | * |
| Objections to shipping overseas and creating shortages | * |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**17.** (US Jan 11 '43) Did you hear Vice-President Wallace's speech on Dec 28—the one in which he talked about things we ought to do after the war? (NORC)

Yes 15% No 83% Don't know 2%

**18.** (US Jan 11 '43) Did you read the [Wallace] speech [about postwar plans] or hear any talk about it? (NORC)

Yes 23% No 74% Don't know 3%

**19.** (US Jan 11 '43) Was there anything in the [Wallace] speech you didn't like? 5% of the sample who said there was something they disliked were asked: What? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not questioned because unfamiliar with speech | 70% |
| Disliked nothing | 21 |
| Didn't know whether or not disliked anything | 4 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Speech impractical; he's a dreamer | 2% |
| Speech too radical; his ideas are too red | 1 |
| Speech too vague | 1 |
| Disliked reference to Bill of Rights | * |
| Disliked miscellaneous things | 2 |
| Didn't say what disliked | * |
| | 101%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents disliked more than one thing.

**20.** (US Feb 6 '43) Suppose some one government official starts making regular radio talks to the people about the war—what would you like to hear him talk about? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| News about the fighting | 41% |
| News about the home front | 16 |
| War news in general | 13 |
| Authentic news | 5 |
| Postwar world | 3 |
| Don't want a government spokesman | 2 |
| Don't want it because there is sufficient news now | 2 |
| Don't want it; other reasons | 2 |
| Nothing; not interested; nothing in particular | 7 |
| Not ascertainable | 13 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**21.** (US Feb 6 '43) Is there anything (else) about the fighting fronts you would like to hear him [some one government official] talk about in regular radio talks? What? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Positive answers | 35% |
| Don't want it because news is sufficient | 3 |
| Couldn't give desired information because of security | 1 |
| Don't want a government spokesman | * |
| Don't want (other reasons) | 1 |
| No; not interested at present; nothing in particular | 52 |
| Not ascertainable | 8 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**22.** (US Feb 6 '43) Is there anything (else) about what's going on in the United States that you would like to hear him [some one government official] talk about? What? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Positive answers | 52% |
| Don't want it because news is sufficient | 3 |
| Couldn't give desired information because of security | * |
| Don't want a government spokesman | * |
| Don't want it (other reasons) | 1 |
| No; not interested at present; nothing in particular | 37 |
| Not ascertainable | 7 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**23.** (US Feb 6 '43) Do you think it's a good idea for some one government official to make regular radio talks to the people about the war? 68% of the sample who thought the idea a good one were asked: Who do you think would be a good person to make these talks? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| A poor idea | 25% |
| Don't know whether or not a good idea | 7 |
| Davis would be good | 10 |
| Wallace | 4 |
| Nelson | 1 |
| Jeffers | 1 |
| Ickes | 1 |
| Willkie (volunteered) | 1 |
| Hoover (volunteered) | 1 |
| Other government official | 12 |
| Radio commentator | 4% |
| Any army or navy official | 1 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 2 |
| No preference | 5 |
| Didn't say | 28 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents named more than one man.

**24.** (US Feb 6 '43) How about any of the (other) people on this list? Call off any of those you would like to hear regularly. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| A poor idea | 25% |
| Don't know whether or not a good idea | 7 |
| Nelson | 17 |
| Jeffers | 10 |
| Davis | 28 |
| Wallace | 15 |
| Ickes | 8 |
| None | 7 |
| Don't know | 10 |
| | 127%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents named more than one man.

**25.** (US Feb 6 '43) Do you happen to know whether the government is actually planning to have one of these officials [Nelson, Jeffers, Davis, Wallace, Ickes] give regular radio talks? 7% of the sample who thought the government had such plans were asked: Do you happen to know who is going to make the talks? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| No such plan or didn't know whether or not such a thing planned | 93% |
| Elmer Davis to make talks | 4 |
| Other suggestions | * |
| Didn't know who would make talks | 3 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**26.** (US Nov '43 and Nov '45) In peacetime, do you think members of the Communist party in this country should be allowed to speak on the radio? (NORC) (Germany Nov 25 '46) Should members of the Communist party be allowed to speak on the radio? (OMGUS)

| | | *Yes* | *No* | *Qualified answer* | *Don't know; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| US | Nov '43 | 48% | 40% | — | 12% |
| US | Nov '45 | 49 | 39 | — | 12 |
| Germany | Nov '46 | 55 | 26 | 8% | 11 |

**27.** (Australia Aug '45) Do you favor or oppose broadcasting debates from Parliament? (APOP)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 75% | 15% | 10% |
| Women | 67 | 14 | 19 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Capital cities | 69% | 16% | 15% |
| Other centers | 73 | 15 | 12 |
| Farmers | 79 | 10 | 11 |

**28.** (US Feb 13 '46) Should Congress spend money to build a radio station in Washington, D.C. to broadcast its debates? (AIPO)

Yes 51% No 40% No opinion 9%

**29.** (US Feb 13 '46) A cross-section comparable to the one used for the preceding question was asked: Would you be

willing to pay a tax in order to build and operate a radio station in Washington, D.C. which would broadcast the debates in Congress? (AIPO)

Yes 42% No 50% No opinion 8%

**30.** (US Feb 13 '46) Both cross-sections used for the two preceding questions were asked further: If this [building a radio station to broadcast debates in Congress] is done, do you think many people would listen to these debates? (AIPO)

Yes 56% No 35% No opinion 7% No answer 2%

**31.** (Canada Feb 23 '46) Do you ever listen over the radio to a political candidate at election time? (CIPO)

Yes 70% No 30%

**32.** (Canada Feb 23 '46) Do you think there are too many of these political speakers on the radio, or would you like to hear more of them? Asked of 70% of the sample who said they listened to political candidates at election time. (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too many | 36% |
| Like more | 8 |
| About right | 47 |
| Undecided | 9 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**33.** (Australia Aug '46) Do you think the broadcasts from Parliament should be continued, reduced, or stopped? (Dec '46) Do you think those broadcasts [from Parliament] should be continued, reduced, or stopped altogether? (APOP)

| | *Continued* | *Reduced* | *Stopped* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '46 | 68% | 7% | 18% | 7% |
| Nov '46 | 54 | 21 | | 25 |
| OPINIONS OF LISTENERS AND NON-LISTENERS IN NOV '46 | | | | |
| Had listened | 72% | 9% | 14% | 5% |
| Had not listened | 44 | 4 | 16 | 36 |

**34.** (Hungary Sept '46) Do you listen to political debates [on the radio]? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

BY SOCIAL STATUS

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Other and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Educated people | 56.5% | 35.4% | 8.1% |
| Bourgeoisie | 40.8 | 54.5 | 4.7 |
| Workers | 41.9 | 51.9 | 6.2 |

**35.** (Hungary Sept '46) Do you listen to radio interviews? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

BY SOCIAL STATUS

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Other and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Educated people | 37.3% | 56.9% | 5.8% |
| Bourgeoisie | 46.6 | 53.0 | 0.4 |
| Workers | 43.1 | 53.4 | 3.5 |

**36.** (Australia Dec '46) Have you listened to the broadcasts from Parliament during the past fortnight? (APOP)

Yes 36% No 64%

**37.** (Australia Dec '46) Would you favor or oppose broadcasting of State Parliaments? (APOP)

Favor 52% Oppose 26% No opinion 22%

**38.** (US Dec 11 '46) An atheist is a person who doesn't believe in God. In San Francisco, a radio station allowed an atheist to broadcast his views on religion. Would you approve or disapprove of letting atheists broadcast in this area? (AIPO)

Approve 36% Disapprove 56% No opinion 8%

## RADIO ADVERTISING

**1.** (Great Britain Dec '37) Do you listen to commercial programs on the radio? (BIPO)

Yes 68% No 32% = 100% No opinion 2%

**2.** (Great Britain Dec '37) Do you listen to them [commercial radio programs] regularly? (BIPO)

Yes 39% No 61% = 100% No opinion 1%

**3.** (Great Britain Dec '37) Do you prefer them [commercial radio programs] to the British Broadcasting Corporation programs? (BIPO)

Yes 17% No 46% No opinion 37%

**4.** (US June 8 '38) Do you think the amount of time given to advertising on the radio is too much or about right? (AIPO)

Too much 36% About right 47% No opinion 17%

**5.** (US June 8 '38) Advertising on the radio at present pays for the cost of radio programs. In order to do away with the advertising, would you be willing to pay a tax? 12% of the sample who said they would be willing to pay a tax were asked: How much tax per year would you be willing to pay? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not willing to pay tax | 79% |
| No opinion as to whether or not would be willing | 9 |
| Would be willing to pay $1 to $5 | 5 |
| Would be willing to pay over $5 | 5 |
| Didn't say how much would pay | 2 |

**6.** (US Apr 6 '39) Do you think radio news broadcasters leave out news that is unfavorable to the companies which sponsor the broadcasts? (AIPO)

Yes 49% No 26% No opinion 25%

**7.** (Great Britain Sept '43) Would you approve or disapprove of allowing commercial broadcasting in this country, including advertising programs? (BIPO)

Approve 40% Disapprove 42% Don't know 18%

## RADIO AND MUSIC

**1.** (US Dec 31 '40) Have you noticed any difference in the music played on the radio since New Year's? 45% of the sample who said they had noticed a difference were asked: Do you like the music played on the radio since New Year's better or not as well as the music played in the last year? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hadn't noticed any difference | 55% |
| Liked music better | 9 |
| Liked it about the same | 10 |
| Didn't like it as well | 24 |
| Didn't say how well liked it | 2 |
| | 100% |
| Hadn't listened to the radio since New Year's | 17% |

**2.** (Denmark Oct 10 '43) Do you prefer programs featuring the radio company's own musicians or broadcasts from other places? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Own musicians | 21.5% |
| Broadcasts from other places | 43.4 |
| Don't know | 35.1 |

**3.** (Australia Nov '43) What type of music do you like best on the radio? (APOP)

| | *Light classics; melodious ballads; musical comedy; etc.* | *Classical music; anything but jazz* | *Jazz music; anything but classics* | *Bands; old-time; mixed programs* | *Don't listen to music or no radio* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 39% | 23% | 19% | 15% | 4% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | |
| Capital cities | 35% | 27% | 21% | 14% | 3% |
| Farmers | 39 | 19 | 21 | 19 | 2 |
| Country towns | 45 | 18 | 13 | 20 | 4 |

**4.** (Australia Nov '43) Would you favor or oppose increasing the radio license fee two shillings a year to pay for a concert orchestra in each state? (APOP)

Favor 53% Favor 38% No opinion 9%

**5.** (Germany Jan 21 '46) What kind of musical programs do you like best? Asked of radio listeners. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| German music; folk music | 33% |
| Opera | 19 |
| Operetta | 19 |
| German dance music | 17 |
| Light music; waltzes; entertaining music; cheerful music; Latin American music | 22 |
| Classical; symphonies; etc. | 15 |
| Chamber music; instrumental concerts | 4 |
| Lieder singer; singing | 2 |
| Other (organ, church, military) | 4 |
| Don't know; can't say; no opinion, no choice; like it all | 5 |
| Jazz | 2 |
| No answer | 2 |
| | 144%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (Hungary Sept '46) How many times do you listen to musical programs weekly on the radio? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

| | *Educated* | *Bourgeoisie* | *Workers* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY SOCIAL STATUS | | | |
| Once, twice | 1.4% | 2.3% | 5.8% |
| Occasionally | 15.4 | 7.5 | 17.6 |
| Daily; continually | 69.8 | 74.7 | 61.0 |
| Seldom; rarely | 8.6 | 7.0 | 9.1 |
| Other; no answer | 4.8 | 8.5 | 6.5 |

**7.** (Hungary Sept '46) What musical works do you prefer on the radio? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

| | *Educated* | *Bourgeoisie* | *Workers* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY SOCIAL STATUS | | | |
| Orchestral works | 22.6% | 9.2% | 4.0% |
| Chamber music | 11.7 | 4.5 | 2.4 |
| Light music | 12.3 | 16.2 | 11.8 |
| Chorus | 3.7 | 1.3 | 1.2 |
| Musical works with explanation | 2.2 | 1.8 | 1.4 |
| Jazz | 11.3 | 14.9 | 15.6 |
| Morning music | 7.9 | 10.8 | 9.3 |
| Gypsy music | 15.3% | 25.2% | 32.5% |
| Relaying from coffee house | 2.7 | 5.4 | 6.6 |
| Folk song | 7.9 | 7.2 | 10.6 |
| All sorts of music | 2.4 | 3.5 | 4.6 |

**8.** (Sweden Oct 10 '46) The Swedish public was asked which piece of music they would prefer to hear on the radio. The results follow, classified as to type of music. (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Classical music; symphonies; operas; music by such composers as Tchaikowsky, Liszt, Schubert, Beethoven, Peterson-Berger, Grieg, Sibelius, Smetana, Handel, Gershwin | 22% |
| Finer arias; finer or patriotic songs; Swedish composers such as Athen, Sjoberg, Stenhammar | 6 |
| Spirituals and sacred music; Schubert and some Swedish composers named | 6 |
| Other music, particularly folk melodies, ballads, etc. | 1 |
| Light-entertainment music; musical comedies; Vienna waltzes | 26 |
| Popular light arias; lute songs | 8 |
| Modern dance music; swing | 4 |
| Old-fashioned dance music | 17 |
| Topical songs | 10 |

**9.** (Germany Oct 14 '46) In your opinion, how much of its transmitting time should a radio station devote to the presentation of musical programs—a quarter or less, about half, about three quarters, or more than three quarters? Asked of radio listeners. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| One quarter or less | 12% |
| Almost half of it | 53 |
| Three quarters | 17 |
| More than three quarters | 5 |
| No opinion | 12 |
| No answer | 1 |

## RADIO AND STATE

**1.** (US Apr 19 '37) Do you think the United States will sometime own and operate all radio broadcasting? How certain are you of your prediction? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 29% | 59% | 12% = 100% |
| BY DEGREE OF CERTAINTY | | | |
| Very certain | 22% | 27% | |
| Moderately certain | 49 | 41 | |
| Not at all certain | 27 | 26 | |
| Didn't answer | 2 | 6 | |
| | 100% | 100% | |

**2.** (US Jan 25 '38) Do you think government censorship of the radio would do harm or good? (AIPO)

Harm 57% Good 43% = 100% No opinion 30%

**3.** (US June 8 '38) Would you favor federal government ownership and control of all radio broadcasting stations? (AIPO) (Aug '39) Do you believe the government should own or more closely control radio broadcasting? (FOR)

| | *June '38* | *Aug '39* |
|---|---|---|
| Yes, own | 17% | 4.6% |
| More closely control | | 14.2 |
| Leave alone | 66 | 68.8 |
| Don't know; no opinion | 17 | 12.4 |

**4.** (US June '39) Do you think our government should or should not establish a bureau to supervise what should be produced over the radio? (FOR)

Should 31.8% Should not 51.2%
Don't know or depends 17.0%

**5.** (US Apr 28 '42) Would you rather hear a radio program that just told the facts of the news, or one that told the facts and commented on them too? 31% of the sample said they preferred a program that just told the facts and 62% preferred facts and comments. Both these groups were asked: In general, would you favor or oppose having the government itself put on a program of this sort? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know which type of program preferred | 7% |
| Favor government program | 66 |
| Oppose government program | 19 |
| Don't know whether favor or oppose government program | 8 |

**6.** (Canada Nov 21 '42) At the present time the radio stations of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation are operated by the government. Are you satisfied with this arrangement, or do you think the CBC programs would be better under private ownership? (CIPO)

| | *Satisfied* | *Private ownership* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 23% | 21% |
| BY PROVINCES | | | |
| Maritimes | 57% | 15% | 28% |
| Quebec | 50 | 27 | 23 |
| Ontario | 50 | 29 | 21 |
| Prairies | 67 | 17 | 16 |
| British Columbia | 65 | 21 | 14 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Farm areas | 64% | 14% | 22% |
| Under 10,000 | 55 | 24 | 21 |
| 10,000 to 100,000 | 58 | 25 | 17 |
| Over 100,000 | 52 | 27 | 21 |

**7.** (Sweden Oct '44) Have you noticed the discussion in the press about the abolition of radio licenses? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 37% | 60% | 3% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 44% | 54% | 2% |
| Women | 29 | 67 | 4 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 47% | 53% | — |
| Middle class | 37 | 60 | 3% |
| Workers | 35 | 62 | 3 |

**8.** (Sweden Oct '44) Do you think it right that the government takes four kronor* of the license money for itself leaving six kronor for the expenses of radio broadcasts and stations? (SGI)

| | *Right* | *Wrong* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 35% | 36% | 29% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 36% | 42% | 22% |
| Women | 34 | 30 | 36 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 33% | 49% | 18% |
| Middle class | 36 | 36 | 28 |
| Workers | 34 | 35 | 31 |

* The Swedish krona was worth approximately 24 cents in American money.

**9.** (Sweden Oct '44) Would you be willing to pay, say, four kronor extra per year for your radio if this money were spent entirely on improvement of programs? Asked of a national cross-section of radio listeners? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 45% | 45% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 47% | 46% | 7% |
| Women | 44 | 44 | 12 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 49% | 43% | 8% |
| Middle class | 45 | 45 | 10 |
| Workers | 45 | 45 | 10 |

**10.** (Australia Apr '45) Do you think the Australia Broadcasting Commission should be controlled by the government, or should it be independent? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Independent | 60% |
| Government control | 25 |
| Undecided | 8 |
| Did not know enough to answer | 7 |

**11.** (Netherlands July '45) Do you want the broadcasting program attended to by a number of broadcasting companies as formerly, or do you want the institution of one general broadcast, representing, however, the diversity of the Dutch people? (NFS) (Feb 25 '46) Do you prefer one new organization or different broadcasting societies to attend to the radio in our country? (NIPO) (May '46) Do you agree with the present situation in Dutch broadcasting [five companies giving their own programs, but under the supervision of a temporary General Foundation] or do you want the institution of a general broadcast? (NFS)

| | *One broadcast* | *Broadcasting companies* | *Another solution* | *Don't know; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NFS July '45 | 65% | 30% | 1% | 4% |
| NIPO Feb '46 | 53 | 41 | — | 6 |
| NFS May '46 | 38 | 35 | 1 | 26 |
| Listeners only | 43 | 41 | 1 | 15 |

Do you want a general broadcast with the concurrence of the former broadcasting companies or without it? Asked of 38% of the May '46 sample who wanted a general broadcast.

| | *With concurrence* | *Without it* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 60% | 30% | 10% = 100% of those questioned |
| Listeners only | 58 | 32 | 10 |

**12.** (Great Britain Jan 12 '46) Should the British Broadcasting Corporation continue with a monopoly of radio in this country, or should we also have commercial broadcasting paid for by advertising? (BIPO)

| | *Monopoly* | *Commercial broadcasting* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | | | |
| Sept '43 | 42% | 40% | 18% |
| Jan '46 | 44 | 43 | 13 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 46% | 46% | 8% |
| Women | 43 | 40 | 17 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 38% | 53% | 9% |
| 30–49 years | 45 | 45 | 10 |
| 50 years and over | 46 | 38 | 16 |

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Monopoly* | *Commercial broadcasting* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Higher | 62% | 33% | 5% |
| Middle | 56 | 37 | 7 |
| Lower | 38 | 47 | 15 |

**13.** (Sweden Feb '46) It is suggested that broadcasting time over the radio should be considerably increased and the listening conditions improved by introducing wire-radios in places where listening is bad. If the license cost were increased to fifteen kronor* to make this possible, would you consider that this increase should be made? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 51% | 38% | 11% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 63% | 27% | 10% |
| Middle class | 55 | 35 | 10 |
| Workers | 47 | 41 | 12 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Large towns | 60% | 34% | 6% |
| Other towns | 53 | 39 | 8 |
| Country | 48 | 39 | 13 |

* The Swedish krona was worth approximately 26 cents in American money at this period.

**14.** (Great Britain Feb 16 '46) Do you feel that the government is or is not justified in increasing the wireless license to £1 per annum? (BIPO)

| | *Is* | *Is not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 61% | 6% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 35% | 59% | 6% |
| Women | 31 | 63 | 6 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 37% | 57% | 6% |
| 30–49 years | 35 | 60 | 5 |
| 50 years and over | 28 | 65 | 7 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 51% | 45% | 4% |
| Middle | 44 | 51 | 5 |
| Lower | 27 | 66 | 7 |
| Very poor | 19 | 72 | 9 |

**15.** (Canada Feb 23 '46) At present everyone with a radio has to buy a license each yeat costing two dollars and fifty cents. As you know, this money is used to pay for Canadian Broadcasting Corporation programs. Do you approve or disapprove of this system? (CIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 53% | 40% | 7% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Liberal | 62% | 32% | 6% |
| Progressive-Conservative | 42 | 53 | 5 |
| Cooperative Commonwealth Federation | 47 | 47 | 6 |

**16.** (Germany Oct 14 '46) Do you believe the radio is being censored today? (OMGUS)

| | *Radio listeners* | *Non-listeners* |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 32% | 16% |
| Think it is being censored | 32 | 27 |
| No | 19 | 11 |
| No opinion | 17 | 46 |
| No answer | * | — |

* Less than 0.5%.

## RADIO PLAYS AND PROGRAMS

**1.** (US Jan 9 '37) What radio program do you like best? (AIPO) (Jan '38) What is your favorite program? Asked of a national cross-section of radio owners. (FOR)

| | AIPO *1937* | FOR *1938* |
|---|---|---|
| Jack Benny | 13% | 8.7% |
| Eddie Cantor | 6 | 1.9 |
| Major Bowes | 4 | 6.9 |
| Amos 'n' Andy | 4 | 3.0 |
| March of Time | 4 | — |
| News broadcasts | 4 | 6.6 |
| Lum and Abner | 4 | 2.3 |
| Kraft Music Hall | 3 | 3.3 |
| Ford Symphony | 3 | 4.3 |
| One Man's Family | 2 | 4.2 |
| Lucky Strike Hit Parade | 2 | 1.8 |
| Lux Theatre of the Air | 2 | 3.5 |
| Gangbusters | 2 | 2.5 |
| Lowell Thomas | 2 | — |
| Vick's Open House | 2 | — |
| Rudy Vallee | 2 | — |
| National Barn Dance | 1 | — |
| Burns and Allen | 1 | — |
| General Motors Symphony | 1 | — |
| Fred Allen | 3 | — |
| Charlie McCarthy | — | 5.8 |
| Fibber McGee and Molly | — | 2.4 |
| All others | 35 | 42.8 |

**2.** (Great Britain July 26 '37) What is your favorite wireless program? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Variety | 27% |
| Commodore Grand Orchestra | 1 |
| Brass band; military; etc | 2 |
| Athlone | 1 |
| National | 1 |
| Regional | 1 |
| Opera | 1 |
| Talks; topical programs | 3 |
| The news | 3 |
| Plays | 6 |
| Debates | 1 |
| Bible and church services | 1 |
| Sports | 1 |
| Light music (dance) | 11 |
| Music Hall | 2 |
| Musical comedies | 1 |
| Vaudeville | 1 |
| Classical music; symphonies; etc | 6 |
| Organ recitals | 1 |
| All others | 6 |
| No answer | 23 |

**3.** (US Jan 25 '38) During the past year have you heard any broadcast that has offended you by its vulgarity? Asked of a national cross-section of radio owners. (AIPO)

Yes 15% No 85%

**4.** (Great Britain Dec '38) Do you wish the British Broadcasting Corporation to include in Sunday programs a regular dance-band broadcast? (BIPO)

Yes 52% No 32% No opinion 16%

**5.** (US Dec 16 '38) Did you listen to the Orson Welles broadcast of the *Invasion from Mars*? (AIPO)

Yes 12% No 84% No answer 4%

Did you listen from the beginning, or did you tune in after the program had begun? Asked of those who had listened to the Orson Welles program.

| | |
|---|---|
| From beginning | 34% |
| After it had begun | 60 |
| Don't remember | 4 |
| No answer | 2 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

Did someone suggest that you tune in after the program had begun? Asked of those who tuned in on the Welles program after the program had begun.

Yes 19% No 71%
No answer 10% = 100% of those questioned

Did you listen to the broadcast up to the end? Asked of those who had listened to the Welles program.

Yes 71% No 19%
No answer 10% = 100% of those questioned

At the time you were listening, did you think this broadcast was a play or a real news report? Asked of all those who had listened to the Welles program.

Play 68% News report 26%
No answer 6% = 100% of those questioned

Did the broadcast frighten you at the time? Asked of those who believed the Welles program to be a real news report.

| | |
|---|---|
| Very much | 27% |
| Somewhat | 42 |
| Not at all | 30 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**6.** (US Dec 16 '38) Do you listen to George Burns and Gracie Allen on the radio? 65% of the sample who said they listened were asked: How often? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't listen | 29% |
| Didn't say whether or not listen | 6 |
| Listen occasionally | 39 |
| Listen regularly | 16 |
| Seldom listen | 9 |
| Didn't say how often | 1 |

**7.** (Great Britain May '39) Would you be willing to pay more for a radio license if, in return, you received more and better programs? (BIPO)

Yes 42% No 49% No opinion 9%

**8.** (Great Britain Jan '40) Which of the two British Broadcasting Corporation programs do you prefer: "Home Service," "BEF Service"? (BIPO)

Home Service 59% BEF Service 26% No choice 15%

**9.** (US Aug 5 '41) Have you ever listened to a quiz program on the radio? (AIPO)

Yes 76% No 12% No opinion 12%

**10.** (Sweden Feb '42) What did you listen to on the wireless Saturday evening, January 31? Asked of a national cross-section of radio listeners. (SGI)

| | | *National total* | *Town* | *Country* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7:30 | The Optimist and Pessimist | 55% | 52% | 56% |
| 7:45 | Old-time dance music | 45 | 42 | 47 |
| 8:15 | Monthly review | 44 | 43 | 44 |
| 9:15 | Jussi Bjørling | 29 | 36 | 25 |
| | | 173%* | 173%* | 172%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents listened to more than one program.

**11.** (Sweden Feb '42) What did you listen to on the wireless Sunday, Feb 1st? Asked of a national cross-section of radio listeners. (SGI)

| | | *National total* | *Towns* | *Country* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9:00 | News | 33%* | 27% | 36% |
| | Summary of the results Agrarian movement lecture by B. Ager | 8 | — | — |
| | Agricultural-economic review lecture by Prof. Th. Bjørkman | 7 | — | — |
| 9:45 | The Swedish mode of living, an enquiry among the study circles of the National Preparedness Society | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| 10:05 | Gramophone concert; Liszt, Chopin, Griffes | 5 | 7 | 3 |
| 11:00 | Service from St. Jacob's Church in Gothenburg; Rev. David Sandberg | 29 | 20 | 35 |
| 12:40 | News | 39 | 33 | 45 |
| 1:00 | A Russian Social Democrat's fate, lecture by Marika Stjernstedt | 7 | — | — |
| 1:30 | Concert by the Stockholm radio orchestra, featuring Berwald, Norman, Stenhammar | 5 | 7 | 4 |
| 2:15 | Thoughts on the balance and joys of the soul by J. Landquist | 2 | — | — |
| 2:45 | Entertaining music by Waldimir's orchestra | 18 | 23 | 15 |
| 3:30 | From the mountains; children's program | 9 | — | — |
| 4:00 | Songs and folk songs from Wales, sung by the singer's circle | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| 4:30 | German lesson by Prof. Wellander | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| 5:05 | Gramophone concert | 30 | 35 | 27 |
| 6:00 | The Swedish line and the Christian heritage, meeting at St. John's Church | 13 | 11 | 14 |
| 7:00 | News | 50 | 49 | 51 |
| 7:30 | Tor Hedberg; The National Movement, a farce | 19 | 24 | 16 |

| | | *National total* | *Towns* | *Country* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9:00 | No Chamber Music If You Please, a musical farce... | 5% | 7% | 4% |
| 9:45 | Swedish rococo; lyrical recitation..... | 3 | — | — |
| 10:00 | News..... | 32 | 38 | 28 |

* This is a summary of the radio programs people listened to. Totals, of course, add to much more than 100 because some people listened to several programs.

**12.** (US Mar 2 '42) Have you heard anything about a radio program called "This is War"? 30% of the sample who had heard of the program were asked: Have you ever listened to it? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Never heard of it..... | 68% |
| Don't know whether or not heard of it..... | 2 |
| Have listened to it..... | 20 |
| Heard of it but never listened..... | 9 |
| Didn't say whether or not had listened..... | 1 |

On what night of the week did you hear it? Asked of 20% of the sample who had listened to the program.

| | |
|---|---|
| Saturday..... | 9% |
| Sunday..... | 2 |
| Other..... | 1 |
| Don't know..... | 8 |
| | 20% |

Have you heard it once or more than once? Asked of 20% of the sample who had listened to the program.

Once 8% More than once 11% No answer 1% = 20%

**13.** (US Apr 28 '42) Have you ever listened to the radio program "Mr. District Attorney" ("This is War," "The Army Hour," "Chaplain Jim of the USA," "They Live Forever")? Those who had listened were asked: Once, or more than once? Do you happen to remember what day of the week it comes on? In general, did you like this program very well, only fairly well, or not at all? (NORC)

| | *Mr. District Attorney* | *This is War* | *The Army Hour* | *Chaplain Jim of the USA* | *They Live Forever* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yes, listened..... | 67% | 36% | 29% | 7% | 12% |
| No, didn't..... | 31 | 61 | 65 | 90 | 84 |
| Don't know..... | 2 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 4 |
| NUMBER OF TIMES RESPONDENTS LISTENED | | | | | |
| Once..... | 5% | 7% | 6% | 2% | 3% |
| More than once.. | 61 | 28 | 22 | 4 | 8 |
| Don't know..... | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| | 67% | 36% | 29% | 7% | 12% |
| DAY OF WEEK PROGRAM COMES | | | | | |
| Correct day..... | 18% | 14% | 8% | 1% | 3% |
| Don't know..... | 49 | 22 | 21 | 6 | 9 |
| | 67% | 36% | 29% | 7% | 12% |
| OPINIONS OF PROGRAMS | | | | | |
| Liked very much. | 45% | 24% | 22% | 5% | 8% |
| Like fairly well.. | 15 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 2 |
| Poor..... | 3 | 2 | * | * | * |
| Don't know..... | 4 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| | 67% | 36% | 29% | 7% | 12% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**14.** (US Apr 28 '42) In the last week have you heard over an American station a rebroadcast of the British radio program called "Answering You" ("Britain Speaks," "Radio Newsreel," "British Broadcasting Corporation News")? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Answering You..... | 3% | 95% | 2% |
| Britain Speaks..... | 8 | 89 | 3 |
| Radio Newsreel..... | 11 | 86 | 3 |
| British Broadcasting Corp. News.... | 15 | 81 | 4 |

**15.** (Australia May '42) Did you hear any of the recent radio sessions a few weeks ago entitled, "Know the Jap as He Really Is"? Only half the cross-section had heard any of the sessions. They were asked: Do you think they were a good idea? (APOP)

Good idea 44% Not good idea 54%
Undecided 2% = 100% of those who had heard the sessions

**16.** (Canada Aug 22 '42) 19% of a sample of French-speaking Canadians who had heard short-wave propaganda broadcasts from both Paris and Vichy and an additional 38% who had heard of the broadcasts but had never listened to them directly were asked: Do you think these broadcasts express the feelings of the French people or of the German government? (CIPO)

French people 19% French government 47%
Not certain 34% = 100% of those questioned

**17.** (Denmark Aug 1 '43) Will a specially good radio program make you arrange your evening to fit in with it? (DGI)

Yes 58.3% No 34.9% Don't know 6.8%

**18.** (Great Britain Aug 22 '43) Is there any person broadcasting who influences your views? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| John Hilton..... | 5% |
| J. B. Priestley..... | 5 |
| Winston Churchill..... | 3 |
| The Radio Padre..... | 2 |
| Mr. Middleton..... | 2 |
| The Radio Doctor..... | 1 |
| Brains Trust..... | 1 |
| Miscellaneous speakers..... | 6 |
| I have no time for wireless set..... | 3 |
| I have no time for wireless..... | 3 |
| I think for myself..... | 1 |
| Don't know; no answer..... | 68 |

**19.** (Great Britain Sept '43) In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the British Broadcasting Corporation programs? (BIPO)

Satisfied 60% Dissatisfied 28% Don't know 12%

**20.** (Denmark Sept 6 '43) Are you in the habit of listening regularly to [programs listed below]? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dance music (jazz, etc.)..... | 53.5%* |
| Light music (operettas, marches, luncheon concerts, etc.)..... | 64.6 |
| Classical music (operas, romances, symphonies, etc.)..... | 27.7 |
| Modern music (modern composers, not jazz).... | 42.2 |
| Thursday concerts..... | 14.7 |
| Gramophone music..... | 73.1 |
| Scientific lectures (popular)..... | 29.6 |
| Travel lectures..... | 33.3 |
| Biography lectures..... | 15.5 |
| Specialized lectures..... | 32.9 |
| Plays..... | 81.9 |
| Recitations..... | 48.7 |
| Topical news..... | 69.2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| For the young | 42.1% |
| The Week-end Cottage | 75.6 |
| Church services | 41.4 |
| Language lessons | 7.4 |
| Radio serial novels | 18.3 |

* Since respondents were asked to name all programs they listened to regularly, percentages add to considerably more than 100.

**21.** (Denmark Sept 15 '43) Which one of the artists, lecturers, etc., featured on the radio do you prefer? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Poul Reumert | 17.5% |
| Aksel Dahlerup | 13.6 |
| Aksel Schiøtz | 13.2 |
| Den Gyldenblonde | 7.6 |
| Kaj Julian | 5.7 |
| Bodil Ipsen | 5.5 |
| Elith Pio | 4.4 |
| Eyvind Johan Svendsen | 3.7 |
| Louis Preil | 2.7 |
| Karin Nellemose | 2.3 |
| Dr. Poul Bergsøe | 2.2 |
| Tavs Neiiendam | 2.1 |
| Teddy Petersen Wivex | 2.0 |
| Mogens Lind | 2.0 |
| Mogens Lorentzen | 2.0 |
| Ludvig Brandstrup | 1.7 |
| Ebbe Rode | 1.6 |
| Wandy Tvorek | 1.5 |
| Mogens Davidsen (Ærbødigst Ugerevy) | 1.5 |
| Ejnar Nørby | 1.3 |
| Marius Jacobsen | 1.3 |
| Gunnar Nu-Hansen | 1.3 |
| Wilhelm Andersen | 1.3 |
| Else Skouboo | 1.2 |
| Eddie Russell | 1.2 |
| Holger Gabrielsen | 1.1 |
| Anna Borg | 1.1 |
| Rasmus Christiansen | 1.1 |
| Mogens Wieth | 1.1 |
| Don't know | 49.0 |
| | 153.8%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**22.** (Denmark Sept 16 '43) What particular thing makes you switch off the radio? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Thursday Concert | 22.7% |
| Jazz | 13.4 |
| Classical music | 4.5 |
| Female voices (singing) | 3.8 |
| Highbrow music | 3.1 |
| Opera | 2.6 |
| Chamber music | 2.1 |
| Bad or tedious lectures | 2.0 |
| Lectures | 1.9 |
| Political propaganda | 1.6 |
| Modern music | 1.5 |
| Agricultural lectures | 1.4 |
| Noise | 1.3 |
| Dramas | 1.3 |
| Light music | 1.2 |
| Swearing in plays | 1.0 |
| Church services | 1.0 |
| Political broadcasts | 0.9 |
| Modern dance music | 0.8 |
| The Hansen Family | 0.6 |
| Louis Preil | 0.6 |
| The radio news | 0.6 |
| Sports broadcasts | 0.6% |
| Songs | 0.4 |
| Language lessons | 0.4 |
| Scientific lectures | 0.3 |
| Launy Grøndahl | 0.3 |
| Plays | 0.3 |
| Domestic lectures | 0.2 |
| Religious lectures | 0.2 |
| Noisy music | 0.2 |
| Lectures for housewives | 0.2 |
| German recitations | 0.2 |
| The Country Housewife's Monthly Review | 0.2 |
| Reading | 0.2 |
| Dahlerup's Topical News | 0.1 |
| Music | 0.1 |
| Merry Broadcasts | 0.1 |
| Week-end Cottage | 0.1 |
| Choirs | 0.1 |
| Gramophone music | 0.1 |
| Erik Tuxen | 0.1 |
| Other things | 3.8 |
| Don't know | 33.5 |
| | 111.6%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**23.** (Denmark Oct 10 '43) Have you ever written to the State Radio Company praising or criticizing the broadcasts? (DGI)

Yes 1.5% No 98.5%

**24.** (Denmark Oct 10 '43) Did you hear the broadcast of the Danish-Swedish football match? (DGI)

Yes 61.1% No 38.9%

**25.** (US Nov 15 '43) What are some of the things about the radio that you don't like? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Commercial advertising | 29% |
| Serials; stories | 15 |
| Popular music | 10 |
| Classical music | 3 |
| Comedy and variety programs | 2 |
| News commentators | 2 |
| War stories and war news | 1 |
| Sports programs | 1 |
| Food talk | 1 |
| Too much war news | 1 |
| Duplication of news | 1 |
| Too much talking | 1 |
| News (war not mentioned) | 1 |
| War announcements | * |
| Nothing | 24 |
| Miscellaneous | 8 |
| Don't know | 5 |
| No radio | 11 |
| | 116%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**26.** (US Nov 15 '43) What kinds of radio programs do you like to listen to most? Asked of radio listeners. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| News commentators (people who give their opinions on the news) | 55%* |
| Straight news broadcasts | 57 |
| Sports broadcasts | 22 |
| Classical music | 29 |
| Old familiar music | 38 |
| Popular music | 38 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Hillbilly or cowboy music | 21% |
| Radio serial stories | 21 |
| Other radio plays | 29 |
| Comedy and variety programs | 44 |
| Quiz programs | 41 |
| Talks, forums, and round-table discussions | 29 |
| Religious programs | 31 |
| None in particular | 1 |
| Don't know | 2 |

* Since respondents were asked to name all programs which they liked, percentages add to considerably more than 100.

**27.** (US Nov 15 '43) Do you have any feeling that there are too many announcements or programs asking people to do things for the war, or do you feel there ought to be more of these? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too many | 11% |
| About right | 52 |
| Should be more | 19 |
| Don't know | 7 |
| No radio or didn't say whether or not had radio | 11 |

**28.** (US Nov 15 '43) Well, how about other kinds of war programs [than those asking people to do things]? So far as your own personal listening goes, do you ever have the feeling that there are too many straight news broadcasts about the war? news commentators? radio plays about the war? radio serial stories about the war? talks by government officials about the war? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *No radio or didn't say whether or not had radio* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Straight news broadcasts | 16% | 66% | 7% | 11% |
| News commentators | 18 | 62 | 9 | 11 |
| Radio plays | 20 | 45 | 24 | 11 |
| Radio serial stories | 19 | 32 | 38 | 11 |
| Talks by government officials | 13 | 56 | 20 | 11 |

**29.** (US Nov 15 '43 and Apr 8 '44) So far as your own personal listening goes, which of these things do you think the radio is spending too much time on and which not enough? How about urging people to save tin cans? urging people to stick to their war jobs? urging people to eat enough of the right kind of food? urging people not to pay more than ceiling prices? urging people to save waste paper? 11% of the sample who either didn't have radios or didn't say whether or not they had radios were not questioned. In 1944 the question read: So far as your own personal listening goes, do you think the radio is spending too much time on urging people to buy war bonds or not enough? urging people to save waste paper? urging women to get into war-useful jobs? urging women to join the WACS, WAVES, SPARS, and Marines? urging people to hold prices down by buying only what they need? urging people not to pay more than ceiling prices? (NORC)

| | *Too much* | *About right* | *Not enough* | *Don't know* | *Not questioned* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tin cans: | | | | | |
| 1943 | 9% | 46% | 20% | 14% | 11% |
| Buy war bonds: | | | | | |
| 1943 | 10 | 54 | 19 | 6 | 11 |
| 1944 | 9 | 53 | 31 | 7 | — |
| Waste paper: | | | | | |
| 1943 | 8 | 44 | 22 | 15 | 11 |
| 1944 | 10 | 44 | 35 | 11 | — |
| Not paying over ceiling prices: | | | | | |
| 1943 | 6% | 41% | 29% | 13% | 11% |
| 1944 | 5 | 43 | 42 | 10 | — |
| Stay on war jobs: | | | | | |
| 1943 | 5 | 48 | 24 | 12 | 11 |
| Eat right food: | | | | | |
| 1943 | 13 | 45 | 18 | 13 | 11 |
| Women into war jobs: | | | | | |
| 1944 | 15 | 42 | 29 | 14 | — |
| Women to join service: | | | | | |
| 1944 | 14 | 46 | 24 | 16 | — |
| Buying only what needed: | | | | | |
| 1944 | 5 | 41 | 44 | 10 | — |

All those of the 1943 sample who thought the radio was spending too much time on the things listed in the preceding question were asked: Why do you think so?

*Tin cans*

| | |
|---|---|
| They are not collected | 5% |
| Save without being told | 1 |
| Don't think it is necessary to save cans | 1 |
| General surfeit; people get tired of it | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | * |
| | 9% |

*Stay on war jobs*

| | |
|---|---|
| Not necessary; people will not quit anyway | 1% |
| Disapprove of idea of persuasion | 1 |
| Not necessary; it's compulsory to stick to jobs | 1 |
| Not necessary; no labor shortage | * |
| People don't pay attention to it | * |
| Not necessary; people making too much money | * |
| General surfeit; get tired of hearing it | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | * |
| | 5% |

*Eat right food*

| | |
|---|---|
| People already know this | 3% |
| People ear what they can get or afford | 3 |
| Too much ballyhoo connected with it | 2 |
| People will eat what they want anyway | 2 |
| General surfeit; people are tired of hearing about it | 2 |
| Subject not important enough | 1 |
| Not right to tell people what to eat | * |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know | * |
| | 13% |

*Buy war bonds*

| | |
|---|---|
| People will buy bonds anyway | 5% |
| General surfeit; people are tired of hearing about it | 3 |
| Too much repetition lessens value of appeal | 1 |
| Enough appeals elsewhere | 1 |
| Not sincere | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | * |
| | 11%** |

*Don't pay over ceiling prices*

| | |
|---|---|
| People will buy regardless of ceiling prices | 2% |
| People don't need to be told, they will be careful | 1 |
| Criticism of administration of rationing | 1 |
| General surfeit; tired of hearing about it | 1 |
| Against idea of ceiling prices | 1 |
| It's published in the papers and other sources | * |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know | * |
| | 6% |

*Save waste paper*

| | |
|---|---|
| It is not collected | 5% |
| Save without being told | 1 |
| There is no paper shortage | 1 |
| General surfeit; people are tired of it | 1 |
| Paper is wasted by the government | * |
| People don't listen | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | * |
| | 9%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than respondents questioned because some gave more than one answer.

**30.** (US Nov 15 '43) As far as you know, which one of those [urging people to save tin cans, stick to their war jobs, eat enough of right kind of food, buy war bonds, not pay more than ceiling prices, and save waste paper] does the radio spend most time on now? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Urging people to buy war bonds | 63% |
| Urging people to eat enough of the right kind of food | 6 |
| Urging people to stick to their war jobs | 4 |
| Urging people to save tin cans | 2 |
| Urging people not to pay more than ceiling prices | 2 |
| Urging people to save waste paper | 2 |
| Other | * |
| Don't know | 10 |
| No radio or didn't say whether or not had radio | 11 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**31.** (US Nov 15 '43) Do you happen to remember any of these appeals [about war bonds, war jobs, food, waste paper, tin cans, ceiling prices] over the radio which you thought were especially good? What? Do you happen to remember any you thought weren't especially good? What? (NORC)

*Especially good*

| | |
|---|---|
| No radio or didn't say whether or not had radio | 11% |
| About bonds: identifies program | 8 |
| Describes the program | 3 |
| Remembers good program (program not specified) | 4 |
| About war jobs | 2 |
| About food | 2 |
| About waste paper | 1 |
| About tin cans | 1 |
| About ceiling prices | 1 |
| About other appeals | 1 |
| Type of appeal not mentioned | 7 |
| Don't know | 59 |
| Don't know, they're all good | 2 |
| Don't know, they're all bad | * |
| | 102%** |

*Not especially good*

| | |
|---|---|
| No radio or didn't say whether or not had radio | 11% |
| Mention of bonds | 2 |
| Mention of foods | 1 |
| Mention of war jobs | * |
| Mention of cans | * |
| Mention of paper | * |
| Mention of prices | * |
| Other specific mention | * |
| Specific program on any of above | * |
| No, I can't remember any specific bad one | 79% |
| No, all or most of them good | 2 |
| No, all or most of them bad | 1 |
| I don't pay any attention; they're all the same; I don't listen | 3 |
| | * = 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**32.** (US Nov 15 '43) Do you think that most people have a pretty good idea of why it's important to keep buying bonds? 76% of the sample who thought people were pretty well informed on the subject were asked: Do you think people still need to be told about bonds on the radio? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Most people don't know why it's important | 10% |
| Don't know whether or not most people know | 3 |
| People still need to be told | 61 |
| People don't need to be told | 13 |
| Don't know whether or not need to be told | 2 |
| No radio or didn't say whether or not had radio | 11 |

61% of the sample who believed people still needed to be told were asked: Why?

| | |
|---|---|
| Lest they forget; people need reminding | 43% |
| Lest they become complacent; think the war's over and we don't need money | 5 |
| Just a statement that we still need money to win the war | 4 |
| Lest they spend their money on other things | 3 |
| Some people are not affected by or are not conscious of the war | 3 |
| Radio is the best way to reach the people | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 62%* |

* Percentages add to more than 61 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

10% of the sample who thought most people didn't know why it was important to continue buying bonds were asked: Do you think that more radio announcements would help? 3% of the sample thought more radio announcements would not help, and this 3% was asked: Why not?

| | |
|---|---|
| More radio announcements would help | 6% |
| Don't know whether or not more announcements would help | 1 |
| More announcements won't help because: | |
| Some people just won't buy; don't take the situation seriously | 1 |
| Surfeited with radio plugging of bonds | 1 |
| Miscellaneous reasons or don't know why | 1 |
| | 10% |

**33.** (US Nov 15 '43) Aside from raising money for the war, which one of these other reasons for buying bonds do you personally think is most important? Which one is least important? (NORC)

| | *Most important* | *Least important* |
|---|---|---|
| To make people feel that they are doing something for the war | 16% | 18% |

| | *Most important* | *Least important* |
|---|---|---|
| So people will have savings in case there is a depression after the war | 28% | 6% |
| To take money out of circulation so prices don't go too high | 14 | 20 |
| Because they are a good investment | 14 | 13 |
| To help the morale of the soldiers | 13 | 13 |
| Don't know | 4 | 19 |
| No radio or didn't say whether or not had radio | 11 | 11 |

**34.** (US Nov 15 '43) Which one of these ways do you think works best in getting people to buy war bonds? And which one would you say is the least successful? (NORC)

| | *Works best* | *Less successful* |
|---|---|---|
| Short radio talks by Hollywood stars | 9% | 7% |
| House-to-house drives by people in the community | 20 | 10 |
| Bond rallies with parades and speeches | 11 | 3 |
| Free admission to games and theaters for buying bonds and stamps | 9 | 7 |
| Posters and billboards | 2 | 14 |
| Newspapers and magazine ads | 4 | 6 |
| Radio speeches by government officials | 8 | 6 |
| Radio plays | 3 | 4 |
| Movie shorts | 3 | 3 |
| Short reminders by radio announcers | 10 | 5 |
| Personal message over the radio by leading daytime serial characters | 2 | 10 |
| Don't know | 8 | 14 |
| No radio or didn't say whether or not had radio | 11 | 11 |

**35.** (US Nov 15 '43) Would you personally rather have short reminder announcements about buying war bonds, or would you rather have this sort of thing worked right in as part of the program? 46% of the sample said they preferred short announcements, and 29% preferred to have it worked in as part of the program. Both these groups were asked: Why? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not questioned because not radio owner or didn't say | 11% |
| No preference as to how announcements are made | 14 |
| Prefer short reminders because: | |
| The less time devoted to them the better from the point of view of a successful campaign; short announcements more effective | 18 |
| The less time the better from the point of view of the bored listener | 9 |
| The less time the better (respondent's attitude uncertain) | 1 |
| Don't like the program spoiled | 15 |
| Miscellaneous reasons | 1 |
| Irrelevant answers | * |
| Don't know why | 3 |
| Prefer as part of program because: | |
| More interesting in the program; makes the medicine sugar-coated | 18 |
| Too many people turn off announcements or don't listen to them; they can't turn off the program in the middle | 8 |
| Certain kinds of programs suggested | 1 |
| Miscellaneous reasons | 1 |
| Don't know why | 2 |
| | 102%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**36.** (Great Britain Feb '44) Do you listen to "The Brains Trust"? (BIPO)

Yes 62% No 38%

**37.** (Great Britain Feb '44) Do you think that it [The Brains Trust] is better or worse than it used to be? (BIPO)

Better 17% Worse 41% Same 42%

**38.** (Great Britain Mar '44) Do you think that the general Forces program of the British Broadcasting Corporation is better or worse than the old Forces program?

Better 20% Same 18% Worse 42% Don't know 20%

**39.** (Great Britain Mar '44) On the whole, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the general Forces program? (BIPO)

Satisfied 34% Dissatisfied 46% Don't know 20%

**40.** (Sweden Apr '44) Is there any radio program of those now heard which you think should not be broadcast between 6 and 10 p.m.? (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Modern dance music and similar light music | 7.5% |
| Classical music; opera; symphonies | 7 |
| Lectures; recitations | 4 |
| Gramophone music | 1 |
| Old-time dance music | 1 |
| Serious plays | 1 |
| Mr. Leonard | 1 |
| Religious programs | 0.5 |
| Other things | 4 |
| Nothing | 43 |
| No opinion | 32 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents mentioned more than one program.

**41.** (Sweden Apr '44) Is there any kind of program which you would like to hear more often during these hours [6 and 10] of the evening? (SGI)

| | *National total* % | *Men* % | *Women* % | *Country* % | *Town* % | *Upper class* % | *Middle class* % | *Workers* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Modern dance music and similar light music | 23 | 24 | 23 | 17 | 31 | 23 | 22 | 24 |
| Old-time dance music | 19 | 21 | 16 | 21 | 15 | 11 | 15 | 23 |
| Cabaret, etc. | 10 | 9 | 11 | 8 | 13 | 6 | 10 | 11 |
| Gramophone music | 9 | 7 | 10 | 7 | 11 | 13 | 8 | 8 |
| Lectures; recitations | 8 | 11 | 6 | 7 | 10 | 12 | 10 | 7 |
| Classical music; opera; symphonies | 4 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 6 | 11 | 4 | 3 |
| Religious programs | 3 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| Serious plays | 3 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 8 | 3 | 2 |
| Running commentaries | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Quizzes | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Other things | 7 | 6 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| Don't know | 20 | 17 | 23 | 24 | 14 | 19 | 21 | 18 |
| All right as is | 22 | 21 | 22 | 25 | 17 | 18 | 24 | 21 |
| | 130* | 129* | 132* | 127* | 131* | 133* | 130* | 129* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents mentioned more than one program.

**42.** (US Apr 8 '44) Do you have any feeling that there are too many radio announcements or programs asking people to do things for the war, or do you feel there ought to be more of these? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too many | 14% |
| About right | 52 |
| Should be more | 25 |
| Don't know | 9 |

**43.** (US Apr 8 '44) Is there any particular thing you feel there is too much of on the air? What? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Nothing | 49% |
| Commercials | 16 |
| Serials and plays | 7 |
| Too much about the war | 4 |
| Commentators | 3 |
| Music | 3 |
| Too many radio announcements about the war | 3 |
| Silly, vulgar, trashy programs | 2 |
| Programs that are bad for children | 1 |
| Politics | 1 |
| Requests to buy bonds | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Don't have a radio; don't listen | 7 |
| Don't know | 4 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

**44.** (Sweden Dec '44) When did you last hear a discussion, a lecture, or recitation over the radio? (SGI)

| | *Today or yesterday* | *During the past week* | *During the past month* | *Longer ago* | *Never listen to such programs* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 19% | 33% | 17% | 21% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 17% | 35% | 18% | 21% | 9% |
| Women | 20 | 30 | 16 | 22 | 12 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Upper class | 28% | 36% | 12% | 18% | 6% |
| Middle class | 21 | 35 | 15 | 20 | 9 |
| Workers | 16 | 31 | 19 | 22 | 12 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | |
| Town | 20% | 33% | 18% | 20% | 9% |
| Country | 18 | 33 | 16 | 22 | 11 |

**45.** (Sweden Dec '44) What interested you most [on the radio]? Asked of a national cross-section of people who said they had heard a discussion, a lecture, or recitation over the radio during the preceding week. 52% of the sample is represented. (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Men* | *Women* | *Upper class* | *Middle class* | *Workers* | *Country* | *Town* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Travel descriptions | 36 | 40 | 33 | 37 | 36 | 36 | 34 | 39 |
| Talks on, and accompanied by, music | 19 | 15 | 24 | 20 | 20 | 19 | 13 | 29 |
| Services: religious lectures | 17 | 9 | 24 | 7 | 20 | 14 | 21 | 11 |
| War reviews | 16 | 24 | 8 | 17 | 16 | 16 | 19 | 13 |
| At the Doctor's, Tit for Tat, Social Letter Box, etc. | 16 | 4 | 27 | 6 | 13 | 19 | 17 | 13 |
| Reports from Parliament | 15 | 22 | 7 | 14 | 13 | 17 | 17 | 13 |
| Sport commentaries | 12 | 22 | 2 | 8 | 8 | 18 | 12 | 14 |
| Discussions | 11 | 11 | 11 | 19 | 12 | 10 | 11 | 13 |
| Agricultural lectures | 11 | 15 | 6 | 3 | 15 | 8 | 17 | 1 |
| Lectures on literature | 9 | 7 | 12 | 28 | 11 | 4 | 7 | 13 |
| Poetry reading | 4 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 6 |
| Cinema and theater programs | 4 | 2 | 7 | 7 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 7 |
| Prose reading | 3 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Talks without music | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | 2 |
| | 174* | 175* | 175* | 172* | 175* | 176* | 176* | 177* |

* Percentages are based on number of people who had listened to a discussion, a lecture, or a recitation over the radio during the preceding week and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**46.** (France Feb 16 '45) Do you listen to the German program in French, "French Government Station"? (FIPO)

Yes 24% No 65% No answer 11%

**47.** (France Feb 16 '45) Do you think this [German] program might have a bad influence on French morale? (FIPO)

Yes 14% No 49% No opinion 37%

**48.** (France Feb 16 '45) Do you listen to Ded Rysel's program "On the Doorstep"? 46% of the sample who had listened were asked: Do you like it? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't listen | 40% |
| Didn't say whether listened | 14 |
| Like it | 38 |
| Didn't like it | 5 |
| No opinion on program | 3 |

**49.** (US Feb 20 '45) During the last five months have you heard Kate Smith's (Jack Benny's) radio program on Sunday evenings? Those who said they had listened in the last five months were asked: Did you happen to listen to Kate Smith (Jack Benny) last Sunday night? (AIPO)

| | *Jack Benny* | *Kate Smith* |
|---|---|---|
| Haven't listened in the last five months | 43% | 63% |
| Listened previous Sunday | 23 | 11 |
| Didn't listen previous Sunday | 34 | 26 |

**50.** (US Oct 25 '45) What kinds of programs do you like to listen to most over the radio? (NYHT)

| | *National total* | *18–24 years* | *25–40 years* | *Over 40 years* | *Grade school* | *High school* | *College* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Musical programs (all kinds) | 57.5 | 69.9 | 59.9 | 50.8 | 45.1 | 62 4 | 70.3 |
| News programs and commentators | 35.5 | 19.2 | 31.8 | 44.7 | 33.3 | 33.7 | 44.4 |
| Dramatic programs or plays | 25.5 | 30.9 | 28.2 | 21.6 | 21.0 | 30.9 | 21.0 |

| | National total % | 18–24 years % | 25–40 years % | Over 40 years % | Grade school % | High school % | College % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Variety programs | 19.4 | 20.6 | 20.5 | 18.2 | 15.4 | 23.0 | 18.4 |
| Comedy programs | 9.8 | 10.7 | 10.6 | 8.9 | 7.9 | 11.5 | 9.0 |
| Sports | 7.9 | 5.8 | 7.9 | 8.8 | 6.8 | 8.1 | 9.6 |
| Religious programs | 5.1 | 2.4 | 3.0 | 7.6 | 9.0 | 3.4 | 2.0 |
| Quiz programs | 1.3 | 1.0 | 1.4 | 1.3 | .5 | 1.4 | 2.4 |
| Educational programs; forums | 1.2 | 1.3 | 1.1 | 1.1 | .8 | .7 | 2.9 |
| Foreign language programs | .1 | — | .1 | .2 | .3 | — | — |
| Other | 1.6 | 1.4 | 1.5 | 1.7 | 1.4 | 1.6 | 1.9 |
| Don't know | 4.4 | 2.4 | 3.0 | 6.0 | 9.0 | 1.7 | 1.2 |
| | 169.3* | 165.6* | 169.0* | 170.9* | 150.5* | 178.4* | 183.1* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**51.** (Sweden Dec '45) Mention two of the following radio programs which you yourself prefer to listen to. (SGI)

| | National total % | Men % | Women % | Upper class % | Middle class % | Workers % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Old-fashioned dance music | 31 | 34 | 28 | 10 | 28 | 36 |
| Light, entertaining music | 25 | 25 | 25 | 28 | 27 | 23 |
| Plays | 21 | 17 | 25 | 27 | 23 | 19 |
| Reports | 21 | 25 | 17 | 25 | 20 | 22 |
| Gramophone music | 18 | 18 | 17 | 26 | 18 | 17 |
| Serious lectures; recitations; etc. | 17 | 19 | 16 | 17 | 19 | 16 |
| Religious programs; services; etc. | 15 | 9 | 21 | 11 | 17 | 14 |
| Modern dance music | 18 | 18 | 17 | 26 | 18 | 17 |
| Classical music; operas; symphonies | 8 | 7 | 9 | 24 | 7 | 6 |
| Talks on food; Social Letter Box; etc. | 8 | — | 14 | 4 | 6 | 8 |
| Reports from Parliament | 8 | 12 | 3 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| Chats; lighter dialogues such as "Us girls," "Mr. Leonard," etc. | 6 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 7 |
| Language lessons | 3 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| | 199* | 192* | 200* | 215* | 200* | 196* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**52.** (Sweden Dec '45) Are you satisfied with the time given to these two kinds of [radio] programs [which respondents said they preferred to listen to]? (SGI)

| | Satisfied | Not satisfied | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| Old-fashioned dance music | 62% | 37% | 1% |
| Light, entertaining music | 68 | 30 | 2 |
| Plays | 75 | 24 | 1 |
| Reports | 57 | 42 | 1 |
| Gramophone music | 78 | 21 | 1 |
| Serious lectures; recitations; etc. | 78 | 19 | 3 |
| Religious programs; services; etc. | 86 | 14 | — |
| Modern dance music | 57 | 43 | — |
| Classical music; operas; symphonies | 78 | 20 | 2 |
| Talks on food; Social Letter Box; etc. | 90% | 10% | — |
| Reports from Parliament | 84 | 16 | — |
| Chats; lighter dialogues such as "Us girls," "Mr. Leonard," etc. | 84 | 16 | — |
| Language lessons | 52 | 48 | — |

**53.** (Sweden Dec '45) What are your wishes with regard to the contents of this type of program [mentioned in question 51]? (SGI)

| | More time % | More or less of a certain detail % | More or less of a certain program % | Other criticisms % | All right as it is % | Nothing % | Don't know % | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Old-fashioned music | 19 | 14 | 10 | 8 | 25 | 19 | 11 | = 106* |
| Light, entertaining music | 12 | 10 | 5 | 8 | 31 | 25 | 10 | = 101* |
| Plays | 8 | 5 | 21 | 12 | 20 | 18 | 16 | = 100 |
| Reports | 24 | 6 | 12 | 4 | 23 | 19 | 13 | = 101* |
| Gramophone music | 7 | 14 | 10 | 18 | 27 | 15 | 9 | = 100 |
| Serious lectures; recitations; etc. | 6 | 3 | 15 | 10 | 32 | 20 | 15 | = 101* |
| Religious programs; services; etc. | 2 | 3 | 12 | 3 | 40 | 26 | 14 | = 100 |
| Modern dance music | 18 | 14 | 1 | 8 | 21 | 22 | 16 | = 100 |
| Classical music; operas; symphonies | 7 | 7 | 7 | 29 | 27 | 25 | 16 | = 118* |
| Talks on food; Social Letter Box; etc. | 12 | 3 | 7 | — | 31 | 32 | 15 | = 100 |
| Reports from Parliament | 19 | 2 | 7 | 5 | 25 | 30 | 13 | = 101* |
| Chats; lighter dialogues, such as "Us Girls," etc. | 3 | 10 | 10 | 22 | 19 | 38 | 19 | = 101* |
| Language lessons | — | 10 | 29 | 24 | 14 | 19 | 14 | = 110* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**54.** (Australia Dec 45–Jan '46) What kind of radio entertainment do you like most? Is there anything you particularly dislike? (APOP)

| | Liked most | Disliked |
|---|---|---|
| Light classics; comic opera; musical comedy; etc. | 28% | — |
| Plays | 16 | 2% |
| Variety shows; vaudeville | 11 | 1 |
| Serials | 6 | 8 |
| Jazz; swing; popular music | 6 | 28 |
| Crooning | * | 4 |
| Talks; lectures | 5 | 2 |
| Classics; symphonies | 5 | 7 |
| News sessions | 4 | — |
| Vocal; ballads; community | 3 | — |
| Quiz programs | 2 | 1 |
| Racing; sports | 2 | 2 |
| Other answers | 4 | 5 |
| Nothing in particular | 8 | 40 |

* A small percentage of adults who liked crooning more than any other kind of radio entertainment is grouped above with jazz, swing, etc.

**55.** (Germany Jan 21 '46) What would you like to hear on the radio about America? (OMGUS)

| | Radio listeners | Non-listeners |
|---|---|---|
| What Americans think about Germany; what others think of us | 10% | 3% |
| Economic news: trade (international or otherwise); food; importations | 13 | 5 |

| | *Radio listeners* | *Non-listeners* |
|---|---|---|
| Political news: speeches by policy makers; international relations; news in general | 9% | 5% |
| Future plans for Germany | 9 | 5 |
| Social institutions; life in America; practical democracy | 16 | 12 |
| Culture; theater; concerts; art; literature | 7 | 4 |
| Strikes; unemployment; labor conditions | 7 | 3 |
| Everything | 7 | 1 |
| Other | 5 | 5 |
| Not interested; know it already | 7 | 4 |
| No answer; no opinion; don't know; can't say | 22 | 57 |
| | 112%* | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**56.** (Germany Jan 21 '46) Do you listen to the program "The Voice of America"? 66% of the sample who said they listened were asked: What do you like best in this program: the news, the commentaries, or the musical section? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| News | 26% |
| Commentaries | 16 |
| The musical section | 6 |
| Other | 11 |
| No opinion | 8 |
| No answer | 33 |

**57.** (Hungary Feb '46) In which Hungarian broadcast of the British Broadcasting Corporation are you most interested, less interested, and which would you like to hear more of? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | *Most interested in* | *Less interested in* | *Would like to hear more of* |
|---|---|---|---|
| News of foreign policy | 57% | 10% | 10% |
| The Voice of America | 7 | 3 | — |
| Hungarian situation | 8 | — | 6 |
| The Brains Trust | 1 | — | — |
| UNRRA | 3 | — | 1 |
| English by radio | 2 | — | 5 |
| Music | 7 | 9 | 12 |
| English life | 2 | 10 | 2 |
| Economic news | — | 8 | 7 |
| Cultural | — | — | 11 |
| Peace affairs | — | — | 3 |
| Nothing | 13 | 60 | 43 |

**58.** (Hungary Mar '46) What are your favorite feature programs on the radio? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

By Sex and Social Status

| | EDUCATED CLASS | | SMALL BOURGEOISIE | | WORKERS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* |
| News | 24% | 19% | 31% | 18% | 28% | 22% |
| Lectures | 7 | 8 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 4 |
| Plays | 13 | 12 | 14 | 15 | 14 | 17 |
| Radio reports; comments | 3 | 4 | 7 | 2 | 7 | 4 |
| Light music | 20 | 18 | 31 | 31 | 34 | 37 |
| Serious music | 31 | 35 | 11 | 24 | 8 | 10 |
| Everything; others | * | 1 | — | 4 | 1 | 2 |
| No answer; nothing | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**59.** (Denmark Mar 2 '46) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the Danish wireless programs since the war? (DGI)

Satisfied 41% Dissatisfied 42% Don't know 17%

**60.** (Denmark Mar 3 '46) What satisfies you the most in wireless programs? Asked of 41% of the sample who were satisfied with the Danish postwar programs. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Entertaining music | 23% |
| Plays | 14 |
| Lectures | 11 |
| News and topical events | 9 |
| All kinds of music | 9 |
| Week-end Cottage | 6 |
| Dance music | 4 |
| Services | 4 |
| Classical music | 2 |
| Thursday concerts | 1 |
| Other replies | 17 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**61.** (France Mar 16 '46) Did you personally hear this broadcast [Dr. Helium's broadcast about a mythical atomic catastrophe]? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 22% | 78% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | |
| Rural | 9% | 91% |
| Small towns | 19 | 81 |
| Average-sized towns | 20 | 80 |
| Large cities | 32 | 68 |

**62.** (France Mar 16 '46) Did you hear talk of it [Dr. Helium's broadcast]? (FIPO)

Yes 73% No 27%

**63.** (France Mar 16 '46) Do you approve or disapprove of broadcasts of this [Dr. Helium's] kind? (FIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 17% | 46% | 37% |
| Listeners to the broadcast | 35% | 56% | 9% |
| Non-listeners | 18 | 59 | 23 |

**64.** (France Mar 16 '46) In general, do you find that French radio broadcasts are better or worse in recent weeks? (FIPO)

Better 18.5% Worse 18.5% No change 63%

**65.** (Great Britain Apr 27 '46) What is your favorite item on the British Broadcasting Corporation? Which radio item do you dislike most? (BIPO)

| | *Favorite* | *Most disliked* |
|---|---|---|
| Itma | 16% | 8% |
| Revue and variety series | 15 | 13 |
| Variety (general) | 3 | 1 |
| Dance music (general) | 2 | 14 |
| Other dance bands (named) | 1 | 2 |
| Plays (general) | 6 | 1 |
| Just William | 1 | 2 |
| Appointment with Fear | 1 | 1 |
| Talks (general) | 1 | 3 |
| Religious talks and services | 2 | 3 |
| The Brains Trust | 2 | 5 |
| Sports programs | 2 | 1 |
| Symphony concerts | 3 | 8 |
| Serious music (general) | 1 | 3 |

| | *Favorite* | *Most disliked* |
|---|---|---|
| Cinema organ recitals | 1% | 1% |
| Chamber music | — | 3 |
| Victor Silvester | 1 | — |
| Light music (general) | 2 | — |
| Grand Hotel | 3 | — |
| Tuesday Serenade | 1 | — |
| Brass and military bands | 1 | — |
| Forces' favorites and housewives' choice | 2 | — |
| Those Were the Days | 1 | — |
| Saturday Night Theater | 6 | — |
| Dramatized serial stories | 1 | — |
| News bulletins | 3 | — |
| Quiz programs | 2 | — |
| Miscellaneous items | 10 | 10 |
| None in particular | 2 | 7 |
| No radio | 6 | 6 |
| No reply | 2 | 8 |

**66.** (Netherlands May '46) In which broadcasting program are you especially interested? In which broadcasting program are you not interested? (NFS)

| *Especially interested* | | *Not interested* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Music | 80% | Political | 42% |
| News | 71 | Speakers; plays; etc. | 39 |
| Speakers; plays; etc. | 43 | Religious | 30 |
| Religious | 38 | | |
| | 232%* | | 111%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**67.** (Hungary Sept '46) How many times weekly do you listen to literary and educational programs on the radio? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

BY SOCIAL STATUS

| | *Once—twice* | *Occasionally* | *Daily; continually* | *Seldom; rarely* | *Other answers; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Educated people | 11.2% | 19.5% | 30.1% | 17.0% | 22.2% |
| Bourgeoisie | 6.6 | 13.0 | 33.5 | 14.4 | 32.5 |
| Workers | 12.3 | 13.5 | 24.3 | 13.9 | 36.0 |

**68.** (Hungary Sept '46) What non-musical programs do you prefer on the radio? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

BY SOCIAL STATUS

| | *Educated* | *Bourgeoisie* | *Workers* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Poems | 22.1% | 18.2% | 16.3% |
| Short stories | 21.9 | 26.1 | 22.5 |
| Educational and scientific lectures | 24.8 | 22.5 | 22.5 |
| Sport | 7.6 | 13.6 | 17.7 |
| Literature | 13.7 | 8.9 | 2.6 |
| Other; no answer | 9.9 | 10.7 | 18.4 |

**69.** (Hungary Sept '46) What plays do you prefer on the radio? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

BY SOCIAL STATUS

| | *Educated* | *Bourgeoisie* | *Workers* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Opera | 30.3% | 14.3% | 7.8% |
| Musical comedy | 17.0 | 25.5 | 24.0 |
| Prose play relaying from theater | 18.7 | 21.1 | 16.7 |
| Prose play from the studio | 6.9 | 5.4 | 6.0 |
| Short literary play from the studio | 11.9% | 12.9% | 15.3% |
| Cabaret | 7.5 | 12.4 | 16.2 |
| Short scene | 4.0 | 4.3 | 7.0 |
| Other; no answer | 3.7 | 4.1 | 7.0 |

**70.** (Hungary Sept '46) Do you listen to the regular feature program of the radio? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. Results are average of several answers given by each respondent. (HIPOR)

BY SOCIAL STATUS

| | *Educated* | *Bourgeoisie* | *Workers* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Workers Culture Union | 16.3% | 33.2% | 42.8% |
| Radio Free University | 15.8 | 19.3 | 13.3 |
| Voice of Radio | 17.5 | 24.3 | 23.7 |
| Radio newsreel | 29.7 | 34.3 | 35.3 |
| World-economy lectures | 20.7 | 13.6 | 10.4 |
| Annals | 13.8 | 23.0 | 19.8 |
| Other; no answer | 34.2 | 24.8 | 20.4 |
| | 148.0%* | 172.5%* | 165.7%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**71.** (Great Britain Oct '46) Have you listened to the British Broadcasting Corporation's "Third Program"? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *Not interested* | *Can't get it* | *No set* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 38% | 41% | 12% | 9% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 40% | 41% | 10% | 9% |
| Women | 36 | 42 | 13 | 9 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 42% | 41% | 9% | 8% |
| 30–49 years | 41 | 40 | 11 | 8 |
| 50 years | 33 | 43 | 13 | 11 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 64% | 19% | 13% | 4% |
| Middle | 54 | 33 | 9 | 4 |
| Lower | 30 | 46 | 12 | 12 |
| Very poor | 18 | 49 | 14 | 19 |

**72.** (Great Britain Oct '46) Which do you think you are likely to listen to most frequently—the "Third Program," the "Home Service," or the "Light Program"? Asked of 38% of the sample who said they had listened to the Third Program. (BIPO)

| | *Third* | *Home* | *Light* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 14% | 34% | 44% | 8% = 100% of those questioned |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 14% | 35% | 42% | 9% |
| Women | 13 | 34 | 46 | 7 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 24% | 22% | 48% | 6% |
| 30–49 years | 13 | 31 | 47 | 9 |
| 50 years and over | 9 | 46 | 36 | 9 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 19% | 50% | 20% | 11% |
| Middle | 18 | 38 | 32 | 12 |
| Lower | 9 | 29 | 57 | 5 |
| Very poor | 6 | 25 | 68 | 1 |

**73.** (Great Britain Oct '46) What do you think of the "Third Program"? Asked of 38% of the sample who had listened to the Third Program. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too highbrow; above most people's heads; rather dull; too serious for my taste | 12% |
| Very bad | 3 |
| All right for those who have time to listen | 3 |
| All right for those who like that kind of thing | 2 |
| Not heard enough yet to judge | 2 |
| Reception bad; almost inaudible | 1 |
| Pretty good; not bad; not very keen | 5 |
| Excellent; very good; most interesting | 8 |
| Satisfies long-felt need; step in the right direction | 1 |
| Pleasant change from other rubbish | 1 |
| Enjoy the plays | 1 |
| Enjoy the music | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| No comment | 57 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**74.** (Germany Oct 14 '46) Which one of the three stations in the American zone presents the best program? Asked of a national cross-section of radio listeners. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Frankfort | 10% |
| Munich | 41 |
| Stuttgart | 31 |
| Munich and Stuttgart | 1 |
| Frankfort and Stuttgart | 1 |
| No opinion | 4 |
| Unable to compare | 11 |
| No answer | 1 |

**75.** (Germany Oct 14 '46) What would you like to hear about America over the radio? Asked of a national cross-section of radio listeners. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| News about world politics; about political life | 7% |
| About social life and social problems | 6 |
| Details about economic life in the United States; duty and finance; economic problems; strikes | 26 |
| Cultural matters; handling of musical condition; life and manner of education in schools | 5 |
| Family life of the Americans, way of living; how women live in America; how people live there in general | 30 |
| About life of German war prisoners in the United States; when the German war prisoners are supposed to be released | 2 |
| Attitudes toward Germany; what America thinks of the future of Germany; difference between America and Germany | 8 |
| Factual reports; the latest and most authentic news about United States | 4 |
| Others: church; problem of the negroes | * |
| I am interested in everything; there is sufficient presentation | 5 |
| Export of food from America into Germany; when there will be more food | 4 |
| Speeches of great men (Truman, Byrnes, historical) | 1 |
| What America thinks about the refugee problem in Germany and whether partition of Germany should last | * |
| True opinion about the relations between Russia and America | 1 |
| Carrying through the democratic ideas in the United States | 2 |
| Emigration to the United States | * |
| Sport reports | 1 |
| Science | 1% |
| Mode of life of Germans in United States | * |
| No interest; nothing | 9 |
| No opinion; don't know; can't say | 14 |
| | 126%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**76.** (Germany Oct 14 '46) Do you listen to the program "The Voice of America"? Asked of a national cross-section of radio listeners. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 25% |
| No | 73 |
| No answer | 2 |

**77.** (Germany Oct 14 '46) Do you think the radio programs contain too much propaganda? (OMGUS)

BY RADIO LISTENING HABITS

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Radio listeners | 18% | 66% | 16% | * |
| Non-listeners | 7 | 14 | 79 | — |

* Less than 0.5%.

**78.** (Hungary Dec '46) Which foreign radio feature-programs do you favor? (HIPOR)

| | *Moscow* | *New York* | *London* |
|---|---|---|---|
| News | 57% | 57% | 64% |
| Economic | 2 | 1 | — |
| Cultural | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| Music | 25 | 28 | 8 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 | 9 | 11 |
| No answer | 6 | 2 | 13 |

# RAILROADS

## Rates (France)

**1.** (France Mar 1 '45) Do you approve of the 40 per cent rise in railway fares? (FIPO)

Yes 17% No 78% No opinion 5%

**2.** (France Mar 1 '45) Do you think this rise [in railway fares] will cut down the number of travelers? (FIPO)

Yes 21% No 73% No opinion 6%

**3.** (France Apr 1 '46) Do you think it would be better to increase railroad fares or to leave the deficit of the railroads, which was thirty-four billion francs in 1945, to the public treasury? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Increase fares | 47% |
| Leave to treasury | 30 |
| No opinion | 23 |

## Rates (Great Britain)

**1.** (Great Britain May '40) Do you think the 10% increase in railway fares last month was fair or unfair? (BIPO)

Fair 32% Unfair 56% Don't know 12%

**2.** (Great Britain Jan '41) What do you think of the increases in railway fares? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Railways taking advantage of the situation | 34% |
| Justified because of increased cost | 22 |
| Necessary because railways are important in wartime | 10 |
| Government should keep fares stable in some way | 34 |

## Rates (U.S.)

**1.** (US Dec '40) Do you believe that the railroads can establish a healthy recovery until they get their freight rates down low enough not only to compete with the trucks but to stimulate additional traffic? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 21.3% | 78.7% |
| Utility and railroad executives only | 31.2 | 68.8 |

**2.** (US Dec '40) Do you believe that a lasting recovery of general business (as distinct from a rearmament boom) is possible until the railroads take steps to stimulate a greater movement of freight? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 36.9% | 63.1% |
| Utility and railroad executives only | 43.4 | 56.6 |

# RAILROADS AND STATE

## Canada

**1.** (Canada Mar 18 '44) There has been a lot of talk about how the Canadian railroads should be operated. Which of these plans do you think would be best: have all railroads owned and operated by the government; have all railroads owned and operated by private companies; continue the present system with some owned by the government and some run by private companies? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Government ownership | 35% |
| Private ownership | 16 |
| Combination of both | 38 |
| Undecided | 11 |

## Great Britain

**1.** (Great Britain Jan '45) Would you approve or disapprove of the nationalization of the railways? (BIPO)

Approve 54% Disapprove 26% Don't know 20%

**2.** (Great Britain Oct '46) Do you think that the government should or should not nationalize road transport as well as railways? (BIPO)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 37% | 46% | 17% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 41% | 51% | 8% |
| Women | 33 | 41 | 26 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 48% | 37% | 15% |
| 30–49 years | 40 | 46 | 14 |
| 50 years and over | 34 | 45 | 21 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 23% | 71% | 6% |
| Middle | 31 | 58 | 11 |
| Lower | 44 | 36 | 20 |
| Very poor | 41 | 31 | 28 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative | 14% | 75% | 11% |
| Labor | 61 | 22 | 17 |
| Liberal | 21 | 62 | 17 |
| Other voters | 46 | 43 | 11 |
| Non-voters | 31 | 43 | 26 |

## U.S.

**1.** (US Jan '36 and July '38) Do you believe the government should take over the railroads? For the 1938 sample, the word "think" was substituted for "believe." (FOR) (Nov 20 '36 and Dec 7 '36) Do you favor government ownership of railroads? (Dec 13 '37) Do you believe the government should buy, own, and operate the railroads? (July 2 '38) Do you think the federal government should buy, own, and operate the railroads? (June 12 '45 and Sept 6 '45) Do you think the government should own the railroads in this country? (Dec 31 '46) Do you think the United States government should own the railroads in this country? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion; undecided; don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| FOR Jan '36 | 26.7% | 51.8% | 21.5% | = 100% |
| AIPO Nov '36 | 30 | 60 | 10 | = 100 |
| AIPO Dec '36 | 34 | 66 = 100% | 17 | |
| AIPO Dec 13 '37 | 30 | 70 = 100 | 18 | |
| FOR July '38 | 25.7 | 52.8 | 21.5 | = 100 |
| AIPO July 2 '38 | 32 | 68 = 100 | 14 | |
| AIPO June '45 | 19 | 64 | 17 | = 100 |
| AIPO Sept '45 | 24 | 65 | 11 | = 100 |
| AIPO Dec '46 | 26 | 67 | 7 | = 100 |
| OPINIONS OF UNION MEMBERS | | | | |
| Sept '45 | 26% | 56% | 18% | |
| Dec '46 | 32 | 62 | 6 | |
| DEC '46 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Business and professional | 21% | 75% | 4% | |
| Farmers | 18 | 71 | 11 | |
| White-collar | 27 | 68 | 5 | |
| Manual workers | 30 | 61 | 9 | |
| DEC '46 RESULTS BY EDUCATION | | | | |
| College | 23% | 74% | 3% | |
| High school | 23 | 72 | 5 | |
| Grade or no school | 28 | 62 | 10 | |
| DEC '46 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Republican | 16% | 77% | 7% | |
| Democratic | 32 | 61 | 7 | |

**2.** (US Dec 14 '36) Do you think the government will have to take over the railroads eventually? (AIPO)

Yes 38% No 62%

**3.** (US Jan 25 '38) Do you think the railroads would be run more efficiently if the government owned and operated them? (AIPO)

Yes 36% No 64% = 100% No opinion 15%

**4.** (US June '39) Do you think the government should own and operate all, some, or none of the railroads? (FOR)

All 21.7% Some 12.0% None 52.6%
Don't know or depends 13.7%

**5.** (US Aug '39) Do you believe the government should own or more closely control the railroads? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Own | 13.6% |
| More closely control | 18.0 |
| Leave alone | 49.0 |
| Don't know | 19.4 |

6. (US Dec '41) After the war, do you think there will be more, the same, or less government regulation of railroads? (FOR)

More 38.9% Same 25.6% Less 10.0% Don't know 25.5%

7. (US July '42) After the war is over, do you think the government should own and operate all railroads, only regulate them, or leave them entirely alone? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Leave alone | 38.8% |
| Regulate | 36.9 |
| Own and operate | 10.6 |
| Don't know | 13.7 |

## RATIONING, CONSUMER

1. (Great Britain Jan '41) Do you think that the present rationing system works fairly for everybody? (BIPO) (Sweden Aug '42) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the government emergency boards carry out their work? (SGI) (Canada Feb 20 '43) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way rationing is being handled in this country? (CIPO)

| | *Satisfied* | *Dissatisfied* | *Undecided; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Britain | 63%* | 31% | 6% |
| Sweden | 64 | 16 | 20 |
| Canada | 64 | 27 | 9 |

* Includes 19% who were satisfied with qualifications.

The Aug '42 Swedish sample was asked further: With which [government emergency] board are you particularly dissatisfied? Asked of 16% of the sample who said they were dissatisfied with the way the boards were carrying out their work.

| | |
|---|---|
| The food board | 62% |
| The fuel board | 14 |
| Other boards | 24 |
| | 100% of those who were dissatisfied |

2. (US Feb '42) Do you think that the government should or should not ration products at this time in which it thinks there may be a shortage? (NORC)

Should 82% Should not 8% Depends 5% Don't know 5%

3. (US Mar 2 '42) Do you think we ought to start right now to ration all materials in which shortages may develop, or do you think we ought to wait until there really is a shortage? (NORC)

Start now 73% Wait 21% Don't know 6%

4. (Sweden Apr '42) Do you regard the ration-book system as necessary? (SGI)

Yes 54% No 29% No opinion 17%

5. (Australia June '42) Are there any things, except tea and clothing, so hard to get that they should be rationed by coupons? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Knew of no shortages to warrant rationing | 46% |
| Tobacco and cigarettes | 19 |
| Various groceries or all essentials | 13 |
| Firewood | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 |
| No opinion | 12 |

6. (US Aug 21 '42) Do you think there are more things besides sugar and rubber which should be rationed within the next six months? (NORC)

Yes 50% No 24% Don't know 26%

7. (US Sept 24 '42) If more things are rationed, do you think you would still be able to live as well as you did before the war or not as well? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| As well | 38% |
| Not as well | 52 |
| Depends | 6 |
| Don't know | 4 |

8. (Great Britain Oct '42) What wartime restriction do you dislike most? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Blackout | 40% |
| Food | 18 |
| Travel | 12 |
| Clothes rationing | 7 |
| Higher cost of living | 5 |
| Industrial conscription | 2 |
| General difficulty | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 6 |
| None or don't know | 6 |

9. (US Oct 6 '42) If we ration a lot more things, do you think there'll be much chiseling—that is, people getting more than their share of these things? (NORC)

Yes 49% No 43% Don't know 8%

10. (US Oct 6 '42) At the present time, do you think a lot of people are getting more than their share of the things that are rationed? (NORC)

Yes 38% No 52% Don't know 10%

11. (US Dec 15 '42) Do you think the rationing of various products is being handled fairly? A comparable cross-section was asked the question substituting "well" for "fairly." (AIPO) (Germany Jan 31 '46) What do you think of the ration card system? Is it fairly administered? (OMGUS)

UNITED STATES RESULTS

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fairly | 64% | 29% | 7% |
| Well | 60 | 34 | 6 |

GERMAN RESULTS

Fairly 90% Unfairly 5% No opinion 5%

12. (US Dec 15 '42) If there is a shortage of a given product, would you rather see the government ration it, or would you prefer to take the chance of being able to obtain it yourself? (AIPO)

Government ration 89% Take chance 9% No opinion 2%

13. (US Dec 15 '42) Within the next six months do you think any of these products will be rationed? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Clothing | 42% | 33% | 25% |
| Shoes | 48 | 26 | 26 |
| Dairy products | 84 | 7 | 9 |
| Meat | 93 | 2 | 5 |

**14.** (US Dec 30 '42) Do you think there are any things not rationed now which ought to be rationed? (NORC) (US Jan 27 '43) Are there any products that are not rationed at the present time which you think the government should ration? (AIPO) (Australia July '43) Are there any things not rationed which you think should be rationed by coupons? (APOP)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| NORC Dec '42 | 38% | 42% | 20% |
| AIPO Jan '43 | 39 | 47 | 14 |
| APOP July '43 | 45 | 55 | — |

38% of NORC's Dec '42 sample who thought there were things not rationed which should be, were asked: What?

| | |
|---|---|
| Dairy products | 17% |
| Meat | 11 |
| Canned goods | 6 |
| Coffee, tea, spices | 2 |
| Staples | 1 |
| Sugar | 1 |
| Fruits, vegetables | * |
| Food in general | 5 |
| Miscellaneous foods | 1 |
| Clothing | 3 |
| Shoes | 1 |
| Luxuries | 3 |
| Everything | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 58%** |

39% of AIPO's Jan '43 sample who thought the government should ration some products were asked: What additional products do you think the government should ration now?

| | |
|---|---|
| Everything | 3% |
| Chocolate candy | 1 |
| All foods | 2 |
| Dairy products, other than those mentioned | 2 |
| Butter | 14 |
| Milk (fresh or canned) | 2 |
| Canned goods (canned fruits and vegetables) | 4 |
| Tea | 2 |
| Eggs | 1 |
| Other foods or food products | 3 |
| Meat | 13 |
| Shortenings; Crisco | 1 |
| Liquor | 4 |
| Clothing (including wool, clothing, and shoes) | 4 |
| Tobacco | 1 |
| Other items | 2 |
| Flour, meal | 1 |
| No answer | 2 |
| | 62%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than those questioned because some respondents named more than one product.

**15.** (US Apr 6 '43 and Jan 17 '45) What one product that is now rationed do you find it hardest to cut down on? In 1945 the phrase "or get along without" was added to the end of the question. (AIPO)

| | *Apr '43* | *Jan '45* |
|---|---|---|
| Meat | 34% | 19% |
| Sugar | 8 | 20 |
| Butter | 11 | 19 |
| Gasoline | 8 | 10 |
| Canned goods; canned foods | 3 | 2 |
| Shoes | 2 | 5 |
| Cheese | 1% | * |
| Fuel oil | 1 | 1% |
| Coffee | 16 | — |
| Other items | 1 | 4 |
| Everything | — | * |
| Priority items: tires, farm machinery, automobile | — | 2 |
| None; miss nothing | 17 | 19 |
| Didn't say | — | 2 |
| | 102%** | 103%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**16.** (US May 7 '43) Would it make things easier for you if the red coupons were kept just for meat—and the butter, cheese, and oils were on a different coupon? Asked only of women. (NORC)

Yes 38% No 55% Don't know 7%

**17.** (US May 22 '43) Are there any things now being rationed that aren't being handled as well as they could be? 33% of the sample who felt that some things were not being handled as well as possible were asked: What things? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Nothing not being handled as well as possible | 51% |
| Don't know whether or not some things not being handled as well as possible | 16 |
| Meat not being handled well | 15 |
| Gasoline | 7 |
| Sugar | 4 |
| Canned goods or frozen foods and dried beans | 4 |
| Dairy products and shortening | 3 |
| Shoes | 2 |
| Coffee | 2 |
| Tires | 1 |
| Fuel oil; coal oil | 1 |
| Other rationed things not being handled well | 2 |
| Non-rationed things not being handled well | 2 |
| Didn't say what not being handled as well as possible | 1 |
| | 111%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

33% of the sample who thought there were some rationed items that were not being handled as well as possible were asked further: How could it be handled better?

| | |
|---|---|
| *Meat* | |
| Improve distribution of meat | 3% |
| More supervision; fewer black markets | 3 |
| Points too high; should have more points | 2 |
| More points for small families; fewer points for children | 1 |
| Separate points for fresh meat | * |
| Miscellaneous criticism of prices | 2 |
| Miscellaneous criticism of points | 1 |
| Miscellaneous criticism | 4 |
| *Sugar* | |
| Should have bigger or fairer allotments | 1 |
| Should have bigger or fairer allotments for canning | 1 |
| Should have bigger allotments because there is no shortage | 1 |
| Rationing has stimulated buying | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| *Canned goods* | |
| Points too high | 2 |
| Miscellaneous and not ascertainable | 2 |

*Coffee*
- Should have bigger allotments ..... 1%
- Miscellaneous and not ascertainable ..... 1

*Shoes*
- Children should not be rationed; should have more shoes ..... 1
- Working people need more ..... *
- Miscellaneous and not ascertainable ..... 1

*Gasoline*
- More strictly enforced; more supervision ..... 3
- Fairer distribution ..... 1
- Same distribution all over the country ..... 1
- Farmers need more ..... *
- Miscellaneous and not ascertainable ..... 2

35%**

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 33 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**18.** (Australia July '43) After the war, which restriction would you like lifted first? (May '45) Which [wartime] control or restriction would you like ended first? (APOP)

| | *1943* | *1945* |
|---|---|---|
| Food | 22% | 22% |
| Building | 5 | 16 |
| Clothing | 22 | 15 |
| Manpower | 3 | 9 |
| Petrol and tires | 12 | 5 |
| Travel | 6 | 5 |
| Beer and tobacco | 1 | 2 |
| Others | 10 | 7 |
| No answer | 19 | 19 |

**19.** (Australia July '43) Which of the wartime restrictions do you consider the least necessary? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Brownout | 31% |
| Rationing butter | 7 |
| Rationing food | 6 |
| Rationing clothes, etc. | 5 |
| Petrol rationing | 2 |
| Travel and transport | 4 |
| Restricted sports (racing, etc.) | 4 |
| Restricted building | 3 |
| Beer and tobacco shortages | 1 |
| Manpower control | 1 |
| Other restrictions | 6 |
| No answer or all necessary | 30 |

**20.** (US Aug 4 '43 and Aug 27 '43) Did you have any blue stamps left over at the end of the last ration period? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug 4 '43 | 36% | 53% | 11% |
| Aug 27 '43 | 37 | 59 | 4 |

Did you spend more points than usual during the last few days of the period so you wouldn't have any left over? Asked of 53% of the Aug 4 sample who hadn't any blue stamps left over at the end of the ration period.

Yes 15% No 37% Don't know 1% = 53%

What did you do with the stamps you had left over? Asked of 36% of the Aug 4 sample who had blue stamps left over at the end of the ration period.

| | |
|---|---|
| Left them in book | 14% |
| Destroyed them | 7 |
| Threw them away | 6 |
| Gave them to grocer | 4 |
| Gave them away | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 1% |
| Not ascertainable | 2 |
| | 36% |

**21.** (US Sept 14 '43) Aside from food, what things that you need very much right now for your home or family would you buy if you could get them? A comparable cross-section was asked: What products, supplies, equipment, or repairs can't you get now that you need very much for your home or family and would buy if you could get hold of them? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| None of these; none; nothing; don't know | 46% |
| Refrigerator | 28 |
| Washing machines | 3 |
| Stoves | 1 |
| Vacuum cleaners | 2 |
| Tires | 6 |
| Mangles; ironer | 3 |
| Irons | 5 |
| Toasters | 6 |
| Roofing | 4 |
| Sewing machines | 3 |
| Radios | 4 |
| Home equipment and supplies | 6 |
| Parts for articles listed above | 4 |
| Shoes (except sneakers and rubbers) | 4 |
| Other articles of clothing: overalls, woolen clothing, etc. (except articles made of rubber) | 1 |
| Rubber; tires; sneakers; hose; rubber pants; rubber sheets; girdles; elastic; batteries | 3 |
| Food; sugar; chocolate; potatoes; butter; meat | 4 |
| Farm and other business equipment and supplies | 1 |
| Home repairs and installations; roofing; building materials; lumber | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| | 138%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**22.** (US Sept 14 '43) How important is your need for it (them) [products, supplies, equipment, or repairs]? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who mentioned greatly needed items. 54% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Very important; can't get along without it | 57% |
| Quite important; work takes longer without it | 8 |
| Not very important; can manage without | 29 |
| Didn't say | 6 |
| | 100% |

of those questioned

**23.** (US Sept 14 '43) What are you doing now to get along without it (them) [products, supplies, equipment, or repairs]? Asked of a national cross-section who mentioned greatly needed items. 54% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Doing without it: walking instead of taking the car; mix by hand instead of with an electric mixer; etc. | 36% |
| Using old ones though inferior: electric iron; getting along with hand washer; etc. | 21 |
| Using substitutes: honey and margarine instead of sugar; wood for coal; etc. | 25 |
| Borrowing: alarm clock; sharing someone else's washing machine | 9 |
| Repairing old ones: patching up the old sweeper; repairing the old iron | 5 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Making the most of the old ones: using tires until they wear out; trying to make the coal last; etc. | 2% |
| Didn't say | 6 |
| Buy when can | * |
| | 104%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages are based on the number of respondents who needed one or more items and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**24.** (US Oct 6 '43) What irritates you most about rationing? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| The bother and red tape; keeping track of point values; bother of stamps when shopping; etc. | 16% |
| Insufficient allowance of ration points; points are too high on some products | 17 |
| The shortage; inability to get even the rationed products | 14 |
| Unfairness of it; some people can get things and some people can't; black market | 6 |
| It isn't handled properly; too much red tape in Washington | 8 |
| The method of allotment; points aren't dealt out fairly | 3 |
| The whole thing; it's unnecessary | 3 |
| Some parts of rationing are unnecessary | 2 |
| The inability of getting products without going to the black market; you must have money or pull | 1 |
| Other reasons: points shouldn't have an expiration date; the numerous blanks to fill out; etc. | 4 |
| Leading specific items mentioned: | |
| Meat | 8 |
| Gasoline | 8 |
| Butter | 7 |
| Sugar | 4 |
| Shoes | 4 |
| Canned goods | 1 |
| Red points | 1 |
| Tires | 2 |
| Nothing | 32 |
| Don't know | 4 |
| | 145%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**25.** (US Oct 22 '43, Dec 10 '43, June 2 '44) Have there been any rationed items that you couldn't get recently, even though you had ration stamps for them? The Dec '43 question used the word "stamps" and the June '44 question used the phrase "stamps or tokens" instead of "ration stamps." 46% of the Oct '43 sample, 44% of the Dec '43 sample, and 29% of the June '44 sample who said there were rationed items that they couldn't get were asked: What items? Only women were questioned in Oct. The Dec and June questions were confined to women marketers. (NORC)

| | *Oct '43* | *Dec '43* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|---|
| No rationed items couldn't get recently | 53% | 56% | 71% |
| Didn't know whether or not there were any rationed items couldn't get even though had ration stamps. | 1 | — | — |
| Rationed items couldn't get even though had stamps: | | | |
| Butter | 19 | 16 | 3 |
| Cheese | 6 | 8 | 4 |
| Fats and oils | * | 1 | — |
| Beef, hamburger | 7 | 3 | 7 |
| Pork, ham, and bacon | 4 | 2 | — |
| All other meats and meat in general | 3% | 4% | — |
| Canned fish and meat | 5 | 5 | — |
| Condensed and evaporated milk | 1 | 1 | 1% |
| Canned fruit | 8 | 9 | 12 |
| Canned vegetables | 5 | 5 | — |
| Canned juices | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Other canned goods | 6 | 3 | — |
| Dried fruits (raisins and prunes) | 7 | 6 | — |
| Baby foods | — | 1 | 1 |
| Miscellaneous food rationed items | 3 | 4 | 2 |
| Nonrationed items | 2 | 1 | 10 |
| Rationed items other than food | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Didn't say what rationed items couldn't get | * | 1 | 1 |
| | 134%** | 130%** | 116%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**26.** (Canada Oct 27 '43) Do you approve of the wartime regulation whereby the borrowing or lending of rationed goods is rendered illegal? (CIPO)

Approve 45% Disapprove 51% No opinion 4%

**27.** (US Dec 10 '43) Where do you usually find out how many ration points you should give for the things you are going to buy? Asked of women marketers. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Newspapers | 38% |
| Tags on articles or on shelves | 28 |
| Get information from storekeeper | 26 |
| Lists or charts in stores | 18 |
| At the store (source unspecified) | 5 |
| Radio | 3 |
| From friends | * |
| From OPA | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 121%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**28.** (US Dec 10 '43) I don't want you to tell me who the dealer was, but has a dealer ever given you a chance to buy a rationed item without collecting enough points or without collecting any points at all? (June 2 '44) I don't care who the dealer was, but within the last few weeks have you had a chance to buy any rationed items without paying enough points? 6% of the Dec '43 sample and 3% of the June '44 sample who said that dealers had given them a chance to buy without paying enough points were asked: Do you happen to remember what the items were? Only women marketers were questioned. (NORC)

| | *Dec '43* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Did not have a chance to buy without dealer collecting enough points | 93% | 96% |
| Didn't know whether or not had a chance to buy without dealer collecting points | 1 | 1 |
| Had a chance to buy: | | |
| Meat | 4 | 1 |
| Butter; dairy products | 1 | 1 |

| | *Dec '43* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Canned food; canned goods | 1% | 1% |
| Dried foods | * | — |
| Jams and jellies | * | — |
| Sugar | * | — |
| Gasoline | — | * |
| Non-rationed items | — | * |
| Mention of repaying points | * | — |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | 1 |
| Didn't say what items had a chance to buy | — | 1 |
| | 101%** | 102%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**29.** (US Dec 10 '43 and June 2 '44) If a dealer sells a rationed item and deliberately doesn't collect enough points, do you think he should be punished in any way? The second part of the June '44 question read "Do you think something should be done about it?" 62% of the Dec '43 sample who thought the dealer should be punished were asked: In what way? 72% of the June '44 sample who thought something should be done to a dealer were asked: What? Only women marketers were questioned. (NORC)

| | *Dec '43* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Thought nothing should be done to the dealer | 14% | 7% |
| Didn't know whether or not anything should be done | 15 | 15 |
| Qualified answers to the first question | 9 | 6 |
| Thought the dealer should be punished: | | |
| He should be fined | 18 | 7 |
| Close up the shop | 9 | 5 |
| More drastic punishment suggested for more serious offenses or for repeated offenders | 4 | 5 |
| Leave punishment up to proper authorities | 7 | 30 |
| Restrict sales in one way or another | 3 | 1 |
| Mild punishment; reprimanded; talked to | 2 | 5 |
| Arrested or jailed | 2 | 2 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 1 | * |
| Don't know how dealer should be punished | 16 | 17 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**30.** (US Dec 10 '43) After the ration period is over and you have some unused food stamps, what do you do with them? Asked of women marketers. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Throw them away or destroy them | 34% |
| Nothing; leave them in the book | 11 |
| Give them to the grocer | 6 |
| Give them away to neighbors, friends, relatives | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Never have any left | 41 |
| Don't know | 1 |

**31.** (US Dec 10 '43) Is there any way people can get extra allowances from their ration boards if they try? Asked of women marketers. (NORC)

Yes 78% No 3% Don't know 19%

**32.** (US Dec 10 '43) From what you hear, would you say your local ration board is doing a good job or a poor job? Asked of women marketers. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good | 71% |
| Average or fair | 11 |
| Poor | 4 |
| Don't know | 14 |

**33.** (US Dec 10 '43) Have you ever had any occasion to go to your local ration board except to get your book? 37% of the sample who had had occasion were asked: Was it about prices or about rationing? Only women marketers were questioned. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| No occasion to visit ration board except for book | 63% |
| Went about prices | 1 |
| Went about rationing | 35 |
| Went about both | * |
| Didn't say what for | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

Did they [local ration board] handle your problem very well, only fairly well, or poorly? Asked of 37% of the sample of women marketers who had had occasion to visit their local ration board for some reason other than to get their books.

| | |
|---|---|
| Very well | 26% |
| Only fairly well | 5 |
| Poorly | 5 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 37% |

The 10% of the sample of women marketers who thought the ration board had handled their problem only fairly well or poorly were asked: What could they have done to make it more satisfactory from your point of view?

| | |
|---|---|
| Could have given amount asked for | 4% |
| Could have been more courteous, unprejudiced, polite, etc. | 2 |
| Could have been quicker | 2 |
| Could have been more efficient | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know or not ascertainable | * |
| | 10% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**34.** (US Dec 10 '43) Have you ever heard of the consumer, or home front, pledge? 41% of the sample who had heard of the pledge were asked: What does this pledge ask people to do? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hadn't heard of pledge | 59% |
| People asked: | |
| Not to buy black market | 10 |
| Not to pay above ceiling prices | 8 |
| Correct answer given, "I'll pay no more than top legal prices, and I will accept no rationed goods without giving up stamps" | 8 |
| To conserve goods; not to waste | 7 |
| Not to buy rationed items without stamps | 6 |
| Buy only what you need | 4 |
| To abide by rules (general) | 2 |
| To save fats and salvage | 2 |
| Report violators or black markets | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| Don't know | 4 |
| | 115%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

Have you signed this [consumer] pledge? Asked of 41% of the sample of women marketers who were familiar with the pledge.

Yes 12% No 28% No answer 1% = 41%

**35.** (US Dec 10 '43) if there still are shortages after the war, do you think we should keep on rationing things? Asked of a national cross-section of women marketers. 85% of the sample who thought we should continue to ration things after the war were asked: Do you think rationing ought to be continued for just a few months after the war or for quite a while after the war? 8% of the sample who thought we should not continue rationing were asked: Why not? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know whether or not we should continue rationing | 7% |
| Continue rationing a few months | 20 |
| Continue rationing quite a while | 50 |
| Continue rationing but didn't know how long | 15 |
| Rationing should not be continued because: | |
| General statements: desire for return of normal pre-war times | 3 |
| Criticism of the system | 2 |
| Economic reasons; supply and demand | 1 |
| Miscellaneous reasons | 1 |
| Don't know why rationing should not be continued | 1 |

**36.** (Canada Jan 15 '44) In your opinion are there any things now being rationed that no longer need to be rationed? (CIPO)

Yes 43% No 39% No opinion 18%

**37.** (Denmark Apr 15 '44) How long after the end of the war do you think that rationing will be kept up? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Rationing abolished at once | 1.3% |
| Under 6 months | 1.4 |
| 6 months to 1 year | 5.2 |
| 1 to 1½ years | 20.1 |
| 1½ to 2 years | 2.4 |
| 2–3 years | 19.2 |
| 3–4 years | 4.5 |
| 4–10 years | 1.1 |
| Don't know | 44.1 |
| No answer | .8 |

**38.** (US Oct 6 '44) After the war in Europe is over, should the following government controls be continued or discontinued? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | *Continued* | *Discontinued* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Food rationing | 29% | 61% | 10% |
| Gasoline rationing | 26 | 65 | 9 |
| Price ceilings on things people buy | 51 | 40 | 9 |

**39.** (Australia May '45) Do you consider any of the wartime controls or restrictions really unnecessary? (APOP)

Yes 35% No 57% No opinion 8%

**40.** (Sweden Sept '45) Which rations did you not use completely last period? Asked of a national cross-section of married women. (SGI)

| | *National total* % | *Upper class* % | *Middle class* % | *Workers* % | *Large towns* % | *Other towns* % | *Country* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bread, flour, cereals | 21 | 33 | 21 | 20 | 36 | 22 | 17 |
| Fats | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| Sugar | 2 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 8 | 3 | 1 |
| Meat, bacon | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| Coffee, tea | 2 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Cocoa | 4 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 5 |
| Cheese | 13 | 5 | 15 | 13 | 9 | 10 | 15 |
| Washing and cleaning materials | 7 | 6 | 9 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 7 |
| Eggs | 9 | 3 | 10 | 9 | 5 | 8 | 11 |
| Oatmeal, oat flour | 29 | 39 | 28 | 29 | 49 | 36 | 22 |
| Spices | 14 | 8 | 12 | 16 | 19 | 14 | 13 |
| Used everything | 46 | 41 | 45 | 47 | 31 | 43 | 51 |
| | 152* | 158* | 153* | 150* | 175* | 147* | 149* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents had more than one kind of ration ticket left.

**41.** (US Oct 3 '45) Do you think the government should now remove all controls on the following—meat rationing, shoe rationing, all rent ceilings? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Meat rationing | 66% | 22% | 12% |
| Shoe rationing | 72 | 16 | 12 |
| All rent ceilings | 29 | 62 | 9 |

**42.** (Netherlands Jan 3 '46) Are there provisions which you don't buy as much as you are entitled to according to your coupons? (NIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Do not buy as much | 22% |
| Do buy | 76 |
| No opinion | 2 |

**43.** (Netherlands Jan 3 '46) In your opinion, on which provisions should rations be increased? (NIPO)

| | *First mentioned* | *Second mentioned* | *Third mentioned* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fat | 39% | 19% | 6% |
| Butter | 28 | 16 | 2 |
| Sugar | 9 | 18 | 15 |
| Meat | 12 | 16 | 13 |
| Milk | 3 | 10 | 8 |
| Potatoes | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| Other articles | 5 | 9 | 17 |
| None | 2 | 9 | 36 |

**44.** (Great Britain Mar '46) Would you approve or disapprove of a scheme which would give each miner more food and clothing points if he increases his production? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 69% | 23% | 8% |
| Weekly wages only | 70 | 22 | 8 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 67% | 27% | 6% |
| Women | 70 | 20 | 10 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 68% | 22% | 10% |
| 30–49 years | 69 | 25 | 6 |
| 50 years and over | 69 | 22 | 9 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 57% | 36% | 7% |
| Middle | 68 | 28 | 4 |
| Lower | 71 | 20 | 9 |
| Very poor | 68 | 20 | 12 |

**45.** (Germany May 8 '46) Have some items on your ration card, that were not available, been replaced in the stores during last week by other items? (OMGUS)

Yes 12% No 71% Don't know 17%

**46.** (Finland June 21 '46) What articles of daily use do you miss most? (FGI)

| | *National total* | *Rural* | *Urban* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fats | 38% | 32% | 54% |
| Sugar | 36 | 39 | 31 |
| Clothing | 15 | 17 | 8 |
| Meat | 10 | 8 | 15 |
| Milk | 9 | 7 | 15 |
| Cereal products | 5 | 6 | 4 |
| Shoes; leather | 5 | 6 | 1 |
| Tobacco | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| Soap | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Coffee | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Nothing | 1 | 1 | — |
| Don't know | 3 | 4 | 2 |
| | 129%* | 126%* | 136%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**47.** (Hungary Nov '46) Would the spread of rationing help the fair division of goods in stock? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Neutral* | *Other, no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Men* | | | | |
| Well-off | 67.5% | 15.0% | 12.5% | 5.0% |
| Medium | 73.7 | 21.5 | 3.6 | 1.2 |
| Badly off | 75.0 | 16.2 | 7.9 | 0.9 |
| *Women* | | | | |
| Well-off | 72.5 | 10.0 | 17.5 | — |
| Medium | 69.4 | 18.6 | 10.2 | 1.8 |
| Badly off | 72.8 | 12.5 | 11.2 | 3.5 |

**48.** (Hungary Nov '46) Which [system of rationing] would be more successful, point system or coupons? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Point system* | *Coupons* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Men* | | | |
| Well-off | 67.5% | 7.5% | 25.0% |
| Medium | 57.4 | 16.2 | 26.4 |
| Badly off | 61.8 | 15.8 | 22.4 |
| *Women* | | | |
| Well-off | 55.0 | 12.5 | 32.5 |
| Medium | 65.0 | 12.0 | 23.0 |
| Badly off | 67.1 | 12.6 | 20.3 |

## RAW MATERIALS

**1.** (US Feb 14 '42) When the war is over, do you think the United States should or should not take a full and active part along with other nations in guaranteeing that all nations get a fair share of raw materials? (NORC)

Should 83% Should not 9% Don't know 8%

## RECONSTRUCTION

**1.** (US Jan 11 '43 and June 18 '43) If it means that we have to continue rationing and other sacrifices after the war, do you think we ought to help feed and rebuild other countries? 78% of the Jan '43 sample and 73% of the June '43 sample who thought we should continue were asked: Should we help rebuild all countries or only those fighting on our side now? (NORC)

| | *Jan '43* | *June '43* |
|---|---|---|
| Should not help feed and rebuild other countries | 17% | 23% |
| Don't know whether or not we should help other countries | 5 | 4 |
| Help feed and rebuild all countries | 43 | 42 |
| Help feed and rebuild those countries on our side | 31 | 28 |
| Help feed and rebuild other countries but didn't say which ones | 4 | 3 |

**2.** (US Apr '43) After the war, about how long do you think it will take for war plants to be changed back to making peacetime goods and to get the armed forces back into civilian life? That is, about how long will it take to get back to peacetime conditions? Just your own best guess. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under ½ year | 12% |
| ½ to 1 year | 29 |
| 1 to 2 years | 28 |
| 2–5 years | 19 |
| Over 5 years | 5 |
| Don't know | 7 |

**3.** (US June '43) After the war do you think we should or should not plan to help other nations get on their feet by sending them money and materials? (FOR)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 72.8% | 19.1% | 8.1% |
| BY DEGREE OF CURRENT INFORMATION | | | |
| Well-informed | 82.7% | 12.8% | 4.5% |
| Poorly informed | 74.8 | 18.4 | 6.8 |
| Uninformed | 62.0 | 25.6 | 12.4 |
| BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS | | | |
| Executives | 86.4% | 10.6% | 3.0% |
| Farm proprietors | 74.5 | 16.9 | 8.6 |
| Factory wage earners | 69.8 | 22.3 | 7.9 |

**4.** (US June '43) If we do send money and materials [to help other nations] do you think this will result in a lower standard of living here, or that it will so increase trade that this country will be more prosperous than ever? (FOR)

| | *More prosperous* | *Lower standard* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 58.6% | 22.4% | 19.0% |
| BY DEGREE OF CURRENT INFORMATION | | | |
| Well-informed | 66.6% | 23.3% | 10.1% |
| Poorly informed | 61.6 | 22.6 | 15.8 |
| Uninformed | 48.8 | 21.5 | 29.7 |
| BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS | | | |
| Executives | 68.2% | 23.7% | 8.1% |
| Farm proprietors | 60.7 | 21.9 | 17.4 |
| Factory wage earners | 61.0 | 23.2 | 15.8 |

**5.** (US Sept '43) As a result of the war, do you think some countries are going to need help to get back to their normal way of life? 97% of the sample thought some countries were going to need help and 1% didn't know. This 98% was asked: Which of these things do you think they'll probably need? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| No help needed | 2%* |
| Will need clothing | 81 |
| Food | 96 |
| Building materials | 70 |
| Household furnishings | 56 |
| Machinery | 72 |
| Medical supplies | 84 |
| Something else | 2 |
| Don't know what they'll need | 1 |

* Since respondents were asked to name as many things as they thought would be needed, percentages add to considerably more than 100.

**6.** (US Sept '43) Do you think the United States should try to produce more of these things than we need ourselves so that we can help other countries? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 88% |
| No | 5 |
| Other | * |
| Sell only | 3 |
| No help needed | 2 |
| Don't know | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**7.** (US Sept '43) If the United States does help other countries, do you think we will have to pay more taxes than if we don't help them? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More taxes | 57% |
| No more taxes | 26 |
| Qualified answers | * |
| Don't know | 10 |
| No help needed or shouldn't try to help | 7 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**8.** (US Sept '43) If it does mean that we will have to pay taxes to help other countries, would you be willing to help them or not? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 73% |
| No | 10 |
| Qualified answers | 7 |
| Don't know | 3 |
| No help needed or shouldn't try to help | 7 |

**9.** (US Sept '43) Do you think we should try to help all countries which need help or just some countries? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| All | 51% |
| Some | 38 |
| Don't know | 4 |
| No help needed or shouldn't try to help | 7 |

**10.** (Sweden Oct '43) Do you think that Sweden should help build up its neighboring nations after the war even if this should mean increased taxation and smaller rations of food for you, yourself, for a period? (SGI)

| | *Help to rebuild Scandinavia* | *No such help* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 76% | 11% | 13% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 81% | 6% | 13% |
| Middle class | 78 | 10 | 12 |
| Workers | 74 | 13 | 13 |
| Working parties | 78 | 13 | 9 |
| Wealthy | 79 | 9 | 12 |

**11.** (US Feb '44) Would you like to see our government help Germany get her peacetime industries going again after this war or not? 66% of the sample who either didn't know or said they would like to see the government help Germany were asked: Would you be willing to have some things rationed in this country for several years after the war in order to help Germany get her peacetime industries going again? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Wouldn't want government to help | 34% |
| Willing to have postwar rationing | 37 |
| Unwilling to have rationing | 22 |
| Don't know or wouldn't say whether willing to have rationing | 7 |

**12.** (US Feb '44) Do you think the United States would be better off or worse off in the long run if we did help Germany get her peacetime industries going again after this war? 44% of the sample who thought we would be better off and 27% of the sample who thought we would be worse off were asked: In what way would we be better (worse) off? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Makes no difference whether we help Germany get her peacetime industries going again | 11% |
| Don't know whether we would be better or worse off | 18 |
| Qualified answers to the first question | * |
| Better off because: | |
| Trade; prosperity | 19 |
| Prevent wars | 4 |
| Send supplies | 3 |
| Mutual cooperation | 6 |
| Cost less | 5 |
| Pay their debts | 1 |
| Morale, them and us | 2 |
| We'd control them | 1 |
| Educate them | * |
| Other | * |
| Didn't say why | 2 |
| Don't know why | 1 |
| Worse off because: | |
| Competition | 3 |
| Cause wars | 12 |
| Take our supplies | 2 |
| Don't want Germany built up | 1 |
| Cost too much | 3 |
| No good from Germany | 1 |
| Don't need help | * |
| Isolation best | 1 |
| Other | 1 |
| Don't know why | 1 |
| Didn't say why | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**13.** (Great Britain Apr '44) The government are taking steps to deal with reconstruction in Britain after the war. On the whole, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the progress they have made? (Oct '44) The government are taking steps to deal with reconstruction in Britain. On the whole are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the progress they have made? (BIPO) (Australia June–July '45) The federal government is preparing for the conversion of Australia back to peacetime conditions. On the whole, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with progress to date? (APOP)

| | *Satisfied* | *Dis-satisfied* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Britain Apr '44 | 43% | 35% | 22% |
| Britain Oct '44 | 31 | 48 | 21 |
| Australia June–July '45 | 35 | 48 | 17* |

AUSTRALIAN RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | *Satisfied* | *Dis-satisfied* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Labor voters | 46% | 38% | 16% |
| Non-labor voters | 23 | 61 | 16 |

* Includes 6% who were unacquainted with the subject.

**14.** (France Sept '44, Feb 16 '45, May 1 '46, July 1 '46) Which country do you think will do the most to help French recovery? The Feb '45 question was: Which of the three great powers, England, the United States, or Russia, will help France most to recover after the war? (FIPO)

| | *Sept '44* | *Feb '45* | *May '46* | *July '46* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Britain | 14% | 18% | 8% | 4% |
| United States | 69 | 24 | 50 | 63 |
| Russia | 6 | 25 | 17 | 12 |
| Canada | — | — | 2 | — |
| Others | 12 | — | 1 | 5 |
| No opinion; don't know | 3 | 14 | 9 | 6 |
| None | — | 19 | 8 | 3 |
| France will recover by herself | — | — | 5 | 7 |
| | 104%* | | | |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**15.** (US Mar '45) How do you think we'll have the best chance of having prosperity in this country after the war, by helping other countries in the world to get back on their feet or by not helping them? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Helping | 78% |
| Not helping | 9 |
| Makes no difference | 3 |
| Helping if they pay for goods in money, land, trade, exchange but not by giving them goods free | 1 |
| Help liberated countries or Allies, but not Axis countries | * |
| Answers not to prosperity, but should help | 2 |
| Answers not to prosperity, but should not help | 2 |
| Don't know | 5 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**16.** (US Apr '45) Would you like to see our government help Japan get her peacetime industries going again after this war or not? 35% of the sample who favored help to Japan were asked: Would you be willing to have some things rationed in this country for several years after the war in order to help Japan get her peacetime industries going again? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Wouldn't want government to help | 65% |
| Willing to have postwar rationing | 12 |
| Unwilling to have rationing | 20 |
| Don't know whether willing to have rationing | 3 |

**17.** (Germany Oct 26 '45, Feb 21 '46, Mar 29 '46) In your opinion, how can reconstruction in Germany best be accomplished? (OMGUS)

| | *Oct '45* | *Feb '46* | *Mar '46* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Through religion | 43% | 37% | 33% |
| Through hard work | 62 | 59 | 71 |
| Through a strong new leader | 12 | 10 | 10 |
| Through the rebirth of the old national spirit of Bismarck and Frederick the Great | 4 | 4 | 2 |
| Through a new political movement | 30 | 32 | 26 |
| No opinion | 6 | 6 | — |
| Other | 1% | — | — |
| No answer | — | 1% | 5% |
| | 158%* | 149%* | 147%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**18.** (Germany Nov 5 '45) Do you think that the Americans have furthered or hindered German recovery and reconstruction? (Feb '46) Do you think that the Americans have helped or hindered the reconstruction of Germany? (Sept 3 '46) In your opinion, has reconstruction of Germany been furthered or hindered by the occupation? (OMGUS)

| | *Nov '45* | *Feb '46* | *Sept '46* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Helped or furthered | 70% | 66% | 44% |
| Hindered | 7 | 10 | 25 |
| Both | — | 2 | * |
| No opinion; don't know | 17 | 21 | 30 |
| Other | 5 | — | — |
| No answer | 1 | 1 | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

78% of the Feb '46 sample who thought the Americans had helped, hindered, or both helped and hindered the rebuilding of Germany were asked: How?

| | |
|---|---|
| The obvious help: transport, bridges, postal service, railroad, traffic, factories | 31% |
| Preserved law and order to make rebuilding possible | 6 |
| Give supplies to Germany; assistance where it is required; interested in reconstruction so Germany can pay reparations | 26 |
| No change; no progress | 2 |
| Trained people removed by denazification | 3 |
| Requisition what we need; blow up factories; remove machinery | 3 |
| Don't make it possible to get on; don't solve interzonal problems; too many restrictions; not enough authority given to the Germans | 3 |
| Don't know; can't say | 2 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 79%* |

* Percentages add to more than 78 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**19.** (Germany Dec 6 '45) Do you think that there has been good progress made toward the reconstruction of German communities? 8% of the sample who thought there had not been good progress toward reconstruction were asked: Why not? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, good progress | 75% |
| Don't know whether or not good progress has been made | 16 |
| Qualified answers about progress | 1 |
| Not good progress because: | |
| Lack of materials | 3 |
| Denazification bad, too strict; no replacements for party members | 1 |
| Lack of personnel; lack of right personnel | 1 |
| Too many difficulties; not enough economic freedom | 2 |
| Didn't say why | 1 |

**20.** (Germany Jan 14 '46) Do you think that the Allies will cooperate successfully in the rebuilding of Germany and Europe? 13% of the sample who thought the Allies would not cooperate were asked: Why not? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Allies will cooperate | 75% |
| Don't know whether or not Allies will cooperate | 12 |
| Allies will not cooperate because: | |
| Russians and/or French won't cooperate with anyone else | 3 |
| The Allies are all so different that they can't cooperate; they are not cooperating now, so how can they in the future; they have not common goals or ends in view; they themselves are not united | 4 |
| They have no interest in German problems; it is our problem, not theirs; must help ourselves | 2 |
| The facts are against it; they are tearing down Germany; they are making us suffer; they want to keep Germany weak (implying no reconstruction); they want revenge; lack good will | 2 |
| They will cooperate in rebuilding Europe, but not Germany | 1 |
| Didn't say why | 1 |

**21.** (Germany Feb '46) Do you think that industry and economic life in some of the zones have been reinstated more quickly than in others, or do you think that this has happened at the same rate in all? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Faster in some | 38% |
| Same in all | 19 |
| No opinion | 42 |
| No answer | 1 |

**22.** (Finland Mar 1 '46) In case we received goods from abroad, which might be added as extras to the usual rations, do you think that such goods first of all should be given those working in the woods and in lumber transport? (FGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should be distributed among people | 65% |
| Should not | 30 |
| Don't know | 5 |

**23.** (Germany Mar 29 '46) How long do you think the reconstruction of Germany will take? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| 10 years or under | 15% |
| 11–19 years | 7 |
| 20–30 years; a generation | 22 |
| 30–40 years | 11 |
| 40–50 years | 4 |
| 50 years or over | 20 |
| Depends on materials and labor | 4 |
| Depends on German people themselves; planning, cooperation, energy | 2 |
| Depends on outside help; help from America | 2 |
| Will take a long time (unspecified); at the rate it's going, will go very slowly; nothing much has been done yet | 7 |
| Germany will never rise again; there will never be reconstruction | 1 |
| No answer; no opinion | 8 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**24.** (Germany Mar 29 '46) Are you generally optimistic or pessimistic about the possibility that reconstruction can be accomplished with some degree of speed and energy? (OMGUS)

Pessimistic 34% Optimistic 58% No opinion 8%

**25.** (Germany Mar 29 '46) Has reconstruction in the American zone gone more quickly or more slowly than you expected? (OMGUS)

Faster 44% Slower 39% Don't know 17%

**26.** (Germany Mar 29 '46) What do you think are the main reasons why the reconstruction of Germany hasn't gone more quickly? What have been the principal obstacles? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Lack of food; workers can't get enough to eat; etc. | 3% |
| Lack of materials: building materials, raw materials, fuel, etc.; destruction too great; Russians take all away | 57 |
| Lack of trained workers; aren't enough people who know their business; technical people have been denazified; not enough smart people; people not interested in reconstruction | 18 |
| Bad organization; bad planning; no planning; need a strong and unified government | 5 |
| Lack of transportation and interzonal communication; too many restrictions | 22 |
| Goes too slowly; lack of unity among powers | 4 |
| Inflation; accounts frozen | 1 |
| Other | 2 |
| Can't say; something's wrong, but don't know what; other indefinite answers | 11 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 126%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**27.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statements: (OMGUS)

| | AMERICAN ZONE AND BERLIN | | | BERLIN ONLY | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
| The Germans should be allowed to rebuild their own country without interference from the Allied occupation forces | 59% | 35% | 6% | 60% | 39% | 1% |
| The responsibility for the reconstruction of Germany should be placed in the hands of the German people under the supervision of the Allies | 75 | 19 | 6 | 86 | 13 | 1 |

**28.** (Germany July 1 '46) Do you think that people who did not suffer war losses, e.g. who did not lose property, income, or savings because of the war, should now be asked to help those who suffered war losses? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 72% |
| No | 20 |
| No opinion | 8 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**29.** (Germany July 1 '46) Do you believe that people whose income was above average during the war, or who were in a position to save substantially, should now be asked to help in the rehabilitation of those who had losses? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 95% |
| No | 2 |
| No opinion | 3 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**30.** (Germany July 1 '46) In your opinion, who should be helped [in the rehabilitation program]? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| The bombed out | 57%* |
| The expellees | 49 |
| The foreigners | 1 |
| The refugees | 49 |
| The Jews | 18 |
| The dependents | 48 |
| The war casualties | 63 |
| The politically persecuted | 25 |
| All of them | 24 |
| No answer | 3 |

* Since respondents were allowed to name more than one type of person who needed help percentages add to considerably more than 100.

**31.** (Belgium July–Oct '46) Are you familiar with the declaration made by the Minister of Justice concerning the re-education and putting to work of former collaborators? (INSOC)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 44.1% | 55.9% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 55.2% | 44.8% |
| Women | 28.8 | 71.2 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 20–34 years | 43.4% | 56.6% |
| 35–49 years | 44.5 | 55.5 |
| 50–64 years | 43.0 | 57.0 |
| 65 years and over | 47.7 | 52.3 |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | |
| Urban | 47.7% | 52.3% |
| Rural | 39.3 | 60.7 |
| Industrial | 44.2 | 55.8 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | |
| Farmers | 32.2% | 67.8% |
| Workers | 42.5 | 57.5 |
| White-collar | 57.7 | 42.3 |
| Businessmen | 62.9 | 37.1 |
| Professional | 80.2 | 19.8 |
| Private income and pensions | 53.7 | 46.3 |
| Housewives | 25.8 | 74.2 |

**32.** (Belgium July–Oct '46) Do you approve of the Minister's plans [for re-education and employment of collaborators]? (INSOC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 58.2% | 26.7% | 15.1% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 59.7% | 27.0% | 13.3% |
| Women | 54.4 | 25.9 | 19.7 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–34 years | 54.1% | 28.2% | 17.7% |
| 35–49 years | 60.1 | 28.1 | 11.8 |
| 50–64 years | 63.7 | 21.3 | 15.0 |
| 65 years and over | 55.3 | 26.6 | 18.1 |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | | |
| Urban | 61.2% | 27.3% | 11.5% |
| Rural | 51.8 | 26.0 | 22.2 |
| Industrial | 60.6 | 26.5 | 12.9 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farmers | 59.3% | 24.2% | 16.5% |
| Workers | 56.2 | 25.2 | 18.6 |
| White-collar | 57.9 | 32.4 | 9.7 |
| Businessmen | 57.5 | 28.3 | 14.2 |
| Professional | 78.0 | 15.1 | 6.9 |
| Private income and pensions | 62.1 | 27.6 | 10.3 |
| Housewives | 49.6 | 28.5 | 21.9 |

**33.** (Germany Aug 9 '46) Which do you think Germany needs more at present, clear and positive reconstruction programs worked out by individual parties or capable individuals to lead reconstruction in Germany? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Clear and positive programs | 20% |
| Capable individuals | 57 |
| Both | 4 |
| No opinion | 18 |
| No answer | 1 |

**34.** (Czechoslovakia Sept '46) Do you know about the two-year plan, and can you explain its main points? (CZIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Know the plan well | 16% |
| Know the plan in main outline | 57 |
| Don't know the plan at all | 27 |

**35.** (Czechoslovakia Sept '46 and Nov '46) Do you believe that the two-year plan will succeed entirely, partly, or not at all? (CZIPO)

| | *Sept '46* | *Nov '46* |
|---|---|---|
| Succeed entirely | 31% | 41% |
| Succeed partly | 38 | 36 |
| Fail | 8 | 4 |
| Don't know | 23 | 19 |

**36.** (Czechoslovakia Sept '46) Will you be able to contribute to the success of the two-year plan in your own occupation? (CZIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 52% | 14% | 34% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Laborers | 50% | 13% | 37% |
| White-collar | 59 | 17 | 24 |
| Farmers | 45 | 8 | 47 |
| Business and professional | 54 | 18 | 28 |

**37.** (Czechoslovakia Sept '46) Are you satisfied with the voluntary work brigades? (CZIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 59% | 25% | 16% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Workers | 62% | 19% | 19% |
| Farmers | 61 | 22 | 17 |
| White-collar | 59 | 31 | 10 |
| Business and professional | 53 | 34 | 13 |
| OPINIONS OF THOSE WHO HAD SHARED IN THE WORK OF THE BRIGADES | | | |
| Worked several times | 79% | 10% | 11% |
| Worked once | 69 | 20 | 11 |
| Never worked | 49 | 31 | 20 |

**38.** (Czechoslovakia Sept '46) Have you ever joined a voluntary work brigade? (CZIPO)

| | *Several times* | *Once* | *Never* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 20% | 19% | 61% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 24% | 22% | 54% |
| Women | 17 | 16 | 67 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–29 years | 27% | 25% | 48% |
| 30–49 years | 23 | 22 | 55 |
| 50 years and over | 12 | 11 | 77 |

BY OCCUPATION

| | *Several times* | *Once* | *Never* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Laborers | 26% | 22% | 52% |
| White-collar | 22 | 23 | 55 |
| Farmers | 7 | 9 | 84 |
| Business and professional | 14 | 14 | 72 |

**39.** (US Sept 11 '46) Some people say that we should stop sending food, equipment, and other supplies to Yugoslavia? Do you agree or disagree with this? A comparable cross-section was asked: Would you agree or disagree with stopping shipment of food, equipment, and other supplies to Yugoslavia? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Agree 58% Disagree 30% No opinion 12%

**40.** (US Sept 11 '46) Some people say that we should stop sending food, equipment, and other supplies to Russia. Do you agree or disagree with this? A comparable cross-section was asked: Would you agree or disagree with stopping the shipment of food, equipment, and other supplies to Russia? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Agree 65% Disagree 26% No opinion 9%

**41.** (US Sept 11 '46) Would you agree or disagree with stopping the shipment of food, equipment, and other supplies to Poland? (AIPO)

Agree 40% Disagree 46% No opinion 14%

**42.** (US Nov 13 '46 and Dec 11 '46) How important do you think it is that the American people contribute money to help China get back on her feet? Is it very important, fairly important, or not so important? (AIPO)

| | *Nov '46* | *Dec '46* |
|---|---|---|
| Very important | 37% | 34% |
| Fairly important | 25 | 28 |
| Not so important | 30 | 26 |
| No opinion | 8 | 12 |

**43.** (Czechoslovakia Dec '46) Do you know what works councils are and what their task is? (CZIPO)

| | *Well informed* | *Partly informed* | *Not informed* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 34% | 40% | 26% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 48% | 37% | 15% |
| Women | 20 | 42 | 38 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–29 years | 37% | 44% | 19% |
| 30–49 years | 37 | 41 | 22 |
| 50 years and over | 28 | 34 | 38 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| White-collar | 51% | 38% | 11% |
| Workers | 36 | 41 | 23 |
| Business and professional | 32 | 42 | 26 |
| Farmers | 5 | 34 | 61 |

**44.** (Czechoslovakia Dec '46) Do you believe that the setting up of works councils is a step forward or not? (CZIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 48% | 13% | 39% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 57% | 16% | 27% |
| Women | 37 | 10 | 53 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–29 years | 56% | 9% | 35% |
| 30–49 years | 50 | 14 | 36 |
| 50 years and over | 38 | 14 | 48 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| White-collar | 60% | 20% | 20% |
| Workers | 55 | 8 | 37 |
| Business and professional | 37 | 22 | 41 |
| Farmers | 16 | 7 | 77 |

# REFERENDA

## Australia

**1.** (Australia Sept–Oct '42) The Commonwealth government proposes to hold a referendum on taking over some powers from the states. Do you think the referendum should be held with next year's federal election, or after the war, or not at all? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| With next election | 45% |
| After the war | 25 |
| Against taking a referendum | 12 |
| Would answer only "abolish States" | 8 |
| No opinion | 10 |

**2.** (Australia Oct '43) If a referendum were held to transfer substantial powers from the states to the Commonwealth, would you vote for or against? (APOP)

| | *For* | *Against* | *Undecided* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 62% | 26% | 9% | 3% |
| Women | 39 | 23 | 17 | 21 |

**3.** (Australia Feb–Mar '44, Apr '44, May–June '44) If a referendum is held, asking the people to give the Commonwealth extra powers for five years after the war, are you likely to vote "yes" or "no"? (July '44) At the referendum in August, when the Commonwealth will ask the people to give it extra powers for five years after the war, are you likely to vote "yes" or "no"? (Aug '44) The next question is an experiment to see if we can forecast how the referendum [on giving the Commonwealth extra powers for five years after the war] will go. Are you likely to vote "yes" or "no"? (APOP)

THE NATIONAL CHOICE IN APR AND AUG

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '44 | 43% | 35% | 22% |
| Aug '44 | 39 | 51 | 10 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| *Men* | | | |
| Feb–Mar '44 | 49% | 34% | 17% |
| Apr '44 | 48 | 37 | 15 |
| May–June '44 | 41 | 47 | 12 |
| July '44 | 37 | 49 | 14 |
| *Women* | | | |
| Feb–Mar '44 | 33 | 26 | 41 |
| Apr '44 | 38 | 34 | 28 |
| May–June '44 | 33 | 38 | 29 |
| July '44 | 32 | 39 | 29 |

MEN'S CHOICE BY POLITICS

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Labor voters* | | | |
| Feb–Mar '44 | 58% | 26% | 16% |
| Apr '44 | 58 | 29 | 13 |
| May–June '44 | 52 | 36 | 12 |
| July '44 (men) | 51 | 34 | 15 |
| *Non-labor voters* | | | |
| Feb–Mar '44 | 37 | 46 | 17 |
| Apr '44 | 36 | 50 | 14 |
| May–June '44 | 27 | 65 | 8 |
| July '44 (men) | 17 | 71 | 12 |

**4.** (Australia Dec '45–Jan '46) If a referendum is held in 1946 to give the Federal Parliament power to make laws on any matter, are you likely to vote "yes" or "no"? (APOP)

Yes 35% No 44% Don't know 21%

**5.** (Australia Sept 28 '46) The questions cover the period early May to Sept 21, 1946. In May the question was: At the referendum next September, you will be asked to give the Commonwealth three new powers to make laws on—marketing of primary products, terms and conditions of employment, and social services. On which are you likely to vote "yes" and which "no"? In June the question was worded: The next question is on the referendum in September, when you will be asked to transfer three powers from the states to the Commonwealth. The powers are set out on this card [marketing of primary products, terms and conditions of employment, and social services]. On which are you likely to vote "yes" and which "no"? The July question was the same as the June question with the exception of the end which read: Which of these powers are you likely to favor? Two surveys were made in September, one early and one just before the referendum. The September questions read: The next question is on the referendum. The powers asked for are set out on this card. On which of these powers are you likely to vote "yes" and which "no"? On the four later surveys, the interviewers were instructed to read the card with each respondent. (APOP)

VOTING INTENTIONS OF MEN ON SOCIAL SERVICES

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| May | 64% | 27% | 9% |
| June | 68 | 24 | 8 |
| July | 67 | 25 | 8 |
| September 7 | 62 | 33 | 5 |
| September 21 | 59 | 35 | 6 |

VOTING INTENTIONS OF MEN ON EMPLOYMENT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| May | 45% | 44% | 11% |
| June | 52 | 40 | 8 |
| July | 55 | 37 | 8 |
| September 7 | 45 | 47 | 8 |
| September 21 | 46 | 49 | 5 |

VOTING INTENTIONS OF MEN ON MARKETING

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| May | 49% | 41% | 10% |
| June | 45 | 45 | 10 |
| July | 49 | 41 | 10 |
| September 7 | 43 | 50 | 7 |
| September 21 | 43 | 51 | 6 |

## France

**1.** (France Mar 16 '46) If you were to vote today on the two questions in the October 25, 1945, referendum [first question relative to the election of one Assembly, second question relative to the powers of the elected Assembly], how would you vote? (FIPO)

Those expressing an opinion on their vote 73%
Those expressing no opinion 27

*Among those expressing an opinion on their vote*

Yes on both questions 48%
Yes on No. 1; no on No. 2 44
No on both questions 4
No on No. 1; yes on No. 2 4

Yes on first question 92%
No on first question 8

Yes on second question 52%
No on second question 48

**2.** (France Apr 16 '46) The projected Constitution must be ratified by a referendum. Do you intend to vote in this referendum? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 83% | 9% | 8% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 88% | 5% | 7% |
| Women | 78 | 12 | 10 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Workers | 87% | 5% | 8% |
| White-collar | 87 | 8 | 5 |
| Living on income and pensions | 87 | 9 | 4 |
| Business | 83 | 9 | 8 |
| Professional | 82 | 9 | 9 |
| Farmers | 81 | 10 | 9 |

**3.** (France Apr 16 '46) If the MRP, Socialists, and Communists agree on a proposed Constitution, would you vote for it? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 60% | 13% | 27% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Workers | 70% | 9% | 21% |
| White-collar | 64 | 13 | 23 |
| Farmers | 59 | 11 | 30 |
| Living on income and pensions | 56 | 13 | 31 |
| Business | 53 | 19 | 28 |
| Professional | 47 | 23 | 30 |

**4.** (France Apr 16 '46) Do you think that this referendum [on the Constitution] is important? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 67% | 14% | 19% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 75% | 12% | 13% |
| Women | 60 | 15 | 25 |

**5.** (France June 1 '46) Did you expect a majority "yes" vote or a majority "no" vote in the referendum [on the Constitution]? (FIPO)

Majority of "yes" 59%
Majority of "no" 23
No opinion 18

**6.** (France June 1 '46) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the results of the referendum [on the Constitution]? (FIPO)

| | Satisfied | Dissatisfied | Indifferent | No answer |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 34% | 14% | 3% |
| BY THE ACTUAL VOTE | | | | |
| Yes | 5% | 86% | 8% | 1% |
| No | 91 | — | 8 | 1 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Communist | 3% | 93% | 3% | 1% |
| Socialist | 22 | 65 | 12 | 1 |
| MRP | 91 | 1 | 7 | |
| PRL | 94 | — | 4 | 2 |
| Radical-Socialist | 77 | 7 | 15 | 1 |

## RELIGION

**1.** (US Jan '37) Do you think religion is gaining or losing influence in the life of the nation? (FOR)

| | Gaining | Losing | Same | Don't know | Has no influence |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24.8% | 49.9% | 17.2% | 6.8% | 1.3% |
| BY OPINION ON SEXUAL MORAL STANDARDS | | | | | |
| Better | 36.1% | 43.0% | 14.2% | 6.2% | 0.5% |
| Worse | 20.6 | 61.9 | 11.4 | 5.2 | 0.9 |
| Same | 24.6 | 40.2 | 26.6 | 7.0 | 1.6 |
| Don't know | 26.1 | 34.8 | 21.0 | 14.2 | 3.9 |

**2.** (US Aug '38) Which do you think the world is most in need of today, greater economic security for the people of all nations or more religion? (FOR)

| | Greater economic security | More religion | Economic security and religion | Others* | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43.1% | 36.5% | 3.5% | 5.3% | 11.6% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 51.0% | 28.8% | 3.0% | 5.9% | 11.3% |
| Women | 35.2 | 44.3 | 4.1 | 4.6 | 11.8 |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 20–40 years | 46.9% | 31.9% | 3.4% | 5.3% | 12.5% |
| Over 40 years | 39.3 | 41.1 | 3.7 | 5.3 | 10.6 |

BY RELIGION

| | | | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| All Protestants | 39.4% | 40.8% | 19.8% |
| Roman Catholics | 48.3 | 32.6 | 19.1 |
| Jewish | 69.6 | 10.4 | 20.0 |
| None | 51.4 | 23.5 | 25.1 |

* Includes peace, education, honesty, better government and leaders, etc.

**3.** (US Feb 22 '39) Do you think interest in religion in this community has increased or decreased during the last few years? (AIPO)

BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY

| | Increased | Decreased | About the same |
|---|---|---|---|
| City residents | 42% | 32% | 26% |
| Farmers | 27 | 40 | 33 |
| Small towns | 29 | 46 | 25 |

BY AGE

| | Increased | Decreased | About the same |
|---|---|---|---|
| Under 30 years | 37% | 34% | 29% |
| 30 to 40 years | 38 | 36 | 26 |
| Over 50 years | 32 | 40 | 28 |

**4.** (US Feb 22 '39) Do you think the influence of religion in this community has increased or decreased during the last few years? (AIPO)

Increased 30% Decreased 34% Same 22% No opinion 14%

**5.** (Great Britain Jan '41) Do you find that you get comfort and strength from religion? Was this always the case? (BIPO)

ANSWERS TO FIRST QUESTION

Yes 51% No 15% Not religious 27% Don't know 7%

ANSWERS TO SECOND QUESTION

| | Always | Since the war | For some years |
|---|---|---|---|
| Yes | 82% | 65% | 65% |
| No | 8 | 9 | 2 |
| Not religious | 10 | 26 | 33 |

**6.** (US Nov 13 '41) Do you think young people in this community are more interested or less interested in religion now than young people were ten years ago? (AIPO)

More 18% Same 24% Less 49% No opinion 9%

**7.** (US Feb 14 '42) When the war is over, do you think the United States should or should not take a full and active part along with other nations in guaranteeing freedom of religion all over the world? (NORC)

Should 87% Should not 9% Don't know 4%

**8.** (Sweden May '42) Do you pray to God? Asked of a national cross-section of young people. (SGI) (Czechoslovakia July '46) Do you pray in private? (CZIPO)

SWEDISH RESULTS BY SEX

| | Yes | No | Sometimes |
|---|---|---|---|
| Boys | 13% | 63% | 24% |
| Girls | 29 | 38 | 33 |

CZECHOSLOVAKIAN RESULTS

| | Regularly | Occasionally | On major occasions | Never |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 27.7% | 28.8% | 14.4% | 29.1% |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 18–29 years | 19.5% | 33.2% | 15.9% | 31.4% |
| 30–49 years | 23.4 | 26.7 | 18.1 | 31.8 |
| 50 years and over | 39.0 | 29.2 | 8.2 | 23.6 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Laborers | 25.5% | 29.2% | 13.3% | 32.0% |
| White-collar (higher grade) | 27.2 | 23.6 | 16.2 | 33.0 |
| White-collar (lower grade) | 25.0 | 28.0 | 17.6 | 29.4 |
| Farmers | 35.1 | 38.8 | 13.4 | 12.7 |
| Business and professional | 28.0 | 25.4 | 15.1 | 31.5 |

**9.** (Great Britain June '42) What do you think about the part the churches are playing in the life of this country? (BIPO)

They are playing their part well ..... 15%
Would like to see the churches being more active, giving better leads in social matters ..... 20

| | |
|---|---|
| Let the churches concentrate on spiritual questions only | 6% |
| The churches are playing no real part | 30 |
| The churches are concerned with themselves only | 5 |
| Not interested in such questions | 7 |
| Miscellaneous and no answer | 17 |

**10.** (Sweden Dec '42) Do you come of a religious family? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 36% | 58% | 6% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Town | 32% | 63% | 5% |
| Country | 39 | 55 | 6 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 47% | 44% | 9% |
| Middle class | 42 | 52 | 6 |
| Workers | 30 | 65 | 5 |

**11.** (Sweden Dec '42 and Denmark Jan 2 '44) Do you regard yourself as being religious? (SGI, DGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Swedish results | 28% | 62% | 10% |
| Danish results | 53 | 36 | 11 |
| SWEDISH RESULTS BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 17% | 74% | 9% |
| 30–49 years | 26 | 63 | 11 |
| 50 years and over | 39 | 51 | 10 |
| SWEDISH RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 41% | 47% | 12% |
| Middle class | 34 | 56 | 10 |
| Workers | 22 | 68 | 10 |

**12.** (Denmark May 20 '44) Do you think that the church, by being more active, could get into contact with more people? When 33.3% of the sample who thought the church could get into contact with more people were asked: Do you think the church should go in for propaganda and advertising?, 16.4% of the sample thought it should. This 16.4% were asked further: How? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Couldn't get into contact with more people by being more active | 46.6% |
| Don't know whether or not could get into contact with more people | 20.1 |
| Shouldn't go in for propaganda and advertising | 13.4 |
| Don't know whether or not should go in for propaganda and advertising | 3.5 |
| Should use for propaganda and advertising: | |
| Films | 11.6 |
| Posters | 3.5 |
| Clergymen visiting homes | 1.4 |
| Lectures | .7 |
| Public meetings | .8 |
| Advertisements, etc. in daily press | .6 |
| More work among the young | .5 |
| Don't know what should use | 5.2 |
| | 107.9%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents made more than one suggestion.

**13.** (Sweden Oct '44) Do you think that the Christian ideals should have a decisive influence when the peace is concluded after the war? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 57% | 15% | 28% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 55% | 20% | 25% |
| Women | 60 | 9 | 31 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 49% | 18% | 33% |
| 30–49 years | 57 | 17 | 26 |
| 50–64 years | 64 | 11 | 25 |
| 65 years and over | 66 | 5 | 29 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 73% | 14% | 13% |
| Middle class | 64 | 12 | 24 |
| Workers | 51 | 16 | 33 |

**14.** (Sweden Oct '44) Which particular Christian ideals do you think should be applied [to the peace after the war]? Asked of 57% of sample who thought Christian ideals should have a decisive influence in making the peace. (SGI)

| | *Humanity; brotherly love* | *Charity; forgiveness; largesse* | *Justice* | *Tolerance; benevolence* | *Humanity; respect for human values* | *Charity; goodness* | *No special ideals; all the Christian ones* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 12% | 7% | 4% | 3% | 2% | 3% | 33% | = 64%* |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | | |
| Men | 10% | 8% | 3% | 3% | 2% | 3% | 31% | = 60%* |
| Women | 13 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 33 | = 66* |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | | |
| Upper class | 19% | 18% | 6% | 4% | 6% | 7% | 26% | = 86%* |
| Middle class | 15 | 9 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 33 | = 71* |
| Workers | 9 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 32 | = 56* |
| BY AGE | | | | | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 8% | 4% | 2% | 3% | 2% | 1% | 32% | = 52%* |
| 30–49 years | 12 | 7 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 29 | = 61* |
| 50–64 years | 13 | 10 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 34 | = 71* |
| 65 years and over | 15 | 9 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 35 | = 70* |

* Percentages add to more than original totals because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**15.** (Sweden Oct '44) Do you think that this [applying Christian ideals after the war] could best be done by the church being represented at the peace conference, or do you think that these negotiations could be carried on in a Christian spirit equally well without the intervention of the church? Asked of 57% of the sample who thought Christian ideals should have a decisive influence in making the peace. (SGI)

| | *Church should be represented* | *Equally well without church* | *Better without church* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 38% | 10% | 3% | 6% | = 57% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 34% | 12% | 4% | 5% | = 55% |
| Women | 42 | 9 | 2 | 7 | = 60 |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 33% | 8% | 3% | 5% | = 49% |
| 30–49 years | 37 | 12 | 3 | 5 | = 57 |
| 50–60 years | 40 | 12 | 3 | 9 | = 64 |
| 65 years and over | 50 | 6 | 4 | 6 | = 66 |

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Church should be represented* | *Equally well without church* | *Better without church* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Upper class | 44% | 17% | 5% | 7% | = 73% |
| Middle class | 42 | 12 | 3 | 7 | = 64 |
| Workers | 34 | 9 | 3 | 5 | = 51 |

**16.** (US Nov 15 '44 and Canada Feb 10 '45) Do you, personally, believe in a God? In Canada the article was omitted before "God." (AIPO, CIPO) (Czechoslovakia July '46) Do you believe in the existence of God? (CZIPO)

RESULTS IN UNITED STATES

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 96% | 1% | 3% |

UNITED STATES RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| New England | 94% | 1% | 5% |
| Middle Atlantic | 95 | 2 | 3 |
| East central | 97 | 1 | 2 |
| West central | 97 | 1 | 2 |
| South | 98 | 1 | 1 |
| Mountain | 98 | 1 | 1 |
| Pacific coast | 93 | 1 | 6 |

UNITED STATES RESULTS BY SEX

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 95% | 1% | 4% |
| Women | 97 | 1 | 2 |

UNITED STATES RESULTS BY AGE

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 20–29 years | 93% | 3% | 4% |
| 30–49 years | 97 | 1 | 2 |
| 50 years and over | 97 | 1 | 2 |

UNITED STATES RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Farmers | 97% | 1% | 2% |
| Towns under 10,000 population | 98 | 1 | 1 |
| 10,000–100,000 population | 94 | 2 | 4 |
| 100,000 and over | 94 | 2 | 4 |

RESULTS IN CANADA

Yes 95% No 4% No opinion 1%

RESULTS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

| | *Believe firmly* | *Admit His existence* | *Don't believe* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 63.8% | 16.0% | 11.8% | 8.4% |

CZECHOSLOVAKIAN RESULTS BY AGE

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18–29 years | 59.0% | 17.7% | 11.8% | 11.5% |
| 30–49 years | 60.5 | 17.2 | 13.4 | 8.9 |
| 50 years and over | 71.8 | 13.4 | 9.7 | 5.1 |

CZECHOSLOVAKIAN RESULTS BY OCCUPATION

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Laborers | 62.5% | 13.0% | 15.3% | 9.2% |
| White-collar (higher grade) | 57.5 | 22.9 | 13.0 | 6.6 |
| White-collar (lower grade) | 63.2 | 17.6 | 10.3 | 8.9 |
| Farmers | 78.2 | 10.5 | 3.5 | 7.8 |
| Business and professional | 62.6 | 21.2 | 9.7 | 6.5 |

**17.** (Denmark Dec 22 '45) Does Christmas mean anything to you, religiously speaking? (DGI)

Yes 66% No 30% Don't know 4%

**18.** (Netherlands Apr '46) Does Easrer mean something to you in a religious way? (NFS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 67% | 29% | 4% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 66% | 31% | 3% |
| Women | 67 | 28 | 5 |
| BY RELIGION | | | |
| Calvinist | 97% | 3% | — |
| Roman Catholic | 94 | 5 | 1% |
| Dutch Reformed | 74 | 21 | 5 |
| Other churches | 71 | 26 | 3 |
| Secular | 14 | 80 | 6 |

**19.** (US June 12 '46) Do Communists believe in the Christian religion? (AIPO)

Yes 16% No 56% No opinion 28%

**20.** (US June 12 '46) Are people in Russia free to worship (religious) as they please? (AIPO)

Yes 34% No 46% No opinion 20%

**21.** (Czechoslovakia July '46) Do you believe that Christ was the incarnation of God? (CZIPO)

| | *Yes* | *Admit the possibility* | *Christ was a normal human being* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 32.8% | 18.0% | 37.8% | 11.4% |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 18–29 years | 29.9% | 19.7% | 38.5% | 11.9% |
| 30–49 years | 29.8 | 17.2 | 40.5 | 12.5 |
| 50 years and over | 39.1 | 18.1 | 33.6 | 9.2 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Laborers | 32.0% | 17.7% | 36.6% | 13.7% |
| White-collar (higher grade) | 24.1 | 19.1 | 49.4 | 7.4 |
| White-collar (lower grade) | 34.4 | 13.5 | 40.4 | 11.7 |
| Farmers | 48.0 | 21.8 | 21.8 | 8.4 |
| Business and professional | 30.7 | 16.7 | 42.0 | 10.6 |

**22.** (Czechoslovakia July '46) Does true Christianity lie in the belief in Christ as God or in fulfillment of moral obligations? (CZIPO)

| | *In the belief in Christ* | *In the fulfillment of moral obligations* | *In both** | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 24.5% | 55.0% | 5.2% | 15.3% |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 18–29 years | 21.2% | 55.3% | 5.5% | 18.0% |
| 30–49 years | 20.0 | 58.6 | 5.7 | 15.7 |
| 50 years and over | 32.3 | 50.0 | 4.9 | 12.8 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Laborers | 25.0% | 49.2% | 4.0% | 21.8% |
| White-collar (higher grade) | 14.9 | 71.0 | 8.6 | 5.5 |
| White-collar (lower grade) | 22.4 | 53.7 | 9.0 | 14.9 |
| Farmers | 36.9 | 46.0 | 2.8 | 14.3 |
| Business and professional | 22.6 | 62.4 | 5.8 | 9.2 |

* Volunteered.

**23.** (Czechoslovakia July '46) Do you believe that religious people are, on the average, more moral than atheists and those who are indifferent to religion? (CZIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Prefer not to generalize* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 33.2% | 30.2% | 36.6% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–29 years | 28.0% | 31.2% | 40.8% |
| 30–49 years | 31.3 | 33.3 | 35.4 |
| 50 years and over | 39.3 | 25.1 | 35.6 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Laborers | 29.8% | 33.8% | 36.4% |
| White-collar (higher grade) | 26.3 | 30.6 | 43.1 |
| White-collar (lower grade) | 35.3 | 28.0 | 36.7 |
| Farmers | 44.6 | 20.6 | 34.8 |
| Business and professional | 37.8 | 29.2 | 33.0 |

**24.** (Czechoslovakia July '46) Have you found in your experience that pious people are hypocritical? (CZIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Prefer not to generalize* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 33.8% | 17.2% | 49.0% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–29 years | 32.1% | 15.6% | 52.3% |
| 30–49 years | 36.0 | 15.1 | 48.9 |
| 50 years and over | 31.3 | 21.1 | 47.6 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Laborers | 36.6% | 17.8% | 45.6% |
| White-collar (higher grade) | 33.8 | 12.5 | 53.7 |
| White-collar (lower grade) | 30.9 | 17.7 | 51.4 |
| Farmers | 27.7 | 23.4 | 48.9 |
| Business and professional | 32.8 | 15.6 | 51.6 |

**25.** (Czechoslovakia July '46) How does your attitude toward religion compare with that of your parents? (CZIPO)

| | *Parents were more religious* | *I am more religious* | *No difference* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 47.4% | 6.1% | 46.5% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–29 years | 47.2% | 6.0% | 46.8% |
| 30–49 years | 48.3 | 7.1 | 44.6 |
| 50 years and over | 46.0 | 4.5 | 49.5 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Laborers | 48.4% | 4.8% | 46.8% |
| White-collar (higher grade) | 38.5 | 11.2 | 50.3 |
| White-collar (lower grade) | 50.0 | 1.5 | 48.5 |
| Farmers | 49.7 | 5.6 | 44.7 |
| Business and professional | 49.5 | 6.5 | 44.0 |

**26.** (Czechoslovakia July '46) Do you feel an antipathy toward members of other churches or creeds? (CZIPO)

| | *Yes, toward Catholics* | *Yes, toward Protestants* | *Yes, toward atheists* | *Yes, toward Jews* | *Tolerant of all* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 7.4% | 1.3% | 8.2% | 15.9% | 67.2% |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 18–29 years | 10.5% | 1.2% | 5.4% | 20.2% | 62.7% |
| 30–49 years | 7.9 | 0.7 | 7.1 | 14.8 | 69.5 |
| 50 years and over | 5.1 | 1.9 | 11.3 | 14.7 | 67.0 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Laborers | 9.5% | 1.5% | 6.4% | 16.6% | 66.0% |
| White-collar (higher grade) | 9.1 | 0.7 | 4.6 | 13.1 | 72.5 |
| White-collar (lower grade) | 7.9 | 1.3 | 10.5 | 14.5 | 65.8 |
| Farmers | 3.4 | 1.9 | 19.1 | 11.9 | 63.7 |
| Business and professional | 4.6 | 1.0 | 6.0 | 20.3 | 68.1 |

**27.** (Czechoslovakia Dec '46) Do you esteem more highly the spiritual legacies of St. Wenceslaus or of Hus? (CZIPO)

| | *St. Wenceslaus* | *John Hus* | *Both the same* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 21% | 39% | 28% | 12% | = 100% |
| BY DEGREE OF INTEREST IN HISTORY | | | | | |
| Liked history in school | 64% | 79% | 70% | 36% | |
| Didn't like history in school | 23 | 13 | 12 | 39 | |
| Other answers | 13 | 8 | 18 | 25 | |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | |
| BY DEGREE OF INTEREST IN HISTORICAL MONUMENTS | | | | | |
| Interested in historical monuments | 56% | 70% | 62% | 24% | |
| Not interested | 23 | 12 | 15 | 41 | |
| Don't know | 21 | 18 | 23 | 35 | |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | |

## RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

**1.** (Denmark Jan 30 '44) Do you want children to be taught religion at school? (DGI) (Czechoslovakia July '46) Do you think that children ought to receive religious instruction in schools? (CZIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Danish results | 84% | 10% | 6% |
| Czechoslovakian results | 71.8 | 16.5 | 11.7 |
| CZECHOSLOVAKIAN RESULTS BY AGE | | | |
| 18–29 years | 63.5% | 18.7% | 17.8% |
| 30–49 years | 72.3 | 17.0 | 10.7 |
| 50 years and over | 76.4 | 14.4 | 9.2 |
| CZECHOSLOVAKIAN RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Laborers | 67.4% | 17.4% | 15.2% |
| White-collar (higher grade) | 73.1 | 16.9 | 10.0 |
| White-collar (lower grade) | 70.6 | 23.3 | 6.1 |
| Farmers | 77.4 | 10.6 | 12.0 |
| Business and professional | 76.6 | 16.0 | 7.4 |

**2.** (Denmark Jan 30 '44) Should this [religious] teaching limit itself to telling of the Christian story, or should it influence children to attain a Christian attitude toward life? Asked of

84% of the sample who favored religious education at school. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Only teach the Christian story | 49% |
| A Christian attitude | 41 |
| Don't know | 10 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**3.** (Great Britain Feb '44) Do you agree or disagree that religious education should be given a more defined place in the life and work of the schools? (BIPO)

Agree 56% Disagree 27% Don't know 17%

**4.** (Australia Feb–Mar '44 and May–June '44) Do you think religion should be taught in government schools? (Nov '46) Do you think religion should or should not be taught in state schools? (APOP)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Feb–Mar '44 | 72% | 28% | — |
| May–June '44 | 77 | 17 | 6% |
| Nov '46 | 77 | 19 | 4 |
| BY RELIGION | | | |
| | | *No and Undecided* | |
| *Methodist* | | | |
| Feb–Mar '44 | 81% | 19% | |
| May–June '44 | 93 | 7 | |
| *Presbyterian* | | | |
| Feb–Mar '44 | 74 | 26 | |
| May–June '44 | 88 | 12 | |
| *Anglican* | | | |
| Feb–Mar '44 | 74 | 26 | |
| May–June '44 | 81 | 19 | |
| *Roman Catholic* | | | |
| Feb–Mar '44 | 69 | 31 | |
| May–June '44 | 78 | 22 | |
| *Other Christian* | | | |
| Feb–Mar '44 | 67 | 33 | |
| May–June '44 | 78 | 22 | |
| *Baptist* | | | |
| May–June '44 | 100 | — | |
| *Secular* | | | |
| Feb–Mar '44 | 11 | 89 | |
| May–June '44 | 26 | 74 | |
| FEB–MAR '44 RESULTS BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 68% | 32% | |
| Women | 78 | 22 | |

**5.** (Australia May–June '44) If religion is taught in government schools, should it be general Christian principles, or should each church conduct separate classes? (APOP)

| BY RELIGION | *Favor general Christian principles* | *Favor classes for each church* |
|---|---|---|
| Baptist | 80% | 20% |
| Methodist | 63 | 37 |
| Presbyterian | 68 | 32 |
| Anglican | 61 | 39 |
| Catholic | 37 | 63 |
| Other Christian | 76 | 24 |
| No religion | 68 | 32 |

**6.** (Sweden June '44) Do you think the teaching of religion in elementary school should be limited or extended? (SGI)

| | *Limited* | *Extended* | *All right as now* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 8% | 32% | 50% | 10% |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 10% | 22% | 58% | 10% |
| 30–49 years | 8 | 30 | 52 | 10 |
| 50–60 years | 5 | 41 | 45 | 9 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Farmers | 5% | 42% | 45% | 8% |
| Others | 9 | 28 | 52 | 11 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 8% | 36% | 40% | 16% |
| Lower class | 6 | 36 | 49 | 9 |
| Workers | 9 | 30 | 52 | 9 |

**7.** (Sweden June '44) Did you have to learn the catechism by heart when at school? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't remember* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 73% | 25% | 2% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 27% | 70% | 3% |
| 30–49 years | 80 | 19 | 1 |
| 50–64 years | 96 | 3 | 1 |
| 65 years and over | 98 | 1 | 1 |

**8.** (Sweden June '44) Do you think this kind of religious teaching was valuable, or do you think it a good thing that memorizing the catechism is now abolished? Asked of 73% of the sample who said they had to memorize the catechism at school. (SGI)

| | *Valuable* | *Good that it is abolished* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 41% | 10% = 100% of those questioned |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| North Sweden | 46% | 45% | 9% |
| Dalecarlia | 53 | 38 | 9 |
| Mälar district | 46 | 45 | 9 |
| Stockholm | 34 | 53 | 13 |
| East Gotland | 51 | 39 | 10 |
| Skåne | 55 | 34 | 11 |
| West Gotland | 52 | 37 | 11 |

**9.** (Canada June 30 '44) Do you think all public schools should offer a course in religion, or do you think they should leave this subject to the churches? (CIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 50% | 41% | 9% |
| BY SELECTED PROVINCES | | | |
| Quebec | 70% | 18% | 12% |
| Ontario | 49 | 44 | 7 |
| Prairies | 41 | 50 | 9 |

**10.** (Germany Dec 13 '45) Do you have children who are going to school at present? (OMGUS)

Yes 42% No 58%

**11.** (Germany Dec 13 '45) Are you in favor of giving children religious education? 97% of the sample who favored religious education were asked: Should religious instruction be compulsory or voluntary? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Oppose religious education | 2% |
| No opinion on religious education | 1 |
| Instruction should be compulsory | 84 |
| Instruction should not be compulsory | 11 |
| No opinion as to whether or not should be compulsory | 2 |

**12.** (Germany Dec 13 '45) Who should teach religion, lay teachers or the clergy? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Regular teachers | 10% |
| Priests (clergy) | 81 |
| No opinion | 2 |
| Both, either | 7 |

**13.** (Germany Dec 13 '45) Should confessional schools, in which religious instruction is compulsory, be established in a community in which a sufficient number of parents request them? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 37% |
| No | 47 |
| No opinion | 15 |
| No answer | 1 |

**14.** (Czechoslovakia July '46) Do you agree that children need religious training? (CZIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total questioned | 77.2% | 12.9% | 9.9% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–29 years | 73.3% | 14.5% | 12.2% |
| 30–49 years | 77.0 | 13.1 | 9.9 |
| 50 years and over | 80.5 | 11.6 | 7.9 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Laborers | 73.2% | 14.8% | 12.0% |
| White-collar (higher grade) | 77.7 | 14.2 | 8.1 |
| White-collar (lower grade) | 77.6 | 13.5 | 8.9 |
| Farmers | 81.2 | 9.4 | 9.4 |
| Business and professional | 84.0 | 9.6 | 6.4 |

## RENT

**1.** (US May 22 '43) In general, do you think rents are about where they should be, too high, or too low? 27% of the sample who thought rents were too high were asked: What do you think is mostly responsible for the fact they are too high? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Rents about right | 51% |
| Too low | 5 |
| Don't know whether too high or not | 17 |
| High rents due to demand (no mention of money) | 8 |
| Due to more money | 3 |
| Specific mention of owners taking advantage | 10 |
| Specific mention of breaking rent regulations | * |
| Due to government in general | 1 |
| Taxes high | 1 |
| Other high costs | 2 |
| Miscellaneous reasons for rents being too high | 1 |
| Didn't say why rents too high | 2 |
| | 101%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (US May 22 '43 and Sept 9 '43) During the next year, do you think the government will really be able to keep rents under control? The September sample was asked the question like this: And rents? During the next year, etc. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| May '43 | 77% | 8% | 15% |
| Sept '43 | 79 | 10 | 11 |

**3.** (US Sept 9 '43) And rents since the beginning of the summer? [From what you have heard, have prices on rents changed any since the beginning of the summer?] 15% of the sample who said rents had changed were asked: Have they gone up or down? (Jan 7 '44) And rents since last summer, have they changed? 9% of the sample who said they had changed were asked: Have they gone up or down? (Sept 23 '44) As far as you know, have rents changed since last winter? 12% of the sample who said rents had changed were asked: Have they gone up or down? (NORC)

| | *Sept '43* | *Jan '44* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Haven't changed | 63% | 56% | 60% |
| Don't know whether or not have changed | 22 | 35 | 28 |
| Have gone up | 13 | 7 | 10 |
| Have gone down | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Some up, some down | * | * | 1 |
| Don't know whether up or down | 1 | 1 | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**4.** (US Dec 10 '43) From what you know, is there a ceiling on home rents in this community? Asked only of women marketers in urban districts. 54% of the sample who knew there was a ceiling on rents were asked: Does this help keep rents down? (June 2 '44) From what you know, is there a ceiling on rents for houses or apartments in this community? Asked only of women marketers in urban districts. 60% of the sample who knew there was a ceiling on rents were asked: Has this actually kept rents down? (NORC)

| | *Dec '43* | *June '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Not questioned | 31% | 17% |
| No ceilings | 6 | 7 |
| Don't know whether or not there are ceilings | 9 | 16 |
| Ceilings keep rents down | 50 | 50 |
| Don't keep rents down | 1 | 4 |
| Don't know whether or not keep rents down | 3 | 6 |

The same 54% of the 1943 sample of women marketers in urban districts were asked further: In general, do you think it's [rent ceilings] fair to tenants? Is it fair to landlords?

| | *Fair* | *Not fair* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| To tenants | 50% | 2% | 2% = 54% |
| To landlords | 34 | 13 | 7 |

**5.** (Sweden June '44) And the rent control, what should be done with that [if and when we return to normal conditions after the war]? (SGI)

| | *Continued* | *Eased* | *Abolished* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48% | 10% | 12% | 30% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 40% | 12% | 25% | 23% |
| Middle class | 41 | 11 | 15 | 33 |
| Workers | 53 | 10 | 9 | 28 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Country | 39% | 8% | 12% | 41% |
| Towns | 56 | 16 | 15 | 13 |
| Large towns | 68 | 11 | 10 | 11 |

**6.** (US June 2 '44) Do you own your home, or do you rent the place where you live? Asked only of women marketers. 46% of the sample who were renting were asked: Have you ever received a registration certificate like this from your landlord? Each respondent was shown a certificate. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Own home | 53% |
| Didn't say whether own or rent | 1 |
| Had seen certificate | 17 |
| Had not seen certificate | 24 |
| Didn't know whether or not had seen certificate | 5 |

**7.** (US June 2 '44) How do the services you get now, like the upkeep and repairs, compare with what you got previously? Asked of 46% of a sample of women marketers who rented their homes. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Answers in comparison terms* | |
| Services same | 17% |
| Services worse (general) | 4 |
| Service worse with respect to major repairs | 4 |
| Services worse with respect to upkeep | 3 |
| Services better | 1 |
| *No comparisons made* | |
| Service satisfactory | 5 |
| Service unsatisfactory | 4 |
| No ground for comparison | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know | 3 |
| Not questioned because not renting home | 54 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**8.** (US June 2 '44) Have you ever had any dealings with your local OPA rent office? Asked of 46% of a sample of women marketers who rented their homes. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 3% |
| No | 41 |
| No answer | 2 |
| Not questioned because not renting home | 54 |

**9.** (Great Britain Mar 1 '45) Are you now paying more rent than you were paying before the war or the same amount? (BIPO)

| | *More* | *Same* | *Less* | *Own house* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 22% | 54% | 4% | 20% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 11% | 30% | 4% | 55% |
| Middle | 22 | 41 | 4 | 33 |
| Lower | 24 | 60 | 4 | 12 |

**10.** (Canada Jan 2 '46) In general, do you think the government is doing enough to control rents and leases of houses, apartments, and rooms, should it do more, or do you think the interference is making the housing problem more acute? (CIPO)

| | *Doing enough* | *Should do more* | *Doing too much* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48% | 21% | 20% | 11% |
| BY HOUSING STATUS | | | | |
| Landlords | 48% | 13% | 33% | 6% |
| Tenants | 50 | 27 | 14 | 9 |

**11.** (US Mar '46) During the next year, do you think it will be necessary or unnecessary for the government to continue to control rents? 85% of the sample who thought rent control would be necessary were asked: About how long a time do you think rent-control laws should be kept on? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Control unnecessary | 10% |
| Don't know whether or not necessary | 5 |
| Should be kept 4 months or less; to June 30 '46 | * |
| 5–10 months; to Dec 31 '46 | 1% |
| 11–16 months; to June 30 '47 | 24 |
| 17–28 months; to June 30 '48 | 28 |
| 29 months or more; beyond June 30 '48 | 22 |
| Permanently | 3 |
| Depends | 3 |
| Don't know how long | 4 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**12.** (US Apr '46) Do you think ceilings on rent should be done away with now or kept on for a while? (FOR)

| | *Done away with* | *Kept for a while* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 10.9% | 81.3% | 7.8% |
| BY TYPE OF HOUSING | | | |
| Rent apartment | 4.5% | 92.4% | 3.1% |
| Rent a room | 8.3 | 85.9 | 5.8 |
| Rent a house | 7.8 | 83.0 | 9.2 |
| Own house | 16.0 | 77.4 | 6.6 |
| BY AGE* | | | |
| 21–34 years | 6.8% | 88.4% | 4.8% |
| 35–49 years | 10.5 | 82.8 | 6.7 |
| 50 years and over | 15.0 | 73.6 | 11.4 |
| BY VETERAN STATUS* | | | |
| No veteran in household | 12.0% | 80.2% | 7.8% |
| Veteran in household | 7.3 | 84.7 | 8.0 |
| Respondent a veteran | 8.3 | 89.3 | 2.4 |

* Breakdowns from *New York Herald Tribune* Mar 21 '46.

**13.** (US Sept 11 '46) Do you think the present price ceilings should be kept on or taken off the following items? Among others was listed: Rent. (Oct 10 '46) Should the Congress to be elected this November keep or do away with price control on rents? (AIPO)

| | *Keep on* | *Taken off* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '46 | 67% | 27% | 6% |
| Oct '46 | 62 | 32 | 6 |

**14.** (US Nov 27 '46) Do you own or rent your home? 47% of the sample who rented their homes were asked: About how much rent do you pay per month? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't rent | 53% |
| Exchange services for rent | * |
| Pay $10 or less | 2 |
| Pay over $10 to $15 | 3 |
| Pay over $15 to $20 | 5 |
| Pay over $20 to $25 | 5 |
| Pay over $25 to $30 | 6 |
| Pay over $30 to $35 | 6 |
| Pay over $35 to $40 | 5 |
| Pay over $40 to $50 | 7 |
| Pay over $50 to $75 | 4 |
| Pay over $75 | 2 |
| Pay percentages of crop as rent | 1 |
| Didn't say how much | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**15.** (US Nov 27 '46) Do you think that the rent you now have to pay is high, low, or about right? Asked of a national cross section of renters. (AIPO)

| | *High* | *Low* | *Right* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24% | 11% | 64% | 1% |
| BY AMOUNT OF RENT PAID | | | | |
| Those who pay rent under $45 | 22% | 10% | 66% | 2% |
| Those who pay rent over $45 | 28 | 12 | 59 | 1 |

**16.** (US Nov 27 '46) Considering the increase in costs of operating, do you think it would be fair to let your landlord increase the rent? Asked of a national cross-section of renters. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24% | 71% | 5% |
| BY AMOUNT OF RENT PAID | | | |
| Those who pay rent under $45 | 22% | 73% | 5% |
| Those who pay rent over $45 | 27 | 67 | 6 |

**17.** (US Nov 27 '46) 24% of a sample of renters who felt it would be fair for landlords to increase the rent were asked further: About how much more a month would he be justified in charging? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 100% | 1% |
| 10% and under | 34 |
| Over 10% to 15% | 25 |
| Over 15% to 20% | 13 |
| Over 20% to 25% | 8 |
| Over 25% | 12 |
| No opinion | 7 |
| | 100% of those questioned |
| Median | 15% |

## REPUBLICAN PARTY

**1.** (US Nov 20 '36) Should the policies of the Republican opposition be more liberal, more conservative, or about the same during the next administration? (AIPO)

More liberal 42% More conservative 21%
About same 37% = 100% No opinion 13%

**2.** (US Nov 30 '36) Do you think the Republican party is dead? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 73% = 100% | 7% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republican | 8% | 92% | |
| Democratic | 39 | 61 | |

**3.** (US Nov 30 '36) What, in your opinion, will it [the Republican party] have to do in order to win in 1940? (AIPO)

*Opinions of Republicans*

| | |
|---|---|
| Find stronger candidates | 24% |
| Democrats will have country in such a mess by 1940, there will be no need to do anything | 22 |
| Liberal leaders and policies; eliminate the old guard | 17 |
| Breaking a little with capitalists and getting common man's vote | 6 |
| More substantial platform | 4 |
| Work together; cooperate | 4 |
| Show up the increased taxes resulting from reckless spending | 3 |
| Completely reorganize | 3 |
| Revise standards and methods | 3 |
| Retain present standards and principles | 2 |
| Win back those who have strayed into the Democratic fold | 2 |
| Go about getting votes lined up in a businesslike way | 2 |
| Show people they have more to offer than people in power | 2 |
| Compromise with Democrats | 2% |
| All others | 4 |
| | 100% |
| | of the Republicans |

*Opinions of Democrats*

| | |
|---|---|
| Put up a stronger candidate | 27% |
| Adopt more liberal policies | 17 |
| Divorce themselves from big interests and take on working man's viewpoint | 16 |
| Get new leaders | 9 |
| Reorganization | 7 |
| New platform | 7 |
| Support New Deal | 4 |
| Country will tire of Roosevelt when he stops spending | 4 |
| Promise higher wages, more relief | 1 |
| Get their votes out of Democratic rank | 1 |
| Cooperate | 1 |
| Be militant and watchful but cut out mud-slinging | 1 |
| Merge with Democrats | 1 |
| All others | 4 |
| | 100% |
| | of the Democrats |

**4.** (US Nov 30 '36) Do you think it [the Republican party] will win in 1940? Asked of a national cross-section of people who thought the Republican party was not dead. 73% of the sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 31% | 69% = | 100% of those questioned |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republicans | 65% | 35% | |
| Democrats | 15 | 85 | |

**5.** (US Mar 15 '37) It has been suggested that the Republican party change its name to Conservative party to win conservative Democrats. Do you think this is a good idea? (AIPO)

Yes 26% No 74% = 100% No opinion 30%

**6.** (US Apr '37) Which most nearly represents your opinion of the Republican party? (1) It will recover in something like its old form. (2) It will revive under new and more liberal leaders. (3) It will be succeeded by another party. (4) It is permanently dead. (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| National total | 21.7 | 40.0 | 6.6 | 8.9 | 22.8 | = 100 |
| BY SELECTED GROUPS | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Salaried executives | 15.8 | 60.8 | 6.5 | 6.1 | 10.8 | = 100 |
| Labor (farm and factory) | 21.4 | 32.8 | 7.9 | 10.8 | 27.1 | |
| Unemployed | 21.1 | 28.9 | 9.4 | 11.7 | 28.9 | |
| Students | 26.9 | 50.0 | 3.9 | — | 19.2 | |
| BY OPINIONS ON THIRD TERM | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | |
| Opposed to Roosevelt third term | 53.6 | 55.1 | 39.7 | 24.2 | 22.7 | |
| Favor Roosevelt third term | 41.2 | 41.4 | 56.4 | 72.3 | 56.0 | |
| Don't know | 5.2 | 3.5 | 3.9 | 3.5 | 21.3 | |
| Percentages | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

**7.** (US May 10 '37) Should the Republican party change its name? (AIPO)

BY POLITICS

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Democrats | 22% | 78% |
| Republicans | 12 | 88 |

**8.** (US May 10 '37) Should the Republican party change its leadership? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 65% | 35% | = 100% | 34% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Republicans | 59% | 41% | | |
| Democrats | 72 | 28 | | |
| REPUBLICAN OPINION BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England | 45% | 55% | | |
| Middle Atlantic | 70 | 30 | | |
| East central | 58 | 42 | | |
| West central | 52 | 48 | | |
| Southern | 51 | 49 | | |
| Mountain | 67 | 33 | | |
| Pacific coast | 53 | 47 | | |

**9.** (US Aug 16 '37) In your opinion, who should guide the policies of the Republican party between now and 1940—Hoover, Landon, or someone else? Asked of Republican voters. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hoover | 22% |
| Landon | 31 |
| Vandenberg | 11 |
| Borah | 3 |
| Hamilton | 3 |
| Lodge | 1 |
| Others | 29 |

**10.** (US Nov 12 '37) Are you satisfied with the present leadership of the Republican party? Asked of Republicans. (AIPO)

Yes 39% No 61%

**11.** (US Nov 12 '37) Which do you think the Republicans need more, new leaders or a new program? Asked of Republicans. (AIPO)

New leaders 61% A new program 39%

**12.** (US Nov 12 '37) Should the Republican party be more liberal, more conservative, or about the same as in 1936? Asked of a national cross-section of Republicans. (Oct 1 '38 and Jan 19 '40) Would you like to see the Republican party be more liberal or more conservative than it was in the presidential campaign of 1936? Asked of a national cross-section of Republicans. (June 16 '39) Do you think the Republican party should be more liberal or more conservative than it was in the 1936 election? (AIPO)

| | *More liberal* | *More conservative* | *About same* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '37 | 47% | 12% | 41% |
| Oct '38 | 56 | 15 | 29 |
| June '39 | 67 | 14 | 19 |
| Republicans only | 55 | 17 | 28 |
| Jan '40 | 59 | 17 | 24 |

**13.** (US Released July 10 '38) Do you think relief assistance would be harder or easier to get if we had a Republican President? Asked of a national cross-section of persons on relief. (AIPO)

Harder 89% Easier 11%

**14.** (US Aug '38) Which of the following statements do you believe will be true ten years from now, which untrue? Which do you hope will be true, which untrue? Among the statements was included: The Republican party will be dead. (FOR)

| | BELIEVE | | | HOPE | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *True* | *Untrue* | *Don't know* | *Hope so* | *Hope not* | *Don't care* |
| National total | 12.0% | 63.9% | 24.1% | 11.9% | 57.7% | 30.4% |
| BY OPINIONS OF ROOSEVELT | | | | | | |
| Approving of Roosevelt | 15.1% | 55.5% | 29.4% | 18.4% | 44.0% | 37.6% |
| Disapproving of Roosevelt | 9.2 | 79.1 | 11.7 | 4.2 | 80.7 | 15.1 |

**15.** (US June 16 '39 and Jan 19 '40) Do you think the Republican party has a better chance or a worse chance of winning in 1940 if it nominates a liberal candidate and adopts a liberal platform? The 1940 question was worded "a worse chance of winning this year's election, etc.," instead of "a worse chance of winning in 1940." The 1940 question was asked of a national cross-section of Republicans. (AIPO)

| | *Better* | *Worse* | *Same* | | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total 1939 | 74% | 13% | 13% | = 100% | 18% |
| Rep. 1939 | 77 | 14 | 9 | | |
| Rep. 1940 | 77 | 10 | 13 | | |

**16.** (US Sept '39) Which one of the following statments most nearly represents your idea of the Republican party? (1) The election of the Republican party in 1940 provides the only hope for saving this country. (2) If elected in 1940 the Republicans could serve the country well, provided they find new liberal leaders who are in tune with the times. (3) The Republicans and conservative Democrats are about alike and it doesn't matter which elects a President, so long as there is a change from the present administration. (4) If the Republican Party comes to power in 1940, it will be a calamity for the country. (FOR)

| | *It is only hope* | *Could serve well with new leaders* | *It is like the conservative Democrats* | *Its election a calamity* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| National total | 10.3 | 28.7 | 27.5 | 16.7 | 16.8 | = 100.0 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | | % |
| Prosperous | 14.2 | 29.8 | 34.9 | 12.4 | 8.7 | = 100.0 |
| Upper middle | 11.5 | 34.4 | 30.8 | 11.7 | 11.6 | |
| Lower middle | 9.5 | 29.7 | 27.2 | 17.1 | 16.5 | |
| Poor | 8.8 | 20.1 | 23.5 | 23.4 | 24.2 | |
| BY PREFERENCE FOR PRESIDENT IN 1940 | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | |
| Roosevelt | 7.2 | 31.1 | 17.2 | 78.6 | 54.2 | |
| Someone else | 86.2 | 59.6 | 72.3 | 15.0 | 18.1 | |
| Don't know | 6.6 | 9.3 | 10.5 | 6.4 | 27.7 | |
| Percentages | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

**17.** (US Jan '40) Regardless of which political party you sympathize with, which of the following courses of action do you think would give the Republican party the best chance of winning in the 1940 election? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Keep the United States out of the war | 41.9% |
| Cure United States ills | 24.1 |
| Help the Allies | 8.2 |
| Don't know | 25.8 |

**18.** (US July 3 '40) Have you read the Republican party platform? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 26% | 74% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Republicans | 31% | 69% |
| Democrats | 22 | 78 |

**19.** (US Feb '41) In this country, the party that is not in power has always provided criticism and opposition to the party in power. How do you think the Republican party can now best serve the country—by providing more of this criticism and opposition than usual, or about the same amount as usual, or less than usual? (FOR)

More 12.9% Less 44.3% Same 27.1% Don't know 15.7%

**20.** (US Aug 26 '41) Do you think the Republican party in Congress is doing a good job or a poor job? Asked of a national cross-section of Republicans. (AIPO)

Good job 30% Fair job 29% Poor job 18%
No opinion 23%

**21.** (US Sept 9 '41) Should the Republican party support the administration's foreign policy or oppose it? Asked of a national cross-section of Republicans. (AIPO)

Support 60% Oppose 23% No opinion 17%

**22.** (US Sept 9 '41) Which group should have the leadership of the Republican party—men like Willkie and Stassen, or men like Hoover and Landon? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Men like Willkie and Stassen | 50% |
| Men like Hoover and Landon | 23 |
| No opinion | 26 |
| No answer | 1 |

**23.** (US Jan 23 '42) If Republicans had more power in the government, do you think war production would go ahead faster or not as fast? (Mar 18 '42) Do you think the war effort would go ahead faster if the Republicans had more power in Washington, or if the Republicans had less power in Washington? (May 21 '42 and Aug 25 '42) Which way do you think the government's war effort would go ahead faster—if the Republicans had more power in Washington, or if the Republicans had less power in Washington? (AIPO)

| | *Faster with more power* | *Faster with less power* | *No difference* | *No answer; no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '42 | 12% | 14% | 55% | 19% |
| Mar '42 | 20 | 19 | 42 | 19 |
| May '42 | 21 | 31 | 27 | 21 |
| Aug '42 | 21 | 24 | 31 | 24 |

**24.** (US Jan '44) If a Republican administration had been in office for the last four or five years instead of a Democratic administration, do you think it would have cost more, about the same, or less to build up our war machine to its present level? we would have more airplanes than we have now, about the same, or less? there would be more confusion in Washington, about the same amount, or less? living costs would be more, about the same, or less? our taxes would be more, about the same, or less? (FOR)

| | *Same* | *More* | *Less* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| War cost | 47.6% | 10.6% | 20.2% | 21.6% |
| Airplanes | 60.2 | 6.6 | 12.2 | 21.0 |
| Confusion | 43.9 | 10.7 | 25.2 | 20.2 |
| Living costs | 51.3 | 15.9 | 15.8 | 17.0 |
| Taxes | 50.0 | 10.9 | 21.4 | 17.7 |

**25.** (US July 6 '44) Did you happen to read the Republican platform drawn up at their convention in Chicago recently? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Read all or part | 36% |
| Read none | 64 |

**26.** (US July 6 '44) Will you tell me what the [Republican] platform says about the part the United States should play in world affairs after the war? Asked of 36% of the sample who had read the Republican platform. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not join in world state; cooperate but not give up sovereignty | 3% |
| Set up international court or tribunal | 2 |
| Support world organization against aggression; cooperate with European powers in policing the world; favor alliances for peace | 6 |
| Don't believe in patroling and policing the world; noninterference in military affairs | 2 |
| See that peace is kept; maintain peace | 3 |
| Program of cooperation; work with Allies; help make peace; take active part | 15 |
| As small a part as possible; borders isolationism but allows for international alliances not strong enough | 3 |
| United States takes leading place, not left holding the bag | 6 |
| Lesser points: bring boys back home; all agreements public and approved by Congress; consultation of military on policy; keep our army and navy built up | 1 |
| Indefinite, vague, ambiguous, doubtful | 6 |
| Pure isolationism; pinning all blame on Democrats | 3 |
| Promote world-wide economic stability | 1 |
| Don't know; can't say | 51 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who had read the platform and add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**27.** (US July 6 '44) Will you tell me what it [Republican platform] says about agriculture? Asked of 36% of the sample who had read the Republican platform. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Free from regimentation and government control; unhampered | 7% |
| Fair income based on American market price protected by support prices, commodity loans, and other economic means | 4 |
| Oppose subsidies | 1 |
| Lesser points: policy to promote agriculture; disposition of surpluses | 4 |
| Vague: want to help farmer; interested in agriculture; disapprove New Deal's handling of labor | 9 |
| Incorrect: approve New Deal policies; no change fot Democrats; want subsidies for farmets | 3 |
| Don't know; no answer | 73 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who had read the platform and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**28.** (US July 6 '44) Will you tell me what it [Republican platform] says about labor? Asked of 36% of the sample who had read the Republican platform. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| What labor has gained, they will hold and make better; gains to be protected | 2% |
| Claim to be on labor's side, not against labor; in favor of unions, but less government control | 5 |
| Want free enterprise | 1 |
| Employment for all; soldiers preference in jobs | 10 |
| Vague: help labor; work with labor | 7 |
| Incorrect: against labor reform | 5 |
| Against regimentation of labor; oppose New Deal policies | 1 |
| Lesser points: condemn the freezing of wage rates; representative of labor should be in cabinet | 2 |
| Don't know; no answer; don't remember | 67 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**29.** (US Oct '44) What are one or two things you don't like so well about the Republican party, or that you think it should improve? (FOR)

| | *National total* | *For Roosevelt* | *For Dewey* |
|---|---|---|---|
| They favor capital, big business | 4.4% | 5.9% | 3.0% |
| Too conservative; not progressive | 3.3 | 2.8 | 4.1 |
| Oppose labor; don't do enough for labor | 2.6 | 3.1 | 2.0 |
| Don't do enough for poor; for white-collar man | 2.1 | 3.3 | .8 |
| Poor leadership; poor type of politicians | 1.8 | 1.1 | 2.8 |
| Should throw out reactionaries, old guard; need new young blood | 1.5 | 1.1 | 2.0 |
| Attitude on Negro question (not enough aid, too much aid, general criticism) | 1.3 | 1.6 | .8 |
| Domestic policies vague, should be clarified | 1.7 | 1.4 | 2.1 |
| They are isolationists, nationalists | 1.9 | 1.9 | 1.8 |
| They aren't interested in the South | 1.4 | 2.0 | .7 |
| Other | 19.1 | 19.4 | 19.8 |
| Nothing or don't know | 66.2 | 64.1 | 66.9 |
| | 107.3%* | 107.7%* | 106.8%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**30.** (US Feb 27 '46) The letters USA, for example, stand for United States of America. Will you tell me what words these letters stand for: GOP? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct: Grand Old Party | 41% |
| Incorrect | 5 |
| Partly correct; Republican party | 25 |
| No answer | 29 |

**31.** (US Apr 10 '46) At the present time, what is your chief criticism of the policies of the Republican party? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| None; no faults | 29% |
| Reactionary | 3 |
| Conservative; not progressive; standing still | 8 |
| Stands for big business, rich men; against working man | 9 |
| Too weak; lack influence; poor organization | 11 |
| Just find fault | 2 |
| Just anti-Democrats; want to get in power | 4 |
| Want protective tariff | 1 |
| Want to abolish rationing | 1 |
| Don't have any platform | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 2% |
| No answer | 27 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## RESTAURANTS, LUNCH ROOMS, ETC.

**1.** (Great Britain Jan '40 and Mar '41) Do you buy meals away from home? The 24% of the 1940 sample and the 34% of the 1941 sample who said they bought meals away from home were asked: How many times a week, as a rule? (BIPO)

| | *Jan '40* | *Mar '41* |
|---|---|---|
| 1–3 meals per week | 8% | 10% |
| 4–8 meals per week | 14 | 23 |
| Over 8 meals per week | 2 | 1 |
| Don't eat out | 76 | 66 |

**2.** (Great Britain Jan '41) If you could use a communal feeding center, would you do so? (Aug 30 '41) If there were one [communal feeding center] near you, would you use it? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '41 | 53% | 34% | 13% |
| Aug '41 | 60 | 26 | 14 |

**3.** (Great Britain Mar '41) During the week, do you eat your main meal of the day at home? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| All meals at home | 62% |
| Most at home | 21 |
| Most away from home | 17 |

**4.** (Great Britain Aug 30 '41) Have you ever eaten at a communal feeding center? (BIPO)

Yes 19% No 81%

**5.** (Great Britain Oct '41) Would you or would you not favor a rule that anyone eating rationed foods in restaurants must give up coupons? (BIPO)

Yes 55% No 32% Don't know 13%

**6.** (Great Britain Mar '42) Would you approve or disapprove if all restaurants were limited to the same maximum price for a full meal? (BIPO)

Approve 76% Disapprove 13% Don't know 11%

**7.** (Great Britain Mar '42, Apr '43, Nov '44) Have you ever eaten in a Woolton British restaurant? 28% of the 1942 sample, 44% of the 1943 sample, and 53% of the 1944 sample who had eaten in one of the restaurants were then asked: Would you do so again? By 1944 the restaurants were well enough known to omit the descriptive name "Woolton" from the question. (BIPO)

| | *1942* | *1943* | *1944* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hadn't eaten in one | 72% | 56% | 47% |
| Would do so again | 24 | 38 | 43 |
| Wouldn't do so again | 3 | 6 | 10 |
| Didn't know whether or not would do so again | 1 | — | — |

**8.** (Great Britain Mar '42, Apr '43, Nov '44) Would you do so [eat in a Woolton British restaurant] if one were convenient for you? The ending of the question "for you" was omitted in 1944. Only those who had never eaten in one of the restaurants were questioned. (BIPO)

| | 1942 | 1943 | 1944 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Have already eaten in one | 28% | 44% | 53% |
| Would use one if convenient | 45 | 31 | 22 |
| Wouldn't use even if convenient | 13 | 18 | 25 |
| Don't know whether or not would use one if convenient | 14 | 7 | — |

**9.** (US Dec 30 '42) Do you eat away from home most of the time, about half of the time, or only occasionally? 6% ate out most of the time, 9% half of the time, 84% only occasionally, and 1% didn't know. All but the 6% who ate out most of the time were asked: How many people in your household eat at least half their meals at home? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Eat out most of the time | 6% |
| One eats at least half of meals at home | 3 |
| Two eat at least half at home | 25 |
| Three eat at least half at home | 24 |
| Four eat at least half at home | 18 |
| Five eat at least half at home | 10 |
| Six eat at least half at home | 6 |
| Seven eat at least half at home | 3 |
| Eight eat at least half at home | 1 |
| Nine and over | 1 |
| None | 1 |
| Didn't say how many | 2 |

**10.** (US Dec 30 '42) How many of these people are under eighteen years of age? Only the 91% of the sample who ate at least half their meals at home were questioned. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| One | 21% |
| Two | 13 |
| Three | 7 |
| Four | 3 |
| Five | 2 |
| Six | 1 |
| Seven | * |
| Eight | * |
| Nine and over | * |
| None | 44 |
| Not ascertainable | * |
| | 91% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**11.** (Great Britain Apr 4 '43 and Nov '44) Would you like to see [Woolton] British restaurants continued after the war? (BIPO)

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '43 | 65% | 13% | 22% |
| Nov '44 | 60 | 17 | 23 |

**12.** (US Dec 10 '43) Would you say you're eating in restaurants more than you did last year or not as much? Asked of women marketers living in urban districts. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 9% |
| About the same | 33 |
| Not as much | 25 |
| Not questioned (rural residents) | 31 |
| Don't know | 2 |

**13.** (US June 2 '44) In the past six months, have you had any meals in restaurants? Asked of women marketers who were familiar with ceiling prices. 47% of the sample who had eaten out during the preceding six months were asked: During the last year, would you say restaurant prices have gone up or down? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not questioned because unfamiliar with ceiling prices | 11% |
| Not questioned because hadn't eaten out in six months | 42 |
| Prices up | 34 |
| Prices stayed the same | 8% |
| Prices down | * |
| Didn't know what prices had done | 5 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**14.** (US June 2 '44) Do you generally find out what the ceiling prices are before you buy meals in restaurants? Asked of 47% of a sample of women marketers familiar with ceiling prices who had eaten out in the preceding six months. (NORC)

Yes 5% No 41% No answer 1% = 47%

**15.** (US May 29 '45) Do you think restaurants should collect ration points from people who eat meals which include meat? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 56% | 11% |
| BY EATING HABITS | | | |
| People who eat in restaurants often | 26% | 70% | 4% |
| People who eat in restaurants occasionally | 33 | 59 | 8 |
| People who eat in restaurants rarely or never | 40 | 39 | 21 |

**16.** (US May 29 '45) How often do you or members of your immediate family eat in restaurants? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Never | 18% |
| Hardly ever | 5 |
| Once a month or less; once a year; twice a year; five times a year | 20 |
| More than once a month; less than once a week; once in two weeks; twice a month | 7 |
| Once a week | 12 |
| More than once a week; less than once a day; five days a week; twice a week | 13 |
| Once a day | 9 |
| More than once a day; less than twice a day; once or twice a day | 1 |
| Twice a day | 1 |
| More than twice a day | 2 |
| Daily; every day | 6 |
| Often | 1 |
| No answer | 5 |

**17.** (Germany May 8 '46) Do you sometimes eat in a restaurant? Those who said they sometimes did were asked: Generally, how many times a week? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, didn't say how often | 1% |
| No, don't eat out | 89 |
| Once a week | 3 |
| Yes, 2–3 times; a few times a week | 4 |
| 4 or 5 times a week | 2 |
| 1 meal daily | * |
| 2 meals daily | * |
| 3 meals daily | * |
| 6 times a week | 1 |
| Less than once a week | * |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

## RITES AND CEREMONIES

**1.** (Denmark Mar 25 '45) Which do you think is best for the young: church confirmation, civil confirmation, or no confirmation? (DGI)

Church 79.2% Civil 7.6% None 5.0% Don't know 8.2%

Each group with the exception of the 8.2% of the sample who didn't know which confirmation was best were asked: Why?

*Reasons for church confirmation*

| | |
|---|---|
| It is done | 31.8% |
| Confirmation of the christening pact | 27.6 |
| More solemn | 11.5 |
| Moral ballast | 10.5 |
| Civil confirmation is not confirmation | 4.3 |
| Religious-minded | 3.5 |
| Tradition | 2.8 |
| Other reasons | 2.3 |
| Don't know | 5.7 |

100.0% of those who favored church confirmation

*Reasons for civil confirmation*

| | |
|---|---|
| Not religious | 44.4% |
| Too young to decide | 6.1 |
| Easier | 5.6 |
| More solemn | 2.6 |
| Church propaganda | 2.1 |
| More serious | 3.1 |
| Cheaper | 1.5 |
| More up-to-date | 1.0 |
| Church is humbug | 1.0 |
| Miscellaneous | 15.8 |
| Don't know | 16.8 |

100.0% of those who favored civil confirmation

*Reasons for no confirmation*

| | |
|---|---|
| Not religious | 31.5% |
| Too young to decide | 13.9 |
| Superfluous | 7.7 |
| Nonsense | 5.4 |
| Bible does not speak of confirmation | 5.4 |
| Against the Bible | 2.3 |
| Youth has no faith | 2.3 |
| A matter of form | 3.8 |
| Christening is enough | 0.8 |
| Confirmation held just to get presents | 2.3 |
| Church propaganda | 1.5 |
| Miscellaneous | 17.7 |
| Don't know | 5.4 |

100.0% of those who didn't favor confirmation

**2.** (Norway Nov 29 '46) Do you favor or oppose confirmation? (NGI)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *Don't know* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 76% | 11% | 9% | 4% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 67% | 15% | 13% | 5% |
| Women | 85 | 8 | 5 | 2 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 18–25 years | 72% | 17% | 7% | 4% |
| 25–35 years | 71 | 13 | 11 | 5 |
| 35–50 years | 76 | 11 | 11 | 2 |
| 50 years and over | 82 | 7 | 8 | 3 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| High | 75% | 9% | 13% | 3% |
| Middle | 72 | 15 | 10 | 3 |
| Low | 77 | 11 | 8 | 4 |

## ROADS

**1.** (US May 17 '37) Wherever possible, would you favor separate highways for trucks and passenger cars? (AIPO)

Yes 72% No 20% No opinion 8%

**2.** (US Dec 13 '37) Would you favor laws to restrict and reduce the use of the highways by large freight trucks? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Car owners | 66% | 34% | = 100% | 18% |
| Non-car owners | 63 | 37 | | |

**3.** (US Feb 14 '38) If you had been able to make that trip [longest auto trip respondent made preceding year] on a special high-speed highway such as the federal government has been urged to build, would you have paid one cent a mile for the use of that highway? Asked of a national cross-section of car owners. (AIPO)

Yes 27% No 73%

**4.** (US Feb 14 '38) 73% of the sample of car owners who said they would not be willing to pay one cent a mile for the use of a high-speed highway were asked: Would you have paid half a cent a mile for the use of that highway [special high-speed highway the federal government had been urged to build]? (AIPO)

Yes 39% No 61% = 100% of those questioned

**5.** (US July 27 '38 and Nov 13 '39) Do you think freight trucks should be kept off highways during certain hours on Sundays and holidays? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| July '38 | 73% | 27% | = 100% | 9% |
| Nov '39 | 67 | 33 | 100 | 9 |
| 1939 RESULTS BY AGE | | | | |
| Under 30 years | 66% | 34% | | |
| 30–49 years | 65 | 35 | | |
| Over 50 years | 72 | 28 | | |

**6.** (US Nov 13 '46) How do you rate the road building and maintenance program in your area—would you say it is excellent, good, fair, or poor? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Excellent | 7% |
| Good | 25 |
| Fair | 35 |
| Poor | 24 |
| No opinion | 9 |

## ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN D.

**1.** (US Jan '36, Apr '36, July '36, Oct '36) With which of the four following statements do you agree: (1) Roosevelt's re-

election is essential for the good of the country. (2) Roosevelt may have made mistakes, but there is no one else who can do so much good. (3) Roosevelt did many things that needed doing, but most of his usefulness is now over. (4) About the worst thing that could happen to this country is another Roosevelt administration. (FOR) (Oct '38, Oct 8 '38, Jan '39, Mar '39, May '39, May 10 '39) Which of these statements comes closest to describing your present feeling toward President Roosevelt: (1) Roosevelt, or a man like Roosevelt, as President is essential for the good of the country. (2) Roosevelt may have made some mistakes, but the good he has done definitely outweighs the bad. (3) Roosevelt may have done many things that needed doing, but he has made so many mistakes that his usefulness is now over. (4) It is almost a calamity for this country that we must have two more years of Roosevelt. In the case of the AIPO question in Oct 8 '38, interviewers were asked to check the statement chosen. The last phrase of the fourth statement in May '39 read "until the end of 1940." (FOR, AIPO)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | | *Undecided* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| FOR Jan '36.... | 31.5 | 29.3 | 14.1 | 17.7 | | 7.4 | = 100 |
| FOR Apr '36.... | 31.7 | 28.4 | 14.1 | 18.3 | | 7.5 | = 100 |
| FOR July '36.... | 29.8 | 29.1 | 16.0 | 19.9 | | 5.2 | = 100 |
| FOR Oct '36.... | 33.5 | 25.7 | 14.1 | 22.6 | | 4.1 | = 100 |
| FOR Oct '38.... | 19.8 | 42.4 | 19.1 | 14.0 | | 4.7 | = 100 |
| AIPO Oct 8 '38... | 16 | 36 | 26 | 13 | | 9 | = 100 |
| FOR Jan '39.... | 16.9 | 42.4 | 24.2 | 12.2 | | 4.3 | = 100 |
| FOR Mar '39.... | 19.6 | 43.9 | 24.0 | 12.5 | = 100 | 5.8 | |
| FOR May '39.... | 13.6 | 45.2 | 27.8 | 13.4 | = 100 | — | |
| AIPO May 10 '39.. | 15 | 42 | 22 | 13 | | 8 | = 100 |

JAN '36 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % |
| Northeast..... | 26.4 | 31.6 | 13.1 | 15.0 | 13.9 |
| Midwest..... | 24.6 | 24.6 | 18.7 | 24.5 | 7.6 |
| South..... | 49.0 | 32.3 | 5.1 | 9.4 | 4.2 |
| West..... | 22.9 | 31.3 | 23.4 | 17.9 | 4.5 |

APR '36 AND JULY '36 RESULTS BY SEX

| | *Statements 1 and 2* | *Statements 3 and 4* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Men* | | | |
| Apr '36..... | 59.6% | 34.1% | 6.3% |
| July '36..... | 59.1 | 35.9 | 5.0 |
| *Women* | | | |
| Apr '36..... | 60.3 | 30.9 | 8.8 |
| July '36..... | 58.8 | 35.9 | 5.3 |

APR '36 AND JULY '36 RESULTS BY AGE

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Over 40 years* | | | |
| Apr '36..... | 52.0% | 38.9% | 9.1% |
| July '36..... | 54.6 | 40.5 | 4.9 |
| *Under 40 years* | | | |
| Apr '36..... | 66.0 | 27.7 | 6.3 |
| July '36..... | 62.2 | 32.2 | 5.6 |

MAR '39 RESULTS BY SELECTED ECONOMIC GROUPS

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % |
| Prosperous..... | 11.1 | 30.9 | 31.5 | 26.5 |
| Poor..... | 27.2 | 46.6 | 18.7 | 7.5 |

ANALYSIS OF OPINION ON ROOSEVELT IN JULY '36 BY RELIGION

| | *For* | *Against* |
|---|---|---|
| Baptists..... | 79.2% | 20.8% |
| Jews..... | 75.1 | 24.9 |
| Roman Catholics..... | 66.0 | 34.0 |
| Methodists..... | 60.7 | 39.3 |
| Presbyterians..... | 47.7 | 52.3 |
| Christian Scientists.... | 47.5 | 52.5 |
| Episcopalians..... | 41.6 | 58.4 |
| Congregationalists..... | 37.5 | 62.5 |

**2.** (US Oct '36) If Roosevelt is re-elected, do you think he will become more radical, more liberal, more conservative, or remain about as he has been? (FOR)

| | *More radical* | *More liberal* | *More conservative* | *Remain as he has been* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| National total..... | 19.2 | 5.2 | 15.9 | 46.7 | 13.0 | = 100 |
| BY OPINIONS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A CRISIS IF DEMOCRATS ARE ELECTED | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | |
| Yes..... | 62.1 | 18.6 | 16.1 | 14.4 | 13.9 | |
| No..... | 31.1 | 70.6 | 73.7 | 70.7 | 33.9 | |
| Don't know..... | 6.8 | 10.8 | 10.2 | 14.9 | 52.2 | |
| Percentages... | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |
| BY OPINIONS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A CRISIS IF THE REPUBLICANS ARE ELECTED | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | |
| Yes..... | 24.1 | 37.6 | 34.8 | 28.6 | 14.1 | |
| No..... | 63.5 | 41.9 | 47.8 | 48.3 | 27.0 | |
| Don't know..... | 12.4 | 20.5 | 17.4 | 23.1 | 58.9 | |
| Percentages... | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |
| BY OPINIONS ABOUT ROOSEVELT | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| His election essential..... | 5.4 | 7.4 | 17.3 | 58.9 | 11.0 | = 100 |
| Is best man despite mistakes..... | 4.4 | 5.6 | 24.5 | 55.2 | 10.3 | |
| His usefulness over | 26.8 | 4.6 | 14.2 | 43.6 | 10.8 | |
| His election worse thing..... | 56.7 | 2.8 | 5.6. | 24.5 | 10.4 | |

**3.** (US Jan 25 '37 to Oct 8 '38, dates listed below) Do you think President Roosevelt is more or less popular today than at election time? (AIPO)

| | *More popular* | *Less popular* | | *About same* | | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Jan 25 '37... | 77 | 23 | = 100 | | | 21 | |
| *May 3 '37... | 42 | 58 | = 100 | | | 24 | |
| **July 5 '37... | 26 | 48 | | 26 | = 100 | 8 | |
| (1) Apr 19 '38... | 15 | 62 | | 23 | = 100 | 3 | |
| (2) Aug 16 '38... | 27 | 44 | | 28 | | 1 | = 100 |
| (1) Oct 8 '38... | 19 | 59 | | 22 | = 100 | 5 | |

* The question was: Do you think President Roosevelt is more popular or less popular today than he was when elected last November?

** Do you think President Roosevelt is more popular or less popular than he was when elected last November?

(1) Do you think President Roosevelt is more popular or less popular today than when re-elected in 1936?

(2) Do you think President Roosevelt is more popular or less popular today than he was when re-elected in 1936?

**4.** (US July 26 '37 to Apr 19 '45, dates listed below) If you were voting today, would you vote for or against Roosevelt? (AIPO, OPOR, NYHT—all questions asked by AIPO unless otherwise indicated)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion; undecided* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| July 26 '37 | 60.3% | 39.7% | — | |
| *Aug 16 '37 | 60.4 | 39.6 | — | |
| **Oct 28 '37 | 62.8 | 37.2 | — | |
| **Jan 11 '38 | 61.2 | 38.8 | — | |
| **Mar 8 '38 | 58.5 | 41.5 | — | |
| (1) Mar 23 '38 | 56.8 | 43.2 | — | |
| **Mar 30 '38 | 55 | 45 | — | |
| **Apr 13 '38 | 54.4 | 45.6 | — | |
| **June 21 '38 | 56 | 44 | — | |
| **July 27 '38 | 56 | 44 | — | |
| (2) Aug 16 '38 | 55.2 | 44.8 | — | |
| **Sept 13 '38 | 53.3 | 46.7 | — | |
| **Sept 23 '38 | 59.6 | 40.4 | — | |
| (2) Oct 8 '38 | 54.4 | 45.6 | — | |
| (3) Nov 14 '38 | 55.5 | 44.5 | — | |
| (3) Dec 16 '38 | 58 | 42 | — | |
| (3) Jan 25 '39 | 58 | 42 | — | |
| (3) Mar 8 '39 | 58.2 | 41.8 | — | |
| (3) Mar 21 '39 | 57.1 | 42.9 | — | |
| (4) Apr 6 '39 | 56.1 | 43.9 | — | |
| (4) May 2 '39 | 58.1 | 41.9 | — | |
| (3) May 26 '39 | 57.7 | 42.3 | — | |
| (3) Aug 8 '39 | 56.6 | 43.4 | — | |
| (3) Sept 11 '39 | 61 | 39 | — | |
| (3) Oct 10 '39 | 64.9 | 35.1 | — | |
| (3) Nov 8 '39 | 62.7 | 37.3 | — | |
| (3) Nov 30 '39 | 63.5 | 36.5 | — | |
| (2) Dec 13 '39 | 63.5 | 36.5 | — | |
| (3) Feb 6 '40 | 64 | 36 | — | |
| (3) Mar 13 '40 | 63 | 37 | — | |
| (3) Mar 25 '40 | 61 | 39 | — | |
| (3) Apr 3 '40 | 60 | 40 | — | |
| (3) Apr 9 '40 | 61 | 39 | — | |
| (3) May 17 '40 | 70 | 30 | — | |
| (3) May 29 '40 | 66 | 34 | — | |
| (3) June 25 '40 | 63 | 37 | — | |
| (3) Jan 9 '41 | 71 | 29 | = 100% | 9% |
| (3) Feb 27 '41 | 72 | 28 | = 100 | — |
| (3) Mar 19 '41 | 73 | 27 | = 100 | 7 |
| (5) May 20 '41 | 73 | 27 | = 100 | — |
| (5) May 29 '41 | 76 | 24 | = 100 | — |
| (6) Aug 5 '41 | 73 | 27 | = 100 | 7 |
| (6) Sept 17 '41 | 70 76 | 22 | | 8 = 100% |
| (6) Nov 19 '41 (OPOR) | 71 77 | 21 | | 8 |
| (6) Nov 25 '41 | 72 79 | 19 | | 9 |
| (6) Jan 7 '42 | 84 90 | 9 | | 7 |
| (6) Jan 28 '42 | 79 89 | 10 | | 11 |
| (6) Feb 23 '42 | 78 86 | 13 | | 9 |
| (6) Mar 10 '42 | 77 84 | 15 | | 8 |
| (6) Mar 26 '42 (OPOR) | 79 84 | 15 | | 6 |
| (6) Apr 15 '42 | 78 86 | 13 | | 9 |
| (6) Apr 30 '42 | 79 87 | 12 | | 9 |
| (6) July 1 '42 | 78 96 | 13 | | 9 |
| (6) Aug 13 '42 | 70 81 | 16 | | 14 |
| (6) Aug 25 '42 | 77 84 | 15 | | 8 |
| (6) Oct 27 '42 | 70 79 | 19 | | 11 |
| (6) Nov 17 '42 | 73 80 | 18 | | 9 |
| (6) Jan 7 '43 | 75 83 | 15 | | 10 |
| (6) Jan 27 '43 | 75 82 | 17 | | 8 |
| (6) Mar 24 '43 | 72 79 | 19 | | 9 |
| (6) Dec 15 '43 | 66% 73 | 24% | | 10% |
| (7) Apr 19 '45 (NYHT) | 61 | 30 | | 9 |

* The question was: Are you for or against Roosevelt today? A comparable cross-section was asked: If you were voting today, would you vote for or against Roosevelt? Results were combined.

** Are you for or against Roosevelt today? Some cross-sections were asked about "President Roosevelt" instead of "Roosevelt."

(1) Would you vote for Roosevelt today?

(2) In general, do you approve or disapprove of President Roosevelt today?

(3) In general, do you approve or disapprove today of Roosevelt as President?

(4) In general, do you approve or disapprove of Roosevelt as President today?

(5) In general, do you approve or disapprove today of Roosevelt as President? A comparable cross-section was asked: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Roosevelt is handling his job as President today? Results were combined.

(6) Do you approve or disapprove of the way Roosevelt is handling his job as President today? OPOR used the introduction "In general" before the question.

(7) Considering Mr. Roosevelt's six and a half years in office, on the whole do you approve or disapprove of his record as President?

OPINIONS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION AT VARIOUS TIMES

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* |
|---|---|---|
| *New England* | | |
| Aug '37 | 55% | 45% |
| Oct '37 | 57 | 43 |
| Jan '38 | 54 | 46 |
| Mar 8 '38 | 48 | 52 |
| Mar 30 '38 | 49 | 51 |
| Apr '38 | 47 | 53 |
| June '38 | 48 | 52 |
| July '38 | 48 | 52 |
| Aug '38 | 47 | 53 |
| Sept 13 '38 | 45 | 55 |
| Sept 23 '38 | 50 | 50 |
| Oct '38 | 45 | 55 |
| Nov '38 | 47 | 53 |
| Dec '38 | 51 | 49 |
| Jan '39 | 53 | 47 |
| Apr '39 | 48 | 52 |
| May 26 '39 | 51 | 49 |
| Aug '39 | 51 | 49 |
| Sept '39 | 53 | 47 |
| Oct '39 | 59 | 41 |
| *Middle Atlantic* | | |
| Aug '37 | 60 | 40 |
| Oct '37 | 61 | 39 |
| Jan '38 | 58 | 42 |
| Mar 8 '38 | 57 | 43 |
| Mar 30 '38 | 53 | 47 |
| Apr '38 | 53 | 47 |
| June '38 | 54 | 46 |
| July '38 | 53 | 47 |
| Aug '38 | 53 | 47 |
| Sept 13 '38 | 51 | 49 |
| Sept 23 '38 | 57 | 43 |
| Oct '38 | 53 | 47 |
| Nov '38 | 57 | 43 |
| Dec '38 | 57 | 43 |
| Jan '39 | 58 | 42 |
| Apr '39 | 53 | 47 |

| | Approve | Disapprove |
|---|---|---|
| May 26 '39 | 57% | 43% |
| Aug '39 | 54 | 46 |
| Sept '39 | 58 | 42 |
| Oct '39 | 65 | 35 |
| *East central* | | |
| Aug '37 | 54 | 46 |
| Oct '37 | 58 | 42 |
| Jan '38 | 57 | 43 |
| Mar 8 '38 | 56 | 44 |
| Mar 30 '38 | 51 | 49 |
| Apr '38 | 49 | 51 |
| June '38 | 51 | 49 |
| July '38 | 52 | 48 |
| Aug '38 | 51 | 49 |
| Sept 13 '38 | 48 | 52 |
| Sept 23 '38 | 56 | 44 |
| Oct '38 | 51 | 49 |
| Nov '38 | 52 | 48 |
| Dec '38 | 55 | 45 |
| Jan '39 | 54 | 46 |
| Apr '39 | 54 | 46 |
| May 26 '39 | 55 | 45 |
| Aug '39 | 51 | 49 |
| Sept '39 | 59 | 41 |
| Oct '39 | 61 | 39 |
| *West central* | | |
| Aug '37 | 61 | 39 |
| Oct '37 | 64 | 36 |
| Jan '38 | 60 | 40 |
| Mar 8 '38 | 57 | 43 |
| Mar 30 '38 | 54 | 46 |
| Apr '38 | 54 | 46 |
| June '38 | 57 | 43 |
| July '38 | 56 | 44 |
| Aug '38 | 55 | 45 |
| Sept 13 '38 | 55 | 45 |
| Sept 23 '38 | 59 | 41 |
| Oct '38 | 56 | 44 |
| Nov '38 | 51 | 49 |
| Dec '38 | 56 | 44 |
| Jan '39 | 54 | 46 |
| Apr '39 | 56 | 44 |
| May 26 '39 | 57 | 43 |
| Aug '39 | 55 | 45 |
| Sept '39 | 60 | 40 |
| Oct '39 | 63 | 37 |
| *South* | | |
| Aug '37 | 72 | 28 |
| Oct '37 | 76 | 24 |
| Jan '38 | 76 | 24 |
| Mar 8 '38 | 72 | 28 |
| Mar 30 '38 | 66 | 34 |
| Apr '38 | 68 | 32 |
| June '38 | 67 | 33 |
| July '38 | 67 | 33 |
| Aug '38 | 67 | 33 |
| Sept 13 '38 | 65 | 35 |
| Sept 23 '38 | 69 | 31 |
| Oct '38 | 65 | 35 |
| Nov '38 | 64 | 36 |
| Dec '38 | 68 | 32 |
| Jan '39 | 68 | 32 |
| Apr '39 | 67 | 33 |
| May 26 '39 | 65 | 35 |
| Aug '39 | 70% | 30% |
| Sept '39 | 72 | 28 |
| Oct '39 | 76 | 24 |
| *Mountain* | | |
| Aug '37 | 62 | 38 |
| Oct '37 | 61 | 39 |
| Jan '38 | 63 | 37 |
| Mar 8 '38 | 58 | 42 |
| Mar 30 '38 | 58 | 42 |
| Apr '38 | 63 | 37 |
| *Pacific coast* | | |
| Aug '37 | 65 | 35 |
| Oct '37 | 68 | 32 |
| Jan '38 | 67 | 33 |
| Mar 8 '38 | 63 | 37 |
| Mar 30 '38 | 59 | 41 |
| Apr '38 | 60 | 40 |
| *West* | | |
| June '38 | 64 | 36 |
| July '38 | 65 | 35 |
| Aug '38 | 64 | 36 |
| Sept 13 '38 | 60 | 40 |
| Sept 23 '38 | 70 | 30 |
| Oct '38 | 61 | 39 |
| Nov '38 | 62 | 38 |
| Dec '38 | 64 | 36 |
| Jan '39 | 63 | 37 |
| Apr '39 | 63 | 37 |
| May 26 '39 | 63 | 37 |
| Aug '39 | 64 | 36 |
| Sept '39 | 65 | 35 |
| Oct '39 | 67 | 33 |

OPINIONS BY ECONOMIC STATUS AT VARIOUS TIMES

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Upper income* | | |
| Apr '38 | 31% | 69% |
| June '38 | 33 | 67 |
| July '38 | 30 | 70 |
| Oct '38 | 28 | 72 |
| Nov '38 | 34 | 66 |
| Jan '39 | 37 | 63 |
| Mar 8 '39 | 35 | 65 |
| Apr '39 | 34 | 66 |
| May 2 '39 | 38 | 62 |
| Oct '39 | 46 | 54 |
| Nov 8 '39 | 43 | 57 |
| Nov 30 '39 | 42 | 58 |
| *Middle income* | | |
| Apr '38 | 48 | 52 |
| June '38 | 53 | 47 |
| July '38 | 53 | 47 |
| Oct '38 | 49 | 51 |
| Nov '38 | 51 | 49 |
| Jan '39 | 53 | 47 |
| Mar 8 '39 | 54 | 46 |
| Apr '39 | 52 | 48 |
| May 2 '39 | 54 | 46 |
| Oct '39 | 62 | 38 |
| Nov 8 '39 | 60 | 40 |
| Nov 30 '39 | 61 | 39 |
| *Lower income* | | |
| Apr '38 | 61% | 39% |
| June '38 | 73 | 27 |
| July '38 | 74 | 26 |
| Oct '38 | 73 | 27 |

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Undecided; No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '38 | 71% | 29% | |
| Jan '39 | 75 | 25 | |
| Mar 8 '39 | 74 | 26 | |
| Apr '39 | 71 | 29 | |
| May 2 '39 | 74 | 26 | |
| Oct '39 | 78 | 22 | |
| Nov 8 '39 | 76 | 24 | |
| Nov 30 '39 | 76 | 24 | |
| *Reliefers* | | | |
| Mar 8 '38 | 80 | 20 | |
| Apr '38 | 80 | 20 | |
| June '38 | 84 | 16 | |
| Nov '38 | 84 | 16 | |
| Mar 8 '39 | 83 | 17 | |
| Apr '39 | 81 | 19 | |
| May 2 '39 | 82 | 18 | |

MAR 8 '38 AND DEC 16 '38 RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Farm* | | |
| Mar '38 | 58% | 42% |
| Dec '38 | 53 | 47 |
| *Small town* | | |
| Mar '38 | 57 | 43 |
| Dec '38 | 56 | 44 |
| *City* | | |
| Mar '38 | 59 | 41 |
| Dec '38 | 58 | 42 |
| *Cities of 500,000 population and over* | | |
| Dec '38 | 66 | 34 |

OPINIONS OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN APR '38

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Apr 13 '38 | 60% | 40% |

OCT 10 '39 RESULTS BY EXTREME AGES

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Under 30 years | 70% | 30% |
| 50 years and over | 58 | 42 |

JAN 9 '41, FEB 27 '41 AND MAR 19 '41 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Democratic* | | | | |
| Jan '41 | 91% | 5% | 4% | = 100% |
| Feb '41 | 90 | 6 | 4 | = 100 |
| Mar '41 | 97 | 3 | 3 | = 100% |
| *Republican* | | | | |
| Jan '41 | 33 | 54 | 13 | = 100 |
| Feb '41 | 40 | 50 | 10 | = 100 |
| Mar '41 | 45 | 55 | 9 | = 100 |

87% of AIPO's Apr 15 '42 sample who approved of the way President Roosevelt was handling his job or had no opinion on the subject were asked: Is there anything at all that Roosevelt is doing that you do not particularly like?

| | |
|---|---|
| No | 56% |
| Yes, but didn't say what disliked | 1 |
| Favoritism of labor | 7 |
| Not enough delegation of power | 3 |
| Too much spending | 2 |
| Playing politics during war effort | 1 |
| Other reasons | 11 |
| Disapprove advisors | 3% |
| Too extravagant | 1 |
| No opinion | 5 |
| | 90%* |

* Percentages add to more than 87 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**5.** (US Aug 23 '37 to Apr 19 '39, dates listed below) Has your attitude toward President Roosevelt changed since the [1936] election? The Nov 12 '37 question was asked only of Democrats. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion or No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug 23 '37 | 27% | 66% | 7% |
| Nov 12 '37 (Democrats only) | 16 | 84 | — |
| May 12 '38 | 25 | 68 | 7 |
| May 20 '38 | 23 | 68 | 9 |
| June 9 '38 | 25 | 67 | 8 |
| June 21 '38 | 24 | 65 | 11 |
| July 13 '38 | 23 | 69 | 8 |
| Aug 10 '38 | 26 | 74 | — |
| Aug 16 '38 | 27 | 68 | 5 |
| Oct 8 '38 | 27 | 68 | 5 |
| Oct 17 '38 | 27 | 73 | — |
| Nov 5 '38 | 23 | 69 | 8 |
| Mar 21 '39 | 27 | 66 | 7 |
| Apr 19 '39 | 30 | 63 | 7 |

JUNE 21 '38 RESULTS BY POLITICS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Democratic | 29% | 67% | 4% |
| Republican | 20 | 71 | 9 |
| Other | 19 | 52 | 29 |

27% of the Aug 23 '37 sample, 16% of the Nov 12 '37 sample of Democrats, and 30% of the Apr 19 '39 sample who said their attitude toward Roosevelt had changed were asked: Are you more for him or less for him than at election time? The last phrase of the Nov '37 question read: "than you were then."

| | *More* | *Less* | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '37 | 6% | 19% | 2% = | 27% |
| Nov '37 (Democrats only) | 35 | 65 | — = | 100% of those questioned |
| Apr '39 | 4 | 25 | 1 = | 30% |

**6.** (US Jan '38) If the presidential election were held now instead of last fall, do you think the vote for Roosevelt would be the same, larger, smaller, or that he would be defeated? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Larger | 12.8% |
| Same | 29.7 |
| Smaller | 38.5 |
| Defeated | 5.8 |
| Don't know | 13.2 |

**7.** (US Jan 11 '38) Fifty years from now, whom do you think will be regarded as the greater President, Theodore Roosevelt or Franklin D. Roosevelt? (AIPO)

T. Roosevelt 42% F. D. Roosevelt 58% = 100%
No opinion 17%

**8.** (US Apr '38) Which comes closest to describing your own sentiments about the first year of Roosevelt's second term? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| I think that he is trying to do a great job | 44.0% |
| There are things I don't like about Roosevelt's second term, but on the whole I am in favor of his objectives | 20.7 |
| There may be some good things in the second-term program but the bad outweigh the good | 13.6 |
| I am opposed to Roosevelt's second-term aims | 15.2 |
| Don't know | 6.5 |

**9.** (US July '38 and Oct '38) Is your present feeling toward President Roosevelt one of general approval—general disapproval? (FOR)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| July '38 | 54.8% | 33.9% | 11.3% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Southwest | 91.6% | 8.4% | |
| Southeast | 80.5 | 19.5 | |
| Pacific coast | 59.7 | 40.3 | |
| Mountain | 58.6 | 41.4 | |
| Middle west | 54.1 | 45.9 | |
| Northwest plains | 48.4 | 51.6 | |
| Northeast | 48.1 | 51.9 | |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS AND NEGROES | | | |
| Poor | 75.1% | 24.9% | |
| Lower middle | 61.6 | 38.4 | |
| Upper middle | 52.5 | 47.5 | |
| Prosperous | 38.7 | 61.3 | |
| Negroes | 84.7 | 15.3 | |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Factory labor | 78.7% | 21.3% | |
| Farm labor | 77.6 | 22.4 | |
| Other labor | 75.4 | 24.6 | |
| Unemployed | 69.8 | 30.2 | |
| Housekeeper | 63.7 | 36.3 | |
| Farmers | 61.1 | 38.9 | |
| White-collar | 59.4 | 40.6 | |
| Proprietors | 56.2 | 43.8 | |
| Professional | 46.4 | 53.6 | |
| Retired | 43.2 | 56.8 | |
| Students | 39.4 | 60.6 | |
| Executives | 34.7 | 65.3 | |

On the whole, do you like or dislike his [President Roosevelt's] personality?

| | *Like* | *Dislike* | *Undecided* | *Uninformed* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| July '38 | 80.3% | 11.7% | 4.0% | 4.0% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| Southwest | 98.0% | 2.0% | | |
| Southeast | 94.9 | 5.1 | | |
| Pacific coast | 92.6 | 7.4 | | |
| Mountain | 87.6 | 12.4 | | |
| Middle west | 84.4 | 15.6 | | |
| Northwest plains | 84.1 | 15.9 | | |
| Northeast | 80.1 | 19.9 | | |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS AND NEGROES | | | | |
| Poor | 92.5% | 7.5% | | |
| Lower middle | 88.5 | 11.5 | | |
| Upper middle | 84.5 | 15.5 | | |
| Prosperous | 74.4 | 25.6 | | |
| Negroes | 93.0 | 7.0 | | |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Factory labor | 94.0% | 6.0% | | |
| Other labor | 93.3 | 6.7 | | |
| Unemployed | 91.0 | 9.0 | | |
| Farm labor | 89.3 | 10.7 | | |
| Farmers | 89.3 | 10.7 | | |
| Proprietors | 87.4 | 12.6 | | |
| White-collar | 87.0 | 13.0 | | |
| Housekeeper | 86.4 | 13.6 | | |
| Executives | 81.3 | 18.7 | | |
| Professional | 79.6 | 20.4 | | |
| Students | 79.4 | 20.6 | | |
| Retired | 78.6 | 21.4 | | |

On the whole, do you like or dislike his [President Roosevelt's] general economic objectives?

| | *Like* | *Dislike* | *Undecided* | *Uninformed* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| July '38 | 48.1% | 29.1% | 11.1% | 11.7% |
| Oct '38 | 55.7 | 27.0 | 10.3 | 7.0 |
| JULY '38 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| Southwest | 88.9% | 11.1% | | |
| Southeast | 77.8 | 22.2 | | |
| Pacific coast | 67.2 | 32.8 | | |
| Mountain | 65.3 | 34.7 | | |
| Middle west | 56.8 | 43.2 | | |
| Northwest plains | 50.9 | 49.1 | | |
| Northeast | 50.3 | 49.7 | | |
| JULY '38 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS AND NEGROES | | | | |
| Poor | 73.9% | 26.1% | | |
| Lower middle | 62.2 | 37.8 | | |
| Upper middle | 55.2 | 44.8 | | |
| Prosperous | 42.2 | 57.8 | | |
| Negroes | 87.3 | 12.7 | | |
| JULY '38 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Farm labor | 81.2% | 18.8% | | |
| Factory labor | 76.3 | 23.7 | | |
| Other labor | 75.7 | 24.3 | | |
| Unemployed | 66.9 | 33.1 | | |
| White-collar | 63.0 | 37.0 | | |
| Housekeeper | 61.4 | 38.6 | | |
| Professional | 59.6 | 40.4 | | |
| Farmers | 57.4 | 42.6 | | |
| Proprietors | 54.3 | 45.7 | | |
| Students | 49.2 | 50.8 | | |
| Executives | 48.5 | 51.5 | | |
| Retired | 43.1 | 56.9 | | |

On the whole, do you like or dislike the methods by which he [President Roosevelt] seeks to achieve them [his economic objectives]?

| | *Like* | *Dislike* | *Undecided* | *Uninformed* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| July '38 | 35.5% | 40.0% | 13.0% | 11.5% |
| Oct '38 | 43.0 | 35.6 | 13.0 | 8.4 |
| JULY '38 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| Southwest | 76.0% | 24.0% | | |
| Southeast | 65.8 | 34.2 | | |
| Middle west | 44.3 | 55.7 | | |
| Pacific coast | 42.4 | 57.6 | | |
| Northwest plains | 36.2 | 63.8 | | |
| Northeast | 36.0 | 64.0 | | |
| Mountain | 33.9 | 66.1 | | |
| JULY '38 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS AND NEGROES | | | | |
| Poor | 64.9% | 35.1% | | |
| Lower middle | 46.6 | 53.4 | | |
| Upper middle | 35.9 | 64.1 | | |
| Prosperous | 25.9 | 74.1 | | |
| Negroes | 78.7 | 21.3 | | |
| JULY '38 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Farm labor | 70.4% | 29.6% | | |
| Factory labor | 69.8 | 30.2 | | |
| Unemployed | 65.3 | 34.7 | | |
| Other labor | 63.0 | 37.0 | | |
| Housekeeper | 47.8 | 52.2 | | |
| Farmers | 46.4 | 53.6 | | |
| White-collar | 43.6 | 56.4 | | |
| Proprietors | 42.7 | 57.3 | | |
| Retired | 40.3 | 59.7 | | |
| Professional | 25.5 | 74.5 | | |
| Students | 24.2 | 75.8 | | |
| Executives | 23.8 | 76.2 | | |

On the whole, do you approve or disapprove of President Roosevelt's attitude toward big business?

| | *Like* | *Dislike* | *Undecided* | *Uninformed* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| July '38 | 37.3% | 34.0% | 11.8% | 16.9% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| Southwest | 78.1% | 21.9% | | |
| Southeast | 72.2 | 27.8 | | |
| Mountain | 52.6 | 47.4 | | |
| Pacific coast | 49.8 | 50.2 | | |
| Middle west | 48.2 | 51.8 | | |
| Northwest plains | 46.1 | 53.9 | | |
| Northeast | 38.2 | 61.8 | | |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS AND NEGROES | | | | |
| Poor | 65.6% | 34.4% | | |
| Lower middle | 53.5 | 46.5 | | |
| Upper middle | 42.5 | 57.5 | | |
| Prosperous | 31.2 | 68.8 | | |
| Negroes | 85.2 | 14.8 | | |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Farm labor | 75.2% | 24.8% | | |
| Factory labor | 69.0 | 31.0 | | |
| Unemployed | 65.4 | 34.6 | | |
| Other labor | 63.5 | 36.5 | | |
| Farmers | 55.9 | 44.1 | | |
| Housekeeper | 53.1 | 46.9 | | |
| Proprietors | 46.9 | 53.1 | | |
| White-collar | 49.4 | 50.6 | | |
| Professional | 41.5 | 58.5 | | |
| Students | 38.1 | 61.9 | | |
| Retired | 33.3 | 66.7 | | |
| Executives | 25.0 | 75.0 | | |

| *In July '38* | *Of those approving of Roosevelt in general, these also like his* | *Of those disapproving of Roosevelt, these also dislike his* |
|---|---|---|
| Personality | 95.4% | 31.4% |
| Objectives | 73.8 | 71.9 |
| Methods | 60.2 | 85.5 |
| Advisors, etc | 44.8 | 66.5 |
| Rearmament policy | 69.8 | 24.0 |
| International policy | 61.6 | 32.2 |
| Wages and hours legislation | 67.1 | 49.0 |
| Attitude on labor unions | 57.2 | 62.2 |
| Attitude toward big business | 57.2 | 71.3 |
| Attitude on TVA | 40.5 | 52.6 |
| Reorganization bill | 36.2 | 74.4 |

**10.** (US Aug '38) Which of the following statements do you believe will be true ten years from now, which untrue? Which do you hope will be true, which untrue? Among the statements was included: Roosevelt will be regarded as a national hero. (FOR)

| | BELIEVE WILL BE | | | HOPE WILL BE | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *True* | *Untrue* | *Don't know* | *True* | *Untrue* | *Don't care* |
| National total | 41.9% | 35.6% | 22.5% | 49.6% | 21.7% | 28.7% |
| BY EXTREMES IN ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 28.8% | 52.6% | 18.6% | 31.0% | 38.3% | 30.7% |
| Poor | 47.0 | 27.0 | 26.0 | 57.8 | 15.1 | 27.1 |
| BY SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | | |
| Northeast | 31.4% | 47.3% | 21.3% | 39.2% | 31.4% | 29.4% |
| Southwest | 61.8 | 12.5 | 25.7 | 71.2 | 5.7 | 23.1 |

**11.** (US Feb 2 '39) If there is a major war in Europe in the next year, do you think President Roosevelt's policies are more likely to get our country into this war or more likely to keep us out? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Get us in | 35% |
| Keep us out | 36 |
| No difference | 13 |
| No opinion | 16 |

**12.** (US May 26 '39) How do you feel toward President Roosevelt? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| I am absolutely convinced he is the very best man | 21% |
| He is sound | 5 |
| I tend to favor him | 16 |
| There is so much for and against him it is difficult to decide | 16 |
| I know too little about him to express an opinion | 9 |
| I have some doubts about him | 10 |
| Attacks upon him are justly deserved | 5 |
| I wouldn't support him under any circumstances | 16 |
| No answer | 2 |

**13.** (US Oct 10 '39) Should President Roosevelt act as a peacemaker in the present war? (Feb 6 '40) Do you think President Roosevelt should try at this time to stop the war between Germany and England and France? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '39 | 38% | 62% = 100% | 5% |
| Feb '40 | 31 | 63 | 6 = 100% |

**14.** (US Nov '39) Do you approve of Roosevelt's policies with regard to the European situation up to now? (FOR)

| IN COMPARISON WITH OPINION IN SEPTEMBER | *Approve* | *Partly approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sept results | 69.2% | 11.7% | 5.8% | 13.3% |
| Current survey | 56.2 | 18.5 | 13.9 | 11.4 |

**15.** (US Nov '39) Would you like to see President Roosevelt re-elected to office in 1940? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 34.4% |
| Depends | 9.9 |
| No | 50.5 |
| Don't know | 5.2 |

**16.** (US May '40) Which one of the following statements comes closest to describing your feelings: (1) Roosevelt's re-election for a third term is essential. (2) Roosevelt may have made mistakes, but there is no one else who can do so much good in the next four years. (3) Roosevelt did many things that needed doing, but most of his usefulness is now over. (4) About the worst thing that could happen to the United States is another Roosevelt administration. (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 11.6% | 29.6% | 28.3% | 20.8% | 9.7% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 4.8% | 16.8% | 34.2% | 37.0% | 7.2% |
| Upper middle | 7.6 | 22.6 | 33.1 | 29.0 | 7.7 |
| Lower middle | 11.0 | 30.7 | 29.5 | 19.3 | 9.5 |
| Poor | 17.4 | 38.1 | 20.2 | 11.7 | 12.6 |

**17.** (US May 16 '40) Do you think Roosevelt has done a good job or a poor job in dealing with the war crisis in Europe? (AIPO)

| | *Good* | *Fair* | *Poor* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 79% | 7% | 14% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 91% | 4% | 5% |
| Republican | 60 | 12 | 28 |

**18.** (US Sept '40) By and large, do you favor Roosevelt's policies designed to achieve social reform? recovery? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *Some* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Social reform | 9.2% | 65.4% | 24.4% | 1.0% |
| Recovery | 2.0 | 18.9 | 77.1 | 2.0 |

**19.** (US Oct '40 to Nov '40, dates listed below) Which one of these four statements comes closest to expressing your own opinion of Mr. Roosevelt: (1) In times like these, it is absolutely essential to have a man like Roosevelt for President. (2) There may be some reasons against having Roosevelt as President for another four years, but on the whole it is the best thing to do. (3) While Roosevelt has done some good things, the country would be better off under Willkie for the next four years. (4) The re-election of Mr. Roosevelt for another four years would be a very bad thing for the country. The Oct '40 *Fortune* question substituted "the following" for "these four" and omitted the words "as President" in the second statement. (FOR, AIPO)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FOR Oct '40, Aug survey | 26.7% | 26.5% | 22.3% | 16.4% | 8.1% |
| AIPO Oct 19 '40 | 28 | 22 | 19 | 22 | 9 |
| AIPO Oct 24 '40 | 29 | 21 | 20 | 21 | 9 |
| FOR Nov '40, Sept survey | 28.2 | 27.1 | 20.7 | 17.0 | 7.0 |
| Oct survey | 25.5 | 27.8 | 21.2 | 19.0 | 6.5 |

*Fortune* RESULTS RELEASED IN OCT AND NOV '40 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | *Statements 1 and 2* | *Statements 3 and 4* |
|---|---|---|
| *West south central* | | |
| Aug survey | 85.3% | 14.7% |
| Oct survey | 84.6 | 15.4 |
| *East south central* | | |
| Aug survey | 83.2 | 16.8 |
| Oct survey | 76.5 | 23.5 |
| *South Atlantic* | | |
| Aug survey | 80.6 | 19.4 |
| Oct survey | 75.7 | 24.3 |
| *Mountain* | | |
| Aug survey | 56.7 | 43.3 |
| Oct survey | 53.9 | 46.1 |
| *East north central* | | |
| Aug survey | 53.3 | 46.7 |
| Oct survey | 48.6 | 51.4 |
| *Pacific coast* | | |
| Aug survey | 50.4 | 49.6 |
| Oct survey | 59.1 | 40.9 |
| *Middle Atlantic* | | |
| Aug survey | 48.8 | 51.2 |
| Oct survey | 49.1 | 50.9 |
| *West north central* | | |
| Aug survey | 43.9 | 56.1 |
| Oct survey | 47.9 | 52.1 |
| *New England* | | |
| Aug survey | 41.4 | 58.6 |
| Oct survey | 48.0 | 52.0 |

**20.** (US Nov 19 '40) What do you think is the chief reason why people voted to re-elect Roosevelt? (AIPO)

| | *Roosevelt's spending policies* | *The critical international situation* | *Confidence in the Roosevelt administration* | *Roosevelt's experience* | *Roosevelt's labor policies* | *To save their political jobs* | *Miscellaneous* | *No reason given* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 29% | 22% | 22% | 7% | 5% | 1% | 5% | 9% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | | | | |
| 1940 Willkie voters | 45% | 19% | 8% | 4% | 4% | 2% | 5% | 13% |
| 1940 Roosevelt voters | 16 | 25 | 35 | 11 | 4 | — | 5 | 4 |
| All others | 19 | 24 | 24 | 6 | 8 | — | 6 | 13 |

**21.** (US July 8 '41 and Sept 17 '41) In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way Roosevelt is handling labor disputes? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| July '41 | 56% | 33% | 11% |
| Sept '41 | 50 | 38 | 12 |

**22.** (US Sept 17 '41, Nov 5 '41, Nov 26 '41) In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way Roosevelt is handling the foreign policy? In the first Nov survey, a comparable cross-section was asked: In general, do you approve or disapprove of President Roosevelt's foreign policy? Results were combined. The Nov 26 '41 sample was asked just the question of the second Nov 5 cross-section. (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '41 | 76% | 24% | — | — |
| Nov 5 '41 | 67 | 22 | 11% | — |
| Nov 26 '41 | 69 | 20 | 10 | 1% |

**23.** (US Oct '41) With which one of these statements do you come closest to agreeing? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt has done a fine job on both his domestic and foreign policies | 45.1% |
| While his domestic policy leaves a lot to be desired, his foreign policy on the whole is good | 18.4 |
| Roosevelt's domestic policy on the whole has been good, but his foreign policy is very dangerous | 14.0 |
| Roosevelt has done a bad job on both his domestic and foreign policies | 11.6 |
| Don't know | 10.9 |

**24.** (US Nov 5 '41) So far as you personally are concerned, do you think President Roosevelt has gone too far in opposing Germany or not far enough? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too far | 20% |
| About right | 52 |
| Not far enough | 21 |
| No opinion | 7 |

**25.** (US Nov 19 '41) What plans do you think Roosevelt is most anxious to have carried out while he is President? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Favorable: social reforms; relief projects; relieve unemployment; human values; train our young men; put labor on top; waterways | 16% |
| Adverse: socialistic schemes; waterways; put labor on top; relief projects | 4 |
| Keep us out of war; wants peace for world | 10 |
| Get us into war | 3 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Defeat Hitler; aid Britain; preserve democracy; carry out Wilson's ideas | 22% |
| Protect United States interests; defend United States; defense program; rearmament | 8 |
| Wants to become a dictator, keep in power; wants to go down in history; dictate peace; Wilson's ideas; keep Democratic party in power | 6 |
| Stop inflation; go back to 1928; prosperity | 1 |
| Spend all our money | 1 |
| Balance labor and industry | 2 |
| Other | 1 |
| Don't know | 34 |
| No comment | 1 |
| | 109%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**26.** (US Nov 19 '41) Some people say that President Roosevelt is taking advantage of the war situation to carry out some of his pet plans which have nothing to do with defense. Do you agree or disagree with this? 23% of the sample who agreed were asked: Do you approve or disapprove of President Roosevelt's taking advantage of the war to carry out his plans not connected with defense? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not taking advantage of situation | 55% |
| Didn't understand the first question | 5 |
| No opinion as to whether or not taking advantage | 17 |
| Approve his taking advantage | 3 |
| Disapprove his taking advantage | 18 |
| No opinion on his taking advantage | 2 |

**27.** (US Nov 26 '41, Dec 18 '41, Feb 3 '42, May 21 '42) In general do you approve or disapprove of President Roosevelt's policies here at home? The last three questions omitted the phrase "in general." (June 22 '43) Do you approve or disapprove of the way Roosevelt is handling our domestic problems—that is, our problems here at home? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Qualified answer* | *Undecided; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nov '41 | 61% | 27% | — | 12% |
| Dec '41 | 77 | 14 | 4% | 5 |
| Feb '42 | 73 | 15 | 2 | 10 |
| May '42 | 71 | 16 | 10 | 3 |
| June '43 | 49 | 42 | — | 9 |
| **1943 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION** | | | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 53% | 37% | | 10% |
| East central | 48 | 42 | | 10 |
| West central | 47 | 47 | | 6 |
| South | 48 | 42 | | 10 |
| Far West | 44 | 47 | | 9 |
| **1943 RESULTS BY OCCUPATION** | | | | |
| Professional and business | 34% | 59% | | 7% |
| Farmers | 39 | 53 | | 8 |
| White-collar | 44 | 47 | | 9 |
| Skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled | 62 | 28 | | 10 |

**28.** (US Dec 18 '41) Do you think that President Roosevelt did everything he should have to prevent war with Japan? (AIPO)
Yes 83% No 10% No opinion 6% No answer 1%

**29.** (US May '42) Which of these four statements comes closest to expressing your feelings about Roosevelt: (1) Roosevelt is the best possible man to have as President in times like these. (2) Roosevelt has made some mistakes, but on the whole he is doing a pretty good job. (3) While Roosevelt has done some good things, we might be better off if someone else were President now. (4) It is a bad thing for the country that Roosevelt ever became President. (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42.4% | 43.9% | 6.2% | 4.8% | 2.7% |
| **BY SELECTED GROUPS** | | | | | |
| | *Statements 1 and 2* | | *Statements 3 and 4* | | *Don't know* |
| Prosperous | 69.7% | | 27.5% | | 2.8% |
| Poor | 91.0 | | 6.2 | | 2.8 |
| Executives | 76.2 | | 21.8 | | 2.0 |
| Factory labor | 95.1 | | 4.6 | | .3 |
| Mountain states | 77.7 | | 19.9 | | 2.4 |
| West south central area | 94.5 | | 3.7 | | 1.8 |

**30.** (US July 14 '42) In your opinion, does Roosevelt listen to leaders of business too much? Does he listen to leaders of organized labor too much? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Business leaders | 15% | 54% | 31% |
| Labor leaders | 40 | 36 | 24 |

**31.** (US June '43, Nov '43, Apr 19 '45) On the whole, do you rate the job President Roosevelt has done on home problems connected with the war as good, fair, or poor? (FOR, NYHT)

| | *Good* | *Fair* | *Poor* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| FOR June '43 | 56.2% | 30.8% | 11.1% | 1.9% |
| FOR Nov '43 | 55.6 | 29.8 | 10.8 | 3.8 |
| NYHT Apr '45 | 57 | 29 | 8 | 6 |
| **JUNE '43 RESULTS BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION** | | | | |
| Well-informed | 43.4% | 36.9% | 18.9% | .8% |
| Poorly informed | 58.6 | 31.0 | 9.5 | .9 |
| Uninformed | 66.4 | 25.0 | 4.9 | 3.7 |

**32.** (US June '43) Apart from home problems connected with the war, do you rate the job President Roosevelt has done on running the war good, fair, or poor? (Nov '43 and Apr 19 '45) Apart from home problems, how about the job the President has done on running the rest of the war—would you rate it good, only fair, or poor? The 1945 question used the phrase "he" instead of "the President." (FOR, NYHT)

| | *Good* | *Fair* | *Poor* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| FOR June '43 | 70.4% | 21.2% | 4.1% | 4.3% |
| FOR Nov '43 | 74.5 | 16.9 | 3.5 | 5.1 |
| NYHT Apr '45 | 70 | 20 | 4 | 6 |
| **JUNE '43 RESULTS BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION** | | | | |
| Well-informed | 71.4% | 21.5% | 5.3% | 1.8% |
| Poorly informed | 69.4 | 23.1 | 4.7 | 2.8 |
| Uninformed | 70.3 | 19.6 | 2.5 | 7.6 |

**33.** (US July 19 '44) Do you think that Roosevelt's health will or will not permit him to carry the responsibility of the presidency for another four years? A comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think that Roosevelt's health will or will not permit him to carry on for another four years in the White House? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Will* | *Will not* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 66% | 34% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Roosevelt voters | 84% | 16% |
| Dewey voters | 47 | 53 |

**34.** (US Aug 16 '44) Do you think Roosevelt's age will help or hurt him in getting elected President this year? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Help | 7% |
| Hurt | 34 |
| No difference | 54 |
| No opinion | 5 |

**35.** (US Aug 17 '44, Sept 7 '44, Oct 26 '44, Nov 5 '44) Which of these four statements do you come closest to agreeing with: (1) Roosevelt has done an excellent job, and it is very important that he should be President during the next four years. (2) Roosevelt has made some mistakes and he's been in office for a long time, but it's still better that he should be elected President again for the next four years. (3) While Roosevelt has done some good things, he's been in office long enough and the country would be better off to change to Dewey for the next four years. (4) The re-election of Roosevelt for another four years would be a vety bad thing for this country. (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '44 | 24.1% | 28.4% | 30.7% | 13.2% | 3.6% |
| Sept '44 | 26.3 | 28.3 | 27.3 | 13.6 | 4.5 |
| Oct '44 | 24.8 | 26.2 | 28.0 | 16.3 | 4.7 |
| Nov '44 | 24.8 | 25.7 | 28.4 | 15.4 | 5.7 |
| AUG '44 RESULTS BY EDUCATION | | | | | |
| College | 14.6% | 27.6% | 37.8% | 17.8% | 2.2% |
| High school | 23.2 | 29.8 | 32.2 | 12.0 | 2.8 |
| Grade school | 32.8 | 27.2 | 22.2 | 10.7 | 7.1 |
| None | 31.1 | 31.0 | 17.2 | 3.4 | 17.3 |

**36.** (US Sept '44) Before Pearl Harbor, do you think Roosevelt was trying to keep the United States out of the war or trying to get us in? Before Pearl Harbor, do you think Roosevelt should have been trying to keep us out of the war or trying to get us in? (NORC)

| | *Keep us out* | *Get us in* | *Neither* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Was trying | 60% | 17% | 11% | 12% |
| Should have been trying | 80 | 9 | 4 | 7 |

**37.** (US Jan '45) During the next four years, do you expect there will be much fighting between the President and Congress, or do you think some sort of working arrangement will be made? 25.5% thought there would be fighting and 62.5% thought a working arrangement would be effected. These two groups were asked further: Would you regard that (fighting or the working arrangement) as a very bad situation, not too bad, or a good situation? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know whether or not there will be fighting or working arrangement | 12.0% |
| Among those who predicted fighting: | |
| Very bad situation | 10.6 |
| Not too bad | 8.8 |
| Good situation | 5.5 |
| Don't know | .6 |
| Among those who predicted a working arrangement: | |
| Very bad situation | 2.7 |
| Not too bad | 12.2% |
| Good situation | 45.2 |
| Don't know | 2.4 |

**38.** (France June 1 '45) How did you learn of President Roosevelt's death? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| By the radio | 47% |
| By conversation | 27 |
| By the newspapers | 24 |
| Don't know | 2 |

**39.** (France June 1 '45) Did this news [of President Roosevelt's death] make an impression on you? (FIPO)

Yes 83% No 13% Don't know 4%

**40.** (France June 1 '45) Which of the following words best describes your emotion on hearing the news [of President Roosevelt's death]? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Surprise | 29% |
| Regret | 25 |
| Sadness or grief | 17 |
| Anxiety | 13 |
| Annoyance | 5 |
| Shock | 5 |
| Disturbed | 4 |
| Confusion | 3 |
| Other answers | 3 |
| Don't know | 14 |
| | 118%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

# RUSSIA

## Foreign Relations

**1.** (Great Britain Aug 30 '41) Have events since the German attack on Russia changed your previous opinion of Russia's policy? (BIPO)

Yes 27% No 57% Don't know 16%

**2.** (US Sept '45) Just before the war when Germany threatened Czechoslovakia, do you recall Russia's attitude—did she seem to sympathize with Germany at that time or with Czechoslovakia? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct, Czechoslovakia | 14.4% |
| Incorrect, Germany | 25.8 |
| Don't know | 59.8 |

**3.** (US Sept '45) How about Russia's attitude when Italy invaded Ethiopia—did she seem to sympathize with Italy or with Ethiopia? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct, Ethiopia | 13.4% |
| Incorrect, Italy | 13.6 |
| Don't know | 73.0 |

**4.** (Canada Apr 13 '46) From what you have seen or read of Russia's policies toward other countries, what do you think her main object is? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| World power; supremacy; etc. | 21% |
| Wants to expand; grab all she can; greed; etc. | 15 |
| World supremacy of Communism | 8 |
| Looking for another war | 5 |
| Wants to keep in with the big nations, but be aggressive with small nations | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Dominate her neighbors; bully small countries around her | 1% |
| Wants to dominate Europe | 1 |
| Wants merely to protect herself; secure her boundaries; etc. | 9 |
| Desires peace, but doesn't understand democracy (or democracies); misunderstood | 3 |
| Wants to establish equality with other nations; to protect her rights | 3 |
| Wants to be independent; socially and economically secure | 1 |
| To better her own living conditions; look after her own people; etc. | 1 |
| Wants seaports, Mediterranean ports, Dardanelles, etc. | 2 |
| Trying to get resources from other countries to build up her own economic system; Iran oil | 2 |
| Miscellaneous neutral answers | 11 |
| No opinion | 16 |

**5.** (Great Britain Apr 27 '46 and Netherlands July '46) Some people say that Russia's foreign policy is concerned with making certain of their security, others say that it is imperialist expansion. Which do you think? (BIPO, NIPO)

| | *Security* | *Imperialist expansion* | *No opinion; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| British results | 42% | 26% | 32% |
| Netherlands | 21 | 58 | 21 |
| BRITISH RESULTS BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 47% | 31% | 22% |
| Women | 36 | 21 | 43 |
| BRITISH RESULTS BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 45% | 23% | 32% |
| 30–49 years | 43 | 27 | 30 |
| 50 years and over | 40 | 26 | 34 |
| BRITISH RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative | 30% | 45% | 25% |
| Labor | 52 | 15 | 33 |
| Liberal | 41 | 25 | 34 |
| Other | 64 | 17 | 19 |
| Did not vote | 34 | 24 | 42 |
| RESULTS IN NETHERLANDS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Catholic People's party | 12% | 67% | 21% |
| Labor | 23 | 51 | 26 |
| Anti-Revolutionary party | 9 | 74 | 17 |
| Communist | 81 | 9 | 10 |
| Christian Historic party | 17 | 64 | 19 |
| Liberal | 9 | 74 | 17 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| *Higher* | | | |
| Great Britain | 38% | 43% | 19% |
| Netherlands | 15 | 77 | 8 |
| *Middle* | | | |
| Great Britain | 45 | 35 | 20 |
| Netherlands | 18 | 65 | 17 |
| *Lower* | | | |
| Great Britain | 42 | 20 | 38 |
| *Lowest* | | | |
| Netherlands | 24 | 49 | 27 |
| *Low* | | | |
| Netherlands | 22 | 55 | 23 |

## Politics and Government

**1.** (US Sept '44) What form of government would you say Russia has at the present time? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Communism | 24% |
| Reds; Bolsheviki | 1 |
| Dictatorship | 15 |
| Socialism; state socialism | 6 |
| Democracy | 4 |
| Fascism; Nazism; totalitarianism | 2 |
| Communism, in combination with any other except Democracy | 3 |
| Democracy, in combination with any other except Communism | * |
| Democratic Communism | 1 |
| Other correct categorical answers | 2 |
| Other incorrect categorical answers | 1 |
| Correct according to policy | 1 |
| Other answers incorrect according to policy | 1 |
| Don't know | 39 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**2.** (US Sept '44 and Canada June 23 '45) Do you think the kind of government Russia has at the present time is about the same kind she had five years ago, or do you think it is different? 34% of the American sample who thought it was different were asked: In what way is it different? The second question was not asked in Canada. (NORC, CIPO)

AMERICAN RESULTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Same kind of government | 37% |
| Don't know whether or not has same kind of government | 29 |
| Different: | |
| Positive reactions, not specified | 5 |
| More democratic | 12 |
| More economic opportunities | 1 |
| Less Communistic | 4 |
| More freedom of religion | 4 |
| Political unity | 2 |
| Constructive international policy | 2 |
| Less liberal | 2 |
| More Communistic | 1 |
| Other including: aggressive, with bad or unfavorable connotations | 3 |
| Don't know how it's different | 1 |
| | 103%* |

CANADIAN RESULTS

Same 44% Different 29% Undecided 27%

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (US Sept '44) From what you've heard, do you think the kind of government Russia has is as good as she could have for her people at the present time, or do you think a different kind of government would be better for the Russians? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Present kind good | 46% |
| Different kind better | 26 |
| Don't know | 28 |

**4.** (US Sept '44) Do you think the kind of government Russia has will have any effect on other countries in the world or not? 38% of the sample who thought the government would have some effect on other countries were asked: What effect do you think the kind of government Russia has will have on other countries? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| No effect | 30% |
| Don't know whether or not will affect other countries | 31 |
| Effect will depend on peace terms | 1 |
| Effect will be: | |
| Russia will communize others | 7 |
| Others fear Russia | 3 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Dictate the peace | 1% |
| A sphere of influence | 1 |
| Russian government and plan, system, etc., copied by others | 14 |
| Russian prestige | 3 |
| Bad effect on international relations | 2 |
| Higher standard of living | * |
| Lower standard of living | * |
| Cause war | 1 |
| Good effect, not specified | 1 |
| Bad effect, not specified | 1 |
| Trade affected | 1 |
| Other answers including: travel conditions better | * |
| Don't know what effect will be | 3 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**5.** (US Sept '44) As far as the rest of the world is concerned, would you rather see Russia have the kind of government she has now, or a different kind, or wouldn't it make any difference to you? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Kind she has now | 12% |
| Different kind | 28 |
| Makes no difference | 42 |
| Don't know | 18 |

**6.** (US Sept '45) Which of these things have you liked about Russia, and which haven't you liked so well? (FOR)

| | *Liked* | *Liked part* | *Not liked* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| The way she handles her diplomatic relations with this country | 18.0% | 8.5% | 42.6% | 30.9% |
| The way she handles her military campaigns | 66.9 | 3.0 | 4.2 | 25.9 |
| The way she handles our news correspondents | 8.5 | 3.5 | 39.7 | 48.3 |
| The way she handles justice and the legal rights of her own people | 16.1 | 2.5 | 24.1 | 57.3 |

**7.** (US Sept '45) With which one of these do you agree: (1) Russia is rich enough in natural resources so that she wouldn't have to depend much on other countries if she developed her own. (2) While Russia has a lot of territory, she will still always have to depend on other countries for many of the natural resources she needs. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct, statement 1 | 45.1% |
| Incorrect, statement 2 | 40.1 |
| Don't know | 14.8 |

**8.** (US Sept '45) Do you think the Russian government pays a lot of attention to what the Russian people (and people in the rest of the world) think, or that it decides what it is going to do without taking what they think much into account? (FOR)

| | *Russian people* | *People in rest of world* |
|---|---|---|
| Pays attention to them | 16.0% | 16.0% |
| Decides without them | 64.8 | 67.6 |
| Don't know | 19.2 | 16.4 |

**9.** (US Mar 27 '46) If the Russian government were prepared, do you think it would go to war to get what it wants? (AIPO)

Yes 65% No 25% No opinion 10%

**10.** (US July '46) Do you think Russia is only trying to get a fair share of raw material from other countries, or that she is trying to get more than a fair share? (FOR)

| | *Fair share* | *More than fair share* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24.7% | 58.0% | 17.3% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| Grade school | 18.6% | 53.2% | 28.2% |
| High school | 25.0 | 61.9 | 13.1 |
| College | 33.1 | 57.6 | 9.3 |

**11.** (US July '46) Is it your impression that a good many, relatively few, or practically no radio commentators (newspapermen, labor-union leaders, schoolteachers, people with government jobs in Washington) believe that the Russian system of government is better than ours? (FOR)

| | *Many* | *Few* | *None* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Labor-union leaders | 19.3% | 29.1% | 22.2% | 29.4% |
| People with government jobs in Washington | 6.4 | 25.8 | 34.9 | 32.9 |
| Schoolteachers | 4.3 | 24.9 | 36.9 | 33.9 |
| Newspapermen | 2.9 | 33.7 | 38.1 | 25.3 |
| Radio commentators | 2.5 | 28.3 | 44.2 | 25.0 |
| REACTION TO LABOR-UNION LEADERS BY EXECUTIVES AND WAGE EARNERS | | | | |
| Executives | 40.5% | 41.6% | 14.2% | 3.7% |
| Wage earners | 16.1 | 25.5 | 30.0 | 28.4 |

**12.** (US Sept 11 '46) Will you tell me which of these countries are under Russian control—Turkey, Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece? (AIPO)

| | *Russian control* | *No Russian control* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Turkey | 14% | 48% | 38% |
| Poland | 65 | 9 | 26 |
| Yugoslavia | 69 | 7 | 24 |
| Greece | 12 | 51 | 37 |

## SABOTAGE

**1.** (US July 18 '42) Are most of the people you know really worried about the chances of sabotage in this country, or do they think things are pretty well under control? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Really worried | 32% |
| Under control | 57 |
| Don't know | 11 |

**2.** (Sweden Feb '44) Do you approve or disapprove of the planned sabotage against the occupying powers in the occupied countries? (SGI)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 30% | 36% | 34% |
| Wealthy people only | 26 | 43 | 31 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 39% | 35% | 26% |
| Women | 21 | 38 | 41 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| North Sweden | 21% | 41% | 38% |
| Dalecarlia, West Gotland | 23 | 20 | 57 |
| Mälar district | 34 | 35 | 31 |
| Stockholm | 27 | 39 | 34 |
| East Gotland | 23 | 48 | 29 |
| Skåne | 33 | 42 | 25 |
| West coast | 44 | 22 | 34 |

BY POLITICS

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Social Democrat | 34% | 37% | 29% |
| Communist | 63 | 20 | 17 |

# SALES TAX

## Denmark

**1.** (Denmark Feb 23 '46) The sales tax has been abolished for all goods except gold and silverware. Do you think that it should be kept on these articles or that it should be abolished? (DGI)

Abolished 86% Kept 14%

## U.S.

**1.** (US Jan 5 '37) Do you favor a sales tax as a means of raising revenue in this state? (Feb 8 '37) Are you in favor of a sales tax here in [name of state]? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '37 | 47% | 46% | 7% |
| Feb '37 | 42 | 52 | 6 |

**2.** (US Apr 19 '37) Would you favor a national sales tax as a means of balancing the national budget? (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 60% No opinion 10%

**3.** (US Dec 22 '39) To help the federal government's income equal its expenses, would you be in favor of the federal government collecting a national sales tax? A comparable cross-section was asked: To make the federal government's income equal its expenses, would you be in favor of the federal government collecting a national sales tax? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, emphatically | 11% |
| Yes | 23 |
| No | 23 |
| No, emphatically | 32 |
| Don't know | 10 |
| No answer | 1 |

**4.** (US Dec 16 '40) In order to help pay the cost of defense, should the United States government collect a national sales tax on everything that people buy? (AIPO)

Yes 42% No 49% Don't know 9%

**5.** (US Feb '41) Do you favor a general federal sales tax? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Yes 63.7% No 31.6% No answer 4.7%

The 63.7% who favored a general federal sales tax were asked: If so, do you favor it because it is a visible tax which would make all the voters conscious of the high cost of government; as a potential means of raising very large sums of money; to spread the load of taxation more widely; as a means of reducing consumption so that more effort will be available for defense?

*Favor it because*

| | |
|---|---|
| Visible tax | 88.9%* |
| Means of raising large sums | 70.6 |
| Spread taxation | 85.4 |
| Reducing consumption | 7.5 |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who favored a general sales tax.

**6.** (US Feb '41) Regardless of whether you favor a general federal sales tax, do you think Congress should immediately impose additional luxury and excise taxes? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Yes 53.0% No 39.3% No answer 7.7%

**7.** (US Feb '41) Do you believe that a sales tax of, say 2% tends to cut sales volume by about the same percentage; cut sales volume by a still higher percentage; cut sales volume a little, but by substantially less than the amount of the tax; show no visible effect on volume? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Same percentages | 5% |
| Higher percentage | 6 |
| A little | 25 |
| No visible effect | 50 |
| No answer | 14 |

**8.** (US Feb '41) Do you think agricultural products should be exempt from any federal sales tax? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Yes 34.2% No 54.1% No answer 11.7%

**9.** (US Mar 7 '41) In order to help pay the cost of national defense, would you favor or oppose a federal sales tax of 2% on everything you buy, in addition to state and local sales taxes now in effect? (May 5 '41 and May 20 '41) In order to help pay the cost of defense, should the federal government put a national sales tax of 2% on everything you buy, in addition to taxes now in effect? (Dec 19 '41) In order to help pay the cost of the war, should the federal government put a national sales tax of 2% on everything you buy, in addition to taxes now in effect? (Apr 15 '42 and Aug 13 '42) In order to help pay the cost of the war, should the federal government put a national sales tax of 2% on everything that people buy? (For example two cents on every purchase of one dollar) (June 9 '42) In order to help pay the cost of the war, should the federal government put a national sales tax of 2% on everything that people buy? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '41 | 54% | 46% | = 100% | 8% | |
| May 5 '41 | 39 | 52 | | 9 | = 100% |
| May 20 '41 | 44 | 47 | | 9 | = 100 |
| Dec '41 | 47 | 46 | | 7 | = 100 |
| Apr '42 | 54 | 46 | | — | = 100 |
| June '42 | 58 | 42 | | — | = 100 |
| Aug '42 | 61 | 39 | | — | = 100 |

DEC '41 RESULTS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Farmers | 53% | 39% | 8% |
| Small towns | 49 | 44 | 7 |
| Towns | 46 | 46 | 8 |
| Cities | 41 | 54 | 5 |

DEC '41 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Upper income | 58% | 34% | 8% |
| Middle income | 48 | 46 | 6 |
| Lower income | 43 | 50 | 7 |

JUNE '42 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 54% | 46% |
| East central | 56 | 44 |
| West central | 62 | 38 |
| South | 65 | 35 |
| Far West | 56 | 44 |

**10.** (US Mar 31 '42) In order to help pay for the war, should a national sales tax of 5% be placed on all purchases? A com-

parable cross-section was asked simultaneously: In order to pay for the war should the federal government put a national sales tax of 5% on everything you buy, in addition to taxes now in effect? (AIPO) (Sept 9 '42) Well, would you favor or oppose having the government put a 5% sales tax on everything that people buy? (NORC)

| | *Yes, favor* | *No, oppose* | *No opinion; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| AIPO Mar '42 First cross-section | 42% | 51% | 7% |
| AIPO Mar '42 Second cross-section | 43 | 57 | — |
| NORC Sept '42 | 37 | 52 | 11 |

**11.** (US Apr 16 '42 and Aug 13 '42) In order to help pay the cost of the war, should the federal government put a national sales tax of 3% on everything that people buy? For example, 3% on every purchase of one dollar? (June 9 '42) In order to help pay the cost of the war, should the federal government put a national sales tax of 3% on everything that people buy? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apr '42 | 46% | 54% | — |
| June '42 | 52 | 48 | — |
| Aug '42 | 54 | 37 | 9% |

**12.** (US May '42) Here is another suggestion which some people say would help the war effort. There should be a federal sales tax on everything that people buy during the war. (Do you think this would be a good idea or a bad idea?) 50% of the sample thought it a bad idea and 11% said they didn't know. These two groups were asked: How would you feel about a federal sales tax on everything except food? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sales tax on everything a good idea | 35% |
| Qualified answers to the first question | 4 |
| Good idea on everything except food | 26 |
| Bad idea in any case | 25 |
| Qualified answers to the second question | 3 |
| Don't know to second question | 7 |

**13.** (US May 8 '42) Do you favor or oppose a national sales tax? Those who said they favored a national sales tax were asked: How much? Only civic and community leaders were questioned. (AIPO)

Favor 69% Oppose 28% No opinion 3%

Median 2% tax

**14.** (US Sept 9 '42) If the federal government put a national sales tax of 5% on everything that people buy, do you think that would actually help keep the cost of living from going so high that we'd have a serious inflation? (NORC)

Yes 29% No 46% Don't know 25%

**15.** (US Jan 27 '43) In order to help pay for the war, should the federal government put a national sales tax of ten cents out of every dollar on everything you buy, in addition to taxes now in effect? 72% of the sample who opposed a sales tax of ten cents were asked: In order to help pay for the war, should the federal government put a national sales tax of five cents out of every dollar on everything you buy, in addition to taxes now in effect? A comparable cross-section was asked the first question with "ten per cent" substituted for "ten cents out of every dollar." This cross-section was asked the second question about "three cents" instead of "five cents." (AIPO)

| | *Ten or five cents* | *Ten or three cents* |
|---|---|---|
| Favor ten cent tax | 23% | 20% |
| No opinion on ten cent tax | 5 | 8 |
| Favor lower tax | 18 | 29 |
| Favor neither | 51 | 37 |
| No opinion on lower tax | 2 | 4 |
| Didn't say whether or not favored lower tax | 1 | 2 |

**16.** (US Oct 26 '43) It is suggested that a nationwide sales tax be put on everything people buy except bare necessities. On less essential things the tax would start at two cents out of every dollar and rise to thirty cents or forty cents out of every dollar on luxuries. Would you favor or oppose a sales tax of this type? (Jan 18 '44) It is suggested that a nationwide sales tax be put on everything people buy except bare necessities. On necessities there would be no tax, on less necessary things the tax would start at two per cent and on luxuries it would rise to thirty or forty per cent. Would you be for or against a sales tax of this type? (AIPO)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '43 | 45% | 46% | 9% |
| Jan '44 | 49 | 38 | 13 |

## SALVAGE (WASTE, ETC.)

**1.** (US Mar 26 '42) Are you or your family saving materials such as metal, rubber, or waste paper? 84% of the sample who said they were saving materials were asked: What materials are you saving? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not saving anything | 16% |
| Saving metal | 6 |
| Saving rubber | 1 |
| Saving paper | 28 |
| Saving metal and rubber | 1 |
| Saving metal and paper | 30 |
| Saving rubber and paper | 3 |
| Saving metal, rubber, and paper | 8 |
| Saving clothing | * |
| Saving other things | 1 |
| Saving everything | 5 |
| Didn't say what | 2 |
| | 101%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (Great Britain May '42) Do you think that the arrangements for collecting salvage in your district are as good as they should be? (BIPO)

Yes 41% No 39% Don't know 20%

**3.** (US Aug 21 '42 and Nov 27 '42) Have you, or any of your family, turned in any scrap metal, old rubber, or waste paper for the war effort? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug '42 | 89% | 10% | 1% |
| Nov '42 | 95 | 5 | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**4.** (US Apr 6 '43) Have you, or any of your family turned in any scrap metal, old rubber, or waste fats for the war effort? (NORC)

Yes 96% No 4% No answer*

* Less than 0.5%.

## SAVING AND THRIFT

**1.** (Australia Oct '41) Would you favor a compulsory savings plan to help pay for the war and to provide people with money to spend after the war? (Dec '41) Should the government introduce compulsory saving? (June '42) Should war saving be voluntary or compulsory according to people's means? (Sept–Oct '42) Should war saving be voluntary or compulsory? (May–June '43 and Aug–Sept '43) Would you favor or oppose a compulsory savings plan? (APOP)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '41 | 55% | 27% | 18% |
| Dec '41 | 51 | 36 | 13 |
| June '42 | 44 | 46 | 10 |
| Sept–Oct '42 | 48 | 47 | 5 |
| May–June '43 | 64 | 29 | 7 |
| Aug–Sept '43 | 60 | 33 | 7 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| *Labor voters* | | | |
| Oct '41 | 45% | 35% | 20% |
| June '42 | 34 | 54 | 12 |
| Sept–Oct '42 | 37 | 57 | 6 |
| *Other voters* | | | |
| Oct '41 | 65 | 19 | 16 |
| June '42 | 54 | 37 | 9 |
| Sept–Oct '42 | 62 | 34 | 4 |
| OCT '41 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Lowest incomes | 45% | 28% | 27% |
| Artisans, etc. | 51 | 29 | 20 |
| Better off | 62 | 23 | 15 |

**2.** (Sweden May '42, Denmark Apr 11 '43 and Oct 8 '44, Netherlands Apr 28 '46) Do you save anything of your income? Asked of young employed people in Sweden. Do you spend all you earn, or do you save? Asked of 18–25 year olds in Denmark in 1943 and of a national cross-section in 1944. Are you saving at present? Asked in Holland. (SGI, DGI, NIPO)

RESULTS IN SWEDEN BY SEX

| | *Regularly* | *Sometimes* | *Not at all* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Boys | 37% | 39% | 24% |
| Girls | 36 | 37 | 27 |

RESULTS IN DENMARK

| | *Apr '43* | *Oct '44* |
|---|---|---|
| Save | 39.1% | 33.6% |
| Spend everything | 55.0 | 60.9 |
| Spend more than earned | — | 1.5 |
| Study, do not earn anything | 5.9 | — |
| Don't know | — | 4.0 |

RESULTS IN HOLLAND

Yes 40% No 58% No answer 2%

All those of the Swedish sample, the first Danish sample, and the Dutch sample who said they were saving were asked: What are you saving up for?

RESULTS IN SWEDEN BY SEX

| | *Boys* | *Girls* |
|---|---|---|
| A rainy day | 37% | 38% |
| Making a home | 3 | 8 |
| Tax | 12 | 7 |
| Holidays | 13 | 16 |
| To buy something | 19 | 15 |
| Education | 7 | 4 |
| Don't know | 9 | 12 |
| | 100% | 100% |

of those questioned

RESULTS IN DENMARK

| | |
|---|---|
| Trousseau | 27.6% |
| Future | 4.6 |
| Nothing definite | 25.6 |
| Clothes, etc. | 5.6 |
| Holidays and traveling | 3.3 |
| To have a reserve | 4.9 |
| To get a wish fulfilled | 4.6 |
| To become independent (own business) | 3.6 |
| Further education | 6.4 |
| Own house | 11.5 |
| Life insurance | 1.8 |
| Stay at high school | 0.5 |
| | 100.0% |

of those questioned

RESULTS IN HOLLAND

| | |
|---|---|
| Normal purposes (old age, children, marriage, etc.) | 63% |
| Typically postwar purposes (replacements, to buy lots of things when rationing goes, to buy clothing) | 28 |
| Don't know or no reply | 9 |
| | 100% |

of those questioned

60.9% of the second Danish sample who said they spent all they earned were asked: Why?

| | |
|---|---|
| Can just make ends meet | 89.5% |
| Cannot make ends meet | 1.3 |
| Money will lose its value | 4.8 |
| Can always earn some more | 2.2 |
| Don't know | 2.2 |
| | 100.0% |

of those questioned

**3.** (Sweden May '42) Are you a member of a saving society? Asked of a national cross-section of employed young people. (SGI)

BY SEX

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Boys | 26% | 74% |
| Girls | 29 | 71 |

**4.** (US Jan 27 '43) If you lose your job when the war is over, do you expect to have enough money saved up by that time to tide you over until you find a new job? (Mar 20 '45) If you lose your present job after the war, will you have enough money saved so that you can get along till you find other work? (AIPO) (Great Britain July '45) If you (your husband) lost your present job, would you have something saved to get along with till you found other work? (BIPO) All questions were asked of employed persons.

| | | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *Don't plan to work after war* | *Qualified answers; won't lose job; have farm; business* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| US | Jan '43.. | 33% | 36% | 11% | 6% | 14% |
| US | Mar '45.. | 60 | 30 | 10 | — | — |
| BRITAIN | July '45.. | 63 | 37 | — | — | — |

BRITISH RESULTS BY AGE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 21–29 years..... | 60% | 40% |
| 30–49 years..... | 66 | 34 |
| 50 years and over. | 63 | 37 |

BRITISH RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Higher..... | 91% | 9% |
| Middle..... | 80 | 20 |
| Lower..... | 55 | 45 |

60% of the American sample in Mar '45 who said they had enough money saved to get along were asked: For about how long could you get by if you have no work at all? 63% of the British sample who said they would have something saved to tide them over were asked: For about how long could you manage if there was no work to be had?

| *American results* | | *British results* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Three months or less... | 10% | One month..... | 4% |
| Four to six months..... | 12 | Two months..... | 4 |
| Seven to twelve months. | 14 | Three months ..... | 7 |
| Thirteen months through two years..... | 6 | Four months..... | 1 |
| | | Six months..... | 13 |
| Over two years..... | 10 | Nine months..... | 1 |
| Don't know..... | 8 | Twelve months..... | 11 |
| | 60% | Eighteen months..... | 2 |
| | | Twenty-four months.... | 5 |
| | | Thirty-six months..... | 2 |
| | | Sixty months..... | 1 |
| | | No reply..... | 12 |
| | | | 63% |

**5.** (Sweden Feb '43) Could you save anything last year? In what way? (SGI)

| | *Nothing at all* | *Put money in the bank* | *Saved money at home* | *Bought bonds* | *Paying off mortgage* | *Paying other debts* | *Life and old-age pension insurance* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| National total..... | 35 | 21 | 4 | 17 | 11 | 12 | 43 | = 143* |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Towns..... | 36 | 25 | 4 | 17 | 6 | 9 | 45 | = 142* |
| Farmers.... | 36 | 16 | 5 | 15 | 16 | 14 | 38 | = 140* |
| Others..... | 28 | 22 | 3 | 17 | 12 | 15 | 53 | = 150* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (Canada Aug 21 '43) Do you expect to have more money saved when the war ends than you had when it started? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Same* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total.... | 38% | 44% | 15% | 3% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class..... | 49% | 37% | 12% | 2% |
| Middle class..... | 42 | 42 | 13 | 3 |
| Lower class..... | 33 | 47 | 17 | 3 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years..... | 49% | 33% | 13% | 5% |
| 30–49 years..... | 40 | 41 | 16 | 3 |
| 50 years and over.. | 30 | 55 | 12 | 3 |

**7.** (Denmark Feb 12 '44) Did you put money into the bank or savings bank last year? Have you put money into the bank or savings bank this year? (DGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Preceding year..... | 24.4% | 73.1% | 2.5% |
| Current year..... | 21.0 | 75.8 | 3.2 |

**8.** (Canada Aug 8 '44) Until recently, wage earners had compulsory savings deducted from their pay. This plan was stopped July 1. Do you think it should have been stopped, or do you think it should have been continued? (CIPO)

| | *Stopped* | *Continued* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 49% | 37% | 14% |
| BY SELECTED PROVINCES | | | |
| Quebec..... | 63% | 23% | 14% |
| Prairies..... | 39 | 45 | 16 |

**9.** (Denmark Oct 1 '44) Has wartime taught you to be economical? (DGI)

Yes 60.4% No 35.0% Don't know 4.6%

**10.** (Denmark Oct 1 '44) Do you think that you will continue in peacetime, with no restrictions, to be careful about the amount of gas and electricity you use? Asked of 60.4% of the sample who said that wartime had taught them to be economical. (DGI)

Yes 65.2% No 24.1% Don't know 10.7% = 100% of those questioned

**11.** (Denmark Oct 1 '44) Do you think that the saving tendencies taught us by the lack of commodities will soon be forgotten after the war? (DGI)

Yes 52.0% No 36.3% Don't know 11.7%

**12.** (Denmark Nov 26 '44) Have you planned to get one or more wishes fulfilled after the war? (DGI)

Yes 37.7% No 62.3%

**13.** (Denmark Nov 26 '44) Have you saved in order to have your wishes fulfilled? (DGI)

Yes 50% No 50%

**14.** (Denmark Nov 26 '44) What are you going to do? Asked of 50% of the sample who saved in order to fulfill their wishes. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Travel..... | 28.0% |
| Buy more clothes..... | 15.6 |
| Buy or build a house..... | 15.1 |
| Buy or start business..... | 7.7 |
| Buy or build summer house..... | 6.0 |
| Buy a car..... | 5.4 |
| Buy a farm, homestead, etc..... | 5.4 |
| Improve property..... | 4.4 |
| Complete home..... | 2.7 |
| Buy more things..... | 1.9 |
| Extend factory..... | 1.9 |
| Training..... | 1.5 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Start a home | 1.2% |
| Larger flat | 1.0 |
| | 97.8%* |

* Percentages add to more than 50 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**15.** (Great Britain Mar 11 '45) Are you able to save as much now as during the war? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No savings* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 34% | 24% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 44% | 35% | 21% |
| Women | 40 | 33 | 27 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 48% | 26% | 26% |
| 30–49 years | 42 | 38 | 20 |
| 50 years and over | 40 | 31 | 29 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 68% | 24% | 8% |
| Middle | 58 | 33 | 9 |
| Lower | 34 | 36 | 30 |

**16.** (France May 16 '45) Have you heard about the compulsory savings plan? (FIPO)

Yes 66% No 30% No answer 4%

**17.** (France May 16 '45) Do you favor this [compulsory saving] measure? Asked of 66% of the sample who had heard about the compulsory savings plan. (FIPO)

Yes 34% No 46% No opinion 20% = 100% of those questioned

**18.** (US Sept 6 '45) If the chief wage earner in your family lost his job and could not find another one, how long could you hold out before you would have to apply for relief? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 week and under | 7% |
| 2 weeks | 3 |
| 3 weeks | 1 |
| 1 month; 4, 5 weeks | 8 |
| 6 weeks | 1 |
| 2 months; 7, 8, 9, 10 weeks | 6 |
| 3 months; 11, 12 weeks | 5 |
| 4 months | 2 |
| 5 months | 1 |
| 6 months; 26 weeks | 10 |
| 7 months to 1 year | 1 |
| 1 year | 12 |
| 1½ to 2 years | 7 |
| 3 years | 2 |
| 4 to 5 years | 3 |
| 6 to 10 years | * |
| 10 years | 2 |
| 11 to 15 years | * |
| 16 years and over | 8 |
| On relief now | 1 |
| Never would apply, get along somehow | 2 |
| Other sources of income | 2 |
| Can go on pension; have pension | 2 |
| Own business; own farm | 2 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 7 |
| Don't know | 4 |
| | * = 1 |

Median 1 year

**19.** (Great Britain Nov 3 '45) Now that the war is over, do you think it is important to continue saving? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 80% | 10% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 82% | 11% | 7% |
| Women | 78 | 9 | 13 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 78% | 8% | 14% |
| 30–49 years | 82 | 9 | 9 |
| 50 years and over | 78 | 11 | 11 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 88% | 9% | 3% |
| Middle | 89 | 8 | 3 |
| Lower | 76 | 11 | 13 |

**20.** (Netherlands Apr 26 '46) Do you keep your savings yourself, or do you take them to a savings or other sort of bank? (NIPO)

| | *Bank* | *At home* | *Do not save* | *No answer; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 29% | 11% | 58% | 2% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Lower income | 60% | 38% | — | 2% |
| Middle income | 83 | 14 | — | 3 |
| Higher income | 90 | 8 | — | 2 |

**21.** (Germany July 1 '46) Do you have a checking account or savings account? 51% of the sample had savings accounts, 8% had checking accounts, and 9% had both kinds. All those who had savings accounts were asked: Is it more or less than 1,000 marks? All those who had checking accounts were asked the same question. (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| No account of either kind | 32% |
| Savings account over 1,000 marks | 46 |
| Savings account less than 1,000 marks | 14 |
| Didn't say how much in savings account | * |
| Checking account over 1,000 marks | 12 |
| Checking account less than 1,000 marks | 5 |
| Didn't say how much in checking account | * |
| | 109%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to 109 because the 9 per cent of the sample who had both types of accounts were questioned about each.

**22.** (Germany July 1 '46) Would you rather have a reserve in cash, in goods, or would you rather have a checking or savings account? 46% of the sample who said they preferred a reserve in goods were asked: Why? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Prefer reserve in cash | 8% |
| Prefer reserve in checking or savings account | 29 |
| Prefer cash and goods | 1 |
| Prefer goods and bank | 1 |
| Prefer cash and bank | * |
| Don't know which | 14 |
| Didn't say what preferred | 1 |
| Prefer goods because: | |
| Money in cash doesn't do any good today; for a businessman goods are much better | 8 |
| Goods do not lose value; one should buy articles of intrinsic value, e.g. land, jewelry, houses | 15 |
| No trust in currency; currency lacks government backing | 6 |
| To invest money in goods for certain purposes: dowry, business purposes, food | 8 |
| We are in need of goods; bombed out; lost everything; we are refugees | 4 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't say why preferred goods | 5% |
| Don't know why | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**23.** (Canada July 17 '46) Do you think the government should allow people who have compulsory savings to borrow money, using these savings as a guarantee of repayment? (CIPO)

| | *Allow borrowing* | *No borrowing* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Have compulsory savings | 62% | 32% | 6% |
| Have no compulsory savings | 57 | 23 | 20 |

**24.** (Hungary Nov '46) Did you happen to put your money in the savings bank in the past? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| *Men* | | |
| Well-off | 81.6% | 18.4% |
| Medium | 56.7 | 43.3 |
| Badly off | 47.8 | 52.2 |
| *Women* | | |
| Well-off | 64.5 | 35.5 |
| Medium | 56.7 | 43.3 |
| Badly off | 38.7 | 61.3 |

**25.** (Hungary Nov '46) Have you money deposited now [in the savings bank]? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| *Men* | | |
| Well-off | 23.7% | 76.3% |
| Medium | 7.0 | 93.0 |
| Badly off | 2.8 | 97.2 |
| *Women* | | |
| Well-off | 3.3 | 96.7 |
| Medium | 4.0 | 96.0 |
| Badly off | 3.3 | 96.7 |

**26.** (Hungary Nov '46) Why have you not [money in the savings bank]? Asked of a Budapest cross-section who said they had no money in the savings bank. (HIPOR)

BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Lack of money; not necessary* | *Not worth while* | *No confidence* | *Other; no answer* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Men* | | | | | |
| Well-off | 55.3% | 27.5% | 17.2% | — | = 100% of those questioned |
| Medium | 83.3 | 6.7 | 8.4 | 1.6% | |
| Badly off | 82.5 | 5.6 | 4.7 | 7.2 | |
| *Women* | | | | | |
| Well-off | 83.3 | 13.3 | 3.4 | — | |
| Medium | 89.1 | 8.0 | 2.9 | — | |
| Badly off | 92.0 | 1.7 | 2.3 | 4.0 | |

**27.** (Hungary Nov '46) For what reasons did you choose your bank? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STATUS

| | MEN | | | WOMEN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Well-off* | *Medium* | *Badly off* | *Well-off* | *Medium* | *Badly off* |
| Information; well-known firm | 9.7% | 7.6% | 13.9% | 9.5% | 9.6% | 11.4% |
| Friend, relative, worked in it | 9.7% | 9.6% | 5.7% | 34.5% | 5.8% | 1.2% |
| Friend, relative suggested it | 12.9 | 8.3 | 16.3 | 4.0 | 8.7 | 16.6 |
| Close to my neighborhood | 35.5 | 27.4 | 17.2 | 30.8 | 33.6 | 22.3 |
| Business connection | 3.2 | 9.6 | 2.4 | 4.0 | 2.9 | 1.2 |
| Confidence | 25.8 | 26.4 | 23.9 | 9.6 | 23.1 | 35.1 |
| Good, prompt administration | — | 2.8 | 1.6 | 7.6 | 1.9 | 1.2 |
| Other; no answer | 3.2 | 8.3 | 19.0 | — | 14.4 | 11.0 |

# SCHOOL CHILDREN

## Food

**1.** (Sweden Sept '45) Do you think that luncheons and requisites should be given free to all children in elementary schools or only after inquiring into their needs, or do you think that these things should not be given free of charge at all? (SGI)

SCHOOL LUNCHEONS

| | *Should be given free* | *Only after inquiring into need* | *Not to be given free at all* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 45% | 48% | 2% | 5% |
| Executives only | 67 | 27 | 5 | 1 |
| OPINION ABOUT LUNCHEONS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 38% | 49% | 7% | 6% |
| Middle class | 45 | 47 | 3 | 5 |
| Workers | 46 | 47 | 2 | 5 |
| OPINION ABOUT LUNCHEONS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Large towns | 38% | 55% | 3% | 4% |
| Other towns | 41 | 52 | 2 | 5 |
| Country | 48 | 44 | 2 | 6 |
| SCHOOL REQUISITES | | | | |
| National total | 51% | 42% | 2% | 5% |
| Executives only | 81 | 18 | 1 | — |
| OPINION ABOUT REQUISITES BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 49% | 43% | 4% | 4% |
| Middle class | 52 | 42 | 3 | 3 |
| Workers | 51 | 43 | 1 | 5 |
| OPINION ABOUT REQUISITES BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Large towns | 40% | 54% | 2% | 4% |
| Other towns | 48 | 47 | 2 | 3 |
| Country | 55 | 38 | 2 | 5 |

# SCOTLAND

## Politics and Government

**1.** (Great Britain Feb '38) Do you consider that Scotland should have self-government? (BIPO)

Yes 48% No 52% = 100% No opinion 37%

# SECRET SERVICE

**1.** (US Oct 31 '45) Do you think we should spend large sums of money to maintain a large force of secret-service agents who would operate throughout the world to keep us informed of the military plans of other countries? A cross-section comparable to that used for the preceding question was asked: Do you think we should maintain a large force of secret-service agents who would operate throughout the world to keep us informed of the military plans of other countries? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| First cross-section | 66% | 25% | 9% |
| Second cross-section | 77 | 13 | 10 |

**2.** (US Feb 27 '46) Do you think Congress should provide more money so that the secret-service force in this country can be increased to keep better track of what is going on here? (AIPO)

Yes 70% No 16% No opinion 14%

**3.** (US Feb 27 '46) Do you think Congress should provide money to maintain a large force of secret-service agents who would operate throughout the world to keep us informed of what other countries are doing? (AIPO)

Yes 77% No 17% No opinion 6%

# SECURITY

## Brazil

**1.** (Brazil asked in Nov '46) Do you think that within the next thirty years Brazil might be attacked by any other country and involved with war again? (IBOPE)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 26% |
| No | 35 |
| Undecided | 17 |
| No answer | 22 |

## Canada

**1.** (US Sept 19 '39) Do you think that the United States should fight to protect Canada against attack by any country? A comparable cross-section was asked: Do you agree with President Roosevelt that the United States should fight to protect Canada against attack by any country? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, emphatically | 42% |
| Yes | 25 |
| No | 11 |
| No, emphatically | 12 |
| No opinion | 10 |

**2.** (US Sept 22 '39, May 23 '40, Apr 25 '41) If Canada is actually invaded by any European power, do you think the United States should use its army and navy to aid Canada? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '39 | 68% | 25% | 7% |
| May '40 | 87 | 13 | — |
| Apr '41 | 90 | 5 | 5 |
| 1940 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 87% | 13% | |
| Republican | 86 | 14 | |

**3.** (US Sept 22 '39) If Canada is actually invaded by any European power, do you think the United States should go to war to defend Canada? (AIPO)

Yes 62% No 31% Don't know 7%

**4.** (US May 23 '40) If Canada is invaded and the United States goes to her aid, would you personally volunteer to fight? Asked of a national cross-section of men under 45 years of age. (AIPO)

Yes 63% No 24% No opinion 13%

**5.** (Canada Aug 15 '42) Do you think that most of the eligible men in your neighborhood would join the army if Canada were invaded this summer? Asked only of French-Canadians. (CIPO)

Yes 86% No 9% No opinion 5%

## France

**1.** (France June '39) Germany has just taken Czechoslovakia, Italy is occupying Albania. Do you think these annexations are dangerous for France? (FIPO)

Yes 77% No 18% No answer 5%

**2.** (France June '39) Do you think we will be drawn inevitably into a war this year or next? (FIPO)

Yes 37% No 47% No answer 16%

**3.** (France July '39) Will we have war in 1939? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 45% | 34% | 21% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 50% | 32% | 18% |
| 30–39 years | 44 | 35 | 21 |
| 40–49 years | 47 | 33 | 20 |
| 50–59 years | 42 | 40 | 18 |
| 60 years and over | 41 | 32 | 27 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farmers | 41% | 36% | 23% |
| Industry and transportation | 45 | 35 | 20 |
| Professional | 50 | 30 | 20 |
| Commerce | 43 | 37 | 20 |

**4.** (France July '39) Is there a possibility of its [a war] starting this October? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 67% | 25% | 8% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 72% | 22% | 6% |
| 30–39 years | 71 | 23 | 6 |
| 40–49 years | 68 | 22 | 10 |
| 50–59 years | 61 | 27 | 12 |
| 60 years and over | 60 | 33 | 7 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farmers | 64% | 29% | 7% |
| Industry and transportation | 66 | 22 | 12 |
| Commerce | 79 | 14 | 7 |
| Professional | 84 | 10 | 6 |

**5.** (France Jan 16 '46) Do you think France will be involved in it [the next war]? 51% of the sample who thought France would be involved in the war were asked: On the side of which country? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Will not be involved | 7% |
| No opinion as to whether or not will be involved | 42 |
| On the side of: | |
| The Anglo-Saxons | 12 |

| | |
|---|---|
| The United States | 6% |
| Great Britain | 6 |
| Russia | 9 |
| United Nations | 1 |
| Didn't say which side | 17 |

## Great Britain

**1.** (Great Britain Oct '38) A national register could be made listing everybody available for civilian or military service in wartime. Should this be done immediately? (BIPO)

Yes 78% No 22% = 100% No opinion 14%

**2.** (Great Britain Dec '39) Which do you think is the more dangerous to us—Soviet Russia, Nazi Germany? (BIPO)

Soviet Russia 24% Nazi Germany 57% Don't know 19%

**3.** (Great Britain Feb '42) Which country is the greater threat to the future of the British Empire, Germany or Japan? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany | 47% |
| Japan | 31 |
| No opinion | 11 |
| Don't know | 11 |

## Hungary

**1.** (Hungary July '46) Did Hungarians live in one-hundred-per-cent peace standard in 1938? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Other; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Fixed income* | | | |
| Higher | 69.5% | 28.2% | 2.3% |
| Lower | 63.8 | 34.0 | 2.2 |
| *Variable income* | | | |
| Higher | 64.8 | 29.6 | 5.6 |
| Lower | 64.0 | 32.8 | 3.2 |
| Lowest | 62.4 | 34.4 | 3.2 |

## Sweden

**1.** (Sweden Aug '44) Do you think it would be a threat to Sweden if Åland were to be occupied by one of the great powers during this war? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 15% | 30% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 63% | 19% | 18% |
| Women | 46 | 10 | 44 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 55% | 15% | 30% |
| 30–49 years | 55 | 16 | 29 |
| 50–64 years | 57 | 12 | 31 |
| 65 years and over | 50 | 10 | 40 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 80% | 10% | 10% |
| Middle class | 60 | 12 | 28 |
| Workers | 49 | 17 | 34 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Country | 53% | 13% | 34% |
| Town | 60 | 17 | 23 |

**2.** (Sweden Aug '44) Do you think Sweden should try to prevent such an occupation of Åland? Asked of a national cross-section of people who believed that the occupation of Åland by one of the great powers during the war would be a threat to Sweden. 55% of the sample is represented. (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 25% | 20% = 100% of those questioned |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 56% | 29% | 15% |
| Women | 54 | 19 | 27 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 60% | 23% | 17% |
| 30–49 years | 53 | 26 | 21 |
| 50–64 years | 54 | 24 | 22 |
| 65 years and over | 56 | 24 | 20 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 50% | 25% | 25% |
| Middle class | 54 | 25 | 21 |
| Workers | 57 | 25 | 18 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Country | 55% | 24% | 21% |
| Town | 56 | 26 | 18 |

**3.** (Sweden Aug '44) In what way [should Sweden attempt to prevent the occupation of Åland by one of the great powers]? Asked of a sample of people who thought Sweden should attempt to prevent the occupation of Åland. 30% of total sample is represented. (SGI)

| | *Diplomatic steps* | *First diplomatic steps, if in vain, military ones* | *By force of arms* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 38% | 8% | 27% | 27% = 100% of those questioned |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 38% | 9% | 32% | 21% |
| Women | 36 | 6 | 20 | 38 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 32% | 8% | 33% | 27% |
| 30–49 years | 40 | 8 | 27 | 25 |
| 50–64 years | 41 | 9 | 24 | 26 |
| 65 years and over | 36 | 6 | 21 | 37 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 51% | 8% | 24% | 17% |
| Middle class | 42 | 8 | 23 | 27 |
| Workers | 32 | 8 | 30 | 30 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Country | 38% | 8% | 26% | 28% |
| Town | 37 | 8 | 29 | 26 |

## U.S.

**1.** (US Jan '36) Would you be willing to fight or to have a member of your family fight in case we were attacked on our own territory? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 80.3% | 15.6% | 4.1% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 90.0% | 7.4% | 2.6% |
| Women | 69.4 | 24.7 | 5.9 |

BY SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL SECTIONS

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Northeast | 77.1% | 16.8% | 6.1% |
| Southwest | 87.1 | 10.6 | 2.3 |
| West | 89.6 | 9.2 | 1.2 |

**2.** (US Aug 9 '37) Should we withdraw all troops in China to keep from getting involved in the fighting, or should the troops remain there to protect American citizens? (AIPO)

| | *Withdraw* | *Remain* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 54% | 46% = 100% | 11% |

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 46% | 54% |
| Middle Atlantic | 50 | 50 |
| East central | 50 | 50 |
| West central | 60 | 40 |
| South | 62 | 38 |
| Mountain | 52 | 48 |
| Pacific coast | 60 | 40 |

**3.** (US Mar 15 '38, Oct 1 '38, Oct 17 '38, May 2 '39) In Mar '38 two comparable cross-sections were used. The first was asked: Do you think the United States will fight Germany again in your lifetime? The second was asked: Do you think the United States will have to fight Germany again in your lifetime? Results were combined. All other samples were asked the second form of the question. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mar '38 | 46% | 54% = 100% | 14% |
| Oct 1 '38 | 48 | 52 = 100 | 15 |
| Oct 17 '38 | 45 | 55 = 100 | 20 |
| May '39 | 39 | 45 | 16 = 100% |

**4.** (US Apr 27 '38) Would you be willing to fight to defend the United States from invasion? Asked of men only. Would you want your husband, son, or brother to fight to defend the United States from invasion? Asked of women only. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Men's answers | 90% | 6% | 4% |
| Women's answers | 71 | 22 | 7 |

**5.** (US Apr 27 '38) Would you be willing to fight overseas if the United States gets involved in another war? Asked only of men. Women were asked. Would you want them [husband, brother, son] to fight overseas if the United States gets involved in another war? (AIPO) (Mar 12 '41) Would you be willing to fight or have any man of military age in your family fight overseas if the United States gets involved in the war in Europe? (OPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| AIPO Apr '38 (Men) | 29% | 63% | 8% | — |
| AIPO Apr '38 (Women) | 11 | 82 | 7 | — |
| OPOR Mar '41 | 61 | 33 | 5 | 1% |

**6.** (US Aug '38) Which of the following statements do you believe will be true ten years from now, which untrue? Which do you hope will be true, which untrue? Among the statements was included: The United States will have fought in a foreign war. (FOR)

| | BELIEVE WILL BE | | | HOPE WILL BE | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *True* | *Untrue* | *Don't know* | *True* | *Untrue* | *Don't care* |
| National total | 35.0% | 36.7% | 28.3% | 1.4% | 96.0% | 2.6% |
| BY SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL SECTIONS | | | | | | |
| Southwest | 52.1% | 22.3% | 25.6% | .4% | 96.8% | 2.8% |
| Northeast | 29.3 | 45.4 | 25.3 | 1.2 | 97.8 | 1.0 |

**7.** (US Feb 2 '39) If Germany and Italy defeat England and France in a war, do you think Germany and Italy would then start a war against the United States? (Sept 11 '39 and May 14 '40) If Germany should defeat England, France, and Poland in the present war, do you think Germany would start a war against the United States sooner or later? "And Poland" was omitted from the question in May '40. (Dec 16 '40) If Hitler wins the war within the next year, do you think Germany will attack the United States? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion; don't know* | *Qualified answers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feb '39 | 62% | 38% = 100% | 14% | — |
| Sept '39 | 63 | 37 = 100 | 7 | — |
| May '40 | 65 | 35 = 100 | 10 | — |
| Dec '40 | 42 | 45 | 9 | 4% = 100% |

OPINION IN MAY 1940 BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 64% | 36% |
| East central | 61 | 39 |
| West central | 61 | 39 |
| South | 82 | 18 |
| West | 62 | 38 |

**8.** (US May 2 '39) Do you think the United States will have to fight Germany within the next ten years? (AIPO)

Yes 34% No 50% No opinion 16%

**9.** (US May 10 '39) Do you think the United States will have to fight Japan within your lifetime? (AIPO)

Yes 25% No 75% = 100% No opinion 19%

**10.** (US May 10 '39) At the same time as the preceding question, a comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think the United States will have to fight Japan within the next ten years? (AIPO)

Yes 20% No 80% = 100% No opinion 21%

**11.** (US Oct 3 '39) Do you think that in the next fifty years Germany (Japan, Russia, Italy) is likely to be a serious threat to the peace of the United States? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Germany | 50% | 50% = 100% | 15% |
| Japan | 26 | 53 | 21 = 100% |
| Russia | 26 | 50 | 24 = 100 |
| Italy | 9 | 73 | 18 = 100 |

**12.** (US Dec 13 '39) Do you think there is a good chance that there will be a war between the United States and any one of the following countries in the next twenty-five years? A comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think there is a good chance that there will be a war between the United States and Germany (Russia, Japan) within the next twenty-five years? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Yes, emphatically* | *Yes* | *No, emphatically* | *No* | *Don't know* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Germany | 13% | 28% | 14% | 25% | 19% | 1% |
| Russia | 8 | 22 | 14 | 32 | 23 | 1 |
| Japan | 6 | 19 | 16 | 34 | 24 | 1 |

**13.** (US Jan '40) If Germany wins a decisive victory over France and England, do you think she will be a threat to the United States? (FOR)

Yes 61.2% No 27.3% Don't know 11.5%

**14.** (US Jan '40) In what way [would Germany be a threat]? Asked of 61.2% of the sample who thought Germany would be a threat to the United States if she defeats England and France. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Military threat; invasion of United States | 42.1% |
| Germany will want to conquer whole world | 17.9 |
| Commercial and economic threat | 13.8 |
| Threaten our democratic government through propaganda | 12.6 |
| Will threaten through our neighboring countries | 7.0 |
| Military threat to our territories and possessions | 1.9 |
| Germany would make demands on United States | 1.8 |
| Other | 4.3 |
| Don't know | 4.3 |
| | 105.7%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who thought Germany would be a threat to the United States and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one reason.

**15.** (US Feb 6 '40) What foreign country do you think will be the most likely to threaten the peace of the United States? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany | 30% |
| Japan | 28 |
| Russia | 13 |
| England | 5 |
| Russia and Germany | 2 |
| All others | 4 |
| No country | 9 |
| No answer | 9 |

**16.** (US Apr 9 '40) If Germany should defeat England, France, and Norway (and Sweden) in the present war, do you think Germany would start a war against the United States in the next few years? A comparable cross-section was asked the same question with the omission of "in the next few years." Results were combined. (AIPO) (June 25 '40, July 20 '40, Sept 17 '40, Sept 30 '40, Dec 10 '40, Mar 12 '41, Mar 29 '41, May 6 '41, July 10 '41) If Germany and Italy should defeat England in the present war, do you think Germany and Italy would start a war against the United States within the next ten years? "Britain" was substituted for "England" in the May '41 question. (OPOR, AIPO) (Nov 19 '41) If Germany should defeat England and Russia in the present war, do you think Germany would start a war against the United States within the next ten years? (OPOR)

| | *Yes* | *Yes, emphatically* | *No* | | *No, emphatically* | | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| AIPO Apr '40 | 51 | — | 49 | = 100 | — | | 10 | |
| AIPO June '40 | 54 | — | 36 | | — | | 10 | = 100 |
| OPOR July '40 | 55 | — | 34 | | — | | 11 | = 100 |
| AIPO Sept 17 '40 | 28 | 33 | 19 | | 12 | | 8 | = 100 |
| AIPO Sept 30 '40 | 33 | 35 | 20 | | 12 | = 100 | 13 | |
| OPOR Dec '40 | 60 | — | 31 | | — | | 9 | = 100 |
| OPOR Mar 12 '41 | 61 | — | 29 | | — | | 10 | = 100 |
| OPOR Mar 29 '41 | 62 | — | 31 | | — | | 7 | = 100 |
| AIPO May '41 | 62 | — | 29 | | — | | 9 | = 100 |
| OPOR July '41 | 65 | — | 24 | | — | | 11 | = 100 |
| OPOR Nov '41 | 70 | — | 22 | | — | | 8 | = 100 |

**17.** (US May 23 '40) Have you given any thought to what the United States should do if Germany defeats England and France? (AIPO)

Yes 64% No and no answer 36%

**18.** (US May 23 '40) If the United States is attacked, would you personally volunteer to fight? Asked only of men under forty-five. (AIPO)

Yes 86% No 7% No opinion 7%

**19.** (US June 25 '40 and Sept 30 '40) If Germany and Italy should defeat England in the present war, do you think Germany and Italy would start a war against the United States within the next year? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *Yes, emphatically* | *No* | *No, emphatically* | | *Don't know; no opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| June '40 | 26% | — | 66% | — | | 8% | = 100% |
| Sept '40 | 18 | 16% | 33 | 33% | = 100% | 13 | |

**20.** (US July 20 '40) If you were sure that Germany would attack the United States after England is defeated, would you favor our country declaring war on Germany right now? (OPOR)

Yes 49% No 43% No opinion 7% No answer 1%

**21.** (US Aug 22 '40) Mr. Bullitt, our Ambassador to France, says that if Great Britain is defeated, the Germans will invade the United States. Do you think they will? 48% of the sample who thought Germany would invade the United States were asked: If the English are defeated, how soon after their defeat do you think the Germans will invade our country? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany will not invade the United States | 52% |
| Germany will invade the United States: | |
| At once; immediately | 8 |
| Within a year | 12 |
| Two years | 4 |
| Three to five years | 7 |
| Over five years | 4 |
| As soon as they have prepared | 3 |
| Don't know how soon | 10 |
| | 100% |
| Don't know whether or not Germany will invade the United States | 13% |

**22.** (US Sept 30 '40) Do you think the increase of Japan's power in the Far East is at present a serious threat to the United States? (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 40% = 100% No opinion 18%

**23.** (US Dec 16 '40 and May 20 '41) Do you think our country's future safety depends on England winning this war? "Britain" was substituted for "England" in the 1941 question. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1940 | 68% | 26% | 6% |
| 1941 | 56 | 34 | 10 |
| 1940 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 71% | 24% | 5% |
| East central | 63 | 30 | 7 |
| West central | 62 | 30 | 8 |
| South | 79 | 17 | 4 |
| Far West | 66 | 31 | 3 |
| 1940 RESULTS BY POLITICS | | | |
| Willkie supporters | 65% | 30% | 5% |
| Roosevelt supporters | 72 | 22 | 6 |

**24.** (US Apr '41) Three comparable cross-sections were used in the following questions. The second and third groups were

confronted with interventionist and non-interventionist bias in the questions. Do you think thar Hitler wants to dominate the United States? (FOR)

Yes 69.3% No 23.0% Don't know 7.7%

Hitler will never be satisfied unless he dominates the United States because it is the richest country in the world.

Agree 68.3% Disagree 22.8% Don't know 8.9%

Hitler is only interested in making Germany a powerful nation in Europe, and talk about his wanting to dominate this country is just British propaganda.

Disagree 68.0% Agree 21.3% Don't know 10.7%

**25.** (US Dec 10 '41 and June 17 '42) Which country is the greatest threat to America's future, Germany or Japan? (AIPO, OPOR) (Dec 24 '41 and Jan 28 '42) Which do you think we should consider our number one enemy, Japan or Germany? (NORC) (Feb 14 '42, Mai 2 '42, Mar 28 '42, July 15 '42) Which do you think the United States should consider its number one enemy, Japan or Germany? (NORC, OPOR) (Mar 26 '42 and June 9 '42) Which do you think is our number one enemy in the war, Japan or Germany? (OPOR, AIPO) (Feb 3 '43) In this war, which do you think is our chief enemy, Japan or Germany? (AIPO)

| | *Germany* | *Japan* | *Both* | *Undecided; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| AIPO Dec 10 '41. | 64% | 15% | 6% | 15% |
| NORC Dec 24 '41. | 56 | 32 | 6 | 6 |
| NORC Jan '42.... | 56 | 30 | 4 | 10 |
| NORC Feb '42.... | 43 | 36 | 16 | 5 |
| NORC Mar 2 '42. | 41 | 37 | 15 | 7 |
| OPOR Mar 26 '42. | 47 | 28 | 2 | 23 |
| NORC Mar 28 '42. | 46 | 35 | 12 | 7 |
| AIPO June 9 '42. | 50 | 25 | 23 | 2 |
| OPOR June 17 '42. | 40 | 33 | 23 | 4 |
| OPOR July 15 '42. | 49 | 26 | 22 | 3 |
| AIPO Feb '43.... | 34 | 53 | 13% | |

JUNE 9 '42 AND FEB '43 RESULTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *New England and mid-Atlantic* | | | | |
| June 9 '42..... | 50% | 26% | 22% | 2% |
| Feb '43..... | 34 | 51 | — | 15 |
| *East central* | | | | |
| June 9 '42..... | 49 | 26 | 23 | 2 |
| Feb '43..... | 31 | 56 | — | 13 |
| *West central* | | | | |
| June 9 '42..... | 52 | 26 | 21 | 1 |
| Feb '43..... | 35 | 53 | — | 12 |
| *South* | | | | |
| June 9 '42..... | 51 | 19 | 29 | 1 |
| Feb '43..... | 39 | 47 | — | 14 |
| *Mountain* | | | | |
| June 9 '42..... | 50 | 28 | 21 | 1 |
| Feb '43..... | 34 | 55 | — | 11 |
| *Pacific coast* | | | | |
| June 9 '42..... | 45 | 31 | 21 | 3 |
| Feb '43..... | 27 | 65 | — | 8 |

93% of NORC's Mar '42 sample who considered either Japan or Germany or both our number one enemy were asked: What is your main reason for thinking the United States should consider Japan or Germany its number one enemy?

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany—instigator..... | 29% |
| Germany—stronger..... | 14 |
| Japan—immediate threat..... | 18 |
| Japan—sneaky..... | 10 |
| Other and don't know..... | 22 |
| | 93% |

49% of OPOR's July '42 sample who considered Germany our number one enemy and 26% of the sample who considered Japan our number one enemy were asked: Why do you regard Germany (Japan) as a greater threat than Japan (Germany)?

*Germany number one enemy because*

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany started the war..... | 9% |
| Germany is behind Japan..... | 12 |
| Germany is stronger..... | 21 |
| Germany's influence here is greater..... | * |
| Germany is our traditional enemy..... | 2 |
| Personal hatred or dislike of Hitler and/or the German people..... | 1 |
| Other reasons..... | 2 |
| Don't know; no answer..... | 2 |
| | 49% |

*Japan number one enemy because*

| | |
|---|---|
| Japan is the more immediate threat..... | 13% |
| Japan has already taken so much territory..... | * |
| Japan's control of the Pacific cuts us off from much needed resources..... | 1 |
| We should fight Japan while Germany is busy elsewhere | 1 |
| Other answers implying that Japan is the first step in fighting the Axis..... | * |
| Japan is stronger than Germany..... | 2 |
| Japanese are treacherous..... | 3 |
| Japan has always been our potential enemy..... | 2 |
| Other traditional attitudes toward Japanese..... | 1 |
| Other reasons..... | 1 |
| Don't know; no answer..... | 2 |
| | 26% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**26.** (US Feb '42) As compared with Japan, do you feel that Germany is more of a menace to us, less of a menace, or an equal menace? (FOR)

| | *More* | *Equal* | *Less* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 47.5% | 32.3% | 10.2% | 10.0% |
| Pacific coast only..... | 57.4 | 28.8 | 10.5 | 3.3 |

**27.** (US June 3 '42 and July 15 '42) Which of these two things do you think the United States should do—send most of our army abroad to fight the enemy wherever they are, or keep most of our army at home to protect the United States? The July '42 question substituted the words "might be" instead of "are." (OPOR)

| | *June '42* | *July '42* |
|---|---|---|
| Send abroad..... | 70% | 59% |
| Keep at home..... | 25 | 25 |
| No opinion and no answer... | 5 | 6 |
| Qualified answer..... | — | 10 |

**28.** (US July 15 '42, Nov 17 '42, Mar 24 '43) Which country is the greatest military threat to the United States, Germany or Japan? The OPOR July 15 '42 cross-section was one comparable to the one used for the questions that appear under No. 25 of this subject. (OPOR, AIPO)

| | OPOR *July '42* | AIPO *Nov '42* | AIPO *Mar '43* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Germany..... | 49% | 28% | 25% |
| Japan..... | 31 | 56 | 53 |
| Both..... | 15 | 11 | 18 |
| No opinion, don't know.... | 5 | 5 | 4 |

49% of OPOR's July '42 sample who thought Germany the greater threat and 31% of the sample who thought Japan

the greater were asked: Why do you regard Germany (Japan) as a greater threat than Japan (Germany)?

*Germany greater threat because*

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany started the war | 4% |
| Germany is behind Japan | 5 |
| Germany is stronger | 32 |
| Germany's influence here is greater | * |
| Germany is our traditional enemy | 1 |
| Personal hatred or dislike of Hitler and/or the German people | 1 |
| Other reasons | 2 |
| Don't know; no answer | 4 |
| | 49% |

*Japan greater threat because*

| | |
|---|---|
| Japan is the more immediate threat | 15% |
| Japan has already taken so much territory | 1 |
| Japan's control of the Pacific cuts us off from much needed resources | * |
| We should fight Japan while Germany is busy elsewhere | 2 |
| Japan is stronger than Germany | 5 |
| Japanese are treacherous | 2 |
| Japan has always been our potential enemy | 1 |
| Other traditional attitudes toward Japanese | 1 |
| Other reasons | 1 |
| Don't know; no answer | 3 |
| | 31% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**29.** (US July 15 '42) Taking everything into consideration, which of the following would you say was the most dangerous enemy this country has today? Now, which of these do you think is the next most dangerous enemy? (OPOR)

| | *First choice* | *Second choice* |
|---|---|---|
| Nazi leaders | 23% | 13% |
| German army | 10 | 12 |
| People in the United States who are not taking the war seriously enough | 23 | 16 |
| Nazi and fascist fifth columnists | 22 | 23 |
| Japanese army and navy | 12 | 22 |
| Communists | 2 | 7 |
| Other | 5 | 2 |
| No answer | 3 | 5 |

All those who thought the country's most dangerous enemy (23%) or next most dangerous enemy (16%) were people in the United States who were not taking the war seriously enough were asked: What people or groups are you thinking of in particular?

| | |
|---|---|
| Non-cooperation | 5% |
| Aliens and foreign-born | 2 |
| Politicians, Congress, etc. | 3 |
| Selfish and comfortable | 4 |
| Profiteers | 3 |
| Isolationists | 1 |
| Pacifists | * |
| People who don't realize seriousness of war | 5 |
| Labor | 3 |
| Business as usual | * |
| All of us | 10 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| No answer | 5 |
| | 43%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 39 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**30.** (US July 15 '42) Taking everything into consideration, which of the following would you say was most dangerous to the safety of the country? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Nazi and Fascist fifth columnists | 46% |
| Communists | 6 |
| People in the United States who are not taking the war seriously enough | 40 |
| Other | 3 |
| No answer | 5 |

Would you say the [respondent's choice in answer to preceding question] was more or less dangerous to the safety of this country than the Nazi leaders, the German army, the Japanese army and navy?

| | *More* | *Less* | *Same* | *Don't know or no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| The Nazi leaders | 51% | 22% | 10% | 17% |
| The German army | 48 | 25 | 10 | 17 |
| The Japanese army and navy | 46 | 27 | 9 | 18 |

**31.** (US Feb '44, Sept '44, Feb 20 '45, Mar '45, July '45, Aug 8 '45, Sept '45, Oct 17 '45, Mar '46) NORC asked: Do you expect the United States to fight in another war within the next fifty years? When the question was preceded by one asking about war within ten years, usually it was shortened to: Within the next fifty years? AIPO asked: Do you think the United States will find itself in another war within, say, the next fifty years? The same shortening procedure was followed here. (NORC, AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Depends on peace terms* | *Don't know; no opinion; no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NORC Feb '44 | 59% | 25% | 4% | 12% |
| NORC Sept '44 | 54 | 25 | 4 | 17 |
| AIPO Feb '45 | 58 | 19 | — | 23 |
| NORC Mar '45 | 59 | 20 | 1 | 20 |
| NORC July '45 | 61 | 23 | — | 16 |
| AIPO Aug '45 | 58 | 22 | — | 20 |
| NORC Sept '45 | 67 | 18 | — | 15 |
| AIPO Oct '45 | 70 | 16 | — | 14 |
| NORC Mar '46 | 79 | 10 | — | 11 |

**32.** (US Feb '44) Are there any particular countries that you think we might fight against [within the next fifty years]? (NORC) (Sept '44, Mar '45, July '45, Sept '45, Mar '46) Are there any particular countries you think we are likely to fight against [within the next fifty years]? (NORC) (Feb 20 '45) Which country do you think we might have to fight [within the next fifty years]? (AIPO)

| | *Feb '44* NORC | *Sept '44* NORC | *Feb '45* AIPO | *Mar '45* NORC | *July '45* NORC | *Sept '45* NORC | *Mar '46* NORC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| No war; no opinion | 29 | 29 | 42 | † | 23 | 18 | 21 |
| Russia | 29 | 33 | — | 39 | 54 | 42 | 61 |
| England | 5 | 6 | — | 9 | 5 | 7 | 5 |
| Germany | 10 | 17 | — | 12 | 15 | 6 | 6 |
| Japan | 7 | 10 | — | 8 | 5 | 11 | 4 |
| Mexico and South America; Argentina; any South American countries | 1 | 3 | — | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| China; United Asia; yellow races; Near East (not including Japan) | 1 | 1 | — | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Negro race; yellow races; race war | — | — | — | 1 | * | * | * |

| | NORC Feb '44 % | NORC Sept '44 % | AIPO Feb '45 % | NORC Mar '45 % | NORC July '45 % | NORC Sept '45 % | NORC Mar '46 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Other European countries; Spain; Italy; France; don't know which European country | 1 | 1 | — | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Our present Allies or neutral countries | — | — | 38 | — | — | — | — |
| Axis nations | — | — | 8 | — | — | — | — |
| Internal war in United States; civil; labor; ourselves | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | * |
| No special country; might be any country; anyone; none; don't know | 18 | 21 | 9 | 19 | 16 | 13 | 12 |
| Depends on outcome of this war; on peace terms; on the outcome of World War II | — | 1 | — | 1 | * | * | — |
| Other | 1 | 1 | 2 | — | * | * | 1 |
| Not ascertainable; miscellaneous answers not elsewhere classified | 14 | — | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Percentages | 117** | 124** | 100 | 100 | 124** | 103** | 116 * |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

† Those who didn't expect war under any circumstances were excluded from the cross-section.

**33.** (US Sept '44) What do you think the next war might be about? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| No war or depends | 29% |
| War will be about: | |
| Trade | 4 |
| Land | 16 |
| Natural resources | 3 |
| Power | 12 |
| Political ideology | 4 |
| Money | 3 |
| Labor | 1 |
| Religions | 3 |
| Racial | 5 |
| Aftermath of this war | 4 |
| Greed | 3 |
| Rights | 1 |
| Hatred | 1 |
| Others: including civil war; immigration; everything in general | 2 |
| Don't know | 22 |
| | 113%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Feb 20 '45) Why do you think we will fight that country [mentioned in question No. 32]? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No war or didn't specify a country | 54% |
| Reasons we will fight our present Allies or neutral nations: | |
| Desire for power on part of that country; she will assert her strength | 13 |
| Territory and economic aggression; she'll want some of our territory | 7 |
| Clash of interests; Communism and democracy won't get along | 6 |
| Not friendly; doesn't like us | 3 |
| Unreliable; can't be trusted | 3 |
| Nazi influence evident there | 1 |
| Will disagree over terms of peace | 1% |
| Overconfident; cocky | * |
| Other reasons | 1 |
| Didn't say | 3 |
| Reasons we will fight the Axis nations: | |
| They won't accept defeat, are planning next war now | 3 |
| They are always aggressive, belligerent | 2 |
| We'll be too soft on them | 1 |
| Real enemy; natural enemy | 1 |
| Other reasons | 1 |
| Didn't say | 1 |
| | 101%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one reason.

(July '45) Why do you think we might fight that country [mentioned in Question 32]? (NORC)

| | Russia % | England % | Germany % | Japan % | Others % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Trade agreements; trade pacts; tariff restrictions; markets | 1 | 1 | — | — | — |
| Land; territory; boundaries; imperialism; aggression | 5 | * | 1 | * | 1 |
| Economic setups; materials; natural resources | 1 | — | * | 1 | * |
| Political setups; power; supremacy; leadership | 15 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Ideologies; Communism vs. democracy, Nazism vs. democracy or capitalism | 8 | * | * | * | 5 |
| Debts; lend-lease payments; finance; monetary standards | * | 1 | * | — | — |
| Labor | — | — | — | — | — |
| Religious differences | 1 | — | * | * | * |
| Racial differences | — | — | * | * | 2 |
| Aftermath of this war; resentment at this war's outcome; attempt to recover former status | 2 | * | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| Lack of cooperation; suspicion; greed; profit from war industries; not practicing the golden rule; innate differences; lack of understanding | 15 | 1 | 1 | * | 4 |
| The four freedoms; we will try to guarantee the Atlantic Charter | * | — | * | * | 1 |
| Preparedness for war; indoctrination for war; compulsory military training; want to fight all of the time | 2 | * | 8 | 2 | 3 |
| We are having disagreements at the present time (double coded with other reasons to show what they are disagreeing about) | 7 | 1 | — | — | 1 |
| Past differences | 1 | * | 1 | * | 1 |
| Other answers, not elsewhere classified or not specified | 2 | 1 | * | — | 3 |
| Don't know | 2 | * | * | * | 1 |
| No war with country | 46 | 95 | 85 | 95 | 79 |
| Percentages | 108** | 101** | 101** | 100 | 104** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**34.** (US Feb 20 '45, Aug 8 '45, Oct 17 '45, Mar 13 '46, May 15 '46, July 24 '46, Sept 25 '46) Do you think the United States will find itself in another war within, say, the next twenty-five years? (Mar '45, July '45, Sept '45, Mar '46, Sept '46) Do you expect the United States to fight in another war within the next twenty-five years? (July '45)* In the next twenty-five years, do you think the United States is more likely to get into a war or more likely to stay out of war? (AIPO, NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion; don't know* | *Qualified answers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| AIPO Feb '45 | 38% | 45% | 17% | — |
| NORC Mar '45 | 36 | 45 | 16 | 3% |
| NORC July '45* | 41 | 49 | 9 | 1 |
| NORC July '45 | 42 | 46 | 11 | 1 |
| AIPO Aug '45 | 40 | 48 | 12 | — |
| NORC Sept '45 | 44 | 44 | 11 | 1 |
| AIPO Oct '45 | 54 | 28 | 18 | — |
| NORC Mar '46 | 68 | 20 | 12 | — |
| AIPO Mar 13 '46 | 69 | 19 | 12 | — |
| AIPO May '46 | 62 | 22 | 16 | — |
| AIPO July '46 | 65 | 16 | 19 | — |
| NORC Sept '46 | 63 | 25 | 12 | — |
| AIPO Sept 25 '46 | 62 | 24 | 14 | — |
| OPINION IN FEB '45 AND MAR '46 BY AGE | | | | |
| *21–29 years* | | | | |
| Feb '45 | 44% | 40% | 16% | |
| Mar 13 '46 | 70 | 17 | 13 | |
| *30–49 years* | | | | |
| Feb '45 | 39 | 45 | 16 | |
| Mar 13 '46 | 70 | 18 | 12 | |
| *50 years and over* | | | | |
| Feb '45 | 34 | 48 | 18 | |
| Mar 13 '46 | 65 | 22 | 13 | |

**35.** (US July '45 and Sept '46) Are there any particular countries you think we are likely to fight against [within the next twenty-five years]? (NORC) (July 24 '46) With what country or countries? (AIPO)

| | NORC *July '45* | AIPO *July '46* | NORC *Sept '46* |
|---|---|---|---|
| No war or didn't know if there would be one | †50% | 35% | 37% |
| Russia | 32 | 53 | 57 |
| England | 3 | 4 | 2 |
| Germany | 7 | 3 | 2 |
| Japan | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Mexico and South America or any South American country; Argentina | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Russia and her allies | — | 1 | — |
| Near East; China; United Asia; yellow race | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| Negro race | * | — | * |
| Other European countries; any European country not elsewhere classified | 1 | — | 2 |
| Internal war in the United States; civil war; labor | 1 | — | * |
| No special country; might be with any country; don't know which one; any one | 9 | — | 4 |
| Other | 1 | 4 | * |
| No answer | — | 5 | — |
| | 108%** | 111%** | 107%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.
† Includes those who gave qualified answers to the preceding question.

**36.** (US July '45) Why do you think we might fight that country [mentioned in answer to preceding question]? (NORC)

| | *Russia* % | *England* % | *Germany* % | *Japan* % | *Others* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Trade agreements; trade pacts; tariff restrictions; markets | * | * | — | — | * |
| Land; territory; boundaries; imperialism; aggression | 2 | 1 | * | * | * |
| Economic setup; materials; natural resources | 1 | 1 | * | * | 1 |
| Political setups; power; leadership; supremacy | 8 | 1 | 1 | * | * |
| Ideologies; Communism vs. democracy; Nazism vs. democracy or capitalism | 5 | * | * | * | 2 |
| Debts; lend-lease payments; finance; monetary standards | * | * | — | — | — |
| Labor | * | — | — | — | — |
| Religious differences | 1 | — | — | — | * |
| Racial differences | — | — | — | * | 3 |
| Aftermath of this war; resentment at this war's outcome; attempt to recover former status | 2 | — | 2 | 1 | — |
| Lack of cooperation; suspicion; greed; profit from war industries; not practicing the golden rule; innate differences; lack of understanding | 10 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| The four freedoms; we will try to guarantee the Atlantic Charter | 1 | * | * | * | * |
| Preparedness for war; indoctrination for war; compulsory military training; want to fight all the time | 1 | * | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| We are having disagreements all the time at the present time | 5 | * | — | — | — |
| Past differences | 1 | * | — | — | 1 |
| Other answers | 1 | — | 1 | * | 3 |
| Don't know | 2 | — | * | * | 1 |
| No war with country | 68 | 97 | 93 | 98 | 87 |
| Percentages | 108** | 101** | 101** | 101** | 100 |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**37.** (US Oct 31 '45) If the young men of this country receive this [military] training, do you think the chances of our getting into another war are increased or decreased? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Increased | 12% |
| Decreased | 59 |
| No difference | 23 |
| No opinion | 6 |

**38.** (US Mar 13 '46) Do you think the United States will find itself in another war within, say, the next ten years? (AIPO)

Yes 49% No 38% No opinion 13%

**39.** (US May 15 '46) Do you think it is important to the United States that England be strong in a military way during the next twenty-five years? (AIPO)

Yes 65% No 22% No opinion 13%

**40.** (US May 15 '46) Do you think it is important to the United States that England be strong in a financial way during the next twenty-five years? (AIPO)

Yes 68% No 15% No opinion 17%

**41.** (US Sept '46) Just about how long would you guess it might be before we fight in another war? Asked of those who expected the United States to be involved in another war within twenty-five years. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| No war within twenty-five years or didn't know | 37% |
| Less than one year | 3 |
| One to two years | 5 |
| Three to four years | 4 |
| Five years | 9 |
| Six to ten years | 15 |
| Eleven to twenty-five years | 21 |
| Don't know | 6 |

## SECURITY, INTERNATIONAL

**1.** (US Oct 6 '35) If one foreign nation insists upon attacking another, should the United States join with other nations to compel it to stop? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 29% | 71% = 100% | 5% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 33% | 67% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 30 | 70 | |
| East central | 29 | 71 | |
| West central | 30 | 70 | |
| South | 27 | 73 | |
| Mountain | 23 | 77 | |
| Pacific coast | 25 | 75 | |

**2.** (US Oct 6 '35) Which measures would you favor [to stop a foreign nation from attacking another]: economic and non-military measures only; military measures if necessary? Asked of 29% of the sample who thought the United States should join with other nations to stop aggression. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Economic and non-military measures only | 68% |
| Military measures if necessary | 32 |
| No opinion | 4 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who thought the United States should join other nations to stop one nation from attacking another and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**3.** (US Jan '36) Would you be willing to fight, or to have a member of your family fight, in case a foreign power tried to seize land in Central or South America? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 17.4% | 73.8% | 8.8% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 22.4% | 69.5% | 8.1% |
| Women | 11.8 | 78.7 | 9.5 |
| BY SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL SECTIONS | | | |
| Northeast | 12.6% | 77.3% | 10.1% |
| Southwest | 29.3 | 64.0 | 6.7 |
| West | 13.3 | 75.0 | 11.7 |

**4.** (US Jan '36) Would you be willing to fight, or to have a member of your family fight, in case the Philippines were attacked? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 23.8% | 66.8% | 9.4% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 29.6% | 62.0% | 8.4% |
| Women | 17.4 | 72.3 | 10.3 |
| BY SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL SECTIONS | | | |
| Northeast | 24.0% | 65.6% | 10.4% |
| Southwest | 32.5 | 59.4 | 8.1 |
| West | 16.4 | 75.4 | 8.2 |

**5.** (US Apr '37) Would you be in favor of the United States defending by force any Latin American country from foreign attack? (FOR)

Yes 28.7% No 61.4% Don't know 9.9%

**6.** (US July 12 '37) Do you think there will be another world war? (AIPO)

Yes 73% No 27% = 100% No opinion 8%

**7.** (US July 12 '37) Do you think it [another world war] will come within the next year? Asked of 73% of the sample who thought there would be a second world war. (AIPO)

Yes 16% No 84% = 100% No opinion 28%

**8.** (US July 12 '37) What nation or nations do you think will be responsible for starting it [another world war]? Asked of 73% of the sample who thought there would be a second world war. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany | 30% |
| Italy | 27 |
| Japan | 19 |
| Russia | 11 |
| Spain | 5 |
| China | 3 |
| Great Britain | 2 |
| Others | 3 |
| | 100% of those questioned who had opinions |
| No answer | 27% |

**9.** (US July 12 '37) Do you think America will stay out [if there is another world war]? Asked of 73% of the sample who thought there would be a second world war. (AIPO)

Yes 56% No 44% = 100% of those questioned who had opinions No opinion 23%

**10.** (US Sept 7 '37) If England gets into war in China, should the United States go to war to help her? (AIPO)

Yes 7% No 88% No opinion 4% No answer 1%

**11.** (Great Britain Nov '37) Men were asked: If there were another war, would you volunteer? Women were asked: Would you urge your husband to volunteer? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Men's answers | 38% | 62% = 100% | 6% |
| Women's answers | 22 | 78 = 100 | 12 |

**12.** (US Mar 14 '38) Should the United States go to war to help any South American country that is attacked by any European or Asiatic country? A comparable cross-section was asked: Should the United States help defend any South American country that is attacked by any European or Asiatic country? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 33% No 67% = 100% No opinion 10%

**13.** (US Aug 10 '38) If a European or Asiatic nation attacks a nation in our part of the world, such as Mexico or Brazil,

would you be willing to leave with Congress the power to declare war without a national vote? (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 40% = 100% No opinion 8%

**14.** (US Sept 13 '38) Do you think England and France will have a war against Germany within the next twelve months? (AIPO)

Yes 55% No 45% = 100% No opinion 20%

**15.** (US Oct 1 '38) Do you think that this settlement [to allow Germany to annex Sudeten German areas in Czechoslovakia] (agreed to by England, France, Italy, and Germany) will result in peace for a number of years or in a greater possibility of war? (AIPO)

Peace 40% War 60%

**16.** (US Oct 17 '38) Do you think the settlement reached in the recent European crisis will result in peace for a number of years or in a greater possibility of war? (AIPO)

Peace 26% War 74% = 100% No opinion 15%

**17.** (US Dec 2 '38) If a nation in Europe or Asia tries to take land in any part of North or South America outside the United States, should we go to war to prevent it? (AIPO)

Yes 50% No 50% = 100% No opinion 10%

**18.** (US Jan '39) Do you think there will be a general European war anyway in the next few years? Those who thought there would be a European war were asked: Do you think the United States will be drawn into that? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Europe will go to war and United States will be in it | 50.3% |
| Europe will go to war and United States will not be in it | 7.7 |
| Europe will go to war and don't know if United States will be in it | 8.4 |
| Europe will not go to war | 15.9 |
| Don't know if Europe will go to war | 17.7 |

**19.** (US Jan '39) Should the democratic powers, including the United States, now stand firm together at any cost to prevent Hitler or Mussolini from taking any more territory at the expense of other nations? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56.3% | 31.0% | 12.7% = 100.0% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 59.8% | 30.2% | 10.0% |
| Women | 52.8 | 31.8 | 15.4 |
| BY EXTREMES IN ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 50.7% | 40.7% | 8.6% |
| Poor | 54.0 | 31.5 | 14.5 |
| Negroes | 56.0 | 17.6 | 26.4 |
| BY EXTREMES OF OPINION | | | |
| Northwest plains | 42.5% | 43.2% | 14.3% |
| Pacific coast | 65.9 | 18.4 | 15.7 |
| BY OPINIONS ON POSSIBILITY OF WAR | | | |
| A European war with US in it | 61.6% | 38.9% | |
| A European war, US not in it | 6.2 | 11.9 | |
| A European war, don't know about US | 7.4 | 8.1 | |
| No European war | 12.4 | 24.0 | |
| Don't know about European war | 12.4 | 17.1 | |
| | 100.0% | 100.0% | |

**20.** (US Jan '39 and Jan '40) If a major foreign power actually threatened to take over any of the following countries by armed invasion, would you be willing to see the United States come to its defense with armed forces? The 1940 question substituted the word "rescue" instead of "defense." (Aug '40) If a major foreign power actually threatened to take over any of the following places by armed invasion, would you be willing to see the United States come to the rescue with armed forces? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Canada* | | | |
| Jan '39 | 73.1% | 26.9% | |
| Jan '40 | 74.2 | 14.6% | 11.2% |
| Aug '40 | 87.8 | 6.8 | 5.4 |
| *Philippines* | | | |
| Jan '39 | 46.3 | 53.7 | |
| Jan '40 | 54.0 | 26.4 | 19.6 |
| Aug '40 | 65.5 | 20.3 | 14.2 |
| *Brazil* | | | |
| Jan '39 | 27.1 | 72.9 | |
| Jan '40 | 36.8 | 40.0 | 23.2 |
| Aug '40 | 54.7 | 24.9 | 20.4 |
| *Mexico* | | | |
| Jan '39 | 43.0 | 57.0 | |
| Jan '40 | 54.5 | 28.4 | 17.1 |
| Aug '40 | 76.5 | 12.5 | 11.0 |
| *Hawaii* | | | |
| Jan '40 | 55.1 | 25.3 | 19.6 |
| Aug '40 | 74.0 | 12.5 | 13.5 |
| *Bermuda* | | | |
| Jan '40 | 33.9 | 39.9 | 26.2 |
| Aug '40 | 60.3 | 19.1 | 20.6 |
| *England* | | | |
| Jan '39 | 27.8 | 72.2 | |
| *France* | | | |
| Jan '39 | 22.1 | 77.9 | |
| *Belgium* | | | |
| Jan '40 | 7.9 | 72.5 | 19.6 |
| *Dutch East Indies* | | | |
| Aug '40 | 17.1 | 54.7 | 28.2 |

**21.** (US Jan 10 '39, Mar 21 '39, May 2 '39, July 17 '39) Do you believe there will be a war between any of the big European countries this year? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion; no answer* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan '39 | 44% | 56% = 100% | 13% | |
| Mar '39 | 51 | 49 = 100 | 10 | |
| May '39 | 32 | 68 = 100 | 14 | |
| July '39 | 23 | 63 | 14 | = 100% |
| MAY '39 RESULTS BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 29% | 71% | | |
| Women | 36 | 64 | | |

**22.** (Great Britain May '39) Do you think the risk of war has increased or decreased since last autumn? (BIPO)

Increased 30% Decreased 57% No opinion 13%

**23.** (Great Britain June '39) Do you think the time has come for the peace-front countries to draw up a detailed plan for world peace as the basis of a conference to which all countries would be invited? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Present time | 61% |
| Sometime later | 19 |
| Never | 11 |
| No opinion | 9 |

**24.** (US Sept 22 '39) If Cuba or any other country within fifteen hundred miles of the Panama Canal is actually invaded by any European power, do you think the United States should fight to keep the European country out? (AIPO)

Yes 72% No 28% = 100% No opinion 9%

**25.** (US Sept 22 '39) If Brazil, Chile, or any other South American country is actually invaded by any European power, do you think the United States should fight to keep the European country out? (AIPO) (Dec 10 '40, Mar 29 '41, Nov '41) If Brazil, Argentina, Chile, or any other Central or South American country is actually attacked by any European power, do you think the United States should fight to keep that European power out? (OPOR, NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Depends; no answer; no opinion* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| AIPO Sept '39 | 53% | 47% = 100% | 13% | — |
| OPOR Dec '40 | 84 | 16 = 100 | 8 | — |
| OPOR Mar '41 | 86 | 14 = 100 | 6 | — |
| NORC Nov '41 | 82.8 | 5.1 | 3.8 | 8.3% = 100% |

**26.** (US Jan 10 '40, Feb 14 '41, Mar 19 '41) Have you given any thought to what should be done to maintain world peace after the present European war is over? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No or no answer* |
|---|---|---|
| Jan '40 | 34% | 66% |
| Feb '41 | 31 | 69 |
| Mar '41 | 42 | 58 |

34% of the Jan '40 sample, 31% of the Feb '41 sample, and 42% of the Mar '41 sample who had given some thought to what should be done to maintain world peace were asked: In your opinion what should be done?

| | *Jan '40* | *Feb '41* | *Mar '41* |
|---|---|---|---|
| A United States of Europe | 16% | 3% | — |
| Getting rid of dictatorships in Germany and elsewhere; substituting governments where the people would have more voice | 8 | 2 | — |
| A revived and strengthened League of Nations; League of Nations with more power | 5 | 4 | — |
| A union of the democracies or a world union; international federation | 6 | 2 | 14% |
| A better understanding among nations, based on the principles of tolerance and Christianity | 5 | 3 | — |
| Complete disarmament of all nations | 3 | 2 | — |
| Put Germany under military control; divide Germany among other nations | — | 2 | 5 |
| United States stay out of European affairs, mind own business | 4 | — | — |
| Extension of democracy | 3 | — | — |
| World court | — | 2 | — |
| International police force | — | 1 | — |
| A fairer peace than Versailles | — | 1 | — |
| Disarm Germany completely | — | 1 | — |
| Education of people for democracy | — | 1 | — |
| Moral, social, and political reform | — | — | 7 |
| Limitations of arms | — | — | 1 |
| Economic readjustments such as the better division of world resources, removal of trade barriers, and the sharing of colonies; free trade | 3% | 2% | 2% |
| All others | 36 | 5 | 6 |
| No answer | 11 | — | 7 |
| | 100% of those questioned | 31% | 42% |

**27.** (US May 23 '40) If Germany defeats the Allies, should the United States fight if necessary to keep Germany out of the British, French, and Dutch possessions located in the area of the Panama Canal? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 84% | 16% = 100% | 12% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic | 84% | 16% | |
| Republican | 84 | 16 | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 82% | 18% | |
| East central | 83 | 17 | |
| West central | 81 | 19 | |
| South | 90 | 10 | |
| Far West | 90 | 10 | |

**28.** (US July 20 '40) If it becomes clear that Germany is getting control of South America, should the United States send its army and navy there to keep Germany from getting control? (OPOR)

Yes 66.9% No 22.1% Don't know 11.0%

**29.** (US Sept '40) Do you think we should or should not fence off from Europe the part of South America south of the equator by building a larger fleet or by undertaking to guarantee all South American exports? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should not fence it off at any such expense | 24.5% |
| Should fence it with added fleet only | 49.8 |
| Should fence it off by both methods | 19.5 |
| Don't know or no answer | 6.2 |

**30.** (US Mar 29 '41) Should the United States take steps now to keep Japan from becoming more powerful, even if this means risking a war with Japan? (OPOR)

Yes 59% No 26% No opinion 15%

**31.** (US Aug '41) I would like to have you look at this map, showing five geographic areas, and tell me for each area whether you would be willing to defend all of it, part of it, or none of it with armed forces if Germany or her allies tried to take it? (FOR)

| | *All of it* | *Part of it* | *None* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area 1—Continental United States | 98.3% | — | 0.1% | 1.6% |
| Area 2—North America, Hawaii, Greenland, and Panama Canal defense zone | 79.8 | 6.9% | 4.3 | 9.0 |
| Area 3—South America below Canal defense zone | 67.4 | 5.7 | 12.3 | 14.6 |
| Area 4—Philippines, East Indies, and Australia | 37.7 | 22.3 | 22.3 | 17.7 |
| Area 5—Great Britain and eastern Atlantic bases | 42.5 | 14.4 | 26.6 | 16.5 |

**32.** (US Oct '41) Do you think we should help defend the following places if either Germany or Japan threatened to take them? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| South America (below Bulge) | 72.8% | 9.2% | 18.0% |
| Azores | 45.9 | 24.7 | 29.4 |
| Dakar | 41.2 | 28.3 | 30.5 |
| Dutch East Indies | 39.9 | 29.1 | 31.0 |
| Australia | 35.4 | 33.3 | 31.3 |
| Singapore | 34.6 | 33.0 | 32.4 |
| Burma Road | 29.8 | 37.1 | 33.1 |
| Thailand | 28.4 | 36.8 | 34.8 |
| Union of South Africa | 27.5 | 38.9 | 33.6 |
| Vladivostok | 23.0 | 42.1 | 34.9 |

**33.** (US Nov 19 '41 and June 17 '42) If Germany is defeated, do you think a peace that will last for at least fifty years can be worked out? 51% of the Nov '41 sample and 57% of the June '42 sample who thought such a peace could be worked out were asked: Do you think that such a peace will be worked out? (OPOR)

| | *Nov '41* | *June '42* |
|---|---|---|
| Peace cannot be worked out | 38% | 27% |
| Don't know whether or not peace can be worked out | 11 | 16 |
| Peace will be worked out | 32 | 35 |
| Peace could be but will not be worked out | 12 | 11 |
| Peace could be worked out but don't know whether or not it will | 7 | 11 |

**34.** (US Jan 16 '42) When the war is over, what single step do you regard as most necessary for the future peace of the world? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Internationalism | 57% |
| Uncertain | 30 |
| Isolation | 12 |
| No answer | 1 |

**35.** (US June 17 '42) Do you think there is any real danger that South America will be invaded? (OPOR)

Yes 52% No 28% Don't know 20%

**36.** (US June 17 '42) Have you ever thought about the effect a Nazi invasion of South America would have on this country? 62% of the sample who said they had given it thought were asked: What do you think the effect would be? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Have not thought about a Nazi invasion of South America | 38% |
| Have thought about it and effect would be: | |
| Military disadvantage to United States; attack on United States | 31 |
| Economic loss; trade suffers | 8 |
| Unfavorable | 10 |
| Loss of freedom and way of life | 1 |
| No, it is impossible | 1 |
| No effect on us | 1 |
| Loss of morale | 3 |
| Stimulate war effort | 3 |
| Other answers | 3 |
| Didn't say what effect would be | 1 |

**37.** (US June 17 '42) Do you think there is any danger that the Nazis will cause a revolution in any South American country? 35% of the sample who thought there was a danger were asked: Which country? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| No danger of Nazis causing revolution | 39% |
| Don't know whether or not there is a danger | 25 |
| No answer to the first question | 1 |
| Danger of a revolution in: | |
| Argentina | 19 |
| Chile | 6% |
| Brazil | 7 |
| Peru | 1 |
| All countries | 1 |
| Other countries than those mentioned | 2 |
| Didn't say | 8 |
| | 109%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**38.** (US July 1 '42) If you were the one to decide, what should we and our Allies do to prevent future wars? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Federation of all nations | 15% |
| Set up international police force | 8 |
| Federation backed by police force | 4 |
| Strong standing army | 14 |
| Disarm | 4 |
| Police Germany | 1 |
| Disarm Germany | 4 |
| Completely destroy Germany, Japan | 2 |
| Create better understanding between nations | 4 |
| See that all nations have what they need | 5 |
| Set up democracy throughout world | 3 |
| Take a Christian attitude toward all nations | 2 |
| There will always be wars | 5 |
| Irrelevant answers | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 |
| No answer | 24 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**39.** (US Nov '42) With which of the following statements do you agree and with which do you disagree: (1) In spite of all our efforts for peace, nations just can't live together so we might as well expect a war every few years. (2) Since life is so short we might as well eat, drink, and be merry and not worry too much about what happens to the world. (3) Human lives are too important to be sacrificed for the preservation of any form of government. (4) The world is in such a muddle that no one really knows what people should do, so why try? Asked of a national cross-section of high school students. (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Agree | 25.1% | 10.7% | 17.6% | 4.9% |
| Disagree | 71.0 | 87.3 | 77.2 | 92.9 |
| Don't know | 3.9 | 2.0 | 5.2 | 2.2 |
| OPINIONS OF BOYS ONLY* | | | | |
| Agree | 28.8% | 10.1% | 16.1% | 4.9% |
| Disagree | 67.8 | 87.9 | 79.3 | 93.1 |
| Don't know | 3.4 | 2.0 | 4.6 | 2.0 |

* From *New York Herald Tribune* Dec 21 '44.

**40.** (US Jan '43) After the war, do you think we will be able to end all wars between nations, or do you think there will always be big wars? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Can end wars | 33.9% |
| Always be wars | 56.7 |
| Qualified answers | 1.2 |
| Don't know | 8.2 |

**41.** (US June '43, June '45, Aug '45, Dec '45, July '46) Do you think that there will probably be another big war during the next twenty-five to thirty years, or do you think there is a fairly good chance to avoid it? For the 1943 sample, the word "that" was omitted from the question. (FOR)

| | *June 1943* | *June 1945* | *August 1945* | *December 1945* | *July 1946* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Big war | 30.8% | 27.1% | 32.1% | 38.0% | 41.0% |
| Good chance to avoid it | 61.9 | 63.7 | 56.0 | 51.1 | 49.6 |
| Don't know | 7.3 | 9.2 | 11.9 | 10.9 | 9.4 |

38% of the Dec '45 sample who thought there would probably be a big war in the next twenty-five to thirty years were asked: Who do you think is most likely to start it?

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia | 17.5% |
| Japan | 5.9 |
| Germany | 2.6 |
| Great Britain | 2.1 |
| United States | .9 |
| All others | 1.6 |
| Don't know | 10.5 |
| | 41.1%* |

* Percentages add to more than 38 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**42.** (US June '43 and Sept '43) Which one of these ideas comes closest to what you think about the chances of preventing wars in the future? (NORC)

| | *June '43* | *Sept '43* |
|---|---|---|
| No matter what is done to prevent them, there will always be wars | 36% | 32% |
| It is possible to prevent all wars, but people will never do what is necessary to prevent them | 19 | 21 |
| Some day all wars will be prevented, but this war will not be the last one | 14 | 17 |
| After this war, it is likely that a way will be worked out to prevent any more wars | 26 | 26 |
| Don't know | 5 | 4 |

53% of the Sept '43 sample who thought there was no chance of preventing wars or there was a chance to, but people would never do what was necessary to prevent them, were asked: Do you think there is anything that people will be able to do in the future to prevent some wars?

Yes 41% No 8% Don't know 4% = 53%

**43.** (US June '43) Do you think that the way we treat the German people after this war will have anything to do with the chances of having world peace in the future? (NORC)

Yes 70% No 20% Don't know 10%

**44.** (US June 18 '43) Do you think the chances for making a lasting peace after this war will be any better than they were after the last war? (NORC)

Yes 61% No 26% Don't know 13%

**45.** (US Sept 28 '43) Assuming that Germany loses the war, do you think she will start as soon as possible preparing for another war? A comparable cross-section was asked: Assuming that Germany loses the war, do you think she will, if she can, start as soon as possible preparing for another war? (Apr 12 '44) As soon as Germany is defeated, do you think she will start making plans for another world war? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *Qualified* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sept '43: | | | | |
| First cross-section | 41% | 24% | 9% | 26% |
| Second cross-section | 70 | 17 | 13 | — |
| Apr '44 | 60 | 21 | 19 | — |

60% of the Apr '44 sample who thought Germany would start making plans were asked: What do you think should be done, if anything, to prevent Germany from starting a third world war?

| | |
|---|---|
| Police her; international police force | 16% |
| Occupy her; use army of occupation | 13 |
| Disarm her | 15 |
| Keep her under Allies' control and supervision | 6 |
| Supervise her educational system | 5 |
| Change her political setup | 5 |
| Have international organization with representative from each nation | 3 |
| Allow her no power or freedom | 4 |
| Split her up | 8 |
| Destroy her; wipe her off the map | 8 |
| Destroy Hitler; kill Nazis | 5 |
| Keep our armaments up | 2 |
| Others | 17 |
| Nothing can be done | 2 |
| Stop her, no indication how | 2 |
| | 111%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who thought Germany would start making plans for another war when she was defeated and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**46.** (Canada Dec 31 '43, Australia May–June '44, Canada June 6 '45, Australia Nov '46) Do you think there is likely to be another world war within the next twenty-five years? Both of the Australian questions used the word "in" instead of "within." (CIPO, APOP) (US Jan 4 '44) Do you think there will be another world war within the next twenty-five years? (AIPO) (Canada Aug 30 '44) Do you feel that the present war will be the last world war, or do you think there is likely to be another world war in the next twenty-five years? (CIPO) (Great Britain Jan '45) Do you think that the present war is the last world war or that another is likely during the next twenty-five years? (BIPO) (France Jan 16 '46) Do you believe there will be another war within the next twenty-five years? (FIPO) (Great Britain Oct '46) Do you think that another world war is likely during the next twenty-five years? (BIPO)

| | | *Yes, will be war* | *No, will not be war* | *No opinion; don't know* | *Qualified answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canada | Dec '43 | 29% | 34% | 21% | 16% |
| US | Jan '44 | 29 | 40 | 17 | 14 |
| Australia | May–June '44 | 42 | 34 | 24 | — |
| Canada | Aug '44 | 46 | 21 | 24 | 9 |
| Britain | Jan '45 | 48 | 28 | 24 | — |
| Canada | June '45 | 31 | 35 | 34% | |
| France | Jan '46 | 50 | 27 | 23 | — |
| Britain | Oct '46 | 34 | 37 | 29 | — |
| Australia | Nov '46 | 62 | 18 | 20 | — |

JUNE '45 RESULTS IN CANADA BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | | *No opinion; don't know and Qualified answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Quebec | 42% | 24% | 34% |
| Rest of Canada | 27 | 38 | 35 |

RESULTS IN FRANCE AND BRITAIN BY SEX

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Men* | | | |
| France Jan '46 | 56% | 26% | 18% |
| Britain Oct '46 | 37 | 40 | 23 |
| *Women* | | | |
| France Jan '46 | 45 | 28 | 27 |
| Britain Oct '46 | 31 | 33 | 36 |

| | *Yes, will be war* | *No, will not be war* | *No opinion; don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAN '46 RESULTS IN FRANCE BY AGE | | | |
| 20–34 years | 56% | 24% | 20% |
| 35–49 years | 52 | 27 | 21 |
| 50–64 years | 51 | 29 | 20 |
| 65 years and over | 36 | 33 | 31 |
| OCT '46 RESULTS IN BRITAIN BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 35% | 37% | 28% |
| 30–49 years | 36 | 37 | 27 |
| 50 years and over | 32 | 37 | 31 |
| JAN '46 RESULTS IN FRANCE BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| White-collar | 62% | 22% | 16% |
| Private income and pensions | 43 | 32 | 25 |
| Farmers | 38 | 31 | 31 |
| OCT '46 RESULTS IN BRITAIN BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 44% | 32% | 24% |
| Middle | 39 | 37 | 24 |
| Lower | 32 | 37 | 31 |
| Very poor | 30 | 33 | 37 |
| OCT '46 RESULTS IN BRITAIN BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative | 41% | 34% | 25% |
| Labor | 32 | 41 | 27 |
| Liberal | 21 | 45 | 34 |
| Other voters | 33 | 34 | 33 |
| Non-voters | 36 | 29 | 35 |

50% of the French Jan '46 sample who thought there would be a war during the next twenty-five years were asked: In how long a time?

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 5 years | 13% |
| 5–10 years | 11 |
| 10–15 years | 21 |
| 15–20 years | 15 |
| 20–25 years | 16 |
| 25 years and over | 3 |
| No opinion | 21 |
| | 100% of those questioned |

**47.** (US Sept '44) Do you think the leaders in our country (newspapers) have given you a good idea of what things you personally can do to help prevent another war? 27% of the sample thought the leaders had done a good job, and 26% thought the newspapers had done a good job. These were asked: What do you think you personally could do to help prevent another war? (NORC)

| | *Leaders* | *Newspapers* |
|---|---|---|
| Not given good idea | 57% | 56% |
| Don't know whether or not have done good job | 16 | 18 |
| Can help personally by: | | |
| Personal activity | 15 | 15 |
| National endeavor | 2 | 2 |
| Can do nothing | 2 | 2 |
| Irrelevant answers | 2 | 1 |
| Don't know what can do | 6 | 6 |

**48.** (US Mar 7 '45) If Argentina invades a neighboring country in South America, should the United States join in with South American countries in using armed forces to stop Argentina? A comparable cross-section was asked: If any South American country is attacked, either by another South American country or a foreign country, should the United States' armed forces be used to help defend it? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| First cross-section | 59% | 23% | 18% |
| Second cross-section | 57 | 26 | 17 |

**49.** (Sweden Apr '45) Do you think that, through a wise conclusion of peace after this war, it would be possible to avoid war for the next fifty years? 54% of the sample who thought a wise peace would make it possible to avoid war for fifty years were asked: Do you think this kind of wise peace will come? (SGI)

| | *Not possible* | *Didn't say whether or not possible* | *Wise peace will come* | *Will not come* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 31% | 15% | 21% | 19% | 14% |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 36% | 16% | 17% | 20% | 11% |
| 30–49 years | 33 | 13 | 20 | 21 | 13 |
| 50–64 years | 26 | 14 | 24 | 20 | 16 |
| 65 years and over | 21 | 26 | 26 | 11 | 16 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Upper class | 37% | 9% | 18% | 26% | 10% |
| Middle class | 34 | 14 | 18 | 21 | 13 |
| Workers | 28 | 17 | 23 | 18 | 14 |

**50.** (Sweden Apr '45 and Apr '46) How long do you think it will be before the next great war? (Oct 24 '46) How long a time do you think will pass before a new world war breaks out? (SGI)

| | *Apr '45* | *Apr '46* | *Oct '46* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Less than 5 years | 1% | 9% | 13% |
| 5–19 years | 6 | 22 | 23 |
| 20–25 years | 17 | 16 | 13 |
| 26–49 years | 12 | 6 | 4 |
| 50–99 years | 10 | 2 | 1 |
| 100 years or more | 3 | 1 | |
| No more war | 6 | 14 | 13 |
| Don't know | 45 | 30 | 33 |

OPINION IN APR '46 BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Upper class* | *Middle class* | *Workers* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Less than 5 years | 8% | 8% | 10% |
| 5–19 years | 19 | 23 | 21 |
| 20–25 years | 21 | 17 | 15 |
| 26–49 years | 4 | 6 | 6 |
| 50–99 years | 6 | 2 | 2 |
| 100 years or more | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| No more wars | 11 | 11 | 16 |
| Don't know | 30 | 32 | 29 |

54% of the Oct '46 sample who thought there would be another world war and 33% who said they didn't know were asked: How firm is your belief that there will be a new world war?

| | |
|---|---|
| Firmly convinced | 23% |
| Rather sure | 21 |
| Somewhat doubtful | 19 |
| Very doubtful | 11 |
| In reality did not believe there will be any more war | 10 |
| Could not say | 3 |
| | 87% |

**51.** (US Apr 4 '45) Do you think it will be possible for the United Nations to work out a peace that will last for at least fifty years? A comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think it will be possible for the United Nations to work out a peace that will prevent another world war for at least fifty years? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 45% No 36% Don't know 19%

**52.** (US Apr 18 '45) Have you given any thought to the problems that would arise the first time the proposed world Security Council voted to use armed force against an aggressor nation? (AIPO)

Yes 40% No 60%

**53.** (US Apr 18 '45) Should the United States representative in that Council have the power to vote to use force, including American troops along with the troops of other countries, or should our representative have to obtain the approval of Congress each time? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Power to vote | 34% |
| Obtain approval | 47 |
| Other: councilman should have consent of President, same as other countries | 1 |
| No opinion | 18 |

**54.** (US June '45) What other nations do you think should be our principal partners after the war in preventing disturbances in the Pacific (Atlantic) area? (FOR)

| | *Pacific* | *Atlantic* |
|---|---|---|
| Great Britain | 49.5% | 73.0% |
| Russia | 35.9 | 29.7 |
| France | 6.5 | 27.0 |
| China | 43.3 | 4.0 |
| Other | 6.2 | 3.7 |
| Don't know | 16.8 | 16.8 |
| | 158.2%* | 154.2%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**55.** (US June 27 '45) Do you think the plan worked out at San Francisco will prevent future wars? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Thought it would prevent future wars | 15% |
| Would prevent war if the countries take certain specified precautions | 27 |
| Charter would not prevent war | 36 |
| No opinion | 22 |

**56.** (Great Britain July '45) Do you think the prospects of world peace are better or worse now than they were after the last war? (BIPO) (Australia Apr–May '46) In your opinion, are prospects of world peace better or worse now than after the 1914–1918 war? (APOP)

| | *Better* | *Worse* | *Don't know; no opinion* | *No difference* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| British results | 71% | 14% | 15% | — |
| Australian results | 29 | 40 | 19 | 12% |
| Australian 40-year-olds and older | 33 | 46 | 9 | 12 |
| BRITISH RESULTS BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 74% | 14% | 12% | — |
| Women | 68 | 15 | 17 | — |
| BRITISH RESULTS BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 66% | 12% | 22% | — |
| 30–49 years | 72 | 14 | 14 | — |
| 50 years and over | 72 | 15 | 13 | — |
| BRITISH RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 73% | 20% | 7% | |
| Middle | 70 | 15 | 15 | |
| Lower | 71 | 14 | 15 | |

**57.** (US July '45) If the United States had to do one of these things after the war, which one do you think would give us the best chance of helping to keep peace in the world? The respondents making up two comparable cross-sections were handed cards with slightly different suggestions. (NORC)

*First cross-section*

| | |
|---|---|
| By trying to build a bigger army than any other country | 32% |
| By trying to get the world organization to build a police force that would be bigger than the army of any one country in the world, including the United States | 56 |
| Neither—work on education for peace; let things alone; etc. | 1 |
| Don't know | 11 |

*Second cross-section*

| | |
|---|---|
| By trying to build a bigger army than any other country, even though this would probably mean some other countries would try to build bigger armies than we have | 28% |
| By trying to get the world organization to build a police force that would be bigger than the army of any one country in the world, including the United States | 59 |
| Neither—work on education for peace; let things alone | 1 |
| Don't know | 12 |

**58.** (US July '45) After the war, suppose the Security Council has to decide if it should use the police force against one of the Big Five—in case France, for example, threatens some country. Do you think France should have the right to prevent the Council from using force against her, or don't you think she should have this right? A comparable cross-section was asked the same question about Russia. (NORC)

| | *Should have right* | *Shouldn't have right* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| France | 8% | 74% | 18% |
| Russia | 8 | 75 | 17 |

**59.** (US July '45) As the Security Council is set up now, do you think France does have the right to prevent the Council from using force against her, or doesn't France have this right? A comparable cross-section was asked the same question about Russia. (NORC)

| | *Does have right* | *Doesn't have right* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| France | 14% | 29% | 57% |
| Russia | 18 | 27 | 55 |

**60.** (US July '45) As you may know the Security Council of the world organization is set up to keep the peace, and it has a police force for this purpose. The Council has eleven members. Suppose one country attacks another country after this war. How many members do you think should have to agree before the Council can use the police force against the attacking country? Each respondent was handed a card with the statements listed below. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| All eleven members should have to agree to use the police force. If any one country votes against using the police force, it can't be used | 10% |

| | |
|---|---|
| The Big Five—that is, Russia, England, France, China, and the United States—and any two other members should have to agree to use the police force. If only one of the Big Five votes against using force, it can't be used | 12% |
| A two-thirds majority of the Council should have to agree to use the police force. Even if one of the Big Five countries votes against using force, it can still be used | 56 |
| Other answers | 2 |
| Don't know | 20 |

**61.** (US July '45) As far as you know, which one of these three ways is the Security Council set up now? (NORC) (Canada Mar 6 '46) As far as you know, in which of these ways is the Security Council set up now? (CIPO)

| | *U.S. July '45* | *Canada Mar '46* |
|---|---|---|
| All eleven members | 5% | 5% |
| The Big Five and two others | 16 | 15 |
| A two-thirds majority | 13 | 11 |
| Other | 1 | — |
| Don't know | 65 | 69 |

**62.** (US July '45) What, if anything, do you think could be done that would give the world organization a better chance of preventing wars between big nations (small nations)? (NORC)

| | *Big nations* | *Small nations* |
|---|---|---|
| Better economic cooperation; better living standards; regulation of trade; stabilization of business, of commerce, of natural resources; stop exploitation; stop imperialism and greediness | 5% | 4% |
| Foster the four freedoms; foster democracy; foster better education for all peoples; world-wide Christianity; the brotherhood of man; the golden rule; cooperation; keep down the dictators; stop jealousy; break up race hatred; foster good will and understanding | 20 | 20 |
| World police; strengthen and make powerful the international police force; have compulsory compliance; make them live up to their promises; use force immediately | 4 | 4 |
| Leave the union of nations the way it is; leave it up to the union of nations; do what they are doing now; put the present plans into action | 6 | 7 |
| Arbitration; handle difficulties openly | 3 | 3 |
| Disarmament; the curtailment of arms | 3 | 2 |
| Big nations govern, supervise, direct the affairs of small ones; the small ones join the big ones | 1 | 3 |
| Nothing; let them alone; nothing can be done; no world court | 7 | 6 |
| Act quickly; stop little disputes at once before they become too large | 1 | 2 |
| Other answers | 2 | 2 |
| Don't know | 46 | 45 |
| Change the veto; change the voting setup; change the international setup of the world organization | 2 | 2 |

**63.** (US Aug '45) Do you think there will be peace everywhere with the complete defeat of Germany and Japan, or that there will be local disorders and flare-ups in other parts of the world for some time? (FOR)

Peace 9.2% Disorders and flare-ups 83.2% Don't know 7.6%

**64.** (US Dec '45) Do you think Japan will really learn a lesson by this war and give up her ideas of ruling Asia, or do you think she will just wait for a chance to try again? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Learn a lesson | 20.2% |
| Try again | 63.0 |
| Depends | 10.7 |
| Don't know | 6.1 |

**65.** (Netherlands Dec 19 '45 and Dec 20 '46) Do you think we shall see another world war, or do you think peace will be maintained in our time? (NIPO)

| | *Another war* | *Peace* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '45 | 50% | 29% | 21% |
| Dec '46 | 63 | 22 | 15 |

63% of the Dec '46 sample who thought there would be another world war in our time were asked: In how many years do you expect another world war?

| | |
|---|---|
| Within 1 year | 1% |
| Within 2 years | 3 |
| Within 3 years | 2 |
| Within 4 years | 2 |
| Within 5 years | 8 |
| 6–10 years | 16 |
| 11–15 years | 8 |
| 16–20 years | 6 |
| 21–25 years | 6 |
| Over 25 years | 4 |
| Don't know | 7 |
| | 63% |

**66.** (Netherlands Dec 19 '45) In your opinion can small countries, such as the Netherlands, have some essential influence in preserving world peace? (NIPO)

Yes 43% No 39% No opinion 18%

**67.** (Great Britain Jan 12 '46) Do you think that the United Nations will be able to prevent war during the next twenty-five years? (BIPO) (Canada Apr 6 '46) Do you think the United Nations organization will be able to prevent another world war during the next twenty-five years? (CIPO) (US Apr 24 '46, May 15 '46, Canada Nov 27 '46) Do you think the United Nations will be able to prevent another world war during the next twenty-five years? (AIPO, CIPO)

| | *War will be prevented* | *War will not be prevented* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Britain Jan '46 | 55% | 25% | 20% |
| Canada Apr 6 '46 | 30 | 44 | 26 |
| US Apr 24 '46 | 38 | 50 | 12 |
| US May '46 | 27 | 55 | 18 |
| Canada Nov '46 | 31 | 47 | 22 |
| OPINION IN BRITAIN AND CANADA BY AGE | | | |
| *21–29 years* | | | |
| Britain Jan '46 | 54% | 24% | 22% |
| Canada Apr '46 | 22 | 54 | 24 |
| *30–49 years* | | | |
| Britain Jan '46 | 56 | 25 | 19 |
| Canada Apr '46 | 30 | 43 | 27 |
| *50 years and over* | | | |
| Britain Jan '46 | 53 | 26 | 21 |
| Canada Apr '46 | 36 | 39 | 25 |
| BRITISH OPINION IN JAN '46 BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 53% | 29% | 18% |
| Women | 56 | 21 | 23 |

BRITISH OPINION IN JAN '46 BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *War will be prevented* | *War will not be prevented* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Higher | 55% | 30% | 15% |
| Middle | 55 | 29 | 16 |
| Lower | 55 | 23 | 22 |

25% of the British sample who thought the United Nations could not prevent war were asked: What do you think will be the cause of the failure?

| | |
|---|---|
| Always have been wars; war inevitable; just human nature; human stupidity | 4% |
| Disagreements between powers; power politicians arising from different spheres of influence | 5 |
| Nationalism; greed; distrust between nations; nationalistic interests bound to conflict | 8 |
| Russian aggression, expansion, greed for power | 2 |
| Wars are trade wars; disagreement over export trade | 1 |
| Failure to solve atom bomb problem | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| No comment | 1 |
| | 25% |

**68.** (France Jan 16 '46) In your opinion, which will be more effective to insure peace—meetings of the Big Three, meetings of the Big Five, or meetings of all the United Nations? (FIPO)

| | *United Nations* | *Big Five* | *Big Three* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 57% | 23% | 8% | 12% |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| Young people | 55% | 23% | 10% | 12% |
| Middle-aged | 57 | 25 | 7 | 11 |
| Old people | 60 | 18 | 5 | 17 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Housewives | 61% | 21% | 5% | 13% |
| Workers | 59 | 22 | 10 | 9 |
| White-collar | 56 | 22 | 10 | 12 |
| Professional | 45 | 36 | 6 | 13 |

**69.** (Sweden Mar '46) Do you think that one or more of the great nations should limit their own claims for the sake of a more peaceful cooperation in the world? (SGI)

| | *Yes, England* | *Yes, France* | *Yes, Russia* | *Yes, USA* | *Yes, all nations* | *No, no nation* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 5% | 1% | 30% | 4% | 41% | 3% | 23% | = 107%* |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | | |
| Upper class | 8% | 3% | 47% | 6% | 37% | 1% | 13% | = 115%* |
| Middle class | 4 | 1 | 36 | 3 | 40 | 2 | 19 | = 105* |
| Workers | 6 | — | 24 | 4 | 41 | 4 | 27 | = 106* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**70.** (Hungary Mar '46) A national cross-section of Hungarians was asked whether or not they thought a conflict between the great powers could become acute. (HIPOR) Results follow:

Yes 38% No 56% Uncertain 6%

**71.** (US Apr 24 '46) Do you think the United Nations will be able to prevent another world war during the next ten years? (AIPO)

Yes 54% No 33% No opinion 13%

**72.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statement: The other European nations had no intention of attacking Germany. They were only concerned with defending themselves against German attack. (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| American zone and Berlin | 67% | 15% | 18% |
| Berlin only | 76 | 15 | 9 |

**73.** (US May '46) Generally speaking, do you think any particular country is a threat to world peace at this time? 50% of the sample who thought some country was a threat were asked: Which one country do you think is the greatest threat to world peace at this time? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| No country a threat | 29% |
| Don't know whether or not any country a threat | 21 |
| Russia a threat | 41 |
| England | 2 |
| Germany | 2 |
| Japan | 1 |
| China | * |
| India | * |
| Spain | 2 |
| France | * |
| Italy | * |
| Balkans, Greece, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria | * |
| Yugoslavia | * |
| Palestine | * |
| Iran | * |
| Other Near East: Iraq, Arabia, Syria, Transjordan | * |
| Argentina | 1 |
| United States | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**74.** (US May '46) In general, what chance do you think the United Nations organization will have to prevent wars between big nations (small nations)—good, fair, or no chance at all? (NORC)

| | *Good* | *Fair* | *No chance* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Big nations | 33% | 40% | 15% | 12% |
| Small nations | 50 | 29 | 9 | 12 |

**75.** (Canada June 19 '46) The United Nations are debating whether or not Franco in Spain is a threat to world peace. What are your views on this? (CIPO)

| | *Threat* | *Not a threat* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40% | 33% | 27% |
| BY EXTREME AGES | | | |
| 21–29 years | 37% | 34% | 29% |
| Over 50 years | 47 | 28 | 25 |
| BY SELECTED PROVINCES | | | |
| Quebec | 20% | 51% | 29% |
| Ontario | 54 | 22 | 24 |

**76.** (Canada June 19 '46) Do you think the United Nations should take some sort of action against Spain or not? Asked of 40% of the sample who thought Franco a threat to world peace. (CIPO)

Take action 31% Take no action 4% Don't know 5% = 40%

**77.** (Belgium July–Oct '46) In your opinion, are the great powers following the best policy to insure a durable peace? (INSOC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 10.0% | 52.1% | 37.9% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 13.0% | 58.6% | 28.4% |
| Women | 6.0 | 43.4 | 50.6 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–34 years | 9.1% | 55.2% | 35.7% |
| 35–49 years | 10.2 | 54.7 | 35.1 |
| 50–64 years | 10.8 | 48.1 | 41.1 |
| 65 years and over | 11.3 | 38.2 | 50.5 |
| BY ENVIRONMENT | | | |
| Urban | 10.6% | 54.4% | 35.0% |
| Rural | 9.4 | 48.2 | 42.4 |
| Industrial | 9.7 | 53.5 | 36.8 |

**78.** (Netherlands Aug '46) Do you think it possible to secure world peace during the next twenty-five years? (NFS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 30% | 47% | 23% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 32% | 50% | 18% |
| Women | 26 | 45 | 29 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–30 years | 27% | 48% | 25% |
| 30–40 years | 29 | 49 | 22 |
| 40–50 years | 34 | 47 | 19 |
| 50 years and over | 29 | 44 | 27 |
| BY RELIGION | | | |
| Calvinist | 18% | 57% | 25% |
| Roman Catholic | 29 | 49 | 22 |
| Dutch Reformed | 31 | 45 | 24 |
| Other churches | 32 | 51 | 17 |
| Secular | 32 | 44 | 24 |

**79.** (Hungary Sept '46) For what period do you hope peace will endure?* (HIPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 10 years | 40% |
| Over 10 years | 29 |
| Uncertain | 31 |

* Since we have this question only in English, we have not been able to check the translation. It seems possible that the word "hope" has been mistranslated.

**80.** (US Sept '46) Can you think of anything that you personally can do that would help prevent another war? 36% of the sample who thought of something to help prevent another war were asked: What can you do? (NORC) (Canada Dec 11 '46) Some people say that it is not enough to leave the work of preventing wars and world troubles to governments and the United Nations, but that it is the duty of every individual person to try to do something to prevent war. Can you think of something people like yourself could do to help prevent another war? (CIPO)

RESULTS IN UNITED STATES

| | |
|---|---|
| Can't do anything | 57% |
| Don't know whether or not can do anything | 7 |
| Can help prevent another war: | |
| Use my vote right; change present setup | 9 |
| Christianity; golden rule; prayer; people join church | 7 |
| Stop talking war | 3 |
| Become informed about peoples | 2 |
| Teach peace; support peace organizations | 7 |
| Mind my own business | 3 |
| Prevent inflation | 2 |
| Stop propaganda | 2% |
| Government activity | 2 |
| Miscellaneous personal endeavor | 2 |
| Ignore foreigners | * |
| Good will; character | 6 |
| Personal preparation for war | 1 |
| | 110%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESULTS IN CANADA

| | |
|---|---|
| Application of Christianity; the golden rule | 16% |
| Tolerance; better understanding; less racial talk | 9 |
| Educate children against war; stop assuming there will be another war; etc | 6 |
| Use the vote; elect tolerant (better) men | 6 |
| Take an interest in international affairs; watch for propaganda | 3 |
| Change in (economic, monetary) system | 1 |
| Every individual of every country mind his own business | 1 |
| Refuse to fight if war declared | 1 |
| Support the United Nations | 1 |
| Miscellaneous suggestions for help | 8 |
| Too big for the individual | 4 |
| Government runs the show; individuals just follow | 3 |
| There always will be wars | 2 |
| Big money runs the world, not the individual | 1 |
| Miscellaneous reasons for doing nothing | 3 |
| Can't think of anything | 35 |

**81.** (US Sept '46) From what you know about the way the United Nations organization is set up at this time, do you think it is strong enough to prevent wars for the next twenty-five years? 69% of the sample thought the United Nations was not strong enough and 11% didn't know. These two groups were asked: Do you think there will ever be a world organization strong enough to prevent wars? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| United Nations strong enough | 20% |
| Believe future organization will be strong enough | 23 |
| Never will be organization strong enough | 47 |
| Don't know whether or not will be organization strong enough | 10 |

23% of the sample who believed a future organization would be strong enough to prevent war were asked: About how long do you think this might take?

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than one year | * |
| One to two years | 1% |
| Three or four years | 1 |
| Five years | 3 |
| Six to ten years | 4 |
| Eleven to twenty-five years | 4 |
| Over twenty-five years | 6 |
| Don't know | 4 |
| | 23% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**82.** (US Nov 13 '46) Do you think the Franco government of Spain is a threat to world peace? (AIPO)

Yes 34% No 29% No opinion 37%

**83.** (US Dec 31 '46) Do you think Germany will become a peace-loving democratic nation, or do you think she will again some day become an aggressor nation and want to start a war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Peace-loving | 22% |
| Aggressor | 58 |
| No opinion | 20 |

## SENATORS

**1.** (US Nov '38) Which of all the United States Senators do you most admire? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Named a Senator from own state | 20.9% |
| Named a Senator from another state | 20.4 |
| Said none | 0.8 |
| Didn't know | 58.9 |

OPINION ABOUT LEADING SENATORS OUTSIDE THEIR OWN STATES

| | |
|---|---|
| Borah | 28.6% |
| Glass | 14.7 |
| Vandenberg | 12.2 |
| Norris | 5.7 |
| Wagner | 4.6 |
| Wheeler | 4.6 |
| La Follette | 4.0 |
| Barkley | 2.9 |
| Nye | 2.5 |
| Lodge | 2.0 |
| Johnson (Cal) | 1.5 |
| Capper | 1.1 |
| All others | 15.6 |

**2.** (US Feb 14 '41) It has been suggested that when American Presidents and Vice-Presidents leave office, they should become United States Senators for life. Would you favor amending the Constitution to provide for this? (AIPO)

Yes 14% No 73% No opinion 13%

**3.** (US Feb 14 '41) It has been suggested that the presidential candidate who receives the second highest number of votes in each presidential campaign should be made a United States Senator for life. Would you favor amending the Constitution to provide for this? (AIPO)

Yes 11% No 76% No opinion 13%

**4.** (US June '44) Now considering [name supplied by interviewer], how would you rate the job he is doing—good, only fair, poor, or haven't you paid any attention to him? (FOR)

| | *Good* | *Fair* | *Poor* | *No attention* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| First Senator named | 29.2% | 19.8% | 8.5% | 36.3% | 6.2% |
| Second Senator named | 24.3 | 18.8 | 9.2 | 38.2 | 9.5 |

**5.** (US Jan 31 '45) Do you happen to know the names of the two United States Senators from this state? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Both correct | 35% |
| Both incorrect | 1 |
| One correct, one incorrect | 5 |
| One incorrect | 2 |
| One named and correct | 17 |
| No answer | 40 |

**6.** (US Aug 8 '45) How many Senators are there in Washington from your state? (AIPO)

Correct 55% Incorrect 12% Don't know 33%

**7.** (US Aug 15 '46) People were asked to name which Senators they thought were good and those whom they thought were not so good. (NYHT)

| | *Good* | *Not so good* |
|---|---|---|
| Arthur H. Vandenberg | 12.8% | .7% |
| Robert A. Taft | 6.7 | 2.0 |
| Alben W. Barkley | 4.4 | — |
| Harry F. Byrd | 3.5 | — |
| Tom Connally | 2.7 | .7 |
| Joseph H. Ball | 2.3 | .6 |
| Robert F. Wagner | 2.3 | 1.0 |
| Robert M. La Follette, Jr. | 2.3 | — |
| James Mead | 2.3 | — |
| Walter F. George | 2.1 | — |
| Theodore G. Bilbo | — | 12.9 |
| Claude Pepper | — | 4.5 |
| Burton K. Wheeler | — | 2.3 |
| Joseph F. Guffey | — | 1.6 |
| Alexander Wiley | — | 1.1 |
| All others | 24.7 | 12.5 |
| Don't know | 56.2 | 69.6 |
| No answer | 1.7 | 2.2 |
| | 124.0%* | 112.3%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents named more than one Senator.

## SERMONS

**1.** (US Aug 8 '36) A noted clergyman says that the churches can build their influence in America by omitting sermons and lectures from Sunday worship for a period of one or two years. Do you agree with him? (AIPO)

Yes 17% No 83% = 100% No opinion 26%

**2.** (US Feb 22 '39) Would you like church better if there were no sermon? (AIPO)

Yes 7% No 93% = 100% No opinion 9%

**3.** (US Nov 13 '41) Do you think preachers and priests should discuss from the pulpit the question of American participation in the war? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 34% | 55% | 11% |
| BY CHURCH MEMBERSHIP | | | |
| Church members | 36% | 55% | 9% |
| Not members | 25 | 58 | 17 |
| BY RELIGION | | | |
| Catholic | 31% | 59% | 10% |
| Protestant | 37 | 54 | 9 |

**4.** (US Nov 13 '41) 34% of the sample used for the preceding question who thought preachers and priests should discuss the question of American participation in the war from the pulpit were asked: What course of action would you like to see them recommend? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| United States entrance into the war | 12% |
| Aid to Britain but no troops | 10 |
| United States stay out of the war | 20 |
| National preparedness; protection for the United States | 9 |
| World peace | 11 |
| Should state the truth as they see it | 5 |
| Other and no definite recommendations | 33 |

**5.** (Great Britain June '42) Should the churches interest themselves more in questions of social reform? (BIPO)

Yes 60% No 20% Don't know 20%

**6.** (Australia Dec '43) Do you think church leaders should publicly express opinion on political questions or should they remain silent? (APOP)

Remain silent 58% Express opinions 35% Undecided 7%

**7.** (Sweden June '44) Do you think it a good or a bad method of preaching Christianity if the vicar goes to the working place, holding services during work hours? (SGI)

| | *Good* | *Bad* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 22% | 50% | 28% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 21% | 56% | 23% |
| Women | 24 | 45 | 31 |

**8.** (Netherlands Mar '46) Should the churches make known their point of view on social problems or should they not? (NFS)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 28% | 16% |
| BY RELIGION | | | |
| Dutch Reformed | 53% | 33% | 14% |
| Roman Catholic | 74 | 12 | 14 |
| Calvinist | 62 | 17 | 21 |
| Secular | 32 | 47 | 21 |

**9.** (France June 16 '46) Some people say that the Catholic clergy recommended to their followers that they vote "no" in the recent referendum [on the Constitution]. Do you think this charge is true? (FIPO)

| | *True* | *False* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 60% | 17% | 23% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 65% | 15% | 20% |
| Women | 56 | 19 | 25 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–34 years | 66% | 14% | 20% |
| 35–49 years | 64 | 17 | 19 |
| 50–64 years | 55 | 19 | 26 |
| 65 years and over | 52 | 23 | 25 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Communist | 92% | 1% | 7% |
| Socialist | 75 | 6 | 19 |
| Radical-Socialist | 53 | 17 | 30 |
| PRL | 47 | 28 | 25 |
| MRP | 42 | 36 | 22 |

**10.** (France June 16 '46) If true [that the Catholic clergy recommended a vote of "no" in the Constitution referendum], do you approve of this attitude of the Church? (FIPO)

Yes 28% No 66% No opinion 6%

**11.** (France June 16 '46) If true [that the Catholic clergy recommended a vote of "no" in the Constitution referendum], do you think this attitude of the Church had any influence on the result of the referendum? (FIPO)

Yes 83% No 9% No opinion 8%

**12.** (Canada Nov 30 '46) Do you think clergymen should or should not discuss politics during the sermon? (CIPO)

Should 15% Should not 75% Undecided 10%

## SERVANTS

**1.** (US Oct '37) Do you employ a servant in your household? (FOR)

| | *Full time* | *Part time* | *Relative helps* | *None* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 10.4% | 13.6% | 3.3% | 72.7% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 50.9% | 19.4% | 2.6% | 27.1% |
| Upper middle class | 15.1 | 26.7 | 2.7 | 55.5 |
| Lower middle class | 3.6 | 10.2 | 2.5 | 83.7 |
| Poor | 2.1 | 3.9 | 2.0 | 92.0 |
| BY RACE | | | | |
| Negroes | — | 1.2% | 11.2% | 87.6% |

**2.** (US Feb '40) Do you now, or do you ever expect to, hire anybody to work for you at home? (FOR)

| | *Do now* | *Expect to* | *Don't expect to* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27.1% | 16.3% | 51.8% | 4.8% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 82.2% | 8.3% | 8.3% | 1.2% |
| Upper middle class | 54.2 | 20.8 | 20.5 | 4.5 |
| Lower middle class | 20.1 | 20.2 | 53.8 | 5.9 |
| Poor | 4.5 | 11.9 | 79.4 | 4.2 |
| BY RACE | | | | |
| Negroes | 2.5% | 4.2% | 88.6% | 4.7% |

**3.** (Sweden Dec '43) Do you do all the housework yourself, or do you have help at least two hours a day? Asked of a national cross-section of housewives. (SGI)

| | *Alone* | *Daughter helps* | *Paid help* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 83% | 8% | 9% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 41% | 4% | 55% |
| Middle class | 79 | 9 | 12 |
| Workers | 90 | 8 | 2 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Towns | 83% | 7% | 10% |
| Country | 82 | 10 | 8 |

All those who did their own housework were asked: During the last six months, have you been ill or for some other reason unable to do your housework for at least two days in succession?

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 23% | 77% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper class | 28% | 72% |
| Middle class | 22 | 78 |
| Workers | 23 | 77 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | |
| Towns | 24% | 76% |
| Country | 23 | 77 |

All those housewives who had been prevented from doing their housework for at least two successive days were asked: Did you then try to get help?

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 54% | 46% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper class | 17% | 83% |
| Middle class | 60 | 40 |
| Workers | 52 | 48 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | |
| Towns | 55% | 45% |
| Country | 53 | 47 |

Those who had tried to get help were asked: Did you succeed?

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 77% | 23% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper class | 100% | — |
| Middle class | 78 | 22% |
| Workers | 76 | 24 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | |
| Towns | 76% | 24% |
| Country | 78 | 22 |

**4.** (Sweden Dec '43) Do you think that domestics should have a fixed working day ending at 7 p.m. and receive remuneration for overtime either in extra time off or in money? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 87% | 4% | 9% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 88% | 3% | 9% |
| Women | 86 | 5 | 9 |
| Housewives with help | 84 | 11 | 5 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 83% | 7% | 10% |
| Middle class | 83 | 6 | 11 |
| Workers | 91 | 2 | 7 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Towns | 89% | 3% | 8% |
| Country | 86 | 4 | 10 |

## SERVICE, COMPULSORY NON-MILITARY

**1.** (Denmark May 9 '43) Should young people who are unfit for military service serve their time, correspondingly, in a labor camp? Asked of a national cross-section of young people 18–25 years old. (DGI)

Yes 63.5% No 17.7% No opinion 18.8%

**2.** (Denmark July 8 '45) If military conscription does not include all young people, do you think that the rest should serve a term of corresponding civil conscription? (DGI)

Yes 68.1% No 16.3% Don't know 15.6%

**3.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statements: (1) It was very wrong to force foreign workers to work in German factories. (2) During the war it was justifiable to put foreigners to work as slave labor in German factories. (OMGUS)

| | AMERICAN ZONE AND BERLIN | | | BERLIN ONLY | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
| First statement | 86% | 9% | 5% | 90% | 8% | 2% |
| Second statement | 19 | 76 | 5 | 15 | 82 | 3 |

## SEWING MACHINES

**1.** (Great Britain May '46) In your home, is there a sewing machine? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 61% | 39% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Higher | 70% | 30% |
| Middle | 68 | 32 |
| Lower | 57 | 43 |

## SEX

**1.** (US Aug '43) Which kind of friends do you think you can usually count on more, men or women? Asked of a national cross-section of young women between the ages of twenty and thirty-five. (FOR)

| | *Men* | *Women* | *Don't know; Same; depends;* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 36.6% | 26.4% | 37.0% |
| BY PHYSICAL APPEARANCE OF RESPONDENT | | | |
| Attractive | 40.6% | 24.5% | 34.9% |
| Unattractive | 27.6 | 30.5 | 41.9 |

**2.** (US Apr 24 '46) Generally speaking, whose life is more difficult, a man's or a woman's? Generally speaking, which do you think are more intelligent, men or women? Generally speaking, who do you think has more common sense, a man or a woman? (AIPO)

| | *Men* | *Women* | *No difference* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| More difficult life | 24% | 54% | 18% | 4% |
| More intelligent | 40 | 20 | 35 | 5 |
| More common sense | 34 | 30 | 31 | 5 |

**3.** (US Aug '46) On the whole, which sex do you think is more willing to accept new ideas, men or women? (FOR)

| BY SEX | *Men* | *Women* | *No difference* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 37.4% | 35.8% | 15.9% | 10.9% |
| Women | 20.1 | 53.1 | 14.7 | 12.1 |

**4.** (US Aug '46) On the whole, which sex do you think is more even-tempered, men or women? (FOR)

| BY SEX | *Men* | *Women* | *No difference* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 45.7% | 26.6% | 19.2% | 8.5% |
| Women | 43.7 | 31.0 | 16.8 | 8.5 |

**5.** (US Aug '46) On the average, do you think women have more thoroughness in handling details than men, less, or about the same? (FOR)

| | *More* | *Less* | *Same* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 31.7% | 23.9% | 32.0% | 12.4% |
| Women | 46.7 | 10.3 | 31.0 | 12.0 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Professional men and executives | 43.9% | 25.7% | 24.8% | 5.6% |

**6.** (US Aug '46) On the average, do you think women have more ability to handle people well than men, less, or about the same? (FOR)

| | *More* | *Less* | *Same* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 19.1% | 43.6% | 28.0% | 9.3% |
| Women | 27.1 | 28.2 | 33.7 | 11.0 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Professional men and executives | 15.2% | 55.0% | 24.0% | 5.8% |

**7.** (US Aug '46) On the average, do you think women have more ability to make decisions than men, less, or about the same? (FOR)

| | *More* | *Less* | *Same* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 13.4% | 49.7% | 27.6% | 9.3% |
| Women | 22.8 | 32.1 | 34.1 | 11.0 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Professional men and executives | 7.0% | 65.8% | 22.8% | 4.4% |

**8.** (US Aug '46) On the average, do you think women have more ability to create or invent new things than men, less, or about the same? (FOR)

| | *More* | *Less* | *Same* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 13.1% | 62.1% | 16.5% | 8.3% |
| Women | 19.9 | 48.4 | 21.4 | 10.3 |

**9.** (US Aug '46) Who do you think has the more interesting time in present-day America, men or women? (FOR)

| | *Men* | *Women* | *No difference* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 35.0% | 24.2% | 26.5% | 14.3% |
| Women | 36.1 | 24.0 | 26.9 | 13.0 |

**10.** (US Aug '46) If you could be born again, would you rather be a man or a woman? (FOR)

| | *Man* | *Woman* | *Don't know* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 91.7% | 3.3% | 3.3% | 1.9% |
| Women | 25.2 | 65.7 | 7.0 | 2.1 |

(Canada Aug 14 '46) If you had a choice, which would you rather be, a man or a woman? (CIPO)

| | *Man* | *Woman* | *No preference* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 80% | 6% | 9% | 5% |
| Women | 29 | 60 | 8 | 3 |

**11.** (US Aug '46) On the whole and considering people of all walks of life, who do you think has the easier time in present-day America, men or women? (FOR)

| | *Men* | *Women* | *No difference* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 25.0% | 46.1% | 21.0% | 7.9% |
| Women | 41.2 | 33.1 | 18.5 | 7.2 |

## SEX INSTRUCTION

**1.** (US Apr 13 '38) Did you see the pictures of "The Birth of a Baby" in *Life* magazine? (AIPO)

Yes 42% No 58%

Were you offended by those pictures ["Birth of a Baby"]? Asked of 42% of sample who saw the pictures of "The Birth of a Baby" in *Life* magazine.

Yes 15% No 85%

In your opinion, do these pictures ["Birth of a Baby"] violate the law against publication of material which is obscene, filthy, or indecent? Asked of 42% of sample who saw the pictures of the "Birth of a Baby" in *Life* magazine.

Yes 24% No 76%

Do you approve or disapprove of this method of teaching the public about childbirth and care of mothers? Asked of 42% of sample who saw the pictures of the "Birth of a Baby" in *Life* magazine.

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 61% | 39% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 60% | 40% |
| Women | 63 | 37 |

**2.** (Sweden May '42) Where did you first learn about sexual matters? Asked of a national cross-section of young people. (SGI)

| | *Boys* | *Girls* |
|---|---|---|
| Parents | 11% | 28% |
| School | 29 | 29 |
| Friends | 34 | 22 |
| Books | 10 | 6 |
| Other answers | 2 | 1 |
| Don't know | 14 | 14 |

**3.** (Sweden May '42) Have you or your husband (wife) spoken to your children about the question of sex? Asked of a national cross-section of parents. (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Parents with children of both sexes | 36% | 59% | 5% |
| Parents with sons | 35 | 60 | 5 |
| Parents with daughters | 41 | 55 | 4 |

BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Towns | 49% | 48% | 3% |
| Provinces | 42 | 55 | 3 |
| Country | 22 | 69 | 9 |

**4.** (US May 12 '43) It has been suggested that a course in sex education be given to students in high schools. Do you approve or disapprove of this plan? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 68% | 16% | 16% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 66% | 34% | * |
| Women | 69 | 31 | |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 77% | 13% | 10% |
| 30–49 years | 69 | 15 | 16 |
| 50 years and over | 61 | 20 | 19 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 72% | 16% | 12% |
| East central | 72 | 15 | 13 |
| West central | 65 | 17 | 18 |
| South | 61 | 16 | 23 |
| Far West | 71 | 14 | 15 |
| (Canada Sept 1 '43) (CIPO) | | | |
| National total | 76% | 15% | 9% |

* No opinion excluded from this breakdown.

**5.** (Australia May–June '43) Would you favor, or oppose, qualified teachers explaining sex matters and venereal disease to boys and girls? (APOP)

Favor 83% Oppose 12% Undecided 5%

**6.** (Australia May–June '43) At what age do you think children should be given their first lessons in sex matters? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 12 years | 16% |
| 12 years | 25 |
| 13 years | 11 |
| 14 years | 24 |
| Over 14 years | 11 |
| No answer | 13 |

**7.** (US June 22 '43) Some people say that sex problems should be scientifically and frankly discussed by medical authorities in daily newspapers. Do you approve or disapprove? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40% | 44% | 16% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 43% | 38% | 19% |
| Women | 38 | 49 | 13 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 49% | 38% | 13% |
| 30–49 years | 41 | 43 | 16 |
| 50 years and over | 35 | 48 | 17 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 51% | 41% | 8% |
| High school | 45 | 44 | 11 |
| Grammar school | 35 | 44 | 21 |

**8.** (Denmark Jan 25 '44) Do you think that schools should teach children the "facts of life"? (DGI)

Yes 73.5% No 9.7% Don't know 16.8%

## SHIPS

**1.** (US Nov 12 '37) Should these ships [US Merchant Fleet] be owned and operated by the government or by private ship companies? (AIPO)

Government 54% Private 46% = 100% No opinion 42%

**2.** (US Aug 21 '42, Aug 29 '42, Nov 27 '42, June 18 '43) Do you think we have enough ships to carry the material we do produce to the fighting lines? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aug 21 '42 | 24% | 58% | 18% |
| Aug 29 '42 | 27 | 54 | 19 |
| Nov '42 | 31 | 52 | 17 |
| June '43 | 38 | 36 | 26 |

**3.** (US Aug 21 '42 and Aug 29 '42) Do you think the production of ships is up to schedule—that is, are we building as many as we planned? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *More* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug 21 '42 | 62% | 18% | 18% | 2% |
| Aug 29 '42 | 66 | 14 | 16 | 4 |

**4.** (US Aug 29 '42) From what you have read or heard, would you say we have enough steel on hand to build the ships and other war materials we need? (NORC)

Yes 50% No 34% Don't know 16%

## SIGNS AND SIGNBOARDS

**1.** (US Feb 16 '39) Do you object to billboards along the highways? (AIPO)

Yes 45% No 50% No opinion 5%

45% of the total sample who objected to billboards along the highways were asked, Why?

| | |
|---|---|
| Obstruct scenery | 26% |
| Distract drivers, causing accidents | 13 |
| Ugly, unattractive, inartistic | 4 |
| There are too many of them | 1 |
| Tiresome and uninteresting | 1 |
| Disapprove of products advertised (liquor, cigarettes, etc.) | 1 |
| All others | 1 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 50%* |

* Percentages add to more than 45 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (US Feb 16 '39) Would you favor a law in your state requiring billboard advertisers to take out a permit and pay a fee for each sign? (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 26% No opinion 13%

**3.** (US Feb 16 '39) Would you favor a law in your state requiring billboards and business places such as hot-dog stands and filling stations to be set back from the road 75 or 80 feet, except in towns? (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 29% No opinion 14%

## SLEEP

**1.** (Great Britain Apr '39) We have been asked to find out how many hours a night most people usually sleep. What time do you usually go to bed? What time do you usually get up? The number of hours normally slept each day were calculated from the answers to these two questions. (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 6 hours | 1% |
| 6 hours | 2 |
| 6½ hours | 3 |
| 7 hours | 8 |
| 7½ hours | 13 |
| 8 hours | 25 |
| 8½ hours | 18 |
| 9 hours | 16 |
| 9½ hours | 6 |
| 10 hours | 6 |
| More than 10 hours | 2 |

How many nights during the last week have you had less than this amount of sleep?

| | |
|---|---|
| One night | 18% |
| Two nights | 19 |
| Three nights | 9 |
| Four nights | 2 |
| Five nights | 1 |
| Six nights | 1 |
| Seven nights | 1 |
| Have had same amount of sleep as always | 49 |

**2.** (Great Britain July '40) Do you find the war has affected your sleep? (BIPO)

Yes 36% No 62% Don't know 2%

35% of the sample who said the war had affected their sleep were asked: How?

| | |
|---|---|
| Sleep better | 4% |
| Because of air raids | 39 |
| Because of war work | 36 |
| Other reasons | 21 |

**3.** (Great Britain Jan '41) Are you sleeping less than before the war? (BIPO)

Yes 44% No 52% Don't know 4%

How many hours do you sleep every night on an average?

| | |
|---|---|
| 5 hours or less | 8% |
| 5½ hours | 3 |
| 6 hours | 15 |
| 6½ hours | 5 |
| 7 hours | 22 |
| 7½ hours | 7 |
| 8 hours | 22 |
| 8½ hours | 3 |
| 9 hours | 6 |
| More than 9 hours | 9 |

**4.** (US Jan 6 '42) About what time do you usually go to bed at night? (AIPO)

| | In Bed by | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *8 o'clock* | *9 o'clock* | *10 o'clock* | *11 o'clock* | *12 o'clock* | *Later* |
| National total | 8% | 17% | 29% | 27% | 14% | 5% |
| **By size of community** | | | | | | |
| Farms | 19% | 39% | 31% | 9% | 2% | * |
| Towns under 10,000 | 7 | 15 | 34 | 30 | 11 | 3% |
| Towns and cities 10,000 and over | 4 | 9 | 23 | 33 | 23 | 8 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**5.** (Denmark Mar 4 '44) How many hours sleep do you get each night on an average? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| 5 hours or less | 4.2% |
| 5–6 hours or less | 7.0 |
| 6–7 hours or less | 25.2 |
| 7–8 hours or less | 44.0 |
| 8–9 hours or less | 13.6 |
| 9–10 hours or less | 3.8 |
| 10–11 hours or less | 0.7 |
| More than 11 hours | 0.2 |
| Don't know | 1.3 |

Do you think this sufficient? (Hours of sleep each night on an average that respondents get each night mentioned in preceding question.)

Yes 86.7% No 12.0% Don't know 1.3%

**6.** (Denmark Mar 4 '44) How many people sleep in the same bedroom as you? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sleep alone | 14.2% |
| 0 adult, 1 child | 0.9 |
| 0 adult, 2 children | 0.2 |
| 0 adult, 3 children | 0.08 |
| 0 adult, 4 children | 0.04 |
| 1 adult, 0 children | 36.7 |
| 1 adult, 1 child | 16.9 |
| 1 adult, 2 children | 9.2 |
| 1 adult, 3 children | 2.1 |
| 1 adult, 4 children | 1.0 |
| 2 adults, 0 children | 10.0 |
| 2 adults, 1 child | 4.2 |
| 2 adults, 2 children | 2.0 |
| 2 adults, 3 children | 0.9 |
| 2 adults, 4 children | 0.8 |
| 3 adults, 0 children | 0.4 |
| 3 adults, 1 child | 0.08 |
| 3 adults, 2 children | 0.08 |
| 4 adults, 0 children | 0.1 |
| 4 adults, 2 children | 0.04 |
| 4 adults, 3 children | 0.04 |
| 4 adults, 4 children | 0.04 |

**7.** (Canada May 2 '45) About what time do you usually go to bed at night? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 10 p.m. | 31% |
| 11 p.m. | 40 |
| 12 midnight | 23 |
| Later | 6 |

**8.** (US Sept 6 '45) Do you have difficulty falling asleep at night —often, occasionally or almost never? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Often | 15% |
| Occasionally | 25 |
| Almost never | 17 |
| Never | 43 |

**9.** (Great Britain Dec '46) What is your normal time for going to bed? (BIPO)

| | 7–9 | 9:15–9:30 | 9:45–10 | 10:15–10:30 | 10:45 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 2% | 3% | 17% | 20% | 1% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 1% | 3% | 16% | 18% | 1% |
| Women | 2 | 4 | 18 | 21 | 1 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Professional; salaried-executive | 1% | — | 12% | 9% | 1% |
| Salaried-clerical | — | 2% | — | 12 | 2 |
| Proprietor, shop or business, farmers | 3 | 4 | 6 | 15 | — |
| Weekly wages; factory, transport, etc | 1 | 1 | 20 | 23 | 1 |
| Agricultural workers including farmers | 12 | 15 | 41 | 17 | — |
| Weekly wages, all others | 1 | 2 | 18 | 21 | 1 |
| Housewives | 1 | 4 | 20 | 23 | 1 |
| Unoccupied and retired | 4 | 10 | 21 | 14 | 1 |
| Unemployed | 15 | 6 | 15 | 20 | — |

[*Continued below*]

| | 11 | 11:15–11:30 | 11:45–12 | 12:15–12:30 | 1–3 a.m. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 11% | 11% | 1% | 1% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 33% | 11% | 13% | 2% | 2% |
| Women | 33 | 10 | 9 | 1 | 1 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Professional; salaried-executive | 37% | 15% | 21% | 2% | 2% |
| Salaried-clerical | 45 | 18 | 12 | 1 | 2 |
| Proprietor, shop or business, farmers | 27 | 19 | 19 | 6 | 1 |
| Weekly wages; factory, transport, etc | 32 | 9 | 12 | — | 1 |
| Weekly wages, all others | 35 | 10 | 10 | 1 | 1 |
| Housewives | 32 | 10 | 7 | 1 | 1 |
| Unoccupied and retired | 29 | 5 | 14 | — | 2 |
| Unemployed | 17 | 9 | 15 | — | 3 |
| Agricultural workers, including farmers | 6 | 3 | 3 | 3 | — |

On the basis of when those questioned went to bed and got up, the total number of hours slept is evolved.

| | Under 6 | 6 | 6½ | 7 | 7½ | 8 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 1% | 2% | 2% | 10% | 12% | 27% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | |
| Men | 1% | 2% | 3% | 13% | 15% | 29% |
| Women | — | 2 | 1 | 8 | 9 | 25 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Higher | 1% | 2% | 2% | 7% | 10% | 28% |
| Middle | 1 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 13 | 30 |
| Lower | 1 | 3 | 2 | 12 | 13 | 25 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | | |
| Professional | 1% | 1% | 2% | 6% | 13% | 30% |
| Salaried-clerical | — | — | 1 | 7 | 16 | 31 |
| Proprietor, shop or business, farmers | — | 3 | — | 13 | 18 | 32 |
| Weekly wages, factory, etc | 2% | 5% | 4% | 20% | 20% | 23% |
| Agricultural workers | 3 | — | — | 18 | 6 | 40 |
| Weekly wages, all others | 1 | 1 | 2 | 11 | 13 | 31 |
| Housewives | — | 2 | 2 | 8 | 8 | 24 |
| Unoccupied and retired | — | 3 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 17 |
| Unemployed | — | 6 | — | 6 | 6 | 16 |

[*Continued below*]

| | 8½ | 9 | 9½ | 10 | Over 10 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 18% | 16% | 4% | 5% | 3% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 17% | 13% | 3% | 3% | 1% |
| Women | 19 | 19 | 6 | 7 | 4 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Higher | 23% | 18% | 3% | 4% | 2% |
| Middle | 21 | 15 | 5 | 4 | 2 |
| Lower | 17 | 15 | 4 | 5 | 3 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Professional | 21% | 18% | 5% | 2% | 1% |
| Salaried-clerical | 24 | 15 | 5 | 1 | — |
| Proprietor, shop or business, farmers | 20 | 7 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Weekly wages, factory, etc | 13 | 10 | 2 | 1 | — |
| Agricultural workers | 18 | 9 | 6 | — | — |
| Weekly wages, all others | 18 | 15 | 3 | 4 | 1 |
| Housewives | 18 | 20 | 6 | 8 | 4 |
| Unoccupied and retired | 16 | 17 | 7 | 17 | 14 |
| Unemployed | 16 | 13 | 6 | 19 | 12 |

What is your normal time for getting up?

| | By 5 | 5:30 | 5:45 | 6 | 6:15 | 6:30 | 6:45 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 1% | 2% | 1% | 8% | 1% | 12% | 3% | 22% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | | |
| Men | 3% | 2% | 1% | 9% | 2% | 14% | 4% | 22% |
| Women | — | 2 | — | 7 | — | 11 | 3 | 22 |

[*Continued below*]

| | 7:15 | 7:30 | 7:45 | 8 | 8:15 | 8:30 | 9 | After 9 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 3% | 19% | 3% | 17% | 1% | 3% | 2% | 2% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | | |
| Men | 2% | 15% | 2% | 16% | 1% | 2% | 2% | 3% |
| Women | 3 | 22 | 4 | 19 | — | 4 | 2 | 1 |

## SMOKING

**1.** (US July '35) Do you smoke cigarettes? (FOR)

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 37.3% | 62.7% |

BY SEX AND AGE

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| *Men* | | |
| Under 40 years | 65.5% | 34.5% |
| Over 40 years | 39.7 | 60.3 |
| *Women* | | |
| Under 40 years | 26.2 | 73.8 |
| Over 40 years | 9.3 | 90.7 |

BY SEX AND SIZE OF COMMUNITY

| | *Men* | | *Women* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *Yes* | *No* |
| Cities over 1,000,000 population | 61.4% | 38.6% | 31.2% | 68.8% |
| Cities from 100,000 to 1,000,000 | 65.5 | 34.5 | 40.2 | 59.8 |
| Small cities 25,000 to 100,000 | 56.0 | 44.0 | 21.1 | 78.9 |
| Towns 2,500 to 25,000 population | 42.6 | 57.4 | 8.9 | 91.1 |
| Rural—under 2,500 and farms | 44.1 | 55.9 | 8.6 | 91.4 |

**2.** (US July '35) Who smoked this brand [of cigarette] first? Asked of those where more than one person smoked the same brand of cigarettes in the home. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Husband | 71.7% |
| Son | 17.3 |
| Wife | 8.1 |
| Daughter | 2.9 |

**3.** (US July '35, Oct '35, Jan '36, Apr '36, July '37, Aug '38) What brand of cigarette do you smoke? Asked of a national cross-section of smokers. In July '35, 37% of the sample is represented. In Oct '35, 37.9% of the sample is represented. In Jan '36, 42.5% of the sample is represented. In Apr '36, 45% of the sample is represented. In July '37, 45.5% of the sample is represented. In Aug '38, 45.8% of the sample is represented. (FOR)

| | *July '35* | *Oct '35* | *Jan '36* | *Apr '36* | *July '37* | *Aug '38* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Camel | 25.3% | 26.2% | 25.4% | 26.8% | 28.0% | 25.1% |
| Lucky Strike | 22.6 | 22.6 | 21.6 | 19.6 | 18.3 | 19.0 |
| Chesterfield | 23.2 | 22.8 | 21.1 | 25.1 | 22.5 | 19.0 |
| Philip Morris | 3.1 | 2.8 | 5.4 | 4.3 | 4.9 | 7.2 |
| Old Gold | 3.4 | 3.3 | 4.6 | 4.3 | 7.2 | 4.8 |
| Kool | 1.5 | 1.9 | 3.0 | 2.7 | 2.3 | 2.6 |
| Spud | .6 | .8 | 1.1 | 1.0 | — | 1.1 |
| Raleigh | — | — | — | — | 1.2 | 2.8 |
| Ten-cent brands | 3.7 | 3.7 | 3.1 | 2.4 | 1.9 | 2.4 |
| Rolls own | 6.9 | 6.9 | 5.7 | 5.5 | 5.1 | 7.2 |
| Any | 7.8 | 7.8 | 7.0 | 4.5 | 5.8 | 6.4 |
| All others | 1.9 | 1.2 | 2.0 | 3.8 | 2.8 | 2.4 |

1938 RESULTS BY SEX

| | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| Camel | 26.6% | 22.0% |
| Lucky Strike | 18.5 | 20.3 |
| Chesterfield | 17.6 | 21.3 |
| Philip Morris | 6.1 | 9.6 |
| Old Gold | 5.0 | 4.8 |
| Raleigh | 2.1 | 4.1 |
| Kool | 1.8 | 4.5 |
| Spud | 1.0 | 1.4 |
| Ten-cent brands | 2.7 | 1.7 |
| Rolls own | 9.9 | 1.7 |
| Any | 6.4 | 6.2 |
| All others | 2.3 | 2.4 |

APR '36 RESULTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Prosperous* | *Upper middle class* | *Lower middle class* | *Poor* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Camel | 16.3% | 22.1% | 32.6% | 25.3% |
| Chesterfield | 31.7 | 29.7 | 24.2 | 19.2 |
| Lucky Strike | 17.9 | 23.8 | 20.6 | 14.3 |
| Other brands | 34.1 | 24.4 | 22.6 | 41.2 |

How many years have you been smoking this brand? Asked of a national cross-section of smokers.

| | |
|---|---|
| One year | 12.6% |
| Two | 12.9 |
| Three | 10.0 |
| Four | 5.9 |
| Five | 10.1 |
| Six | 5.9 |
| Seven | 2.0 |
| Eight | 5.4 |
| More | 31.0 |
| Don't know | 4.2 |

What was your former brand? Asked of a national cross-section of smokers.

| | |
|---|---|
| Lucky Strike | 21.2% |
| Camel | 19.1 |
| Chesterfield | 13.6 |
| Rolled own | 3.5 |
| Old Gold | 2.8 |
| Others | 11.7 |
| Don't know | 4.5 |
| None | 23.6 |

**4.** (US Sept 25 '46) Do you happen to smoke cigarettes? (AIPO)

Yes 47% No 53%

On the average, how many cigarettes do you smoke a day? Asked of 47% of a sample of smokers.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 pack, 20 cigarettes | 17% |
| Under ¼ of pack—under 5 cigarettes | 4 |
| ¼ pack—5 cigarettes | 2 |
| ½ pack—10 cigarettes | 8 |
| ¾ pack—15 cigarettes | 6 |
| 1¼ packs—25 cigarettes | 2 |
| 1½ packs—30 cigarettes | 3 |
| 1¾ packs—35 cigarettes | * |
| 2 packs—40 cigarettes | 3 |
| Over 2 packs—over 40 cigarettes | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| No answer—don't know | * |
| | * = 1 |

Median—1 pack, 20 cigarettes

Do you think smoking is harmful to you? Asked of 47% of a sample of smokers.

Yes 20% No 25% No opinion 2%

Do you think you smoke too much? Asked of 47% of a sample of smokers.

Yes 24% No 23% No opinion less than 0.5%

Have you ever smoked cigarettes?

Yes 63% No 37%

Do you happen to smoke cigarettes now? Asked of 63% of the sample who had smoked a cigarette.

Yes 47% No 16%

On the average, how many cigarettes do you (did you) smoke a day? Asked of 63% of the sample who had smoked cigarettes.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 pack, 20 cigarettes | 20% |
| Under ¼ of pack—under 5 cigarettes | 9 |
| ¼ pack—5 cigarettes | 4 |
| ½ pack—10 cigarettes | 9 |
| ¾ pack—15 cigarettes | 6 |
| 1¼ packs—25 cigarettes | 1 |
| 1½ packs—30 cigarettes | 4 |
| 1¾ packs—35 cigarettes | 1 |
| 2 packs—40 cigarettes | 2 |
| Over 2 packs—over 40 cigarettes | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| No answer, don't know | 6 |

Median—1 pack, 20 cigarettes

* Less than 0.5%.

Have you ever tried to give up smoking? Asked of 63% of the sample who have ever smoked cigarettes.

Yes 33% No 28% No answer 2%

Did you succeed in giving it up completely? Asked of 33% of the sample who have smoked cigarettes and have ever tried to give it up.

Yes 18% No 15%

**5.** (US Oct '35) Do you smoke? (FOR)

Yes 37.9% No 62.1%

(Great Britain Feb '39) Do you smoke? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 59% | 41% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 83% | 17% |
| Women | 39 | 61 |

(US Feb–Mar '45) Are you a smoker or a non-smoker? (APOP)

| | *Non-smoker* | *Smoker* |
|---|---|---|
| All adults | 51% | 49% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 28% | 72% |
| Women | 74 | 26 |

**6.** (Great Britain Feb '39) Which do you smoke habitually (Pipe, cigarettes, cigars)? Asked of a national cross-section of smokers. (BIPO)

| BY SEX | *Pipe* | *Cigarettes* | *Cigars* | *More than one* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 40% | 73% | 2% | 15% | = 139%* |
| Women | — | 100 | — | — | |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who smoke and add to more than 100 because some men gave more than one answer.

(France June '39) [The public was questioned about its smoking habits.] (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Non-smokers | 27% |
| Pipe | 9 |
| Manufactured cigarette | 35 |
| Rolls own cigarette | 26 |
| Cigar | 2 |
| No answer | 1 |

(US June 7 '39) Do you smoke? Those who said they smoked were asked: What do you prefer to smoke—cigarettes, cigars, or a pipe? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, smoke: | |
| Cigarettes | 41% |
| Cigars | 10 |
| Pipe | 15 |
| No, don't smoke | 39 |
| | 105%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(US Nov 29 '44) Do you smoke cigarettes (a pipe, cigars), or don't you smoke at all? (AIPO)

| | *Cigarettes* | *Pipe* | *Cigars* | *Don't smoke* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41% | 10% | 6% | 48% | = 105%** |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 48% | 22% | 12% | 29% | = 111%** |
| Women | 36 | * | * | 64 | = 100 |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 55% | 4% | 2% | 42% | = 103%** |
| 30–49 years | 49 | 10 | 5 | 42 | = 106** |
| 50 years and over | 25 | 14 | 8 | 58 | = 105** |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| New England and mid-Atlantic | 46% | 7% | 6% | 44% | = 103%** |
| East central | 39 | 11 | 7 | 49 | = 106** |
| West central | 33 | 14 | 4 | 52 | = 103** |
| South | 38 | 13 | 2 | 47 | = 100 |
| Far West | 43 | 7 | 5 | 50 | = 105** |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Farmers | 31% | 17% | 7% | 51% | = 106%** |
| Professional and business | 41 | 9 | 6 | 49 | = 105** |
| White-collar | 47 | 5 | 5 | 46 | = 103** |
| Labor and non-labor | 44 | 9 | 6 | 45 | = 104** |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | |
| Towns under 10,000 | 36% | 11% | 6% | 52% | = 105%** |
| 10,000 to 100,000 | 46 | 7 | 5 | 45 | = 103** |
| 100,000 and over | 48 | 7 | 5 | 43 | = 103** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(US Nov 29 '44) How many cigarettes do you smoke a day? Asked of 41% of the sample who smoke cigarettes. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under ¼ pack . . . under 5 cigarettes | 11% |
| ¼ pack—5 cigarettes | 7 |
| ½ pack—10 cigarettes | 20 |
| ¾ pack—15 cigarettes | 8 |
| 1 pack—20 cigarettes | 38 |
| 1¼ packs—25 cigarettes | 3 |
| 1½ packs—30 cigarettes | 4 |
| 1¾ packs—35 cigarettes | * |
| 2 packs—40 cigarettes | 5 |
| Over 2 packs—over 40 cigarettes | * |
| Don't know and miscellaneous number of cigarettes | 4 |

* Less than 0.5%.

(US Nov 29 '44) Compared with a year ago, are you smoking more, less, or about the same? Asked of 41% of the total sample who smoke cigarettes. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Same | 63% |
| More | 13 |
| Less | 22 |
| Didn't smoke then | 2 |

**7.** (US Nov 29 '44) Will you tell me what you think is the reason for the cigarette shortage? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| People are smoking more, increased demand, women are smoking more, more people smoking | 16% |
| Black market | 12 |
| Cigarettes are going abroad, going overseas | 10 |
| Cigarettes are going overseas to soldiers, going to armed forces, to Army and Navy | 11 |
| Manufacturers and jobbers are hoarding, jobbers are holding supply back for higher prices, waiting for higher prices, hoarding for higher prices, manufacturers want to raise prices and OPA won't let them, distributors hoarding, cached, will be sold later at higher prices | 10 |
| Someone holding them back, someone hoarding | 10 |
| Labor shortage, shortage of labor at plantation | 8 |
| People are hoarding, buy too many at a time, hoarding by smokers | 4 |
| Government killed tobacco crops | 3 |
| Curtailed production, don't make as many | * |
| Christmas presents to armed forces, gifts to service men | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| Don't know | 20 |
| | 110%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**8.** (Great Britain Mar '40) Has the war affected your smoking habits? Those who said the war had affected their smoking habits were asked: How are you [affected]? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Smoking less | 39% |
| Smoking more | 10 |
| Smoking the same | 1 |
| Stopped smoking | 12 |
| Started smoking | 1 |
| Non-smoker | 37 |

**9.** (Great Britain July '40) Since the war began do you find that you are using more or less tobacco? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 14% |
| Less | 24 |
| Same | 30 |
| Don't use | 32 |

**10.** (Great Britain May '42) Has the Budget changed your habits in smoking? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't ever smoke | 35% |
| Stopped | 4 |
| Less | 32 |
| Same | 29 |

**11.** (Sweden Aug '42) Have you procured a whole or a half tobacco [ration] card, or have you stopped smoking on account of the rationing? (SGI)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Whole card | 39.8% | 48.5% |
| Half card | 8.7 | |
| No card | | 50.0 |
| Stopped smoking | | 1.5 |

**12.** (Australia Nov '42) Which would you prefer—the present method of buying tobacco and cigarettes—or rationing by means of coupons? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Prefer rationing | 65% |
| Satisfied with present conditions | 30 |
| Undecided | 5 |

**13.** (Denmark Nov 25 '43) Would you prefer a proper tobacco rationing to the voluntary rationing undertaken by the tobacconists? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Proper rationing | 61.3% |
| Voluntary rationing | 18.4 |
| Don't know | 20.3 |

**14.** (Sweden Sept '45) Do you smoke more now than when tobacco was rationed, or has your consumption not been influenced by tobacco being ration-free? (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Smoke more | 2% |
| Smoke less | 4 |
| No difference | 33 |
| Did not smoke then and don't smoke now | 60 |
| Didn't smoke during rationing, but smoke now | 1 |

**15.** (Sweden Sept '45) Did you have a tobacco [ration] card during the last period? (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Whole card for men | 22% |
| Whole card for men plus additional ration | 7 |
| Half-card for men | 7 |
| Tobacco card for women | 6 |
| Have no card | 55 |
| Regular access to borrowed cards | 3 |

**16.** (Denmark Sept 1 '45) Do you think that we should introduce an official rationing of tobacco, or is it your opinion that we should keep the present method? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Official rationing | 66.0% |
| Present method | 15.5 |
| Don't know | 18.5 |

**17.** (US July 14 '42) Did you happen to read the article on cigarettes in the July issue of the *Reader's Digest*? (AIPO)

Yes 24% No 75% Can't remember 1%

Do you smoke cigarettes? Asked of 24% of the sample who read the article on cigarettes in the July *Reader's Digest*.

Yes 15% No 9%

Did reading this article make any difference in your buying of cigarettes? Asked of 15% of a sample of smokers who read the article on cigarettes in *Reader's Digest*.

Yes 3% No 12%

**18.** (Australia Nov '44) Do you think smoking should be allowed in picture shows? (APOP)

Yes 17% No 79% No opinion 4%

**19.** (France Mar 16 '46) Do you approve of the decision of the government to raise the price of tobacco? (FIPO)

Approve 31% Disapprove 59% No opinion 10%

**20.** (Sweden May '46) At what age do you think that parents should no longer prevent a boy or girl from smoking? (SGI)

| | | BY SEX | | BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *National total* | *Women* | *Men* | *Upper class* | *Middle class* | *Workers* |
| *Boys* | | | | | | |
| Before 15 years | 2% | 2% | 3% | 2% | 3% | 2% |
| 15 years | 8 | 6 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 8 |
| 16 years | 10 | 8 | 11 | 13 | 9 | 10 |
| 17 years | 10 | 10 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 10 |
| 18 years | 26 | 26 | 26 | 23 | 24 | 27 |
| 19 years | 3 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| 20 years | 10 | 11 | 9 | 7 | 11 | 10 |
| 21 years | 10 | 9 | 11 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
| Older | 6 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 5 |

| | National total | Women | Men | Upper class | Middle class | Workers |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Never | 9% | 9% | 8% | 13% | 9% | 8% |
| Don't know | 6 | 9 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 6 |
| *Girls* | | | | | | |
| Before 15 years | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| 15 years | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| 16 years | 5 | 4 | 6 | 11 | 5 | 4 |
| 17 years | 5 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 5 |
| 18 years | 16 | 15 | 17 | 19 | 16 | 16 |
| 19 years | 3 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| 20 years | 10 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 11 | 10 |
| 21 years | 12 | 13 | 12 | 14 | 12 | 13 |
| Older | 13 | 14 | 12 | 7 | 12 | 14 |
| Never | 23 | 21 | 24 | 25 | 22 | 23 |
| Don't know | 8 | 9 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 8 |

**21.** (Sweden May '46) Do you think that schools should forbid smoking out-of-doors in the case of pupils over 15 years, or do you think that the parents alone should decide? (SGI)

| | *School should forbid it* | *Parents should decide* | *Children should decide* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 53% | 26% | 11% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Women | 57% | 24% | 8% | 11% |
| Men | 50 | 27 | 14 | 9 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–24 years | 39% | 38% | 14% | 9% |
| 25–29 years | 53 | 29 | 11 | 7 |
| 30–49 years | 54 | 25 | 13 | 8 |
| 50–64 years | 56 | 24 | 9 | 11 |
| 65 years and over | 61 | 16 | 7 | 16 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 56% | 21% | 16% | 7% |
| Middle class | 52 | 27 | 11 | 10 |
| Workers | 55 | 25 | 10 | 10 |

## SOCIAL CONDITIONS

**1.** (US Aug 16 '37) Do you think poverty will ever be done away with in this country? (AIPO)

Yes 14% No 86% = 100% No opinion 4%

**2.** (US Oct '37) The President often has stated that one-third of the population of the United States has less than a minimum of the necessities for a decent life. Do you agree with him? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *More than a third* | *Less than a third* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 63.8% | 7.4% | 6.8% | 10.6% | 11.4% |
| BY OPINION (ON REDISTRIBUTION OF MONEY) | | | | | |
| Favor redistribution | 35.4% | 33.4% | 18.6% | 12.8% | 20.9% |
| Favor, if it doesn't go too far | 24.5 | 25.2 | 23.5 | 17.0 | 23.4 |
| Not in favor | 35.2 | 38.5 | 52.7 | 69.1 | 39.3 |
| Don't know | 4.9 | 2.9 | 5.2 | 1.1 | 16.4 |
| | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 51.7% | 4.7% | 10.7% | 20.2% | 12.7% |
| Poor | 71.0 | 10.1 | 3.8 | 6.1 | 9.0 |

**3.** (US Feb '40) Do you feel that you, as a citizen, have any obligation to pass on anything to the next generation? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 69.6% | 15.2% | 15.2% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 88.3% | 8.4% | 3.3% |
| Upper middle | 81.5 | 10.1 | 8.4 |
| Lower middle | 70.8 | 16.1 | 13.1 |
| Poor | 57.6 | 21.4 | 21.0 |
| BY RACE | | | |
| Negroes | 49.8% | 14.5% | 35.7% |

69.9% of the sample who thought they had obligations to pass on to the next generation was asked: What?

| | |
|---|---|
| Good citizenship and political environment | 30.0% |
| Moral and ethical qualities | 29.5 |
| Economic and social environment | 20.7 |
| Culture and education | 20.2 |
| Material wealth, property | 10.3 |
| Health and other | 15.0 |
| Don't know | 4.9 |
| | 130.6%* |

* Percentages add to more than 69.9 because some respondents named more than one obligation.

**4.** (Australia July–Aug '42) Would you like to see any great changes in our way of life after the war? (APOP)

Yes 66% No 20% No opinion 14%

What are the chief changes you desire (in our way of life after the war)? Asked of the 66% who said they wanted a change.

| | |
|---|---|
| Work for all, better conditions for working people, or social security | 24% |
| Specifically referred to improved housing, education or medical services | 11 |
| More even distribution of wealth or equality | 20 |
| Favored more control of private enterprise, a changed economic system, or socialism | 16 |
| More religion, brotherly love, or improved morality | 7 |
| No more wars, or better international understanding | 5 |
| Gave various answers, such as more industries, less red tape or a better deal for farmers | 17 |

**5.** (US Apr '43) It has been said that there will always be people in the United States who do not have the kind of food, clothing, and housing they need. Do you think there always will be or not? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Will be | 83% |
| Will not be | 12 |
| No opinion | 3 |
| Qualified answer | 2 |

What do you think is the main reason for this [perpetual shortage of food, clothing and housing with some of the people]?

| | |
|---|---|
| Lack of initiative in individuals | 39% |
| Lack of ability in individuals | 42 |
| Economic or political system | 12 |
| Miscellaneous | 17 |
| Don't know | 5 |
| | 115%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (Great Britain Apr 4 '43) Would you like to see any great changes in your way of life after the war? (BIPO)

Yes 57% No 34% Don't know 9%

What are the chief changes you desire (in your way of life after the war)? Asked of 57% who said they wanted changes.

| | |
|---|---|
| Better working conditions (including longer holidays, more leisure); better wages, work for everybody, no unemployment | 16% |
| Better standard of living all round; pension and security when old | 15 |
| Better houses; garden; bathroom; less work in the home; lower rents; new houses | 8 |
| Things all right as they are; back to previous standard of living | 5 |
| Socialism; changed economic system | 3 |
| Change of occupation | 3 |
| Good education for all | 2 |
| Place in country to retire to | 2 |
| Open air life | 1 |
| Cheaper travel | 1 |
| Get married | 1 |
| More religion; brotherly love | 1 |
| No more wars; better international understanding | 1 |
| Too old for changes | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| No comment | 35 |

**7.** (US Nov '43) Are there any groups of people you think are trying to get ahead at the expense of people like you? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 32.8% | 34.4% | 32.8% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional | 44.9% | 36.4% | 18.7% |
| Salaried executives | 43.5 | 37.8 | 18.7 |
| Factory workers | 35.6 | 34.0 | 30.4 |

The 32.8% of the sample who thought there were such groups voluntarily named these groups:

| | *Jews* | *Big businessmen, capitalists, the rich* | *Labor groups* | *Politicians* | *Other* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| National total | 21.5 | 16.0 | 9.1 | 5.6 | 33.1 | 19.6 | = 104.9* |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | | | |
| Salaried executives | 19.4 | 10.2 | 21.4 | 5.1 | 33.7 | 15.3 | = 105.1* |
| Factory workers | 33.8 | 19.2 | 6.9 | 3.8 | 32.3 | 13.8 | = 109.8* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who thought some groups were trying to get ahead at their expense and add to more than 100 because some gave more than one answer.

**8.** (Denmark June 6 '45) Do you think that the war years have created a better or lesser understanding, for instance, between the town and country population? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 39.1% |
| Lesser | 17.2 |
| Same | 27.9 |
| No answer | 0.1 |
| Don't know | 15.7 |

**9.** (Denmark June 6 '45) Do you think that the war years have created a better or lesser understanding between the different classes of society? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 37.8% |
| Lesser | 10.1 |
| Same | 29.6 |
| No answer | 0.1 |
| Don't know | 22.4 |

**10.** (US Mar '46) A few years ago it was frequently said the businessmen ought to acquire a social consciousness. What was usually meant was the businessmen were responsible for the consequences of their actions in a sphere somewhat wider than that covered by their profit-and-loss statements. Do you think that businessmen should recognize such responsibilities and do their best to fulfill them? (Asked by mail of a national cross-section of executives.) (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 93.5% |
| No | 1.6 |
| Depends | 4.7 |
| Don't know | 0.2 |

About what proportion of the businessmen you know would you rate as having social consciousness of this sort? Asked by mail of a national cross-section of executives.

| | |
|---|---|
| None | 0.4% |
| Less than 10% | 11.8 |
| About a quarter | 22.2 |
| About a half | 29.2 |
| About three quarters | 26.7 |
| All | 3.0 |
| Don't know | 6.7 |

**11.** (US Mar '46) It has been said that labor union leaders have a social responsibility that goes beyond getting better pay and working conditions for their members. Do you think that labor union leaders, from the nature of their jobs, should recognize such a responsibility and do their best to fulfill it? Asked by mail of a national cross-section of executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 93.5% |
| No | 3.0 |
| Depends | 2.9 |
| Don't know | 0.6 |

About what proportion of the labor union leaders with whom you or businessmen whom you know have had direct contact would you say show signs of having a sense of social responsibility of this sort? Asked by mail of a national cross-section of executives.

| | |
|---|---|
| None | 20.7% |
| Less than 10% | 44.7 |
| About a quarter | 14.3 |
| About a half | 5.7 |
| About three quarters | 1.0 |
| All | 0.4 |
| Don't know | 13.2 |

**12.** (US Mar '46) We would like to know whether you put the following responsibilities primarily in the businessman's area or primarily in the labor leader's area, or whether you believe they are to a considerable extent responsibilities of both business and labor, or of neither. After you have checked your answer to each item in one of the first four columns, will you please indicate by checking in the last two columns

whether you think each operation should be regarded as a general social responsibility or merely a matter of self-interest. Asked by mail of a national cross-section of executives. (FOR)

| | *Business* % | *Labor* % | *Both* % | *Neither* % | *Social responsibility* % | *Self-interest* % | *Both (Volunteered)* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| To provide benefits for sickness and old age in excess of those provided by government | 31.5 | 2.5 | 50.0 | 16.0 | 45.3 | 40.0 | 14.7 |
| To provide just as much employment as possible | 40.2 | 0.6 | 57.8 | 1.4 | 39.1 | 45.0 | 15.9 |
| To look out for the general welfare of the communities in which they operate | 11.0 | 0.5 | 84.2 | 4 3 | 52.3 | 31.3 | 16.4 |
| To promote good relations of the US as a whole with foreign countries in general | 20.6 | 0.1 | 67.6 | 11.7 | 38.0 | 49.2 | 12.8 |
| To promote general and vocational education among workers | 16.5 | 4.9 | 71.7 | 6.9 | 37.3 | 48.7 | 14.0 |
| To raise productivity per worker as much as possible | 6.8 | 13.2 | 79.7 | 0.3 | 18.8 | 68.7 | 12.5 |
| To preserve the economic health of the industry which they are a part of | 9.2 | 1.3 | 89.1 | 0.4 | 23.2 | 62.5 | 14.3 |

**13.** (Finland Apr 19 '46) Do you think that youth of today is better or worse than when you were under 20? (FGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Worse | 55% |
| Better | 5 |
| No difference | 23 |
| Both | 12 |
| Don't know | 5 |

**14.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The German public was asked whether they agreed with the following statement: It was the aim of Hitler and his government to improve the lot of the German people. (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| American zone and Berlin | 37% | 54% | 9% |
| Berlin only | 33 | 66 | 1 |

**15.** (US Aug 28 '46) Do you think teenagers behave better or worse today than when you were in your teens? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 9% |
| Worse | 42 |
| About the same | 45 |
| No opinion | 4 |

What do you think is the best thing about teenagers?

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 19% |
| Good sports | 1 |
| Nothing | 4 |
| Better educated | 12 |
| Frank and open | 10 |
| Independent | 10 |
| Eager to learn and work | 9 |
| Interested in world affairs | 5 |
| Ambitious, aggressive | 4 |
| Smarter, clever | 12% |
| Active, athletic | 4 |
| Health, cleanliness, good looks, glamour | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 10 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

What do you think is the chief fault of teenagers today?

| | |
|---|---|
| Nothing | 4% |
| Drinking and smoking | 14 |
| Crime—holdups, robberies, stealing | 3 |
| Disobedient | 3 |
| Disrespect | 10 |
| Extravagance | 5 |
| Too much freedom, too wild, run around too much | 22 |
| Overconfidence, think they know everything | 7 |
| Failure to accept responsibility, too frivolous | 8 |
| Carelessness in dress | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 9 |
| No answer | 18 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## SOCIALISM

**1.** (US June 3 '42) Some people say that England is turning into a Socialist state. Do you think this is true? (OPOR)

Yes 29% No 44% Don't know 27%

29% of the sample who thought England was turning into a Socialist state was asked: Do you think this is a good or bad thing for England?

Good thing 21% Bad thing 6% No opinion 2%

21% of the sample who thought it was a good thing for England to turn into a Socialist state was asked: Why [do you think it is a good thing]?

| | |
|---|---|
| Ability of lower classes is given an opportunity for expression | 2% |
| It makes for more equality and less class distinction | 9 |
| Government by the upper classes has been bad and decadent | 3 |
| All of the people must feel secure and happy | 3 |
| Government planning is necessary | 1 |
| Colonies would be better off | * |
| From results of US | * |
| Helps in war | * |
| Logical development would be better off | 1 |
| No answer | * |
| | * = 2 |
| | 21% |

**2.** (US July '42) Do you think some form of Socialism would be a good thing or a bad thing for the country as a whole? (FOR)

| | *Good* | *Bad* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 25.4% | 40.4% | 34.2% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 23.3% | 58.4% | 18.3% |
| Poor | 24.5 | 31.8 | 43.7 |
| Executive | 39.9 | 46.8 | 13.3 |
| Factory labor | 29.9 | 35.9 | 34.2 |

**3.** (US July '42) Do you think you personally would stand to gain or lose by some form of Socialism? (FOR)

| | *Gain* | *No difference* | *Lose* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 15.4% | 24.7% | 31.9% | 28.0% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 9.0% | 18.7% | 59.5% | 12.8% |
| Poor | 19.6 | 22.8 | 21.9 | 35.7 |
| Executive | 10.9 | 32.2 | 48.7 | 8.2 |
| Factory labor | 23.9 | 27.4 | 24.2 | 24.5 |

## SOLDIERS

**1.** (Great Britain July '40) Do you think the troops should be allowed a free ration of tobacco, duty-free tobacco? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Free ration | 50% |
| Duty free | 44 |
| Both | 2 |
| Don't know | 4 |

**2.** (US Dec 16 '40) Do you think the army is taking good care of the men drafted so far? (AIPO)

Yes 91% No 9% = 100% No opinion 12%

**3.** (US Dec 24 '41) From what you know or have heard, would you say the all-around fighting ability of our air force is better, about the same, or poorer than Japan's (Germany's)? all-around fighting ability of our army? all-around fighting ability of our navy? (NORC)

| | *Better* | *Same* | *Poorer* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Air force* | | | | |
| Japan | 79% | 8% | 6% | 7% |
| Germany | 62 | 17 | 13 | 8 |
| *Army* | | | | |
| Japan | 80 | 8 | 7 | 5 |
| Germany | 60 | 15 | 18 | 7 |
| *Navy* | | | | |
| Japan | 81 | 9 | 4 | 6 |
| Germany | 78 | 10 | 5 | 7 |

**4.** (US Aug 21 '42, Nov 27 '42, June 18 '43) From what you know or have heard, would you say the all-around fighting ability of the American armed forces is better, about the same, or poorer than Russia's (Germany's)? (NORC)

| | *Better* | *About the same* | *Poorer* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Aug '42* | | | | |
| Russia | 65% | 22% | 5% | 8% |
| Germany | 57 | 19 | 15 | 9 |
| *Nov '42* | | | | |
| Russia | 51 | 33 | 7 | 9 |
| Germany | 65 | 19 | 8 | 8 |
| *June '43* | | | | |
| Russia | 53 | 32 | 7 | 8 |

**5.** (US Aug 21 '42) Are any members of your family or any of your relatives, either in the armed forces now, or about to go in within the next few months? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, in now | 61% |
| Yes, about to go in | 28 |
| No answer | 2 |
| No | 25 |
| | 116%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

89% of the sample who had members of their family or relatives in service or about to enter were asked: What relation are they to you?

| | |
|---|---|
| Immediate family | 43% |
| Non-immediate | 55 |
| Self | 4 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 89 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Aug 21 '42 and Aug 29 '42) In what branch of the service are they [members of family or relatives either in service or about to enter]?

| | *Aug 21 '42* | *Aug 29 '42* |
|---|---|---|
| Members of family or relatives in or about to enter | 11% | 11% |
| Army | 72 | 54 |
| Navy | 24 | 17 |
| Air corps (no branch specified) | 13 | 11 |
| Marines | 5 | 4 |
| Coast Guard | 3 | 2 |
| Answers given—branch not ascertainable | 1 | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 7 | 4 |
| | 136%* | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Aug 29 '42 and Nov 27 '42) Are any members of your family, or any of your relatives, either in the armed forces now, or about to go in within the next few months?

| | *Aug 29 '42* | *Nov 27 '42* |
|---|---|---|
| Yes, in | 63% | 68% |
| Yes, about to go in | 26 | 24 |
| No | 25 | 22 |
| | 114%* | 114%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (US Aug 21 '42, Aug 29 '42, Nov 27 '42) How about close friends? Do you have any close friends in the armed forces—or about to go in? The Aug 29 sample asked "within the next few months" on the end of the question. (NORC)

| | *Aug 21 '42* | *Aug 29 '42* | *Nov 27 '42* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Yes, in | 77% | 75% | 81% |
| Yes, about to go in | 28 | 31 | 20 |
| No answer | — | 1 | * |
| No | 18 | 20 | 16 |
| | 123%** | 127%** | 117%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**7.** (US June 12 '45) Is there any member of your immediate family with the armed forces in Germany now? (AIPO)

Yes 31% No 67% No answer 2%

**8.** (US Aug 29 '42) Do you think the American soldiers are getting enough training before they go into battle? (NORC)

Yes 67% No 18% Don't know 15%

**9.** (US Aug 29 '42) Have you heard of any cases of discontent among soldiers in the army camps here in the United States? 20% of the sample who had heard of cases of discontent among soldiers were asked: Do you think this discontent is serious enough to hurt the fighting spirit of our army as a whole, or do you think it doesn't amount to much? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Have not heard of discontent | 80% |
| Serious enough to hurt | 3 |
| Discontent doesn't amount to much | 15 |
| Don't know whether discontent is serious enough to hurt | 2 |

**10.** (US Aug 29 '42) Suppose a movie short were being made showing life in the army camps. What particular things would you especially like to see? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| General life in camps | 22% |
| Training and drilling | 30 |
| Maneuvers | 10 |
| Meals and sleeping quarters | 16 |
| Amusement and recreation | 12 |
| Equipment | 4 |
| Health, general welfare, spiritual | 5 |
| Air force | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| Nothing | 11 |
| Other specific branches | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 10 |
| | 130%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**11.** (US Aug 29 '42) And which [of these countries] do you think has the best fighting spirit? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia | 12% |
| Japan | 5 |
| Germany | 5 |
| England | 6 |
| United States | 65 |
| Don't know | 7 |

**12.** (US June 18 '42) Aside from friends and relatives, have you ever had a soldier or sailor your home for a meal? (NORC)

Yes 35% No 65%

**13.** (France Mar 1 '45) Do you think American soldiers behave properly? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Always | 7% |
| In general | 55 |
| Rarely | 16 |
| Never | 3 |
| Don't know | 19 |

**14.** (Sweden Apr '45) What is your personal experience of the relations between officers and soldiers; on the whole were they good or could you wish them better? Asked of a national cross-section of men who had been called up for service since the outbreak of war in 1939. (SGI)

| | *Very good* | *Quite good* | *Acceptable* | *Might be better* | *Bad* | *Other* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 37% | 21% | 7% | 27% | 4% | 2% | 2% |
| BY AGE | | | | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 30% | 27% | 6% | 27% | 7% | 3% | — |
| 30–49 years | 40 | 18 | 8 | 29 | 2 | 2 | 1% |
| 50 years and over | 56 | 8 | 4 | 17 | 2 | — | 13 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | |
| Upper class | 44% | 15% | 7% | 32% | — | — | 2% |
| Middle class | 39 | 23 | 8 | 23 | 2% | 2% | 3 |
| Workers | 35 | 20 | 7 | 30 | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| BY MILITARY STATUS | | | | | | | |
| Privates | 36% | 20% | 8% | 28% | 5% | 2% | 1% |
| Non-commissioned officers | 36 | 23 | 3 | 31 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Officers | 42 | 27 | 8 | 16 | — | 1 | 6 |

In what way were the relations [between officers and men in the army] not ideal in your opinion? Asked of 63% of a national sample of men who had been called up for service since the outbreak of war in 1939 who thought that the relations between officers and men were other than very good.

| | |
|---|---|
| Too much punishment, officers too strict, no comradeship | 45% |
| Certain officers no good (certain groups of single officers) | 9 |
| Officers demanded too much discipline | 6 |
| Faulty organization, etc. | 3 |
| Officers not competent, too bossy | 3 |
| Unjust | 2 |
| The men undisciplined | 1 |
| Other reasons | 9 |
| General dissatisfaction, not specified | 22 |

**15.** (US June '45) Do you think the men serving in the Pacific should serve in that area until the end of the war, or do you think they should be transferred back for duty in the United States after a certain length of time? 84.9% of the sample who thought the men should be transferred home were asked: About how long do you think they should serve in the Pacific area before being transferred? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should serve there to end | 10.3% |
| Don't know whether or not they should be transferred | 4.8 |
| Should be transferred home in: | |
| Less than 1 year | 4.6 |
| 1 year | 20.4 |
| 1½ years | 17.6 |
| 2 years | 26.4 |
| 2½ years | 3.1 |
| 3 years | 3.7 |
| 3½ years | .1 |
| 4 years or over | .3 |
| Don't know how long | 8.7 |

**16.** (US June '45) After the war in Europe is over, do you think soldiers who have been fighting there should or should not be transferred to the Pacific war, provided of course they are sent back here on leave first? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should | 36.3% |
| Should if necessary (answer volunteered) | 21.8 |
| Should not | 35.5 |
| Don't know | 6.4 |

**17.** (US June '45) Aside from actual fighting—in which of our two wars do you think our men are really having the most uncomfortable time? 68.7% of the sample thought the men in the war against Japan were having most uncomfortable time and 10.6% thought the men in Germany were. These two groups were asked: Do you think these conditions have to be expected, or do you think they can be avoided? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Makes no difference which war men are in | 14.7% |
| Don't know in which war men are having the most uncomfortable times | 6.0 |
| Conditions have to be expected | 67 0 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Conditions could be avoided | 7.6% |
| Don't know whether or not conditions have to be expected | 4.7 |

**18.** (US June 12 '45) Do you think American soldiers in Germany should be allowed to have dates with German girls? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 30% | 59% | 11% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 41% | 48% | 11% |
| Women | 22 | 67 | 11 |
| BY AGE (WOMEN) | | | |
| Under 30 years | 22% | 70% | 8% |
| 30–49 years | 25 | 66 | 9 |
| 50 years and over | 19 | 67 | 14 |
| BY AGE (MEN) | | | |
| Under 30 years | 45% | 40% | 15% |
| 30–49 years | 43 | 45 | 12 |
| 50 years and over | 37 | 53 | 10 |

**19.** (US Feb 27 '46) Do you think the army should or should not let soldiers serving overseas marry girls who live in occupied countries in Europe? (AIPO)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 44% | 48% | 8% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 53% | 39% | 8% |
| Women | 36 | 56 | 8 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 53% | 40% | 7% |
| 30–49 years | 46 | 46 | 8 |
| 50 years and over | 37 | 54 | 9 |
| World War II veterans | 61 | 33 | 6 |

**20.** (US Apr 10 '46) Do you approve or disapprove of GI's now in France marrying French girls? (AIPO)

Approve 47% Disapprove 41% No opinion 12%

**21.** (US Apr 10 '46) Do you approve or disapprove of GI's now in England marrying English girls? (AIPO)

Approve 53% Disapprove 36% No opinion 11%

**22.** (US Apr 10 '46) Do you think it would be a good idea or a poor idea if army officers and enlisted men had the same food, clubs, and social privileges? (AIPO)

| | *Good idea* | *Poor idea* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 72% | 20% | 8% |
| Veterans | 78 | 19 | 3 |

**23.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The Germans were asked whether they agreed with the following statement: A civilian is of less account than a member of the armed forces. (OMGUS)

Yes 9% No 89% No opinion 2%

**24.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The German public was asked whether they agreed with the following statement: A soldier has no claim to any special respect. (OMGUS)

Yes 49% No 43% No opinion 8%

**25.** (US July 24 '46) Generally speaking, do you feel that your time in the armed forces was a waste from your point of view, or did you benefit from it? Asked of a national cross-section of male veterans of World War II. (AIPO)

Waste 32% Benefit 62% No answer 6%

**26.** (US July 24 '46) What would you say was the best thing you got out of being in the service? Asked of a national cross-section of male veterans of World War II. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Money | 2% |
| Contacts with men | 2 |
| Benefits under GI Bill | 2 |
| No answer | 6 |
| None | 6 |
| Education, experience, training and discipline | 47 |
| Travel | 15 |
| Understanding of other peoples | 15 |
| Independence, how to care for myself | 6 |
| Miscellaneous | 13 |
| | 114%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**27.** (US July 24 '46) What did you dislike most about being in the service? Asked of a national cross-section of male veterans of World War II. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Boring, routine duties | 4% |
| Fighting and killing | 3 |
| Poor food | 3 |
| No answer | 2 |
| Caste system | 15 |
| Officers | 15 |
| Regimentation, too many orders, discipline | 21 |
| Time wasted, red tape | 9 |
| Distance from home, missed family | 12 |
| Not enough time to self | 4 |
| Nothing | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | 11 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**28.** (Canada Dec 18 '46) Have you personally met any British war brides? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No, or not sure* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 58% | 42% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 55% | 45% |
| Women | 62 | 38 |

**29.** (Canada Dec 18 '46) Do you think the government should have made it more difficult for Canadian servicemen to marry overseas, and bring their wives to this country, or not? (CIPO)

| | *Should not have been more difficult* | *Should have been more difficult* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 33% | 18% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 52% | 29% | 19% |
| Women | 45 | 37 | 18 |
| BY VETERANS | | | |
| World War I | 56% | 24% | 20% |
| World War II | 59 | 26 | 15 |
| Persons acquainted with war brides | 57 | 31 | 12 |
| Persons not acquainted with war brides | 39 | 35 | 26 |

## Suffrage

**1.** (Australia Mar '43) Should members of the fighting forces under twenty-one be given a vote? (APOP)

Yes 61% No 31% No opinion 8%

**2.** (US Jan '44) Do you think that men and women over twenty-one in the armed forces who are stationed outside of this country should be able to vote in the presidential election next November, or don't you think they should? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, should | 92% |
| No, should not | 5 |
| Don't know | 3 |

Do you think it can be made possible for most men in the armed forces overseas and on ships to vote in the presidential election next November? Asked of 92% of the sample who thought members of the armed forces stationed outside the country should be able to vote in the coming election and 3% who had no opinion.

Yes 75% No 11% Don't know 9%

Which do you think should be in charge of seeing that men overseas are given a chance to vote in the coming presidential election, the federal or the state government? Asked of 92% of the sample who thought members of the armed forces stationed outside the country should be able to vote in the coming election and 3% who had no opinion.

Federal 57% State 26% Don't know 12%

Which one of these two plans, to give men and women in the armed forces a chance to vote in the coming presidential election, do you prefer? Asked of 92% of the sample who thought members of the armed forces stationed outside the country should be able to vote in the coming election and 3% who had no opinion.

| | |
|---|---|
| To pass a federal law providing for the army and navy to give ballots to all men and women over twenty-one in the armed forces | 58% |
| To have each state send ballots to men and women over twenty-one in the armed forces under the laws of their state | 30 |
| Don't know | 7 |

Do you think Negroes over twenty-one in the armed forces should be allowed to vote or not? Asked of 92% of the sample who thought members of the armed forces stationed outside the country should be able to vote in the coming election and 3% who had no opinion.

Yes 77% No 12% Qualified answers 2% Don't know 4%

**3.** (US Jan '44) If soldiers vote in the coming election, do you think it will help one party more than the other? Those who said the soldiers' votes would help one party more than the other were asked: Which one? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, it will help: | |
| Democrats | 12% |
| Republicans | 6 |
| Don't know | 3 |
| No, it will not help | 64 |
| Don't know | 15 |

**4.** (US Jan 4 '44) In the next election for President and Congress, do you think each state should decide voting requirements for soldiers from that state, or should this be left to a committee appointed by President Roosevelt? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| State should decide | 38% |
| Left to a committee | 43 |
| Undecided | 19 |

**5.** (US Jan 4 '44) In the next election for President and Congress, do you think each state should decide voting requirements for soldiers from that state, or should this be left to the federal government? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| State should decide | 25% |
| Left to federal government | 57 |
| Undecided | 18 |

**6.** (US Feb 16 '44) Have you followed the arguments in Congress over the soldier vote bill? (AIPO)

Yes 58% No 42%

58% of the sample who had followed the arguments in Congress over the soldier vote bill were asked: Which side do you agree with—those who want a short ballot on which service men would vote for federal offices, or those who want a longer ballot on which they would vote for federal and state offices? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Federal | 29% |
| Federal and state offices | 59 |
| Undecided | 12 |

**7.** (US Feb 16 '44) Do you know what the difference of opinion is on the soldier vote bill now being discussed in Congress? (AIPO)

Yes 45% No 55%

45% of the sample who knew what the difference of opinion was on the soldier vote bill being discussed in Congress was asked: Which side do you agree with [in the discussion over the soldier vote]?

| | |
|---|---|
| Federal plan | 37% |
| State plan | 40 |
| Other [replies] | 4 |
| Soldiers should get vote no matter how | 14 |
| Don't know | 5 |

**8.** (US Mar 15 '44) Have you followed the soldier vote bill in Congress closely enough to have an opinion on the present compromise bill? (AIPO)

Yes 29% No 71%

29% of the total sample who had followed the soldier vote bill in Congress closely enough to have an opinion on the present compromise bill was asked: What would you say is the chief advantage of this compromise soldier vote bill?

| | |
|---|---|
| Preserves states' rights | 16% |
| No advantage | 26 |
| Other informed comments | 9 |
| Lets soldiers vote | 34 |
| Didn't say and no answer | 15 |

29% of the total sample who had followed the soldier vote bill in Congress closely enough to have an opinion on the present bill was asked: Would you like to see the present compromise [soldier's vote] bill passed and made a law, or would you like to see it defeated?

| | |
|---|---|
| Passed | 56% |
| Defeated | 31 |
| Undecided | 13 |

**9.** (US July 18 '44) Do you know whether he [relatives in armed forces] (they) will try to vote in the presidential election this fall? Asked of a national cross-section of persons with relatives or members of their immediate family in the armed forces. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Definitely will vote | 37% |
| Probably will vote | 7 |
| Probably won't vote | 3 |

Definitely won't vote..... 7%
Just plain "no"..... 9
Don't know..... 37

**10.** (US Aug 1 '44) In any of his [relatives in armed forces] letters has he ever mentioned the coming presidential election? Asked of a national cross-section of people with relatives or members of immediate family in the armed forces. (AIPO)

Yes 12% No 84% Don't remember 4%

**11.** (France Dec 1 '44) Should soldiers have the right to vote? (FIPO)

Yes 72% No 21% No opinion 7%

## SOLDIERS' MONUMENTS

**1.** (Great Britain Apr '44) After the war, should memorials be mainly in the form of monuments, or in the form of playing grounds, clubs, hospitals, schools, and so on? (BIPO)

Monuments..... 8%
Useful memorials such as hospitals, etc..... 86
Don't know..... 6

**2.** (Australia July '44) What kind of war memorial do you favor? (APOP)

Useful memorials:
Hospitals, clinics, hostels for disabled soldiers..... 50%
Schools, kindergartens, education for soldiers' children 14
Halls, libraries, community centers..... 7
Housing, homes for servicemen..... 3
Pensions for disabled men..... 2
Anything useful..... 10
Monuments, cenotaphs, shrines, non-utilities..... 4
Parks, playgrounds, boulevards..... 4
Undecided or opposed to any memorial..... 6

**3.** (Canada Nov 11 '44) After the war, should memorials be mainly in the form of monuments, or in the form of playing grounds, clubs, hospitals, schools, and so on? (CIPO)

Want monuments 10% Useful memorials 90%

**4.** (Australia June 15 '46) The question is about war memorials—whether those for the 1914–1918 war should also be memorials for the war just ended. Would you favor or oppose that? (APOP)

Favor 58% Oppose 38% Undecided 4%

If new [war] memorials are built, what kind would you prefer?

Hospitals, hostels for servicemen..... 50%
Halls, clubs for ex-servicemen..... 17
Parks, playgrounds..... 8
Schools, scholarships for servicemen's children..... 6
Help for disabled men..... 2
Homes for ex-servicemen..... 2
Anything useful..... 15

## SOUTHERN STATES

**1.** (US Dec 16 '40) Some southern states require every voter to pay a poll tax amounting to about a dollar a year before they can vote. Do you think those poll taxes should be abolished? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 63% | 35% | 12% |
| Vote in five Southern states with no poll tax..... | 51 | 26 | 13 |

**2.** (US May 24 '44) Do you think the South would be better off in general if there were two political parties of about equal strength instead of one strong party as there is at present? Asked of a cross-section of the thirteen southern states. (AIPO)

Two parties..... 64%
One party..... 36

**3.** (US May 29 '46) Do you think the South would be better off in general, if there were two political parties of about equal strength instead of one strong party as there is at present? Asked of a cross-section of the thirteen southern states. (AIPO)

| | *Yes, two parties* | *No, one party* |
|---|---|---|
| National total (of 13 southern states).... | 62% | 38% |
| BY GROUPS OF SOUTHERN STATES | | |
| N.C., Va., Fla., Ky., Okla., Tenn..... | 69% | 31% |
| S.C., Ala., Ark., Ga., La., Miss., Tex. | 51 | 49 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrat..... | 53% | 47% |
| Republican..... | 86 | 14 |

## SPAIN

### Civil War, 1936-1939

**1.** (US Jan 11 '37) In the present civil war in Spain are your sympathies with the Loyalists who are now defending Madrid, or are they with the Rebels, or with neither side? (AIPO)

| | *Rebels* | *Loyalists* | *Neither* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 12% | 22% | 66%* |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England..... | 16% | 32% | 52%** |
| Middle Atlantic..... | 19 | 32 | 49 |
| East central..... | 14 | 28 | 58 |
| West central..... | 20 | 23 | 57 |
| South..... | 18 | 29 | 53 |
| Mountain..... | 9 | 30 | 61 |
| Pacific coast..... | 10 | 35 | 55 |

* No opinion vote of 26% of the sample is included in this percentage.
** In the sectional division the "no opinion" vote is *not* included.

**2.** (US May 10 '37) Are your sympathies with either side in the present Spanish civil war? (AIPO)

Yes 21% No 79% = 100% No opinion 2%

21% of the sample whose sympathies were with one side were asked: Which side [are your sympathies with in the present Spanish civil war]?

Loyalists 57% Rebels 19% No answer 24%

**3.** (US Apr '37) On which side are your sympathies in the present Spanish revolution? (FOR)

Government..... 23.6%
Rebels..... 11.7
Indifferent..... 26.4
Don't know..... 38.3

**4.** (Great Britain Feb '38) Are you in favor of direct retaliatory measures against Franco's piracy? (BIPO)

Yes 78% No 22% = 100% No opinion 32%

**5.** (US Feb 3 '38) Which side in the Spanish civil war do you think will win in the end? (AIPO)

Loyalists 46% Rebels 54%

Which side do you sympathize with in the Spanish civil war?

Loyalists 75% Rebels 25%

**6.** (Great Britain Mar '38) In the present war in Spain are your sympathies with the government, with Franco, or with neither? (BIPO)

Government 57% Franco 7% Neither 36%

**7.** (Great Britain Oct '38) In the present conflict in Spain between Franco and the government, are your sympathies with Franco or with the government? (BIPO)

Government 57% Franco 9% No opinion 34%

**8.** (US Dec 16 '38) Which side do you sympathize with in the Spanish civil war—the Loyalists or Franco? (AIPO)

| | *Loyalists* | *Franco* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 76% | 24% |
| BY RELIGION | | |
| Catholics | 42% | 58% |
| Protestants | 83 | 17 |

**9.** (Great Britain Jan '39) In the present conflict in Spain between Franco and the government, are your sympathies with Franco or the government? (BIPO)

Franco 9% Government 72% No opinion 19%

**10.** (US Feb 2 '39) Have you been following events in the Spanish civil war? (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 38% No answer 2%

60% of the sample who had been following events in the Spanish civil war were asked: Which side do you sympathize with in the Spanish civil war—the Loyalists or Franco?

| | |
|---|---|
| Loyalists | 32% |
| Franco | 11 |
| Neither | 11 |
| No opinion | 6 |

60% of the sample who had been following the Spanish civil war were asked: Franco is now obtaining war materials from Italy and Germany. Should we permit the Loyalists to buy war materials in the United States?

Yes 25% No 27% No opinion 8%

**11.** (US Feb 2 '39) Have you been following the Spanish civil war? (AIPO)

Yes 59% No 40% No answer 1%

Which side do you sympathize with in the Spanish civil war —the Loyalists or Franco? Asked of 59% of the sample who had been following the events in the Spanish civil war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Loyalists | 30% |
| Franco | 12 |
| Neither | 12 |
| No opinion | 5 |
| | 59% |

59% of the sample who had been following the Spanish civil war were asked: Should Congress permit the Spanish Loyalists to buy war materials in the United States?

Yes 23% No 29% No opinion 7%

## Civil War, 1936-1939 (Causes)

1. (US Apr '37) Do you believe the war in Spain is a class war of the propertied class versus the common people? (FOR)

Yes 29.5% No 21.0% Don't know 49.5%

## Civil War, 1936-1939 (Supplies)

**1.** (US Dec 16 '38) Do you think the ban, as provided by the Neutrality Act, prohibiting our country from selling war materials directly to either side in the Spanish civil war, should be removed? (AIPO)

Yes 24% No 76% = 100% No opinion 23%

**2.** (US Jan 7 '39) Should Congress change the Neutrality Act to permit the shipment of arms to the Loyalists in Spain? (AIPO)

Yes 21% No 79% = 100% No opinion 17%

**3.** (US Jan 7 '39) Should Congress change the Neutrality Act to permit shipment of foodstuffs to the Loyalists in Spain? (AIPO)

Yes 48% No 52% = 100% No opinion 22%

## Foreign Relations

**1.** (France June–July '39) Do you think Spain will remain irrevocably attached to the Axis powers? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46% | 46% | 8% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Agriculture | 50% | 40% | 10% |
| Industry and transportation | 49 | 47 | 4 |
| Commerce | 31 | 60 | 9 |
| Professional | 50 | 42 | 8 |

**2.** (Canada Apr 26 '44) Do you think the Allies should continue to trade and to have diplomatic relations with Spain, or should they stop trading with Spain and break off diplomatic relations with her? (CIPO)

| | *Continue* | *Break Off* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 26% | 51% | 23% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Quebec | 39% | 36% | 25% |
| Rest of Canada | 22 | 56 | 22 |

**3.** (Great Britain Jan 12 '46) If Britain, America, and France together broke off all relations with Franco Spain, would you approve or disapprove? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 60% | 16% | 24% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 68% | 17% | 15% |
| Women | 52 | 16 | 32 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 60% | 16% | 24% |
| 30–49 years | 60 | 17 | 23 |
| 50 years and over | 60 | 15 | 25 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 54% | 27% | 19% |
| Middle | 61 | 20 | 19 |
| Lower | 60 | 14 | 26 |

BY POLITICS

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Conservative | 53% | 23% | 24% |
| Labor | 65 | 12 | 23 |
| Liberal | 60 | 19 | 21 |
| National Liberal | 45 | 23 | 32 |
| Others | 64 | 15 | 21 |
| Didn't vote | 55 | 15 | 30 |

**4.** (Great Britain Mar '46) The United States, France, and Britain have expressed disapproval of Franco. Would you agree or disagree if they took stronger steps such as cutting off all trade with Spain? (BIPO)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48% | 22% | 30% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 56% | 26% | 18% |
| Women | 40 | 19 | 41 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 46% | 23% | 31% |
| 30–49 years | 50 | 24 | 26 |
| 50 years and over | 46 | 20 | 34 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 48% | 43% | 9% |
| Middle | 53 | 30 | 17 |
| Lower | 47 | 18 | 35 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative and National Liberal | 45% | 32% | 23% |
| Labor | 54 | 16 | 30 |
| Liberal | 43 | 23 | 34 |
| Other | 70 | 10 | 20 |
| Did not vote | 40 | 21 | 39 |
| No reply | 33 | 36 | 31 |

**5.** (Sweden May '46) Do you think it right to overthrow Franco through international intervention, and if so, should Sweden join by breaking off trade-relations with Franco-Spain? (SGI)

| | *Right to take steps, but Sweden should not join* | *Right and Sweden should join* | *Not right* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 20% | 19% | 16% | 45% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 22% | 13% | 41% | 24% |
| Middle class | 19 | 17 | 20 | 44 |
| Workers | 20 | 22 | 11 | 47 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Right party | 16% | 9% | 46% | 29% |
| National party | 23 | 12 | 20 | 45 |
| Agrarians | 21 | 15 | 16 | 48 |
| Social Democrats | 21 | 27 | 11 | 41 |
| Communists | 17 | 48 | 9 | 26 |

**6.** (US Nov 14 '46) Do you think the United Nations should or should not break off trade and political relations with Spain? (AIPO)

Should 24% Should not 37% No opinion 39%

## Republic, 1931-1939

**1.** (US Nov 20 '36) Should the United States recognize the Spanish rebels as Germany and Italy have done, in place of the Madrid government? (AIPO)

Yes 14% No 86% = 100% No opinion 14%

**2.** (Great Britain Jan 14 '37) Do you consider that Franco's Junta should be recognized as a legal Spanish government? (BIPO)

Yes 14% No 86% = 100% No opinion 6%

## SPELLING REFORM

**1.** (Netherlands Mar '46) Should the former spelling [unsimplified as used by the government and some papers] be maintained, or should the spelling now taught at school [simplified] be used by everyone? (NFS)

| | *Unsimplified spelling* | *Simplified spelling* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 30% | 52% | 18% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 33% | 52% | 15% |
| Women | 27 | 51 | 22 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–29 years | 15% | 78% | 7% |
| 50 years and over | 42 | 28 | 30 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Laborers | 29% | 47% | 24% |
| White-collar | 31 | 60 | 9 |

## SPIES

**1.** (US July '40) Do you believe that Germany has already started to organize a fifth column in this country? (FOR)

Yes 71.0% No 6.8% Don't know 22.2%

**2.** (US July 31 '40) What is your understanding of the term "fifth column"? (AIPO)

Correct 53% Doubtful 17% Incorrect 5% Don't know 25%

**3.** (US July 31 '40) Without mentioning names, do you think there are any fifth columnists in this community? (AIPO)

Yes 48% No 26% Don't know 26%

**4.** (US Nov 30 '40) Do you think the G-Men (the Federal Bureau of Investigation) are doing a good job or a poor job in tracking down spies and fifth columnists? (AIPO)

Good job 53% Poor job 14% Don't know 33%

**5.** (US July 29 '42) What punishment should be given to spies caught in this country? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Death penalty | 85% |
| Imprisonment | 8 |
| Deported | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| No answer | 3 |

**6.** (Canada Oct 10 '42) What do you think should be done with enemy spies caught in this country? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Death penalty | 66% |
| Imprisonment | 18 |
| Miscellaneous | 14 |
| No answer | 2 |

**7.** (US July 14 '42) Should spies caught in this country be punished by death? (AIPO)

Yes 86% No 8% Undecided 6%

**8.** (Denmark June 15 '45) What punishment should informers get? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Death penalty | 91.4% |
| Prison | 4.2 |
| Take their civic rights from them | .2 |
| Take their civic rights from them forever | 1.3 |
| Take their civic rights from them for a shorter period | .3 |
| Confiscation of fortune and property | 2.2 |
| Other replies | .4 |

**9.** (US July 14 '42) Have you heard about the trial of the eight German spies? (AIPO)

Yes 92% No 8%

Asked of a national cross-section of those who had heard about the trial of the eight German spies. Do you happen to know in what city the trial is being held?

Correct 52% Incorrect 10% Don't know 38%

The Army says the trial should be kept secret for military reasons and will not allow newspapers to report it. Do you agree that the trial should be kept secret, or should newspapers be allowed to report it?

| | |
|---|---|
| Keep secret | 63% |
| Report it | 30 |
| No opinion | 7 |

Which of these statements best expresses your opinion as to whether or not the trial should be made public? (Hand card to respondent.)

| | |
|---|---|
| The public should be given complete information about the spy trial | 14% |
| The decision of whether or not the trial should be made public should be left up to the man in charge of reporting the war news for government | 10 |
| If the Army says the trial should be kept secret for military reasons, then I think it should be kept secret | 73 |
| No opinion | 3 |

**10.** (US July 18 '42) Do you think the government should tell the public when they catch spies and Nazi agents in this country, or do you think they should keep it quiet? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Tell public | 55% |
| Keep it quiet | 35 |
| Don't know | 10 |

**11.** (Sweden Feb '45) Have you heard of the complaints against town inspector Paulson? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 69% | 26% | 5% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 87% | 10% | 3% |
| Middle class | 70 | 25 | 5 |
| Workers | 66 | 30 | 4 |

Asked of 69% of the total sample who had heard of the complaints against the town inspector: Of what is he accused?

| | *Treason (espionage, refugee transactions, informing against refugees, etc.)* | *Making mistakes* | *Don't know, don't remember* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 3% | 11% = 69% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 76% | 4% | 7% = 87% |
| Middle class | 56 | 2 | 12 = 70 |
| Workers | 50 | 3 | 13 = 66 |

**12.** (Canada May 15 '46) Have you heard or read of the Russian spy reports in Canada? (CIPO)

Have heard 93% Have not heard 7%

Asked of 93% of the sample who had heard of the Russian spy reports in Canada. In general, do you think the government acted wisely in this matter, or is there anything about their policy which you disapprove?

Gov't acted wisely 61% Disapprove policy 16% Undecided 16%

**13.** (US Aug 25 '46) Do you think Russia has spies at work here in the United States today? (AIPO)

Yes 78% No 5% No opinion 17%

## SPORTS

**1.** (US Apr 19 '37) Which is your favorite sport to watch? (AIPO)

| | *Baseball* | *Football* | *Basketball* | *Boxing* | *Horse-racing* | *All others* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 23% | 8% | 3% | 5% | 14% | 14% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | |
| Men | 44% | 28% | 7% | 5% | 4% | 12% | |
| Women | 27 | 23 | 15 | 9 | 8 | 18 | |
| BY AGE | | | | | | | |
| 17–20 years | 23% | 44% | — | — | — | 33% | |
| 21–24 years | 33 | 39 | — | — | — | 28 | |
| 25–34 years | 36 | 35 | — | — | — | 29 | |
| 35–44 years | 49 | 24 | — | — | — | 27 | |
| 45–54 years | 53 | 24 | — | — | — | 23 | |
| 55 years and over | 58 | 14 | — | — | — | 28 | |

(Apr 19 '38)

| | *Baseball* | *Football* | *Basketball* | *Horse-racing* | *Tennis* | *All others* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 36% | 22% | 6% | 4% | 3% | 14% | 15% |

**2.** (US Mar 22 '37) What is your favorite sport to take part in? (AIPO)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Baseball | 15% | Riding (horse) | 2% |
| Swimming | 8 | Bowling | 2 |
| Tennis | 7 | Dancing | 1 |
| Basketball | 6 | Skating | 1 |
| Golf | 5 | Horse-racing | 1 |
| Fishing | 5 | Volleyball | 1 |
| Football | 4 | Boxing | 1 |
| Hunting | 3 | All others | 7 |

(Apr 19 '38)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Football | 5% | Tennis | 7% |
| Baseball | 15 | Golf | 6 |
| Basketball | 4 | Hunting | 3 |
| Fishing | 5 | All others | 17 |
| Swimming | 6 | No answer | 32 |

**3.** (US Mar 23 '35) Should America refuse to participate in the Olympic games which are to be held in Germany this coming year? (AIPO)

Yes 43% No 57%

**4.** (US Nov 19 '37) Do you follow college football? (AIPO)

Yes 46% No 52% No opinion 2%

What football team would you like to see play California in the Rose Bowl?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ohio State | 1% | Minnesota | 1% |
| Harvard | 1 | Yale | 1 |
| Cornell | 1 | Vanderbilt | 1 |
| Pittsburgh | 15 | Nebraska | 1 |
| Alabama | 7 | Mich. State | 1 |
| Fordham | 6 | All others | 3 |
| Notre Dame | 2 | No opinion | 5 |
| Dartmouth | 2 | | |

**5.** (US Jan 18 '38) Do you think colleges should pay their athletes? (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 55% No opinion 15%

**6.** (US Feb 26 '38) Do you think the United States should refuse to take part in the 1940 Olympic games if they are held in Japan? (AIPO)

Yes 39% No 61%

**7.** (US May 10 '39) Which man would you like to see win in the coming heavyweight match—Joe Louis or Tony Galento? (AIPO)

Louis 53% Galento 47%

What man do you think will win the coming heavyweight match, Louis or Galento?

Louis 95% Galento 5%

**8.** (US Mar 13 '40) Which of the following games have you played in the last year? (AIPO)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Checkers | 37% | Solitaire | 31% |
| Dominoes | 20 | Chess | 4 |
| Golf | 12 | Charades | 4 |
| Bridge | 36 | Chinese checkers | 16 |
| Pinochle | 22 | Other | 20 |
| Tennis | 13 | No answer | 17 |
| Poker | 24 | | |
| | | Total | 256%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (Australia Sept '41) Should professional sports be restricted during the war? (APOP)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 45% | 46% | 9% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Lowest incomes | 36% | 53% | 11% |
| Artisans, etc. | 40 | 51 | 9 |
| Better off | 56 | 37 | 7 |

**10.** (Canada Feb 4 '42) What is your favorite sport? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hockey | 59% |
| Baseball | 17 |
| Football & rugby | 8 |
| Boxing | 2 |
| Tennis | 1 |
| Lacrosse | 1 |
| All others | 12 |

**11.** (Canada Feb 4 '42) Would you approve or disapprove if professional sports were shut down until after the war? (CIPO)

Disapprove 50% Approve 40% No opinion 10%

% following sports

Men 68% Women 46% Combined 57%

**12.** (US Apr 15 '42) Do you think that professional sports should be continued during the war or should they be stopped until after the war? (AIPO)

Continued 66% Stopped 24% Undecided 10%

(Apr 7 '43) Do you think that professional sports should be continued during the war, or should they be stopped until after the war?

Continued 64% Stopped 25% No opinion 11%

**13.** (Great Britain June '42) Should professional sports be continued during the war, or should they be stopped until after the war? (BIPO)

Continued 44% Stopped 45% Don't know 11%

**14.** (Sweden May '42) Asked of a national cross-section of young people: Do you go in for any sport in your spare time? (SGI)

| | *In summer* | | *In winter* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *Yes* | *No* |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| *National total* | | | | |
| Boys | 71% | 29% | 73% | 27% |
| Girls | 50 | 50 | 58 | 42 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN AND SEX | | | | |
| *Towns* | | | | |
| Boys | 79% | 21% | 79% | 21% |
| Girls | 59 | 41 | 65 | 35 |
| *Provinces* | | | | |
| Boys | 72 | 28 | 84 | 16 |
| Girls | 61 | 39 | 70 | 30 |
| *Country* | | | | |
| Boys | 65 | 35 | 64 | 36 |
| Girls | 35 | 65 | 44 | 56 |

**15.** (Sweden Oct '42) Do you think that a sportsman like Gunder Hägg ought to get his share of the income from the sale of tickets at the events in which he takes part? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 53% | 17% | 30% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 56% | 25% | 19% |
| Women | 52 | 12 | 36 |

Asked of 53% of the total sample who thought that sportsmen should share in the ticket receipts of events in which they participate: Do you think, then, that the amateur rules [regarding sportsmen sharing in ticket receipts] should be altered?

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 66% | 5% | 29% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 75% | 7% | 18% |
| Women | 59 | 4 | 37 |

**16.** (Sweden Dec '42) Have you seen any sports event this year? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 30% | 70% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 44% | 56% |
| Women | 17 | 83 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | |
| Town | 33% | 67% |
| Country | 28 | 72 |

What kind of sport do you prefer to see?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Football | 25% | Tennis | 1.5% |
| Free athletics | 14 | Handball | 1.5 |
| Skiing | 9 | Boxing | 1 |
| Bandy | 4 | Cycling | 1 |
| Riding | 2 | Sledging | 1 |
| Wrestling | 2 | Miscellaneous | 4 |
| Swimming | 2 | Don't know | 2 |
| | | Nothing particular | 30 |

**17.** (US Mar 24 '43) Do you follow professional sports? (AIPO)

Yes 41% No 59%

**18.** (Canada Apr 19 '44) Do you think that professional sports should be allowed on Sunday or not? (CIPO)

Favor 51% Opposed 41% No opinion 8%

(Mar 27 '46) Do you think professional sports should be allowed on Sunday or not?

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 38% | 7% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Farm | 42% | 50% | 8% |
| Under 10,000 population | 51 | 42 | 7 |
| 10,000–100,000 | 63 | 32 | 5 |
| Over 100,000 | 66 | 28 | 6 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 61% | 34% | 5% |
| Women | 48 | 43 | 9 |

**19.** (Sweden Aug '44) Have you seen any sports event since May 1 of this year? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 31% | 69% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 41% | 59% |
| Women | 19 | 81 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | |
| Country | 26% | 74% |
| Town | 37 | 63 |

Asked of 31% of total sample who said they had seen such an event—41% of the men and 19% of the women are represented: What kind of [sports] event [have you seen since May 1 of this year]?

| | *National total* | BY SEX *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cycling | 4% | 5% | 2% |
| Athletics | 15 | 22 | 8 |
| Football | 21 | 31 | 11 |
| Gymnastics | 4 | 4 | 3 |
| Marathon races, etc | 1 | 2 | — |
| Swimming | 5 | 6 | 3 |
| Tennis | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Other events | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| | 54%* | 76%* | 30%* |

* Percentages add to more than 31, 41, and 19 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

Asked of 31% of total sample who said they had seen some sports event since May 1 of this year: What sports do you prefer to see?

| | *National total* | BY SEX *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cycling | 3% | 4% | 2% |
| Free athletics | 18 | 27 | 9 |
| Football | 20 | 31 | 9 |
| Gymnastics | 6 | 6 | 7 |
| Cross-country running | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Swimming | 6 | 7 | 5 |
| Tennis | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Other sports | 8 | 11 | 4 |
| | 66%* | 92%* | 40%* |

* Percentages add to more than 31, 41, and 19 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**20.** (Sweden Aug '44) What sport have you yourself taken part in since May 1 this year? (SGI)

| | *National total* | BY SEX *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cycling | 10% | 7% | 13% |
| Free athletics | 3 | 5 | 1 |
| Football | 4 | 8 | — |
| Gymnastics | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| Cross-country running | 2 | 4 | 1 |
| Swimming | 9 | 7 | 10 |
| Tennis | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Other sports | 5 | 6 | 4 |
| No sports | 74 | 72 | 77 |
| | 112%* | 114%* | 112%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**21.** (Denmark Mar 4 '45) Do you actively take part in any kind of sport? (DGI)

Yes 24.4% No 75.6%

Asked of 24.4% of the sample who took active part in some kind of sport: What kind [of sport]?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gymnastics | 28.3% | Tennis | 3.6% |
| Football | 14.9 | Skating | 3.3 |
| Swimming | 12.2 | Riding | 2.4 |
| Baseball | 7.0 | Hunting | 2.0 |
| Skiing | 5.9 | Boxing | 1.5 |
| Badminton | 5.0 | Sailing | 1.1 |
| Rowing | 4.0 | Other kinds | 4.7 |
| Athletics | 4.1 | | |

Asked of 75.6% of the sample who did not take any active part in any kind of sport: What do you do to get exercise?

| | |
|---|---|
| Work | 39.8% |
| Walk | 25.1 |
| Cycle | 13.2 |
| Home gymnastics | 3.3 |
| Gardening | 2.0 |
| Other kinds | 1.2 |
| Nothing | 15.4 |

**22.** (Sweden Dec '45) Do you think that the prevailing amateur sports regulations should be done away with or retained? (SGI)

| | *Done away with* | *Retained* | *Makes no difference* | *Don't understand the question* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 23% | 30% | 7% | 40% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 26% | 33% | 6% | 35% |
| Middle class | 23 | 30 | 7 | 40 |
| Workers | 23 | 30 | 7 | 40 |

**23.** (Sweden Dec '45) How much do you think the most popular sports people can earn at one sports event? (SGI)

| | National total | Upper class | Middle class | Workers |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| 400 kr. or less*... | 5% | 3% | 4% | 6% |
| 401–1,200 kr..... | 16 | 17 | 16 | 16 |
| 1,201–2,000 kr.... | 13 | 11 | 14 | 13 |
| 2,001–5,000 kr.... | 11 | 19 | 11 | 9 |
| 5,001 kr. and over | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Don't know..... | 52 | 47 | 52 | 53 |

* The kronor is approximately 26 cents in American money.

**24.** (Sweden Dec '45) Do you think that sportsmen who can be proved to have received more money than allowed by the amateur statutes should be declared professionals and thus forbidden to enter as amateurs and represent Sweden at international events? (SGI)

| | Should be declared professionals | Should not be declared professionals | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 27% | 33% | 40% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class..... | 30% | 34% | 36% |
| Middle class..... | 26 | 34 | 40 |
| Workers..... | 28 | 32 | 40 |

**25.** (Australia Jan '46) People were asked whether they wanted public tennis courts and golf courses open on Sundays, and whether they would approve of football matches on Sunday afternoons. (APOP)

| | Open | Closed | Undecided |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Public tennis and golf* | | | |
| Sunday afternoons..... | 81% | 19% | — |
| Sunday mornings..... | 52 | 44 | 4% |
| | *In favor* | *Opposed* | *Undecided* |
| *Football matches* | | | |
| Sunday afternoons..... | 34% | 60% | 6% |

**26.** (Germany Feb '46) Have you heard that the Allied Control Council has forbidden sport organizations which are by their nature apt to make people more military minded? (OMGUS)

Yes 51% No 49%

Do you know what kind of sport organizations are concerned in this case?

Yes 26% No 69% No answer 5%

Do you think that this measure [suppressing sports organizations of military character] is justified or unjustified?

Just 77% Unjust 11% No opinion 12%

**27.** (Finland June 14 '46) According to the general rules within amateur sport, no member is allowed remuneration for taking part in any sports events, apart from fixed travelling expenses and food. Should these rules be kept, or do you think they should be changed? (FGI)

| | Stick to the present rules | Rules ought to be changed | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 32% | 30% | 38% |
| BY MARITAL STATUS | | | |
| Married..... | 33% | 25% | 42% |
| Unmarried..... | 31 | 39 | 30 |

**28.** (Hungary Aug '46) Asked of a cross-section of Budapest residents: Do you practice sports? (HIPOR)

BY SEX: MEN

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | National total | Fixed income Higher | Fixed income Lower | Variable income Higher | Variable income Lower | Variable income Poor |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| For training... | 9.0% | 9.9% | 11.4% | 6.9% | 5.2% | 11.0% |
| Regularly..... | 18.0 | 24.1 | 19.0 | 18.2 | 14.8 | 9.0 |
| Occasionally... | 32.0 | 29.0 | 33.0 | 40.3 | 33.9 | 25.0 |
| Not at all..... | 41.0 | 37.0 | 36.0 | 34.6 | 46.1 | 55.0 |
| BY SEX: WOMEN | | | | | | |
| For training... | 6.0% | 10.5% | 8.3% | 8.7% | 2.1% | 2.4% |
| Regularly..... | 15.0 | 26.5 | 12.9 | 17.4 | 20.2 | 7.2 |
| Occasionally... | 28.0 | 29.7 | 27.9 | 39.1 | 22.3 | 31.0 |
| Not at all..... | 51.0 | 33.3 | 50.9 | 34.6 | 55.4 | 59.4 |

Asked of 32% of a sample of men and 28% of a sample of women who said they practiced sports occasionally: Why don't you practice sports systematically?

BY SEX: MEN

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | Fixed income Higher | Fixed income Lower | Variable income Higher | Variable income Lower | Variable income Poor |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not interested..... | 7% | 11% | 3% | 12% | 23% |
| Could not obtain favorable result..... | 2 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 3 |
| Lack of time..... | 33 | 40 | 58 | 40 | 17 |
| Lack of equipment and stadium..... | 5 | 6 | — | 6 | 2 |
| Lack of money..... | 15 | 14 | 11 | 7 | 19 |
| Tiring daily work..... | 14 | 20 | 7 | 13 | 22 |
| Old age..... | — | 3 | 3 | 4 | 2 |
| Sickness..... | — | 2 | 7 | 4 | 5 |
| Other; no answer..... | 24 | 1 | 9 | 10 | 7 |
| BY SEX: WOMEN | | | | | |
| Not interested..... | 10% | 14% | 23% | 12% | 20% |
| Could not obtain favorable result..... | 5 | 4 | 6 | 10 | — |
| Lack of time..... | 33 | 29 | 44 | 31 | 20 |
| Lack of equipment and stadium..... | 5 | 6 | — | 2 | 5 |
| Lack of money..... | 16 | 15 | 6 | 15 | 15 |
| Tiring daily work..... | 16 | 20 | 3 | 14 | 20 |
| Old age..... | 2 | 1 | — | — | 10 |
| Sickness..... | 2 | 3 | — | — | — |
| Other; no answer..... | 11 | 8 | 18 | 16 | 10 |

**29.** (Hungary Aug '46) Asked of a cross-section of Budapest men: What sport do you practice? (HIPOR)

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | Fixed income Higher | Fixed income Lower | Variable income Higher | Variable income Lower | Variable income Poor |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gymnastics..... | 8% | 8% | 3% | 10% | — |
| Swimming..... | 22 | 19 | 26 | 30 | 21% |
| Water polo..... | 1 | — | 8 | 1 | 2 |
| Football..... | 4 | 18 | 8 | 10 | 26 |
| Fencing..... | 6 | 1 | 6 | 3 | 2 |
| Boxing, wrestling..... | 4 | 11 | 3 | 3 | 7 |
| Tennis..... | 12 | 1 | 20 | 1 | 4 |
| Handball..... | 2 | 3 | — | 3 | 2 |
| Horse-riding, horse-racing... | 2 | — | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| Rowing..... | 13 | 8 | 14 | 12 | 7 |
| Winter sports..... | 8 | 2 | — | 6 | 7 |

| | Higher | Lower | Higher | Lower | Poor |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Table tennis | 1% | 1% | — | 1% | — |
| Autocar, motorcycle | — | 2 | 3 | 1 | — |
| Athletics | 8 | 11 | 6 | 9 | 12 |
| Touring | 5 | 4 | — | 3 | 4 |
| Bicycling | 1 | 6 | — | 5 | 4 |
| Other; no answer | 3 | 5 | — | 1 | — |

**30.** (Hungary Aug '46) Asked of a cross-section of Budapest women: What is your favorite sport? (HIPOR)

| | BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Fixed Income* | | *Variable Income* | | |
| | Higher | Lower | Higher | Lower | Poor |
| Gymnastics | 4.9% | 4.5% | 13.6% | 3.6% | 7.4% |
| Swimming, diving | 24.7 | 23.6 | 20.2 | 24.1 | 22.2 |
| Waterpolo | 0.9 | 0.3 | — | 2.7 | 1.9 |
| Football | 3.4 | 9.7 | 3.4 | 5.3 | 5.5 |
| Fencing | 3.9 | 1.5 | 3.4 | 1.8 | — |
| Boxing, wrestling | 0.5 | 3.0 | — | 2.7 | 1.9 |
| Tennis | 18.8 | 9.7 | 22.1 | 24.1 | 12.9 |
| Handball | 5.9 | 8.7 | 3.4 | 0.9 | 1.9 |
| Horse-riding, horse-racing | 1.9 | 1.8 | — | 4.5 | 5.5 |
| Rowing | 12.8 | 8.7 | 6.8 | 4.5 | — |
| Winter sports | 10.8 | 9.9 | 15.2 | 12.3 | 18.6 |
| Table tennis | 0.9 | 1.2 | 3.4 | 0.9 | — |
| Auto, motorcycle | — | 0.6 | — | — | — |
| Athletics | 3.4 | 5.4 | 3.4 | 4.5 | 1.9 |
| Touring | 1.9 | 4.2 | 1.7 | 1.8 | 5.5 |
| Bicycle | 0.5 | 2.7 | 1.7 | 1.8 | 1.9 |
| All | 0.5 | 0.6 | — | — | — |
| None | 0.9 | 0.9 | — | 2.7 | 5.5 |
| Other; no answer | 3.4 | 3.0 | 1.7 | 1.8 | 7.4 |

**31.** (Hungary Aug '46) Asked of a cross-section of Budapest men: What is your favorite sport? (HIPOR)

| | BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Fixed Income* | | *Variable Income* | | |
| | Higher | Lower | Higher | Lower | Poor |
| Gymnastics | 4.6% | 4.5% | 3.1% | 3.5% | 1.8% |
| Swimming, diving | 14.5 | 10.4 | 13.8 | 19.0 | 11.8 |
| Waterpolo | 1.1 | 1.9 | 6.3 | 1.0 | 0.9 |
| Football | 16.4 | 30.5 | 17.9 | 29.5 | 46.6 |
| Fencing | 5.3 | 1.5 | 6.2 | 3.5 | 0.9 |
| Boxing, wrestling | 2.7 | 12.4 | 3.1 | 6.0 | 6.3 |
| Tennis | 9.2 | 2.3 | 13.8 | 2.5 | 0.9 |
| Horse-riding, horse-racing | 4.6 | 0.6 | — | 1.0 | 2.7 |
| Rowing | 11.2 | 6.2 | 8.4 | 6.5 | 3.6 |
| Winter sports | 8.8 | 5.1 | 6.3 | 6.5 | 1.8 |
| Table tennis | — | 0.2 | 1.1 | 1.5 | — |
| Auto, motorcycle | — | 3.1 | — | 1.5 | — |
| Athletics (unspecified) | 7.2 | 8.5 | 6.3 | 8.5 | 7.3 |
| Handball | 3.4 | 1.7 | — | 1.5 | — |
| Touring | 5.3 | 2.1 | — | 2.0 | 2.7 |
| Bicycle | 2.3 | 4.7 | — | 1.0 | 2.7 |
| All | — | 0.8 | 1.1 | 0.5 | — |
| None | — | 0.6 | — | 0.5 | 6.3 |
| Other; no answer | 3.4 | 2.9 | 12.6 | 4.0 | 3.7 |

**32.** (Hungary Aug '46) Asked of a cross-section of Budapest residents: Do you think mass sport vital? (HIPOR)

| | BY SEX AND INCOME: MEN | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Fixed Income* | | *Variable Income* | | |
| | Higher | Lower | Higher | Lower | Poor |
| Yes | 83.2% | 88.5% | 84.8% | 80.5% | 76.0% |
| No | 16.8 | 11.2 | 15.2 | 18.9 | 23.0 |
| Other; no answer | — | 0.3 | — | 0.6 | 1.0 |
| | BY SEX AND INCOME: WOMEN | | | | |
| Yes | 80.2% | 82.3% | 84.8% | 68.0% | 64.3% |
| No | 18.5 | 16.1 | 10.9 | 27.6 | 30.9 |
| Other; no answer | 1.3 | 1.6 | 4.3 | 4.4 | 4.8 |

**33.** (Hungary Aug '46) Asked of a cross-section of Budapest residents: Do you consider state support essential for mass sport? (HIPOR)

| | BY SEX AND INCOME: MEN | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Fixed Income* | | *Variable Income* | | |
| | Higher | Lower | Higher | Lower | Poor |
| Yes | 78.3% | 84.2% | 76.3% | 76.5% | 71.0% |
| No | 16.8 | 15.2 | 22.3 | 23.0 | 26.0 |
| Other; no answer | 4.9 | 0.6 | 1.4 | 0.5 | 3.0 |
| | BY SEX AND INCOME: WOMEN | | | | |
| Yes | 74.6% | 78.3% | 76.1% | 62.8% | 61.9% |
| No | 23.5 | 18.1 | 19.6 | 30.8 | 21.4 |
| Other; no answer | 1.9 | 3.6 | 4.3 | 6.4 | 16.7 |

Asked of a cross-section of Budapest residents who did not consider state support essential for mass sport: Why don't you consider state support essential for mass sport?

| | BY SEX AND INCOME: MEN | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Fixed Income* | | *Variable Income* | | |
| | Higher | Lower | Higher | Lower | Poor |
| Sport is private affair | 2.8% | 15.3% | 5.6% | — | — |
| It is not state business | 11.4 | 8.3 | 11.0 | 7.0% | 6.9% |
| The state should first support more essential things (social problems) which need state money | 22.9 | 9.7 | 5.6 | 16.3 | 20.7 |
| There are cheap sports which can be practised without state support | 11.4 | — | — | — | — |
| Where there is a will, there is a way, even without state support | — | 9.7 | 16.8 | 7.0 | 17.3 |
| Well-being gives opportunity | — | 6.9 | 5.6 | — | 3.4 |
| Do not uniform sport | 2.8 | — | — | 4.7 | 3.4 |
| It would tend for dictatorship | — | 1.4 | — | 7.0 | 6.9 |
| Mass sport would become rough | 2.8 | 5.6 | — | 7.0 | — |
| Not necessary | 11.4 | 9.7 | 11.0 | 16.2 | 13.8 |
| Cannot be executed | 8.6 | 2.8 | — | 2.3 | 10.4 |
| Private support more important | 5.7 | 8.3 | 22.2 | 9.3 | 3.4 |
| Other; no answer | 20.2 | 22.3 | 22.2 | 23.2 | 13.8 |

**34.** (Hungary Aug '46) Asked of a cross-section of Budapest men: What kind of state support can be given to mass sport? (HIPOR)

| | BY INCOME STATUS | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Fixed Income* | | *Variable Income* | | |
| | *Higher* | *Lower* | *Higher* | *Lower* | *Poor* |
| Money, material support | 41.7% | 51.5% | 39.1% | 39.1% | 47.3% |
| Stadium building | 13.8 | 14.8 | 9.6 | 20.8 | 18.1 |
| Cheap tickets in swimming pools | 1.3 | 0.2 | 4.1 | 1.2 | 5.6 |
| Regular trainer | 1.3 | 0.5 | 2.7 | — | — |
| Cheap communication | 0.9 | 0.2 | — | 0.6 | 1.1 |
| To support industries, factories, sport institutions | — | 1.1 | 2.7 | — | 2.2 |
| Benefits and support for sport units | 10.9 | 2.5 | 6.7 | 3.5 | 1.1 |
| Material support and honor for good sportsmen | 2.6 | 2.8 | 2.7 | 2.4 | 2.2 |
| Propaganda | 2.1 | 1.4 | 5.5 | 0.6 | 2.2 |
| Cheap or free sports equipment | 6.5 | 9.2 | 10.8 | 13.0 | 10.1 |
| Opportunity for mass sport | 2.1 | 3.9 | 2.7 | 5.3 | 2.2 |
| Opportunity for school sport | 2.1 | 1.9 | 1.3 | 3.5 | — |
| Moral support | 9.1 | 3.5 | 6.7 | 5.9 | 4.5 |
| Other; no answer | 5.6 | 6.5 | 5.4 | 4.1 | 3.4 |

**35.** (Czechoslovakia Oct '46) How many times did you attend a football game last year? (CZIPO)

| | *Several times* | *Once* | *Never* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 9% | 59% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Laborers | 41% | 8% | 51% |
| White collar and civil service | 36 | 9 | 55 |
| Farmers | 16 | 5 | 79 |
| Business | 21 | 10 | 69 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–29 years | 48% | 9% | 43% |
| 30–49 years | 37 | 10 | 53 |
| 50 years and over | 17 | 6 | 77 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 47% | 10% | 43% |
| Women | 19 | 7 | 74 |

**36.** (Great Britain Dec '46) Do you follow the test matches? (BIPO)

| | BY SEX | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* |
| Men | 62% | 38% |
| Women | 20 | 80 |

Do you learn about them chiefly from newspapers or the radio? Asked of 40% of the sample who followed the test matches.

| | *Newspapers* | *Radio* | *Equally* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 12% | 10% | 18% = 40% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 22% | 11% | 29% = 62% |
| Women | 4 | 8 | 8 = 20 |

**37.** (Great Britain Dec '46) Do you happen to know the names of the two captains of the test matches? (BIPO)

| | *Hammond* | | *Bradman* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *Yes* | *No* |
| National total | 37% | 63% | 36% | 64% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 58% | 42% | 58% | 42% |
| Women | 17 | 83 | 16 | 84 |

## STATE GOVERNMENTS

**1.** (US Mar 1 '36, Jan 10 '37, June 13, '37) Which theory of government do you favor, concentration of power in the federal government or concentration of power in the state government? (AIPO)

| | *Federal* | *State* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 44% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 72% | 28% |
| Republicans | 35 | 65 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 47% | 53% |
| Middle Atlantic | 54 | 46 |
| East central | 58 | 42 |
| West central | 56 | 44 |
| South | 58 | 42 |
| Mountain | 66 | 34 |
| Pacific | 57 | 43 |

(June 14 '37) Which theory of government do you favor, concentration of power in the state government, or concentration of power in the federal government?

Federal 57% State 43% No opinion 23%

**2.** (US Apr 26 '37) Nebraska has a state legislature composed of only one house instead of two (senate and assembly). Would you favor such a plan for this state? (AIPO)

Yes 29% No 40% No opinion 31%

**3.** (US May 3 '37) Should state and local governments pay a greater share of the costs of relief? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 62% | 38% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 69% | 31% |
| Middle Atlantic | 63 | 37 |
| East central | 65 | 35 |
| West central | 59 | 41 |
| South | 63 | 37 |
| Rocky Mountain | 55 | 45 |
| Pacific coast | 51 | 49 |

**4.** (US June 21 '37) Should state governments transfer more of their powers to the federal government? (AIPO)

Yes 33% No 67% No opinion 20%

(July '38) In the division of government power between the federal and the state governments, do you think the federal should have more power and the state less, or the state more and the federal less? (FOR)

| | *State more power* | *Federal more power* | *Same as now* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 31.8% | 27.2% | 20.4% | 20.6% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| Pacific coast | 22.3% | 42.3% | 20.0% | 15.4% |
| Southeast | 30.1 | 21.5 | 25.4 | 23.0 |
| Northwest Plains | 41.1 | 20.3 | 21.3 | 17.3 |
| BY OPINION (ON ROOSEVELT'S POWERS) | | | | |
| Roosevelt has too much power | 62.4% | 35.3% | 40.2% | |
| Do not think so | 30.9 | 58.8 | 49.7 | |
| Don't know | 6.7 | 5.9 | 10.1 | |

**5.** (Australia Mar-April '42) Do you think the existence of state governments aids or hinders our war effort—or makes no difference? (APOP)

| | *Aids* | *Hinders* | *No difference* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 14% | 31% | 13% |
| BY STATE | | | | |
| New South Wales | 14% | 56% | 30% | |
| Queensland | 11 | 51 | 38 | |
| Victoria | 15 | 46 | 39 | |
| South Australia | 28 | 34 | 38 | |
| Western Australia | 20 | 28 | 52 | |
| Tasmania | 28 | 28 | 44 | |

(June '42) Should state governments be abolished?

| | *Abolish* | *Don't abolish* | *Undecided* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 60% | 19% | 15% | 6% |
| BY STATE | | | | |
| New South Wales | 72% | 10% | — | 18% |
| Queensland | 65 | 17 | — | 18 |
| Victoria | 57 | 18 | — | 25 |
| South Australia | 50 | 33 | — | 17 |
| Tasmania | 34 | 40 | — | 26 |
| Western Australia | 35 | 48 | — | 17 |

(Nov '42) Should state governments be abolished or continued?

| | *Abolish* | *Don't abolish* | *Undecided* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 60% | 22% | 11% | 7% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 71% | 22% | * | * |
| Women | 50 | 22 | 28% | — |

* No data given for men undecided or giving no answer.

**6.** (US Nov '43) Are you satisfied with the way most people who hold political jobs in this state are doing their jobs? (NORC)

Yes 51% No 32% Undecided 17%

## STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS

**1.** (US Jan '37) If you see strikers picketing a place of business, which attitude does it generally arouse in you: sympathy for the strikers, or for the employers, or indifference? (FOR)

| | *Pro-striker* | *Pro-business* | *Both to blame* | *Neutral* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 17.6% | 21.8% | 28.5% | 18.0% | 13.2% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 20.5% | 22.9% | 27.0% | 19.4% | 10.2% |
| Women | 14.7 | 20.8 | 30.0 | 18.5 | 16.0 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Roosevelt voters | 76.5% | 47.5% | | | |
| Landon voters | 18.2 | 51.8 | | | |
| Other candidates | 5.3 | .7 | | | |

**2.** (US Feb 14 '37) In the current General Motors strike, are your sympathies with the John L. Lewis group of striking employees or with the employers? (AIPO)

Lewis group 44% Employers 56%

**3.** (US July 4 '37) Do you think this state should pass legislation making sit-down strikes illegal? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 67% | 33% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 67% | 33% |
| Middle Atlantic | 70 | 30 |
| East central | 65 | 35 |
| West central | 65 | 35 |
| Southern | 73 | 27 |
| Rocky Mountain | 57 | 43 |
| Pacific coast | 65 | 35 |
| BY GROUP | | |
| Farmers | 73% | 27% |
| Small town voters | 71 | 29 |
| Women | 71 | 29 |
| City voters | 65 | 35 |
| Young voters (21–24 years) | 62 | 38 |
| Reliefers | 47 | 53 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 62% | 38% |
| Republicans | 80 | 20 |

**4.** (US July 4 '37) Do you think that state and local authorities should use force in removing sit-down strikers? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 65% | 35% |
| BY GROUP | | |
| City people | 62% | 38% |
| Town people | 73 | 27 |
| Farm people | 74 | 26 |
| Women | 67 | 33 |
| Young people | 64 | 36 |
| Persons on relief | 43 | 57 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 65% | 35% |
| Middle Atlantic | 62 | 38 |
| East central | 65 | 35 |
| West central | 64 | 36 |
| Southern | 71 | 29 |
| Rocky Mountain | 61 | 39 |
| Pacific coast | 64 | 36 |

(Nov 30 '37) Do you think that state and local authorities should use force in removing sit-down strikers?

Yes 73% No 27%

**5.** (US July 4 '37) Would you favor laws regulating the conduct of strikes? (AIPO)

Yes 84% No 16%

**6.** (US July 4 '37, Aug 22 '37) Should the militia be called out whenever strike trouble threatens? (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 43%

**7.** (US July 4 '37) Should the post office department deliver food and other packages to workers in factories where strikes have been called? (AIPO)

Yes 58% No 42%

**8.** (US June 21 '37) In the present steel strike, are your sympathies with the strikers or with the companies? (AIPO)

Strikers 46% Companies 54%

**9.** (US June 21 '37) Do you expect more or fewer strikes during the next six months? (AIPO)

More 58% Fewer 30% About same 12%

**10.** (US July '37) What do you think should be done about sit-down strikes? (FOR)

BY OCCUPATION

| | *National total* | *Executives* | *Factory labor* | *Unemployed* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| They should be stopped, even if bloodshed is necessary | 20.1% | 32.9% | 11.8% | 17.3% |
| They should be stopped but not at the cost of bloodshed | 54.3 | 55.3 | 47.2 | 50.3 |
| Labor should use them if it does not carry them too far | 14.1 | 6.8 | 28.7 | 19.7 |
| Labor should use them whether legal under present laws or not | 2.8 | .9 | 6.2 | 5.2 |
| Indifferent | 2.2 | .9 | 1.0 | 4.0 |
| Don't know | 6.5 | 3.2 | 5.1 | 3.5 |

BY OPINION (ON UNIONS)

| | *Favoring AFL* | *Favoring CIO* |
|---|---|---|
| Sit-down strikes should be stopped | 85.1% | 48.5% |
| Labor should use them | 11.1 | 47.1 |
| Indifferent or don't know | 3.8 | 4.4 |

BY OPINION (ON ROOSEVELT'S THIRD TERM)

| | *For* | *Against* |
|---|---|---|
| *Sit-down strikes* | | |
| Should be stopped, even with bloodshed | 28.0% | 72.0% |
| Should be stopped without bloodshed | 44.7 | 55.3 |
| Labor should use them, but not too far | 58.0 | 42.0 |
| Labor should use them, whether legal or not | 68.4 | 31.6 |

**11.** (US Aug 15 '37) Do you approve of citizen groups, called "Vigilantes," which have sprung up recently in strike areas? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 24% | 76% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 22% | 78% |
| Middle Atlantic | 22 | 78 |
| East central | 22 | 78 |
| West central | 28 | 72 |
| South | 31 | 69 |
| Rocky Mountain | 19 | 81 |
| Pacific coast | 34 | 66 |

**12.** (US Aug 2 '37) Would you favor a law forbidding picketing during strikes in this state? (AIPO)

Yes 54% No 46%

**13.** (US Aug 2 '37) Should legal picketing be limited to one or two pickets, or should the number be unlimited? (AIPO)

Limited 63% Unlimited 37%

**14.** (US Oct '37) All over the country there have been strikes of WPA workers against being discharged. Which is your attitude? (a) No sympathy with WPA strikers. (b) Feel that although it is hard on WPA workers, the number of jobs and the expense of maintaining them must be cut down at all costs. (c) Think that they are right in demanding to be kept in decent jobs. (FOR)

| | *No sympathy* | *Must cut costs* | *Strikers are right* | *Indifferent* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48.2% | 19.8% | 21.2% | 2.8% | 8.0% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 58.9% | 23.4% | 8.9% | 2.7% | 6.1% |
| Poor | 41.1 | 13.1 | 33.5 | 3.4 | 8.9 |
| Unemployed | 43.4 | 8.8 | 36.3 | 3.3 | 8.2 |

There also have been strikes of WPA workers for better pay. Are you sympathetic with them?

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 19.1% | 70.1% | 10.8% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 8.0% | 85.3% | 6.7% |
| Poor | 30.0 | 58.1 | 11.9 |
| Unemployed | 33.1 | 58.0 | 8.9 |

**15.** (US Oct '37) When there is a strike against a company, do you think the plant should be closed, or do you believe it should be kept open for non-strikers? (FOR)

| | *Should be closed* | *Depends on conditions* | *Should be open* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24.7% | 19.6% | 47.4% | 8.3% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Executives | 16.6% | 24.5% | 56.8% | 2.1% |
| Minor salaried workers | 31.7 | 20.4 | 41.1 | 6.8 |
| Factory labor | 36.8 | 17.2 | 39.7 | 6.3 |
| Unemployed | 34.8 | 20.4 | 39.8 | 5.0 |

**16.** (US Nov 30 '37) During the last year about how much time did you lose because of shutdowns, seasonal layoffs, and no work? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 month and under | 16% |
| Over 1 month-2 months | 15 |
| Over 2 months-3 months | 19 |
| Over 3 months-4 months | 11 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Over 4 months-5 months | 7% |
| Over 5 months-6 months | 15 |
| Over 6 months-9 months | 8 |
| Over 9 months | 9 |
| | 100% |
| No answer | 81%* |

* 81% of the sample did not lose any time at work.

**17.** (Great Britain June 28 '39) If the government were to use the conscripts to replace workers on strike, would you approve or disapprove? (BIPO)

Approve 19% Disapprove 68% No opinion 13%

**18.** (US July 26 '39) The head of the WPA says WPA workers who go on strike will be dropped from the WPA after five days on strike. Do you approve or disapprove of this action? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 74% | 26% |
| WPA workers | 49 | 51 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | |
| Urban | 68% | 32% |
| Small town | 78 | 22 |
| Farmers | 85 | 15 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper income | 88% | 12% |
| Middle income | 78 | 22 |
| Lower income | 62 | 38 |
| Voters on WPA | 49 | 51 |

**19.** (US Jan 10 '40) Do you think people on WPA should have the right to strike? (AIPO)

Yes 15% No 85%

**20.** (US July 20 '40) Here are some measures which have been suggested to improve our national defense—should the government forbid strikes in industries manufacturing materials for our national defense program, or should the workers in these industries continue to have the right to strike? (OPOR)

| | *Forbid strikes* | *Permit strikes* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 79% | 21% | — |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 83% | 17% | — |
| Middle income | 83 | 17 | — |
| Lower income | 73 | 27 | — |
| (Apr 8 '41) (AIPO) | | | |
| National total | 65% | 27% | 8% |
| (June 11 '41) (AIPO) | 76 | 19 | 5 |
| (Nov 2 '41) (AIPO) | 75 | 19 | 6 |

**21.** (US Feb 23 '42) Should Congress pass a law forbidding strikes in war industries until the war is over, or should the workers in war industries continue to have the right to go on strike? (AIPO)

| | *Forbid strikes* | *Permit strikes* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 86% | 9% | 5% |
| (Jan 20 '43, May 14 '43) | | | |
| National total | 81% | 13% | 6% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farmers | 89% | 6% | 5% |
| Businessmen | 85 | 11 | 4 |
| White-collar | 85 | 12 | 3 |
| Professional | 78 | 16 | 6 |
| Skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled | 75 | 17 | 8 |
| (Sept 3 '46) National total | 86% | 11% | 3% |

(June 16 '43) Should Congress pass a law forbidding strikes in war industries or should the workers in war industries continue to have the right to go on strike?

| | *Forbid strikes* | *Permit strikes* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 81% | 19% | — |
| (Nov 21 '43) | 69 | 23 | 8% |
| (Jan 4 '44) | 76 | 15 | 9 |
| (Mar 7 '45) | 75 | 20 | 5 |

**22.** (US Nov 2 '47) Should the government forbid strikes in defense industries, or should the workers in those industries continue to have the right to go on strike? (AIPO)

| | *Forbid strikes* | *Permit strikes* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 73% | 23% | 4% |
| BY OCCUPATION* | | | |
| Farmers | 78% | 13% | 9% |
| Businessmen | 78 | 17 | 5 |
| White-collar | 72 | 22 | 6 |
| Professional | 67 | 27 | 6 |
| Skilled workers | 64 | 29 | 7 |
| Unskilled workers | 63 | 27 | 10 |
| (Nov 5 '41) National total | 77% | 18% | 5% |
| (Nov 25 '41) | 73 | 19 | 1 |

* Occupational breakdown covers interviewing done between July 20 '40 and Oct 7 '41.

**23.** (US Feb '42) Do you feel that Congress should or should not pass a law forbidding strikes in defense industries for the duration of the emergency? This question was asked once before Pearl Harbor and once immediately after Pearl Harbor. (FOR)

| *Before Pearl Harbor* | *Forbid strikes* | *Permit strikes* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 78.3% | 10.9% | 10.8% |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | |
| Well-informed | 78.3% | 17.1% | 4.6% |
| Poorly informed | 83.5 | 10.5 | 6.0 |
| Uninformed | 73.5 | 7.1 | 19.4 |
| *After Pearl Harbor* | | | |
| National total | 87.2% | 7.0% | 5.8% |

**24.** (Australia Dec '42) Should strikes in war industries be illegal or should workers in those industries retain their right to strike? (APOP)

| | *Forbid strikes* | *Permit strikes* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 69% | 24% | 7% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farm owners | 85% | 11% | 4% |
| Business owners and managers | 79 | 15 | 6 |
| Clerks, shophands | 67 | 26 | 7 |
| Skilled workers | 52 | 45 | 3 |
| Semi-skilled workers | 51 | 41 | 8 |
| Unskilled workers | 40 | 52 | 8 |

**25.** (US Sept '40) Should the government require labor to give up its right to strike for the duration of the emergency? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *Yes, in certain industries* | *No* | *Don't know, no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56.6% | 35.0% | 6.5% | 1.9% |
| BY AREAS WITH EXTREME EXPERIENCE WITH LABOR UNIONS | | | | |
| New York City | 51.7% | 39.3% | 6.5% | 2.5% |
| South | 64.9 | 29.6 | 4.1 | 1.4 |
| BY OPINION (ON ADJUSTING WAGES) | | | | |
| Adjust wages | 65.4% | 30.0% | 4.0% | 0.6% |
| Do not adjust | 43.9 | 43.8 | 10.9 | 1.4 |

**26.** (US Dec 15 '42) Do you think all strikes should be forbidden for the duration of the war? (AIPO)

Yes 89% No 8% Don't know, no answer 3%

**27.** (US Jan 6 '41, Jan 15 '41) Should employees of industries working on defense contracts have the right to strike if their protests are not taken care of? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 61% | 12% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 17% | 76% | 7% |
| Middle income | 27 | 64 | 9 |
| Lower income | 30 | 51 | 19 |
| BY POLITICS (EXCLUDING NO OPINION) | | | |
| For Willkie | 31% | 69% | |
| For Roosevelt | 43 | 57 | |

**28.** (US Apr 8 '41) Do you think that any of these things have been responsible for strikes in defense industries? (1) Communists in the unions. (2) Union leaders lack patriotism. (3) In some cases both business and labor leaders have been too selfish to work together for national defense. (4) Anti-union attitude of some employers. (5) The government's attitude toward labor has encouraged strikes. (6) Labor thinks businessmen are making big profits and wants to get a share too. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Communists | 78% | 8% | 14% |
| Union leaders | 63 | 22 | 15 |
| Business and union leaders | 74 | 9 | 17 |
| Anti-union employers | 57 | 21 | 22 |
| Government encouragement | 41 | 39 | 20 |
| Labor wants to share business profits | 76 | 12 | 12 |

**29.** (US Apr 30 '41) A bill has been proposed which would treat any worker who goes on strike in a defense industry as a traitor, to be punished by one year in prison. Would you like to see Congress pass this law? (AIPO)

Yes 37% No 63%

**30.** (US June '41) Three comparable cross-sections were used in the following questions. The second and third groups were confronted with pro-union and anti-union bias in the questions. (FOR)

Do you think the government should or should not forbid labor in defense industries the right to strike about working conditions?

Should 58.4% Should not 29.4% Don't know 12.2%

Because every man is entitled to safe and healthy working conditions, labor (in defense industries) should be allowed to strike for them.

Disagree 45.1% Agree 44.8% Don't know 10.1%

Because working conditions in this country are the best in the world, labor (in defense industries) should not be allowed to strike about them.

Agree 74.2% Disagree 16.8% Don't know 9.0%

All three cross-sections were asked the following unloaded question: Do you think the government should or should not forbid labor in industries not closely related to defense the right to strike about working conditions?

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 29.5% | 56.3% | 14.2% |
| BY GROUP | | | |
| Group asked the first question in an unloaded way | 28.9% | 58.3% | 12.8% |
| Group asked the first question with pro-union bias | 26.4 | 58.0 | 15.6 |
| Group asked the first question with anti-union bias | 33.2 | 52.5 | 14.3 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Executives | 26.2% | 67.1% | 6.7% |
| Factory labor | 22.0 | 70.4 | 7.6 |

**31.** (US June '41) Three comparable cross-sections were used in the following questions. The second and third groups were confronted with pro-union and anti-union bias in the questions. (FOR)

Do you think that the government should or should not forbid labor in defense industries the right to strike about hours?

Should 66.5% Should not 23.5% Don't know 10.0%

Because short hours make for widespread employment, labor (in defense industries) should be allowed to strike about working hours.

Disagree 67.0% Agree 22.5% Don't know 10.5%

Because there is now a shortage of trained workers in industry, labor (in defense industries) should not be allowed to strike about hours.

Agree 79.1% Disagree 13.4% Don't know 7.5%

All three cross-sections were asked the following question: Do you think the government should or should not forbid labor in industries not closely related to defense the right to strike about hours?

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33.4% | 53.1% | 13.5% |
| BY GROUP | | | |
| Group asked the first question in unloaded way | 32.2% | 56.3% | 11.5% |
| Group asked the first question with pro-union bias | 31.7 | 52.9 | 15.4 |
| Group asked the first question with anti-union bias | 36.3 | 50.3 | 13.4 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Executives | 32.8% | 60.6% | 6.6% |
| Factory labor | 24.1 | 68.3 | 7.6 |

**32.** (US June '41) Three comparable cross-sections were used in the following questions. The second and third groups were confronted with pro-union and anti-union bias in the questions. (FOR)

Do you think that the government should or should not forbid labor in defense industries the right to strike about wages?

Should 68.2% Should not 22.2% Don't know 9.6%

With a lot of money being made in war industries, labor (in defense industries) should be allowed to strike for its share.

Disagree 65.0% Agree 25.0% Don't know 10.0%

With American wage levels the highest in the world, labor (in defense industries) should not be allowed to take advantage of the national emergency by striking about wages.

Agree 81.2% Disagree 11.8% Don't know 7.0%

All three cross-sections were asked the following unloaded question: Do you think the government should or should not forbid labor in industries not closely related to defense the right to strike about wages?

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 32.8% | 53.6% | 13.6% |
| BY GROUP | | | |
| Group asked the first question in unloaded way | 31.8% | 56.5% | 11.7% |
| Group asked the first question with pro-union bias | 30.5 | 53.9 | 15.6 |
| Group asked the first question with anti-union bias | 35.9 | 50.6 | 13.5 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Executives | 32.1% | 59.3% | 8.6% |
| Factory labor | 23.2 | 69.2 | 7.6 |

**33.** (US June '41) Three comparable cross-sections were used in the following questions. The second and third groups were confronted with pro-union and anti-union bias in the questions. (FOR)

Do you think that the government should or should not forbid labor in defense industries the right to strike for a closed shop?

Should 68.7% Should not 17.9% Don't know 13.4%

Because a union can't do a good job for either its members or the employer unless everyone in a plant belongs to it, labor (in defense industries) should be allowed to strike for a closed shop.

Disagree 66.8% Agree 18.3% Don't know 14.9%

Because everyone has a right to work, whether he belongs to a union or not, labor (in defense industries) should not be allowed to strike for a closed shop.

Agree 79.3% Disagree 9.9% Don't know 10.8%

All three cross-sections were asked the following unloaded question: Do you think the government should or should not forbid labor in industries not closely related to defense the right to strike for a closed shop?

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41.5% | 40.6% | 17.9% |
| BY GROUP | | | |
| Group asked first question in unloaded way | 39.3% | 44.7% | 16.0% |
| Group asked first question with pro-union bias | 39.3 | 40.9 | 19.8 |
| Group asked first question with anti-union bias | 45.9 | 36.3 | 17.8 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Executives | 52.2% | 42.5% | 5.3% |
| Factory labor | 31.2 | 59.2 | 9.6 |

**34.** (US June '41) Three comparable cross-sections were used in the following questions. The second and third groups were confronted with pro-union and anti-union bias in the questions. (FOR)

Do you think that the government should or should not forbid labor in defense industries the right to strike to settle disputes between rival unions in the same plant?

Should 72.2% Should not 15.2% Don't know 12.6%

Strikes due to arguments between rival unions (in defense industries) are private quarrels, so the government should not interfere with them.

Agree 12.9% Disagree 73.9% Don't know 13.2%

This is a bad time to hold up production, so labor (in defense industries) should not be allowed to strike because of disputes between rival unions.

Agree 85.9% Disagree 5.8% Don't know 8.3%

All three cross-sections were asked the following unloaded question: Do you think the government should or should not forbid labor in industries not closely related to defense the right to strike to settle disputes between rival unions in the same plant?

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 47.0% | 35.8% | 17.2% |
| BY GROUP | | | |
| Group asked the first question in unloaded way | 41.8% | 41.8% | 16.4% |
| Group asked the first question with pro-union bias | 47.0 | 34.3 | 18.7 |
| Group asked the first question with anti-union bias | 51.9 | 31.6 | 16.5 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Executives | 58.8% | 36.2% | 5.0% |
| Factory labor | 38.8 | 52.2 | 9.0 |

**35.** (US June '41) When you see a business being picketed, are you inclined to feel sympathetic with the owner, the pickets, or both, or neither? (FOR)

| | *Owner* % | *Pickets* % | *Both* % | *Neither* % | *Don't care* % | *Depends* % | *Don't know* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 31.6 | 10.0 | 9.7 | 16.1 | 3.2 | 20.5 | 8.9 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | | | |
| Executives | 51.0 | 3.3 | 9.6 | 14.2 | 2.0 | 18.9 | 1.0 |
| White-collar | 31.0 | 10.2 | 11.5 | 20.1 | 3.0 | 19.7 | 4.5 |
| Factory labor | 14.7 | 21.7 | 14.7 | 16.3 | 1.8 | 27.0 | 3.8 |
| Farm labor | 22.9 | 8.6 | 5.9 | 16.9 | 5.6 | 18.1 | 22.0 |
| Other labor | 22.0 | 13.4 | 9.3 | 18.8 | 3.2 | 25.7 | 7.6 |
| BY GROUP | | | | | | | |
| Group asked the question in unloaded way | 30.9 | 10.4 | 9.2 | 18.1 | 3.7 | 18.7 | 9.0 |
| Group asked the question with pro bias | 29.2 | 10.0 | 11.1 | 15.8 | 3.2 | 22.2 | 8.5 |
| Group asked the question with anti bias | 34.6 | 9.5 | 8.8 | 14.6 | 2.6 | 20.6 | 9.3 |

**36.** (US Oct 1 '41) In general, do you approve, or disapprove, of the way President Roosevelt is handling the strike problem? (AIPO)

Approve 55% Disapprove 29% No opinion 16%

**37.** (US Nov 2 '41) Should people who work for the government be allowed to go on strike? (AIPO)

Yes 17% No 79% No opinion 4%

**38.** (US Oct 7 '41) Do you believe strikes in all business other than defense industries should be forbidden by law during the present emergency? (AIPO)

Yes 55% No 38% No opinion 5%
Qualified answers 2%

**39.** (Australia Nov '41) Should workers in war industries take ballots before deciding to strike? (APOP)

| | *Favor* | *Against* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 88% | 5% | 7% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Well-to-do | 96% | 2% | 2% |
| Better off | 91 | 3 | 6 |
| Artisans, etc | 87 | 5 | 8 |
| Lowest incomes | 79 | 7 | 14 |

**40.** (US Nov 21 '41) Have you heard or read about the strike in the captive coal mines which John L. Lewis called last month? (AIPO)

Yes 82% No 18%

Asked of the 82% of the sample who had heard or read about the strike: Do you think Mr. Lewis was justified in calling this strike?

Yes 8% No 60% No opinion 14%

**41.** (US Nov 25 '41) What do you consider the causes of strikes in defense industries? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Labor leaders | 16% |
| Desire for higher wages | 14 |
| Foreign agents—Fifth Columnists | 9 |
| Radicals, reds, agitators | 9 |
| Selfish racketeering labor leaders | 6 |
| Labor taking advantage of situation | 6 |
| Higher cost of living, wages go up | 6 |
| J. L. Lewis | 4 |
| Greed | 4 |
| Unions | 2 |
| Increase profits boom in business | 2 |
| Capital unfair to labor | 2 |
| Unwillingness of capital and labor to see eye to eye on each other's point of view | 2 |
| Closed vs. open shop | 2 |
| Jurisdictional quarrels among unions | 2 |
| New Deal legislation | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 6 |
| No answer | 11 |
| | 105%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**42.** (US Nov 21 '43) What do you think is the chief cause of strikes in this country? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Justified desire for higher wages—lack of balance between prices and wages | 15% |
| Unjustified desire for higher wages—hoggishness, greed | 10 |
| Desire for higher wages—want more money; higher pay; dissatisfaction over wages | 16 |
| Fault of labor leaders—radical leaders, John L. Lewis, labor agitations, unions | 23 |
| Fault of employers and employees—lack of understanding between capital and labor | 6 |
| Fault of employers—bosses disregarding workers' desires | 3 |
| Fault of employees—lack of patriotism, workers' asserting rights | 4% |
| Fault of the foreign saboteurs—foreign interests, Nazis | 4 |
| Fault of the government and administration | 3 |
| Fault of the war—general unrest due to war | 2 |
| Other reasons | 4 |
| Don't know | 11 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**43.** (US Nov 25 '41) If you were in the President's position, how would you go about handling the strike situation in defense industries? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Anti-strike legislation | 14% |
| Government control where trouble is | 12 |
| Same as Roosevelt | 7 |
| Government control of all industry during emergency | 5 |
| Compulsory arbitration | 5 |
| Do away with trouble-making labor leaders | 3 |
| Draft workers into army | 3 |
| Legislation to curb unions | 3 |
| Give absolute authority to NDMB | 2 |
| Draft workers to work in defense industries | 2 |
| Leave it to Congress | 2 |
| Arbitrate—no force | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 9 |
| No answer | 34 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**44.** (US Nov 25 '41) Do you think President Roosevelt has been equally fair to employers and to labor unions in handling defense strikes? (AIPO)

Yes 66% No 22% No opinion 12%

Asked of the 22% of the sample who thought he had not been equally fair: Which group has he favored?

Employer 3% Labor 18% No answer 1%

**45.** (US Nov 25 '41) When a union goes on strike, sometimes unions in other companies call sympathy strikes. Should the government forbid sympathy strikes in defense industries, or should workers in defense industries continue to have the right to go out on sympathy strikes? (AIPO)

Permit 10% Forbid 78% No opinion 11% No answer 1%

**46.** (US Feb '42) Which do you feel was the most to blame for the Allis-Chalmers strike—the union or the management, or didn't you read enough about it to tell? Which was most to blame in the North American Aviation strike? The Ford Motor strike? The strike of the captive coal mines? (FOR)

| | *Union* | *Management* | *Both* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Allis-Chalmers | 12.2% | 3.2% | 3.2% | 81.4% |
| North American Aviation | 13.4 | 2.9 | 2.2 | 81.5 |
| Ford Motor | 25.6 | 8.0 | 2.5 | 63.9 |
| Captive coal mines | 32.7 | 5.9 | 2.5 | 58.9 |

**47.** (US May 30 '42) Do you think strikes are holding back war production now? (NORC)

Yes 38% No 53% Don't know 9%

Asked of the 38% of the sample who thought strikes were holding back war production: Quite a bit or only a little?
Quite a bit 16% A little 20% Don't know how much 2%

(Oct 6 '42) Do you think strikes are holding back war production now?
Yes 46% No 45% Don't know 9%

Asked of the 46% of the sample who thought strikes were holding back war production: Quite a bit or only a little?
Quite a bit 23% A little 21% Don't know how much 2%

(June 18 '43) Do you think strikes are holding back war production now?
Yes 88% No 8% Don't know 4%

Asked of the 88% of the sample who thought strikes were holding back war production: Quite a bit or only a little?
Quite a bit 72% A little 13% Don't know how much 3%

(Sept 9 '43) Do you think strikes are holding back war production now?
Yes 62% No 29% Don't know 9%

Asked of the 62% of the sample who thought strikes were holding back war production: Quite a bit or only a little?
Quite a bit 40% A little 19% Don't know how much 3%

**48.** (US May 30 '42) As things are now, do you think workers in war industries should or should not have the right to strike? (NORC)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 8% | 88% | 4% |
| (June 18 '43) | 10 | 86 | 4 |

88% of the '42 sample and 86% of the '43 sample who thought workers should not have the right to strike were asked: How about workers who are not in war industries? Do you think they should have the right to strike during wartime?

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| (May 30 '42) | 11% | 74% | 3% = 88% |
| (June 18 '43) | 9 | 73 | 4 = 86 |

88% of the '42 sample and 86% of the '43 sample who thought workers should not have the right to strike were asked: Do you think the unions themselves should see to it that there are no strikes, or do you think the government should make a law forbidding strikes?

| | *Unions* | *Government* |
|---|---|---|
| (May 30 '42) | 28% | 55% = 88% |
| (June 18 '43) | 28 | 54 = 86 |

**49.** (Canada Jan 30 '43) Would you approve or disapprove if the government used force to stop strikes in war industries after all other methods had failed? (CIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 65% | 25% | 10% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farmers | 78% | 14% | 8% |
| Professional and business | 75 | 15 | 10 |
| White collar | 66 | 26 | 8 |
| Labor | 54 | 36 | 10 |

**50.** (Australia Apr '43) If you ran the government, what would you do about stoppages at the coal mines? (APOP)

| | *Blamed miners* | *Favored miners* | *Blamed miners and owners, or the system* | *No suggestion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 53% | 9% | 20% | 18% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Labor voters | 42% | 12% | 26% | 20% |
| UAP and CP voters | 65 | 6 | 14 | 15 |

**51.** (US May 12 '43) Would you approve or disapprove of making it a crime for anyone to urge workers to strike in companies taken over by the government? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 78% | 14% | 8% |
| Union members | 67 | 22 | 11 |

**52.** (Australia May–June '43) Would you favor or oppose a law requiring trade unions to take secret ballots before declaring strikes? (APOP)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *Undecided* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Labor voters | 76% | 14% | 5% | 5% |
| Non-labor voters | 82 | 7 | 5 | 6 |
| (Dec '45 to Jan '46) | | | | |
| National total | 83% | 7% | 10% | |
| BY OCCUPATION (MEN ONLY) | | | | |
| Professional, owners, managers | 92% | 4% | | |
| Farm owners | 94 | 4 | | |
| Clerks, shop hands | 89 | 9 | | |
| Skilled workers | 87 | 9 | | |
| Semi-skilled workers | 87 | 8 | | |
| Unskilled | 72 | 26 | | |

(July 15 '46)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 84% | 8% | 8%* |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional, owners, managers | 90% | 5% | 5% |
| Farm owners | 88 | 4 | 8 |
| Clerks, shop hands | 85 | 9 | 6 |
| Skilled workers | 83 | 10 | 7 |
| Semi-skilled workers | 81 | 10 | 9 |
| Unskilled workers | 86 | 9 | 5 |

* Mostly women.

**53.** (US June 2 '43) In the present coal strike do you think the miners should or should not be given a wage increase? (AIPO)
Should 58% Should not 30% No opinion 12%

**54.** (Canada Aug 18 '43) Whom do you think is most responsible for strikes in war industries—the labor leaders, the workers themselves, the management, or the government? (CIPO)

| | *Labor leaders* | *Workers* | *Management* | *Government* | *Others* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 38% | 8% | 17% | 15% | 6% | 16% |
| Quebec only | 23 | 10 | 24 | 22 | 3 | 18 |

**55.** (US Nov 21 '43) What do you think should be done about strikes now? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Forbid strikes by law; let government stop them | 13% |
| Put strikers in service | 12 |
| Use force; make workers return to work; use martial law | 6 |
| Shoot, imprison or draft strike leaders | 3 |
| Punish strikers; jail them | 3 |
| Let government take over industry | 15 |
| Have compulsory arbitration | 7 |
| Stop them (no indication how) | 13 |
| Give strikers what they want; raise wages | 8 |
| Miscellaneous | 6 |
| Nothing; let them strike | 1 |
| Don't know | 13 |

**56.** (US Jan 4 '44) An official in Washington says that strikes and the threat of strikes have delayed the victory and will cost the lives of United States soldiers. Do you agree or disagree? (AIPO)

Agree 79% Disagree 14% No opinion 7%

**57.** (US Feb 16 '44) Are strikes in war industries being controlled well enough, or does something more need to be done? (AIPO)

Controlled well enough 27% More needs to be done 60%
No opinion 13%

**58.** (US June 2 '44) Do you think there is a need for law to prevent strikes in war industries? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 70% | 15% | 15% |
| Union members | 64 | 26 | 10 |

**59.** (US May 9 '44) Have you read or heard about the government's taking over the Montgomery Ward plants in Chicago? (AIPO)

Yes 87% No 13%

Asked of 87% of sample who had heard or read about the government's taking over the Montgomery Ward plants in Chicago: Do you happen to know what the chief arguments are about the government taking over Montgomery Ward plants in Chicago?

Yes 48% No 52%

Asked of 87% of sample who had read or heard about the government's taking over Montgomery Ward plants in Chicago and knew what the chief arguments were about: What are the chief arguments concerning the government's taking over the Montgomery Ward plants in Chicago?

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Reference to seizure* | 24% | |
| Has government authority over private industry? Can government control non-war industries? | | 12% |
| Can one man refuse to cooperate in the war effort? Avery's defiance of government direction | | 10 |
| Is Montgomery Ward a war plant? | | 2 |
| *Underlying arguments* | 52 | |
| Ward's refusal to recognize union as representative of majority of workers | | 25 |
| Refusal of company to renew CIO contract | | 19 |
| Ward's objection to maintenance of membership | | 3 |
| Closed vs open shop | | 5 |
| *Inadequate and incorrect replies* | 24 | |
| Labor trouble—strike | | 14 |
| Wage dispute | | 3 |
| Right to organize | | 4 |
| Monopoly, price control, selling supplies against government orders, etc. | | 1 |
| No answer—don't know | | 2 |

Asked of 87% of sample who had read or heard about the government's taking over the Montgomery Ward plants in Chicago: From what you know about this case, which side are you more inclined to believe is in the right—Montgomery Ward, or the government?

Ward 60% Government 40%

**60.** (US May 23 '44) In your opinion, how well has the Roosevelt administration handled strikes and labor problems? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Excellently | 26% |
| Well | 15 |
| Fairly well | 12 |
| Not too well | 16 |
| Very poorly | 23 |
| Don't know | 8 |

**61.** (US May 23 '44) Do you think the Republicans could do a better job of handling these problems (strikes and labor problems)? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 27% |
| No | 45 |
| No opinion | 26 |
| Depends on who the Republican is | 2 |

**62.** (Sweden June '44) Do you think a labor conflict like the one in the sugar industry is justifiable in times of crisis, considering the national importance of this industry? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 32% | 40% | 28% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Wealthy | 20% | 55% | 25% |
| Working parties | 41 | 35 | 24 |

Why do you consider it (the labor conflict in the sugar industry) justifiable (not justifiable)? Asked of 32% of the sample who thought the conflict was justifiable and 40% of the sample who thought it unjustifiable.

*Justifiable because*

| | |
|---|---|
| Wages too low | 75% |
| Other replies | 21 |
| Don't know | 4 |
| | 100% |

of those who thought the conflict justifiable

*Unjustifiable because*

| | |
|---|---|
| Afraid for sugar ration | 26% |
| Bad for general supplies | 15 |
| Complete cooperation is necessary | 11 |
| There is a price ceiling | 2 |
| Not justifiable, but employers should raise wages nevertheless | 10 |
| Other replies | 28 |
| Don't know | 8 |
| | 100% |

of those who thought conflict unjustifiable

Do you think the government ought to have intervened and prevented the conflict (in the sugar industry) from breaking out?

Yes 60% No 11% Don't know 29%

**63.** (US Jan 31 '45) Have you heard or read about the case between Montgomery Ward and the government? (AIPO)

Yes 88% No 12%

Do you think that business firms like Montgomery Ward should or should not be taken over by the government during

wartime in case they refuse to follow the rulings of the War Labor Board?

Should 48% Should not 34% No opinion 18%

**64.** (US Apr 7 '45) What do you think the government should do if the coal miners go on strike this spring? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Use force; government take over | 74% |
| Give them what they want. Settle by conference, arbitration. Improve War Labor Board | 7 |
| Deal with unions; curb union leaders | 6 |
| Government shouldn't handle this | 1 |
| Didn't say | 8 |

**65.** (US July 12 '45) Do you think Congress should pass a law forbidding strikes in all industries during wartime? (AIPO)

Yes 78% No 16% No opinion 6%

**66.** (US July 12 '45) Should Congress pass a law forbidding strikes in all industries during peacetime? (AIPO)

Yes 21% No 63% No opinion 16%

**67.** (US July 12 '45) What do you think should be done, if anything, to cut down the number of strikes in this country? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Nothing | 4% |
| Put strikers in army | 11 |
| Fire strikers | 1 |
| Punish strikers | 6 |
| Force strikers to work, use military force | 2 |
| Abolish unions | 2 |
| Curtail unions' power | 5 |
| Outlaw strikers | 5 |
| Better union management, new and better unions | 5 |
| Enforce employer-employee cooperation | 4 |
| Make arbitration compulsory | 8 |
| Employers could cooperate more | 1 |
| Give better wages | 8 |
| Establish better working conditions | 1 |
| Treat workers fairly, equal rights for all | 1 |
| Government take over labor | 4 |
| Outlaw strikes during war | 1 |
| Clear out labor rules for employees to follow | 1 |
| Educate people on how to get what they want | 1 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 4 |
| No opinion | 30 |
| | 105%* |

* Percentages add up to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Canada Jan 16 '46) (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Sympathetic to labor and to unions* | |
| Government should set a fair wage rate or bring down the cost of living | 4% |
| Pay higher wages, higher standard of living, stronger unions | 28 |
| *Unsympathetic to labor or unions* | |
| Government should control (curb, etc.) unions, send in troops | 3 |
| Eliminate unions; make strikes illegal, etc. | 9 |
| *Onus on government* | |
| Government should arbitrate | 7 |
| Government should do something; better labor laws, etc. | 6 |
| *Miscellaneous* | |
| Oust radicals, Communists, etc. | 3 |
| More cooperation on both sides; better understanding; etc. | 8 |
| Don't do anything about strikes; leave them alone | 1% |
| Other answers | 3 |
| No opinion | 28 |

**68.** (US Sept 10 '45) Should the government take a strong stand on labor strikes during the present reconversion period? (AIPO)

Yes 74% No 14% Don't know 12%

The 74% of sample who thought the government should take a strong stand were asked: What do you think the government should do?

| | |
|---|---|
| Crack down on labor: prohibit strikes, punish strikers, control union leaders, abolish unions, force strikers back to work | 24% |
| Get production going again: step in with mediation or enforced arbitration; seize strike-bound plants and put men back to work | 28 |
| Help labor, support strikers, compel employers to be fair, raise wages | 6 |
| Miscellaneous suggestions | 4 |
| No procedure named | 12 |

(Sept 19 '45) If the government takes a strong stand (in labor strikes during reconversion period), would you prefer to have it favor labor or favor employers?

Labor 26% Employers 13% Neither 41%

No answer 11% No opinion 9%

**69.** (US Sept 11 '45) Asked of a national cross-section of executives: Suppose there had been no strikes between Pearl Harbor (in 1941) and VJ Day (in 1945). How much farther ahead in our production, in terms of time, do you think the country would have been—two or three days, two or three weeks, two or three months, or what? (NYHT)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Days* | |
| Three days or less | 2.6% |
| A matter of days | .9 |
| *Weeks* | |
| About one week | 8.6 |
| About three weeks | 8.6 |
| A matter of weeks | 3.5 |
| *Months* | |
| One or two months | 6.9 |
| Two to three months | 22.4 |
| Three to five months | 6.0 |
| Six months | 12.9 |
| Eight months and over | 8.6 |
| A matter of months | 6.0 |
| No time lost | 2.6 |
| Don't know | 10.4 |

Asked of a national cross-section of executives: Considering everything, would you call this (labor's record of production in relation to wartime strikes) an excellent, good, fair, poor, or terrible record on the part of labor?

| | |
|---|---|
| Excellent | 11.2% |
| Good | 18.9 |
| Fair | 32.8 |
| Poor | 20.7 |
| Terrible | 12.9 |
| Don't know | .9 |
| Refused to answer | 2.6 |

**70.** (Britain Nov 3 '45) Do you think there is likely to be a wave of strikes in coming months? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 53% | 19% | 28% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional, salaried-executive | 65% | 17% | 18% |
| Salaried-clerical | 59 | 24 | 17 |
| Proprietor—shop or business—farmers | 70 | 11 | 19 |
| Weekly wages, factory, heavy industry, transport, miner | 49 | 24 | 27 |
| Agricultural workers (excluding farmers) | 48 | 25 | 27 |
| Weekly wages, all others | 52 | 19 | 29 |
| Housewives | 48 | 17 | 35 |
| Retired, unoccupied | 50 | 20 | 30 |

**71.** (US Dec 5 '45) Have you heard or read about the strike in the General Motors Company? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| (Dec 19 '45) | 92% | 8% |
| | 95 | 5 |

(Dec 5 '45) Asked of those familiar with the strike: What is the main issue in the General Motors strike?

| | |
|---|---|
| More wages, higher wages, etc. | 57% |
| 30% increase in wages | 19 |
| Keep wartime pay, same wages for 40 hour week as for 48 hour week, etc. | 3 |
| More pay, 40 hour week | 4 |
| More wages to meet high cost of living | 2 |
| More wages—opening of company's books | 2 |
| Want part of company profits | 1 |
| Labor wants to continue its power | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Don't know | 8 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Dec 19 '45)

| | |
|---|---|
| Want part of company profit | 1% |
| More pay, 40 hour week | 3 |
| More wages, feel underpaid | 60 |
| 30% increase | 15 |
| Same wages for 40 hour week, keep wartime wages | 1 |
| Labor wants to continue its power | 3 |
| To meet high cost of living | 2 |
| Opening of books | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| No answer, don't know | 10 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Dec 5 '45) Asked of those familiar with the strike: Which side are you more inclined to sympathize with?

| | |
|---|---|
| Labor, union, workers, strikers | 44% |
| General Motors, company, etc. | 35 |
| Neither, both have their points, etc. | 10 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 10 |

(Dec 19 '45) Which side in the General Motors strike are you more inclined to sympathize with—the company or the union? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with the words "company" and "union" reversed. Results were combined.

| | |
|---|---|
| Company | 40% |
| Union | 36 |
| No opinion | 22 |
| No answer | 2 |

(Dec 5 '45) Do you think workers in General Motors should get more pay?

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 60% | 22% | 18% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional and business | 56% | 26% | 18% |
| Farmers | 45 | 35 | 20 |
| White-collar workers | 62 | 20 | 18 |
| Manual workers | 67 | 16 | 17 |

(Dec 5 '45) How much more [should the workers get who are on strike at General Motors]?

| | |
|---|---|
| Opposed to any raise | 27% |
| Favor raise under 10% | 2 |
| 10%–14% | 16 |
| 15% | 18 |
| 16%–19% | 2 |
| 20% | 11 |
| 25% | 4 |
| 30% | 11 |
| Indefinite and no opinion | 9 |

(Dec 19 '45) Do you know how much more the union wants for these workers?

| | |
|---|---|
| Over 30% | 1% |
| 30% | 58 |
| 20%–30% | 1 |
| 25% | 1 |
| 20% | 3 |
| 15% | 1 |
| Miscellaneous amounts | 9 |
| No answer; not sure | 5 |
| Don't know | 21 |

**72.** (US Jan 23 '46) In the present General Motors strike, which do you think is more in the right—the workers or the company? In the meat packing industry strikes; in the steel industry; electrical industry? (AIPO)

| | *Workers* | *Company* | *Both right or both wrong* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| General Motors | 33% | 24% | 23% | 20% |
| Meat packing | 31 | 16 | 16 | 37 |
| Steel | 33 | 20 | 23 | 24 |
| Electrical | 28 | 15 | 15 | 42 |

**73.** (Sweden Feb '46) Do you think that the following group of professions ought to have the right to go on strike in peacetime in order to obtain higher pay: the industrial workers, farmers, railway staff, employed doctors, lawyers in civil service, policemen? (SGI)

| | *All should have right* | *Industrial workers* | *Farmers* | *Railway staff* | *Doctors* | *Lawyers* | *Policemen* | *None* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| National total | 45 | 22 | 12 | 11 | 1 | 6 | 5 | 15 | 16 | = 133* |

| | *All should have right* | *Industrial workers* | *Farmers* | *Railway staff* | *Doctors* | *Lawyers* | *Policemen* | *None* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **BY ECONOMIC STATUS** | | | | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Upper class | 40 | 21 | 11 | 11 | 1 | 11 | 1 | 23 | 17 | = 136* |
| Middle class | 42 | 21 | 13 | 11 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 16 | 18 | = 131* |
| Workers | 47 | 24 | 11 | 12 | 2 | 6 | 6 | 13 | 15 | = 136* |
| **BY OCCUPATION** | | | | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Farmers | 42 | 17 | 16 | 9 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 16 | 20 | = 130* |
| Industry | 48 | 28 | 10 | 14 | 1 | 7 | 7 | 10 | 12 | = 137* |
| Trade | 42 | 22 | 10 | 12 | — | 3 | 3 | 17 | 17 | = 126* |
| Free-lance workers | 48 | 20 | 10 | 10 | 2 | 7 | 5 | 17 | 14 | = 133* |
| **BY POLITICS** | | | | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Right party | 34 | 20 | 10 | 11 | 4 | 7 | 5 | 30 | 7 | = 128* |
| Liberal party | 36 | 22 | 13 | 10 | 2 | 6 | 4 | 20 | 19 | = 132* |
| Agrarians | 55 | 15 | 16 | 8 | — | 4 | 3 | 16 | 11 | = 128* |
| Social Democrats | 47 | 28 | 10 | 13 | 1 | 7 | 6 | 11 | 14 | = 137* |
| Communists | 64 | 29 | 15 | 16 | — | 6 | 9 | 5 | 2 | = 146* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**74.** (US Feb 27 '46) Should laws be passed to forbid all strikes in public service industries such as electric, gas, telephone and local transportation companies? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 60% | 32% | 8% |
| Union members | 40 | 52 | 8 |
| **BY POLITICS** | | | |
| Democrats | 57% | 35% | 8% |
| Republicans | 71 | 24 | 5 |
| (May 15 '46) | | | |
| National total | 64% | 29% | 7% |
| Union members | 49 | 44 | 7 |
| **BY POLITICS** | | | |
| Democrats | 61% | 32% | 7% |
| Republicans | 70 | 24 | 6 |

**75.** (Denmark Mar 9 '46) When the labor agreements expire on March 1 there is a danger of wide-spreading strikes and lockouts. Do you think that such strikes and lockouts should be allowed to take place, as in normal times, or do you think that something special should be done by the government to prevent them? (DGI)

Allowed 22% Should be prevented 62% Don't know 16%

**76.** (US Apr 28 '46) Mr. Baruch has suggested that all strikes and lockouts be called off for a year. Do you agree or disagree with this? (AIPO)

Agree 70% Disagree 21% No opinion 9%

Asked of the 70% of sample who agreed with Baruch's suggestion that all strikes and lockouts be called off for a year, and of the 9% who voiced no opinion on the subject: Do you think a law should be passed forbidding all strikes and lockouts for a year?

Yes 54% No 36% No opinion 10%

**77.** (US Mar 27 '46) In your opinion, who do you think gained the most in the General Morors strike? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 17% |
| Neither, nobody | 18 |
| General Motors, management | 39 |
| Workers, unions | 19 |
| Both | 1 |
| Union officials | 4 |
| The public | 1 |

**78.** (US Mar 27 '46) In your opinion, who do you think lost the most in the General Motors strike? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 6% |
| Neither, nobody | 1 |
| General Motors, management | 9 |
| Workers, unions | 70 |
| Both | 1 |
| The public | 14 |

**79.** (US June 14 '46) President Truman has proposed that employers and employees be compelled to run strike-bound essential industries which the government has taken over. In general, do you approve or disapprove of this? (AIPO)

Approve 61% Disapprove 28% No opinion 11%

**80.** (US Mar 13 '46) Do you think Congress should pass any laws regarding strikes? (AIPO)

Approve 68% Disapprove 23% No opinion 9%

Asked of the 68% of sample who thought Congress should pass laws regarding strikes: What would you suggest?

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, don't know | 10% |
| Require pre-strike discussions between union and management, insist on compulsory arbitration | 10 |
| Follow Truman's suggestion of cooling-off period | 5 |
| Outlaw strikes | 15 |
| Gov't take over strike-bound industries | 2 |
| Make union leaders responsible | 2 |
| Make unions responsible, control strikers | 14 |
| Abolish unions—let government decide what workers should get | 1 |
| Regulate cost of living | 1 |
| Make laws agreeable to labor and management | 1 |
| Make employers raise wages, open their books | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |

**81.** (US Mar 13 '46) Do you think that Congress should or should not do anything about the strike situation? (AIPO)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 70% | 18% | 12% |
| Union members | 52 | 36 | 12 |

The 70% of the sample who thought Congress should do something were asked: What should Congress do? (AIPO)

31% favor action involving some sort of discipline of labor unions
4 favor a general policy of granting union wage demands
15 favor provisions requiring cooling-off periods, discussion before strikes
20 offer miscellaneous suggestions or have no specific suggestion to offer

**82.** (Netherlands, June '46) Do you think workers have a right to strike? (NIPO)

Yes 70% No 26% No opinion 4%

**83.** (Netherlands, June '46) Do you think the present strike in the big ports should be allowed or not? (NIPO)

Yes 22% No 68% No opinion 10%

**84.** (Netherlands, June '46) Do you think workers in industries vital to the food supplies of the country have the right to strike at this moment? (NIPO)

Yes 24% No 69% No opinion 7%

The sample who approved the strike was asked to explain why they thought the strike justified.

| | |
|---|---|
| Strike is labor's sole weapon; talk doesn't help, etc. | 13% |
| Food-workers earn too little | 2 |
| Other motives (anti-capitalistic) | 4 |
| No answer why | 5 |

The 69% of sample who disapproved of the dock strike were asked why they did so.

| | |
|---|---|
| Interests of country as a whole; strike hurts public more than it injures management, etc. | 37% |
| Food situation too critical | 24 |
| Other answers | 2 |
| No answer why | 6 |

**85.** (US June '46) Which of these groups do you feel has done the poorest job of handling its own part in the recent strike situation? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Labor unions | 27.8% |
| Government | 24.9 |
| Management of companies | 22.5 |
| Don't know | 24.8 |

**86.** (US June '46) Asked of a 17% sample who said they had a close relative or friend on strike in the past six months: Do you feel it was worthwhile for him [to have been on strike] or not? (FOR)

Worthwhile 28.3% Not worthwhile 60.9%
Don't know 10.8%

**87.** (US June 12 '46) Do you believe communists cause many or only a few of the strikes in this country? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Many | 45% |
| Only a few | 29 |
| None | 8 |
| No opinion | 18 |

**88.** (Canada Aug 28 '46) Do you think laboring people in general in this country are better off or worse off as a result of the strikes in the past year? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better off | 23% |
| Worse off | 52 |
| No difference | 11 |
| Undecided | 14 |

**89.** (Canada Aug 28 '46) Do you think they (laboring people) will be better off or worse off in the long run—say five years? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better off | 36% |
| Worse off | 29 |
| No difference | 10 |
| Undecided | 25 |

**90.** (Brazil Sept '46) Do you think strikes are harmful to the nation? (IBOPE)

Harmful 78% Not harmful 21% No opinion 1%

**91.** (Brazil Sept '46) Even if strikes are harmful, should the law secure the right to strike? (IBOPE)

Should 73% Should not 26% No opinion 1%

**92.** (US Nov '46) Have any of the places where you ever shop or do business had a picket line when the employees were on strike? (FOR)

Yes 30.1% No 63.9% Don't know 6.0%

Which of these three statements comes closest to describing what you would do about picket lines?

| | *National total* | *Have encountered a picket line* | *Have not encountered a picket line* |
|---|---|---|---|
| I would never cross a picket line: it is against my principles to do so | 34.1% | 31.0% | 37.5% |
| I would cross a picket line or not depending on whether I think the strikers are right or wrong | 21.1 | 29.2 | 18.7 |
| I would not hesitate to cross a picket line at any time, provided there is no danger of my getting hurt | 30.6 | 36.8 | 29.6 |
| Don't know | 14.2 | 3.0 | 14.2 |

**93.** (US Nov '46) As far as you know, has there been a strike at the General Motors Corporation since the war ended? Has there been a strike in the coal mines; on the railroads; at the DuPont Company? (FOR)

BY POLITICS

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| General Motors total | 69.3% | 5.6% | 25.1% |
| For Roosevelt | 67.5 | 6.5 | 26.0 |
| For Dewey | 77.6 | 4.3 | 18.1 |
| Coal mines total | 85.3 | 2.7 | 12.0 |
| For Roosevelt | 85.0 | 3.1 | 11.9 |
| For Dewey | 91.1 | 2.3 | 6.6 |
| Railroads total | 84.0 | 5.1 | 10.9 |
| For Roosevelt | 85.4 | 5.1 | 9.5 |
| For Dewey | 86.5 | 5.2 | 8.3 |
| DuPont total | 15.5 | 16.5 | 68.0 |

The samples that said there had been a strike at General Motors Corp., in the coal mines, etc., were asked: Which side did you favor more, that of the strikers or that of the companies?

BY POLITICS

| | *Strikers* | *Company* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| General Motors sample | 27.0% | 24.9% | 17.4% |
| For Roosevelt | 31.9 | 18.3 | 17.3 |
| For Dewey | 20.2 | 39.4 | 18.0 |
| Coal mines sample | 49.4 | 20.0 | 15.9 |
| For Roosevelt | 53.4 | 16.4 | 15.2 |
| For Dewey | 45.9 | 29.0 | 16.2 |
| Railroads sample | 31.1 | 32.7 | 20.2 |
| For Roosevelt | 36.5 | 28.8 | 20.1 |
| For Dewey | 22.4 | 44.1 | 20.0 |

**94.** (US Nov '46) Suppose you were a member of Congress—would you vote for or against a bill to prohibit all strikes for any reason whatsoever? For or against a bill to prohibit general strikes where all the unions in an area go out on strike together? Strikes in the automobile industry? In companies that have been taken over by the government? Against the telephone company? Among civil-service employees? (FOR)

| | *For* | *Against* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *All strikes* | | | |
| National total | 27.9% | 62.2% | 9.9% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 36.0% | 60.3% | 3.7% |
| Upper middle class | 29.1 | 63.3 | 7.6 |
| Lower middle class | 26.9 | 65.5 | 7.6 |
| Poor | 26.6 | 56.8 | 16.6 |

| | For | Against | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| *General [sympathy] strikes* | | | |
| National total | 56.2% | 27.6% | 16.2% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 74.9% | 15.9% | 9.2% |
| Upper middle class | 64.1 | 24.7 | 11.2 |
| Lower middle class | 56.5 | 30.1 | 13.4 |
| Poor | 44.8 | 29.1 | 26.1 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| Grade school | 49.2% | 25.0% | 25.8% |
| High school | 57.5 | 31.1 | 11.4 |
| College | 66.9 | 25.3 | 7.8 |
| BY VETERAN STATUS | | | |
| Respondent a veteran | 50.6% | 39.0% | 10.4% |
| Veteran in family | 56.4 | 27.2 | 16.4 |
| No veteran in family | 57.7 | 25.7 | 16.6 |
| BY UNION STATUS | | | |
| Respondent a union member | 27.6% | 60.1% | 12.3% |
| Union member in family | 43.0 | 37.8 | 19.2 |
| No union member in family | 64.3 | 20.0 | 15.7 |
| Automobile industry—national total | 31.5 | 56.5 | 12.0 |
| Companies taken over by the government | 59.0 | 25.3 | 15.7 |
| Telephone company | 42.5 | 44.5 | 13.0 |
| Civil-service employees | 48.7 | 34.4 | 16.9 |

**95.** (US Nov '46) When a union goes on a strike at a plant, do you think it is usually all right, sometimes all right, or never all right for it to keep everybody from entering the plant unless the union wants to let them in? Do you think it is all right to continue to strike after the government has taken over the company? To try to get other unions to strike in sympathy, even though the other unions have no grievance of their own at the time? (FOR)

| | Usually all right | Sometimes all right | Never all right | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Keep everybody out* | | | | |
| [*National total*] | 18.0% | 19.8% | 50.4% | 11.8% |
| BY UNION | | | | |
| AFL | 40.1% | 28.3% | 27.6% | 4.0% |
| CIO | 46.4 | 25.9 | 22.5 | 5.2 |
| *Continue to strike* | | | | |
| [*National total*] | 5.4% | 17.0% | 64.9% | 12.7% |
| BY UNION | | | | |
| AFL | 12.5% | 28.0% | 54.5% | 5.0% |
| CIO | 11.6 | 38.3 | 39.2 | 10.9 |
| *Sympathy strike* | | | | |
| [*National total*] | 6.1% | 12.1% | 70.2% | 11.6% |
| BY UNION | | | | |
| AFL | 21.5% | 30.1% | 43.7% | 4.7% |
| CIO | 25.4 | 36.8 | 30.4 | 7.4 |

**96.** (US Nov '46) When its employees go out on strike, do you think it is usually all right, sometimes all right, or never all right for the company to hire new people to go in and run the plant in place of the strikers? (FOR)

| | Usually all right | Sometimes all right | Never all right | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 21.4% | 33.1% | 35.8% | 9.7% |
| Union members | 6.4 | 18.7 | 71.2 | 3.7 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Salaried executives | 31.4% | 45.1% | 19.6% | 3.9% |

**97.** (Canada Nov 9 '46) When the workers of a plant are out on strike, do you think the government at Ottawa should insist on a secret vote among the workers to see if they want to continue the strike, or do you think the government should keep out of it altogether? (CIPO)

| | Gov't should insist on secret vote | Gov't should keep out | Undecided |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 61% | 25% | 14% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Labor | 51% | 36% | 13% |
| White-collar workers | 67 | 21 | 12 |
| Small business | 55 | 23 | 22 |
| Business and professional | 74 | 15 | 11 |
| BY UNION STATUS | | | |
| Union families | 48% | 41% | 11% |
| Non-union families | 64 | 21 | 15 |

**98.** (Netherlands Nov 12 '46) The strike of September 24 was a demonstration against sending Dutch troops to Indonesia. It is believed to be Communist-inspired. Do you think it is right to go on strike for that reason? (NIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Absolutely wrong | 47% |
| Wrong, but understandable | 17 |
| Right | 18 |
| Don't know | 16 |
| Hadn't heard about the strike | 2 |

Why was the strike right or wrong?

| | |
|---|---|
| *Wrong because* | |
| Strike is action of a small minority; action of Communists; it is unauthorized strike with political background | 14% |
| Hampers rehabilitation of the country | 13 |
| Should obey government, has been voted into office democratically | 10 |
| Strike is senseless; objectives won't be achieved | 9 |
| It is right to send troops to Indonesia | 5 |
| Holland cannot do without Indonesia | 2 |
| *Right because* | |
| The strike is the only way to protest sending troops | 16 |
| Holland has no right to be in Indonesia | 3 |
| Sending troops endangers the peace | 1 |
| Strikers demonstrating solidarity with soldiers forced to go | 1 |
| Strike is protest against capitalist interests | 1 |
| Don't know | 25 |

**99.** (US Nov 27 '46) What do you, yourself, think should be done about strikes? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Strikes should be stopped; strikes should be outlawed | 32% |
| Government should legislate to control labor and force arbitration | 15 |
| Differences should be settled before it is necessary to strike | 12 |
| Control unions and union leaders | 10 |
| Nothing, leave them alone | 9 |
| Punish strikers | 2 |
| Have new legislation to protect employers and workers | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| No opinion | 16 |
| Abolish unions | * |
| Pass Case Bill | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**100.** (US Nov 27 '46) When union members vote on whether or not to strike, should the voting be under the supervision of a government official? (AIPO)

Yes 58% No 26% No opinion 16%

**101.** (US Nov 27 '46) What is your opinion of the way the United States government is handling the coal strike? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| All right; fair; other favorable replies | 27% |
| Doing all they can | 8 |
| Too slack in handling strike; too slow | 8 |
| Too easy; should be more strict; use more force; too easy with Lewis | 13 |
| Handling it poorly; rotten; terrible; other unfavorable | 29 |
| No opinion | 15 |

**102.** (US Nov 27 '46) Can you tell me why the coal miners are striking? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| More money, higher wages | 45% |
| John L. Lewis ordered it; union leaders make men strike; etc. | 16 |
| Contract has expired; they have no contract | 5 |
| They want new contract | 6 |
| They want better hours | 9 |
| They want better working conditions | 6 |
| They want larger welfare fund | 1 |
| Other reasons | * |
| No opinion | 21 |
| Want to keep advantages of present contract | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| | 111%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100% as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**103.** (US Nov 27 '46) Do you approve or disapprove of the way the United States government is handling the coal strike? (AIPO)

Approve 37% Disapprove 40% No opinion 23%

**104.** (US Nov 27 '46) Do you think the miners are justified in staying away from work? (AIPO)

Yes 20% No 65% No opinion 15%

**105.** (US Nov 27 '46) In your opinion, who do you think would handle the following problems better—Truman or Dewey? Among the problems was reducing the number of strikes. (AIPO)

Truman 18% Dewey 51% Don't know 31%

**106.** (US Nov 27 '46) In your opinion, who do you think would handle the following problems better, Truman or Stassen? Among the problems was reducing the number of strikes. (AIPO)

Truman 20% Stassen 38% Don't know 42%

**107.** (Norway Dec 6 '46) Do you think it right or wrong that organized workers call a strike in order to force unorganized workers in the same work to join their union? (NGI)

| | *Wrong* | *Right* | *Don't know* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 54% | 31% | 11% | 4% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Women | 55% | 25% | 15% | 5% |
| Men | 53 | 38 | 5 | 4 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 18–25 years | 54% | 30% | 12% | 4% |
| 25–35 years | 48 | 38 | 10 | 4 |
| 35–50 years | 53 | 33 | 9 | 5 |
| 50 years and over | 59 | 25 | 12 | 4 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| High | 73% | 13% | 7% | 7% |
| Middle | 68 | 23 | 5 | 4 |
| Low | 50 | 34 | 12 | 4 |
| BY UNION MEMBERSHIP | | | | |
| Organized | 35% | 54% | 8% | 3% |
| Unorganized | 54 | 31 | 11 | 4 |

## SUCCESS

**1.** (US Jan '37) Do you think that today any young man with thrift, ability, and ambition has the opportunity to rise in the world, own his own home, and earn $5,000 a year? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *Yes, if lucky* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 39.6% | 18.0% | 34.7% | 7.7% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 52.8% | 14.3% | 29.1% | 3.8% |
| Upper middle class | 45.1 | 17.6 | 31.4 | 5.9 |
| Lower middle class | 38.3 | 20.1 | 35.3 | 6.3 |
| Poor | 30.7 | 17.6 | 41.1 | 10.6 |
| BY RACE | | | | |
| Negroes | 32.6% | 15.7% | 35.3% | 16.4% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| Northwest plains | 29.7% | 12.7% | 55.7% | 1.9% |
| Pacific coast | 42.6 | 19.5 | 30.7 | 7.2 |

**2.** (US Aug 9 '37) Do you think the opportunities for getting ahead today are greater, or not so great, as they were in your father's day? (AIPO)

Greater 47% Not so great 38% About same 15%
No opinion 4%

**3.** (US Feb 23 '39) Do you think the opportunities for most young men to get ahead today are as good as they were 30 years ago? (AIPO)

Yes 34% No 60% No opinion 6%

**4.** (US Feb 23 '39) Do you think that the opportunities for a young man to get ahead are better or not as good today as they were 30 years ago? (AIPO)

Better 21% Not as good 61% Same 14% No opinion 4%

**5.** (US Aug 8 '39) Do you think people who are successful get ahead largely because of their luck or largely because of their ability? (AIPO)

Luck 15% Ability 79% No answer 6%

(Oct '39) Asked of a national cross-section of businessmen: [If you had a son twenty-two years old] Do you think his opportunities for success are greater or less than those you had at that age? (FOR)

| | *Greater* | *Same* | *Same or greater for success, but less chance to make money* | *Less* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 37.2% | 23.5% | 2.0% | 36.3% | 1.0% |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| Under 55 years | 37.7% | 25.4% | 1.6% | 34.3% | 1.0% |
| Over 55 years | 36.1 | 19.3 | 3.2 | 40.6 | .8 |

**6.** (US Feb '40) Do you think that the years ahead hold for you, personally, a good chance for advancement or the probability of no improvement over your present position? (FOR)

| | *Good chance* | *No improvement* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56.3% | 33.3% | 10.4% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 17–25 years | 73 9% | 15.8% | 10.3% |
| 26–40 years | 64.6 | 26.1 | 9.3 |
| Over 40 years | 41.3 | 47.3 | 11.4 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 58.3% | 30.9% | 10.8% |
| Poor | 46.9 | 41.5 | 11.6 |

**7.** (US Feb '40) Do you think your opportunities to succeed are better than, or not so good as, those your father had? (FOR)

Better 58.5% Same 13.0% Not as good as 21.5%
Not comparable 2.3% Don't know 4.7%

Do you think that you are better or less prepared to get ahead than your father was?

Better 70.8% Same 13.5% Less 9.6%
Not comparable 1.6% Don't know 4.5%

Do you think that your son's opportunities to succeed will be better than, or not as good as, those you have?

Better 59.9% Same 10.3% Not as good 15.0%
Not comparable 2.3% Don't know 12.5%

**8.** (US Dec '41) Do you think your son's opportunities to succeed will be better than, or not as good as, those you have? (FOR)

Better 37.3% Not as good 30.7% Same 19.3%
Not comparable 1.8% Don't know 10.9%

**9.** (US Mar 26 '42) Do you think your children twenty years from now will be better off or worse off than you are now? (Asked of parents.) Well, suppose you had some children. Do you think that if you had children they would be better off or worse off twenty years from now in comparison with you? (AIPO)

Better 43.1% Worse 25.8% Same 17.0% No opinion 14.1%

**10.** (US Mar 26 '42) Do you think success is dependent mostly on luck, on ability, or on pull? (OPOR)

Luck 12% Ability 70% Pull 23%
No opinion 5% = 110%*

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**11.** (US July '42) On the whole, after the war do you think an average young man will have more opportunity, about the same opportunity, or less opportunity to get ahead than a young man had after the last war? (FOR)

| | *More* | *Same* | *Less* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46.0% | 26.3% | 17.2% | 10.5% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 47.5% | 30.0% | 18.1% | 4.4% |
| Upper middle class | 44.8 | 27.8 | 20.3 | 7.1 |
| Lower middle class | 46.3 | 26.8 | 18.5 | 8.4 |
| Poor | 44.5 | 26.3 | 15.9 | 13.3 |
| BY RACE | | | | |
| Negroes | 50.0% | 18.7% | 7.1% | 24.2% |

**12.** (US Dec 21 '44) On the whole, after the war do you think young men are going to have a better chance, a poorer chance, or about the same chance to get ahead which young men had before this war? Asked of a national cross-section of high-school students. (NYHT)

| | *Better* | *Same* | *Poorer* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 37.1% | 20.8% | 38.1% | 4.0% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Boys | 39.8% | 19.3% | 36.9% | 4.0% |
| Girls | 34.4 | 22.3 | 39.2 | 4.1 |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | | |
| Well-informed | 42.6% | 20.9% | 33.7% | 2.8% |
| Uninformed | 34.8 | 20.6 | 40.3 | 4.3 |

**13.** (US Jan '43) Asked of a national cross-section of factory workers: Do you think young men after this war are going to have a better chance to get ahead, a poorer chance, or about the same chance young men had after the last war? (FOR)

| | *Better* | *Same* | *Poorer* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46.9% | 21.8% | 18.4% | 12.9% |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | | |
| Well-informed | 57 5% | — | 14.4% | — |
| Poorly informed | 48.5 | — | 18.6 | — |
| Uninformed | 40.6 | — | 19.6 | — |

(Apr 6 '43) Which has a better chance to get ahead, an average person in Britain, or an average person in this country? (NORC)

Britain less than 0.5% United States 86%
About the same 5% Don't know 9%

(Apr 6 '43) Asked of the 86% of sample who thought an average person in this country had a better chance to get ahead than an average person in Britain: Why do you think that an average person in this economy has a better chance to get ahead than an average person in Britain? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| US has no class distinction | 27% |
| More jobs here | 17 |
| Natural resources, less population here | 12 |
| More opportunity for education | 5 |
| More opportunity for social security here | 1 |
| Taxes are lower here | 1 |
| More opportunity in general | 13 |
| More democracy and freedom here | 14 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 5 |
| | 97%* |

* Percentages add to more than 86 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**14.** (US June '43) On the whole, after the war do you think the average young man will have more opportunity, about the same opportunity, or less opportunity to get ahead than a young man had after the last war? (FOR)

| | *More* | *Less* | *Same* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 59.5% | 14.8% | 16.7% | 9.0% |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | | |
| Well-informed | 63.8% | 14.6% | 17.3% | 4.3% |
| Poorly informed | 61.0 | 15.5 | 16.5 | 7.0 |
| Uninformed | 54.4 | 14.6 | 16.1 | 14.9 |

(Canada Aug 26 '44) Do you think opportunities for young people in Canada after the war will be better or worse than they were before the war? (CIPO)

Better 53% Same 16% Worse 17% Undecided 14%

(Denmark Jan 14 '45) Do you think that the opportunity for Danish youth after the war will be greater, smaller or the same as before the war? (DGP)

Greater 49.5% Smaller 10.7% Same 16.2%
Don't know 23.6%

(Denmark Jan 14 '45) Do you think more or less is required of young people who are eager to succeed than before the war? (DGP)

More 67.8% Less 5.1% Same 15.5% Too much 0.3%
Too little 0.5% Don't know 10.8%

(Denmark Jan 14 '45) Asked of the 67.8% of the sample who thought that more was asked of youth than before the war: Why do you think more is asked of youth anxious to succeed today? (DGP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Greater training | 21.6% |
| The times | 16.2 |
| Competition | 12.1 |
| Development | 3.7 |
| Country must be rebuilt | 1.4 |
| Cannot explain | 13.0 |
| Don't know | 27.2 |
| Other replies | 4.8 |

(Denmark Jan 14 '45) Do you think there will be great or small opportunities for Danish youth abroad after the war? (DGP)

Great 62.0% Small 9.8% Don't know 28.2%

**15.** (US Mar 29 '45) Do you feel that during the twenty years or so after the war American business is going to offer the average person more chance to get ahead, less, or about the same as before the war? (NYHT)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 41% |
| Less | 22 |
| Same | 27 |
| Don't know | 10 |

**16.** (US Jan '46) On the whole, do you think young men after this war are going to have a better chance to get ahead, or a poorer chance, or about the same chance young men had after the last war? (FOR)

| | *Better* | *Same* | *Poorer* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 57.0% | 16.0% | 14.1% | 12.9% |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–34 years | 61.5% | 16.4% | 11.4% | 10.7% |
| 35–49 years | 58.5 | 14.9 | 14.8 | 11.8 |
| 50 years and over | 51.4 | 16.7 | 15.8 | 16.1 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 64.7% | 17.2% | 12.1% | 6.0% |
| Upper middle class | 64.0 | 12.9 | 14.6 | 8.5 |
| Lower middle class | 58.7 | 15.8 | 13.7 | 11.8 |
| Poor | 47.6 | 14.6 | 18.3 | 19.5 |

**17.** (US July 19 '45) On the whole, do you think young men after this war are going to have a better chance to get ahead or a poorer chance than young men had after the last war? (NYHT)

| | *Better* | *Same* | *Poorer* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 71.1% | 5.8% | 8.9% | 13.6% |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–34 years | 75.5% | 5.6% | 7.5% | 11.4% |
| 35–49 years | 71.9 | 6.4 | 8.7 | 13.0 |
| 50 years and over | 68.0 | 5.5 | 10.4 | 16.1 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 80.0% | 5.8% | 10.0% | 4.2% |
| Upper middle class | 76.0 | 6.6 | 8.2 | 9.2 |
| Lower middle class | 74.7 | 5.5 | 8.2 | 11.6 |
| Poor | 61.4 | 5.6 | 10.4 | 22.6 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | | |
| Some grade school | 62.1% | 6.2% | 10.7% | 21.0% |
| Some high school | 78.8 | 4.3 | 7.6 | 9.3 |
| Some college | 77.7 | 7.8 | 7.8 | 6.7 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Professional and executive | 79.2% | 7.7% | 7.3% | 5.8% |
| Farm owners | 58.6 | 4.8 | 17.6 | 19.0 |
| Salaried minor | 79.6 | 5.0 | 7.7 | 7.7 |
| Factory wage earners | 72.3 | 8.2 | 9.1 | 10.4 |

**18.** (US Oct '46) Asked of a national cross-section of executives: Most people who achieve success have a combination of many outstanding qualities. Which *one* of the following qualities do you rate as having contributed most to your success? Which next? (FOR)

| | *Most* | *Next most* |
|---|---|---|
| Ability to handle people | 30.0% | 22.6% |
| Ability to make decisions | 24.5 | 26.1 |
| Technical or specialized knowledge | 18.9 | 10.4 |
| Great capacity for work | 16.2 | 13.3 |
| Ability to see things through | 12.9 | 18.6 |
| Imagination | 10.2 | 13.4 |
| Other | 1.0 | 1.6 |
| | 113.7%* | 106.0%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## SUFFRAGE

**1.** (US Oct 9 '38) It has been suggested that persons on relief should not be allowed to vote. Do you agree with this suggestion? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 19% | 81% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 20% | 80% |
| Mid-Atlantic | 21 | 79 |
| East central | 18 | 82 |
| West central | 20 | 80 |
| South | 23 | 77 |
| West | 15 | 85 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 12% | 88% |
| Republicans | 32 | 68 |
| Others | 19 | 81 |

**2.** (US Mar '39) If you were a member of the incoming Congress, would you vote yes or no on a bill to make it impossible for anyone receiving relief to vote? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 17.9% | 73.3% | 8.8% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 27.3% | 63.3% | 9.4% |

**3.** (US May 18 '39) Do you favor reducing the age at which American citizens can vote from twenty-one to eighteen? (AIPO)

| | Favor | Oppose | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 17% | 79% | 4% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–30 years | 17% | 83% | |
| 30–49 years | 17 | 83 | |
| 50 years and over | 18 | 82 | |

**4.** (Canada June 3 '42) In Australia people are made to pay a fine if they do not vote on election day. Do you think the Canadian government should make people who do not vote in the coming plebiscite pay a $5 fine? (CIPO)

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 38% | 52% | 10% |
| BY VOTING RECORD | | | |
| Voted in 1940 | 41% | 50% | 9% |
| Stayed at home [1940] | 30 | 56 | 14 |

**5.** (US July 14 '42) Do you really vote a straight ticket, that is, vote for all the candidates of one party, or do you vote a split ticket, that is, vote for some candidates of one party and some of the other? (AIPO)

Straight ticket 40% Split ticket 54% Don't know 6%

**6.** (US July 29 '42) Asked of a national cross-section of eligible voters: Do you make a point of voting in all elections, or only in those which particularly interest you? (AIPO)

| | All elections | Those of interest | Don't vote | Too young or first time | No answer |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 73% | 22% | 4% | — | 1% |
| (Aug 13 '42) | 67 | 25 | 8 | — | — |
| (Sept 6 '44) | 63 | 33 | 2 | 2% | — |
| (Sept 20 '44) | 68 | 30 | 1 | 1 | — |
| (Oct 3 '44) | 68 | 28 | 2 | 2 | — |
| (Oct 6 '44) | 67 | 31 | 1 | 1 | — |
| (Oct 12 '44) | 68 | 28 | 2 | 2 | — |
| (Oct 17 '44) | 68 | 29 | 2 | 1 | — |
| (Sept 25 '46) | 58 | 35 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| (Oct 10 '46) | 66 | 31 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

**7.** (US Sept 15 '42) Do you think you will take the trouble to vote this fall? (AIPO)

Yes 83% No 17%

**8.** (Australia Mar '43) In normal times, at what age should young men and women be given a vote at elections? (APOP)

| | 18 years | 19 or 20 years | 21 years | 25 years | No answer |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 14% | 3% | 77% | 4% | 2% |
| (Feb–Mar '44) | 21 | 3 | 70 | 6 | — |

| | 18 years | 19 years | 20 years | 21 years | Over 21 | No answer |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Nov '46) | | | | | | |
| National total | 25% | 2% | 2% | 66% | 3% | 2% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | | |
| Labor | 32% | 2% | 2% | 60% | 2% | 2% |
| Liberal-Country | 21 | 2 | 2 | 71 | 3 | 1 |

**9.** (US Jan 15 '43) At the present time, American citizens cannot vote until they become twenty-one years of age. Would you favor changing the law to allow men and women eighteen, nineteen, and twenty years old to vote? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 39% | 52% | 9% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 41% | 53% | 9% |
| 30–49 years | 38 | 52 | 10 |
| 50 years and over | 37 | 52 | 11 |
| (Apr 9 '43) | | | |
| National total | 42% | 52% | 6% |

**10.** (US Aug 24 '43) Would you favor lowering the voting age limit so that persons eighteen, nineteen, and twenty years old could vote in elections? (AIPO)

| | Favor | Oppose | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 44% | 51% | 5% |
| (Apr 10 '46) | 44 | 52 | 4 |

**11.** (US Aug 17 '43) Congress may be called upon to consider a constitutional amendment to allow persons eighteen, nineteen, and twenty years old to vote in elections. Would you like to have your Congressman vote for or against this proposal? (AIPO)

For 52% Against 42% Undecided 6%

A comparable cross-section was asked: Would you favor lowering the voting age limit so that persons eighteen, nineteen, and twenty years old could vote in elections?

| | For | Against | Undecided |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 52% | 42% | 6% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 53% | 41% | 6% |
| East central | 50 | 45 | 5 |
| West central | 50 | 45 | 5 |
| South | 52 | 40 | 8 |
| Far West | 53 | 40 | 7 |

(Aug 24 '43) Would you like your Congressman to vote for or against the proposed amendment to allow persons eighteen, nineteen, and twenty years old to vote?

| | For | Against | Undecided |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 48% | 46% | 6% |
| (Apr 10 '46) | 52 | 42 | 6 |

**12.** (Canada Nov 10 '43) It has been suggested that voting requirements be changed to allow persons eighteen, nineteen, and twenty years old to vote in elections. Would you approve or disapprove if this were done? (CIPO)

| | Approve | Disapprove | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 37% | 56% | 7% |
| (Apr 14 '45) | 47 | 47 | 6 |

**13.** (Australia Oct '43) Do you think voting at federal elections should be voluntary or compulsory? (APOP)

Compulsory 60% Voluntary 35% Undecided 5%

**14.** (US Jan 12 '44) Have you ever voted in the election district where you now live? (AIPO)

Yes 75% No 25%

**15.** (Sweden, Aug '44) Do you think it is the duty of everyone to vote at the elections or do you think it is a personal matter? (SGI)

| | Duty | Personal | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 77% | 18% | 5% |

| | *Duty* | *Personal* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 81% | 16% | 3% |
| Women | 73 | 20 | 7 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 90% | 9% | 1% |
| Middle class | 80 | 16 | 4 |
| Workers | 74 | 20 | 6 |

**16.** (Sweden Aug '44) Do you appreciate having a vote or would you mind giving it up? (SGI)

| | *Appreciate it* | *Wouldn't mind giving it up* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 87% | 8% | 5% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 91% | 6% | 3% |
| Women | 83 | 10 | 7 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 96% | 3% | 1% |
| Middle class | 89 | 7 | 4 |
| Workers | 85 | 9 | 6 |

**17.** (US Sept 6 '44) Are you interested in the coming election for President this November? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| | 93% | 7% |
| (Sept 20 '44) | 93 | 7 |
| (Sept 3 '44) | 93 | 7 |
| (Sept 6 '44) | 94 | 6 |
| (Sept 12 '44) | 93 | 7 |
| (Sept 17 '44) | 94 | 6 |

**18.** (US Oct '44) Have you ever registered to vote from your present residence? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 74.4% | 25.1% | .5% |
| BY VOTING PREFERENCE | | | |
| Very important Roosevelt be elected | 67.8% | 31.7% | .5% |
| Better that Roosevelt be elected | 72.6 | 27.1 | .3 |
| Better that Dewey be elected | 79.9 | 19.7 | .4 |
| Re-election of Roosevelt would be a bad thing | 85.1 | 14.6 | .3 |

**19.** (US Sept '44) Do you usually vote a straight party ticket? (NORC)

Yes 43% No 51% Don't know 2%
Never voted before 4%

**20.** (US Sept '44) Do you remember for certain whether or not you voted in the election for Congressman in November 1942? (NORC)

Did vote 56% Didn't vote 31% Too young 3%
Don't know 10%

The 56% who did vote were asked: Did you vote for the Democratic or Republican Congressman?

Democrat 26% Republican 25% Other * No reply 1%
Split vote * Don't know 4%

The 31% who didn't vote were asked: Do you remember why you didn't vote?

| | |
|---|---|
| Inconvenience (sick; no transportation; too far to polls; mechanics of absentee ballot; busy; got there too late) | 6% |
| Not interested (one vote doesn't count; don't know enough about the candidates; issues not important; would only have killed husband's vote; neglect; no reason) | 6 |
| Disqualified (not citizen; had moved; poll tax; out of town) | 9 |
| Unacquainted with mechanics of voting | * |
| Not registered; procrastinated too long | 5 |
| Disgusted; don't like candidates, issues, mud-slinging, third term | * |
| Women shouldn't vote | * |
| Other answers | * |
| Don't know why not | 5 |

* Indicates less than 0.5%.

**21.** (France Nov 1 '44) Asked of a cross-section of Parisians: Should one vote for a man or for a party? (FIPO)

Party 72% Man 16% Both; they are inseparable 1%
No opinion 11%

**22.** (US Nov '44) Do you regard voting more as a duty you owe your country or more as a right to use if you want to? (NORC)

Duty 59% Right 36% Both 3% Don't know 2%

**23.** (France Dec 1 '44) Should eighteen-year-olds have the right to vote? (FIPO)

Yes 21% No 76% No opinion 3%

**24.** (Denmark Feb 25 '45) At present, everyone receives the right to vote when twenty-five years old. Do you consider this too early, too late, or just right? (DGP)

Too early 5.2% Too late 12.8% Just right 70.1%
Don't know 11.9%

(Dec 15 '45) The vote for parliamentary elections is obtained when one is twenty-five. Do you consider this to be too early, too late, or suitable?

| | *Suitable* | *Too late* | *Too early* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 61.4% | 36.1% | 2.5% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Social Democrats | 61% | 38% | 1% |
| Conservative | 75 | 21 | 4 |
| Radical | 69 | 27 | 4 |
| Left | 84 | 13 | 3 |
| Communists | 28 | 71 | 1 |
| Dansk Samling | 59 | 38 | 3 |
| No vote | 54 | 45 | 1 |

The 38.6% of the sample who thought the voting age unsuitable were asked: At what age do you think the right to vote should be obtained?

| | |
|---|---|
| 21 years | 85% |
| 23 years | 4 |
| 24 years | 2 |
| 30 years | 4 |
| Other age | 5 |

**25.** (England, Apr '45) Have you checked up to see that your name is on the electoral register? (BIPO)

Yes 25% No 75%

**26.** (England June 26 '45) Do you think it likely that you will go and vote on Polling Day? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 87% | 13% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 91% | 9% |
| Women | 84 | 16 |

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| BY AGE | | |
| 21–29 years | 82% | 18% |
| 30–49 years | 88 | 12 |
| 50 years and over | 88 | 12 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Higher | 87% | 13% |
| Middle | 91 | 9 |
| Lower | 56 | 14 |

The 13% of the sample who thought they would not vote were asked: What will probably be the reason?

| | |
|---|---|
| Not interested in politics | 2% |
| Shall be away from home | 2 |
| Cannot spare time to vote | 1 |
| No suitable candidate | 1 |
| Not on local register | 1 |
| All parties selfish, no difference between them | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| No reply | 4 |

**27.** (US Jan 23 '46) If you are not able to vote in the coming Congressional elections, how much difference will it make to you—a great deal, a fair amount, or only a little? (AIPO)

Great deal 45% Fair amount 21% Little 23% None 11%

(Sept 25 '46) If you are not able to vote on Election Day in November, how much difference will it make to you personally—a great deal, a little, or none?

Great deal 48% Little 30% None 22%

(Sept 25 '46) If something prevented you from voting on Election Day in November, how much difference would it make to you personally—would it make a great deal of difference, quite a bit of difference, or not much difference?

Great deal 34% Quite a bit 20% Not much 35% No difference 11%

**28.** (US Jan 23 '46) Do you vote in every state and national election, or do you often find that something comes up which keeps you from going to vote? (AIPO)

Every election 66% Things often come up 25% Don't know 9%

**29.** (Netherlands Jan 30 '46) A bill has been introduced to lower the voting age from twenty-five to twenty-three years. Are you in favor or not in favor of franchise for Dutchmen from twenty-three years? (NIPO)

In favor 60% Not in favor 24% Don't know 16%

**30.** (Netherlands Jan 30 '46) The age at which one votes, of course, could be changed to younger than twenty-three or older than twenty-five, for instance. What do you think is the right age for voting? (NIPO)

| *Under 21* | *21 years* | *22 years* | *23 years* | *24 years* | *25 years* | *Over 25 years* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3% | 18% | 2% | 33% | 1% | 21% | 3% | 19% |

**31.** (France Feb 1 '46) Should the next constitution, in your opinion, make the vote obligatory under pain of sanctions? (FIPO)

Yes 39% No 51% No opinion 10%

**32.** (Netherlands Feb 5 '46) When compulsory voting is abolished and you no longer have to vote, will you go to the polls at the next election? (NIPO)

Yes 84% No 12% Don't know 4%

**33.** (France June 1 '46) Did you change your mind about your vote in the referendum once or several times? (FIPO)

Changed mind 12% Didn't change 76% No answer 12%

(July 16 '46) Did you change your mind about your vote once or several times?

Changed mind 16% Didn't change 68% Didn't vote or no answer 16%

**34.** (France June 1 '46) How far in advance did you decide to vote the way you did in the referendum? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| The day of the survey | 4% |
| Two or three days before | 8 |
| During the week | 15 |
| More than a week before | 54 |
| Other answers | 5 |
| No answer | 14 |

(July 16) How far in advance did you decide to vote the way you did?

| | |
|---|---|
| The day of the survey | 8% |
| Two or three days before | 8 |
| During the week | 10 |
| More than one week before | 55 |
| Other answers | 3 |
| Didn't vote or no answer | 16 |

**35.** (France June 1 '46) How did you vote in the referendum? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 45% | 55% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 50% | 50% |
| Women | 38 | 62 |
| Unemployed women | 36 | 64 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 20–34 years | 51% | 49% |
| 35–49 years | 44 | 56 |
| 50–64 years | 43 | 57 |
| 65 years and over | 31 | 69 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | |
| Workers | 49% | 51% |
| White-collar | 45 | 55 |
| Farmers | 40 | 60 |
| Liberal professions | 31 | 69 |
| Merchants and manufacturers | 30 | 70 |

**36.** (Netherlands Feb 5 '46) At the moment compulsory voting exists. Everybody has to go to the polls and even can be punished if he does not go. A new bill proposes to abolish this duty. Are you in favor of freedom of voting or of compulsory voting? (NIPO)

| | *Freedom to vote or not* | *For compulsory vote* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 66% | 29% | 5% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 65% | 32% | 3% |
| Women | 68 | 24 | 8 |

Can you say why you decided to vote as you did in the referendum on the Constitution?

*Pro-Constitution voters*

| | |
|---|---|
| To go along with my party | 24% |
| For the triumph of the people and the party workers | 23 |
| Because the Constitution was good | 20 |

| | |
|---|---|
| To stabilize the government | 18% |
| Other reasons | 10 |
| No answer | 5 |

*Anti-Constitution voters*

| | |
|---|---|
| To oppose Communism | 33% |
| Because the Constitution was no good | 22 |
| Because the Constitution suppressed liberty | 17 |
| To go along with my party | 10 |
| Other reasons | 12 |
| No answer | 6 |

**37.** (Australia Nov '46) Polling booths remain open until 8 p.m. on Election Day. Would you object if they closed an hour earlier, at 7 p.m.? (APOP)

Approve 8:00 closing 30% Approve 7:00 closing 66% No opinion 4%

## SUGAR

**1.** (US Jan 23 '42) Do you think there will be any shortage of sugar within the next year? (AIPO)

Yes 71% No 29%

**2.** (US Jan 23 '42) Have you (has your wife) bought any sugar to protect yourself against higher prices or a shortage later on? (AIPO)

Yes 8% No 92%

**3.** (Canada Feb 11 '42) Do you think that the government can cut down the amount of sugar used by putting people on their honor, or will some system of ration cards be necessary? (CIPO)

Honor system 29% Ration cards 65% No opinion 6%

**4.** (US Apr 8 '42) About how many pounds of sugar a week does your family use? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (AIPO)

One pound per person—mean.

**5.** (US Apr 8 '42) What is the smallest amount of sugar your family could get along on each week? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (AIPO)

Nine and one half ounces per person—mean.

**6.** (US Mar 28 '42) From what you have heard about the situation, do you think we are doing the right thing by rationing sugar? (NORC)

Yes 78% No 16% Don't know 6%

**7.** (US Dec 30 '42) Do you think it was necessary to ration sugar and coffee? (NORC)

Yes, both 68% Yes, sugar; not coffee 1% Yes, coffee; not sugar 18% Neither 8%

**8.** (US Dec 30 '42) Do you think there has been much chiseling in the rationing of sugar and coffee? (NORC)

Yes 26% No 59% Don't know 15%

Asked of the 26% of the sample who thought there had been chiseling in the rationing of sugar and coffee: Who or what do you think is chiefly to blame for this?

| | |
|---|---|
| The consumer | 12% |
| Dealers, producers | 7 |
| Administration of rationing | 4 |
| Advance notice permitting hoarding | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 27%* |

* Percentages add to more than 26 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (US Jan 20 '43) At the present time, are you buying all the sugar that your ration books entitle your family to? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

Yes 84% No 14% Don't know 2%

**10.** (US Jan 20 '43) Do your ration books allow you more sugar than you need for your family, or about the right amount, or less than you need? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

More 16% Right amount 58% Less 25% Don't know 1%

**11.** (US Jan 20 '43) Right now, are you buying more sugar per person, or not as much as you did before it was rationed? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

More 9% About same 35% Less 52% Don't know 4%

**12.** (England Jan 18 '44) If more sugar were available, which would you like to see increased: the sugar ration, chocolates and sweets, cakes and biscuits, or jam? (BIPO)

Ration 67% Chocolates and sweets 17% Cakes and buscuits 7% Jam 9%

**13.** (US June 2 '44) Does your ration allow you to get all the rationed sugar your family really needs? Asked of a national cross-section of women marketers. (NORC)

Yes 72% No 27% More 1% Don't use sugar * Don't know *

* Less than 0.5%.

**14.** (US Aug 17 '45) If you could have any one of these four things, which would you prefer: 15 gallons of gasoline, 25 pounds of sugar, 5 pounds of butter, or a 5-pound beefsteak? (The same question was asked of a comparable cross-section with the listed articles reversed.) (AIPO)

| | *Sugar* | *Beefsteak* | *Gasoline* | *Butter* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 47% | 29% | 14% | 10% |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | | |
| Farm areas | 71% | 14% | 10% | 5% |
| Towns and cities up to 100,000 | 48 | 28 | 12 | 12 |
| Cities 100,000 and over | 27 | 40 | 22 | 11 |

**15.** (France Feb 16 '46) What quantity of sugar do you consider necessary for your nourishment each month? (FIPO)

| | *Under 750 gr.* | *750–1,250 gr.* | *1,250–1,750 gr.* | *1,750–2,250 gr.* | *Over 2,250 gr.* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | | | | |
| Men | 6% | 55% | 19% | 15% | 4% | 1% |
| Women | 4 | 49 | 22 | 20 | 4 | 1 |

**16.** (Italy July '46) If rationing is maintained, do you think that 400 grams (14.2 oz) of sugar a month per person would be sufficient? (DOXA)

Don't know 1.5% Plenty 3.9% Sufficient 33.4% Scarcely sufficient 27.8% Insufficient 33.4%

**17.** (Italy July '46) When the next sugar-beet crop increases the country's sugar stocks, should sugar rationing continue or be abolished? (DOXA)

Don't know 6.8% Continue 22.5% Abolish 70.7%

## SUPERSTITION

**1.** (Denmark June 4 '44) Are you superstitious? (DGP)

Yes 14.0% No 82.0% Don't know 4.0%

**2.** (Denmark June 4 '44) Does it bother you having 13 at table? (DGP)

Yes 14.0% No 85.0% Don't know 1.0%

**3.** (Denmark June 4 '44) Have you ever omitted beginning something on a Monday? (DGP)

Yes 9% No 90% Don't know 1%

**4.** (Denmark June 4 '44) Are you in the habit of touching wood or doing similar things to avoid trouble? (DGP)

Yes 16% No 84%

**5.** (Denmark June 4 '44) Do you put on some special clothes, jewelry, etc. on another occasion if you imagine that they have once brought you luck? (DGP)

Yes 2% No 98%

**6.** (Britain May '46) Are there any superstitions that you believe in? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 35% | 65% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 24% | 76% |
| Women | 48 | 52 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 21–29 years | 45% | 55% |
| 30–49 years | 33 | 67 |
| 50 years and over | 35 | 65 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Higher | 29% | 71% |
| Middle | 30 | 70 |
| Lower | 38 | 62 |
| Very poor | 38 | 62 |

The 35% of the sample who said they believed in some superstitions were asked: What are they?

| | |
|---|---|
| Number 13 | 5% |
| Spilling salt | 3 |
| Walking under ladders | 3 |
| Black cats | 3 |
| New moon | 3 |
| Three on a match | 2 |
| Crossed knives | 2 |
| Wearing green | 2 |
| Lucky charms—coins—horseshoes | 1.5 |
| Friday | 1.5 |
| Touching wood | 1 |
| Dreams | 1 |
| Putting new shoes on table | 1 |
| May blossom inside house | 1 |
| Picture falling down | 1 |
| Meeting person with a squint | 1 |
| Dropping scissors—knives | 1 |
| Dropping gloves | 1% |
| Several; too many to name | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 12 |
| | 48% * |

* Percentages add to more than 35 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**7.** (England May '46) Do you throw salt over your shoulder? Touch wood? Walk under ladders? (BIPO)

| | THROW SALT | | TOUCH WOOD | | WALK UNDER LADDERS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *Yes* | *No* | *Yes* | *No* |
| National total | 33% | 67% | 41% | 59% | 47% | 53% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | |
| Men | 19% | 81% | 30% | 70% | 53% | 47% |
| Women | 47 | 53 | 53 | 47 | 39 | 61 |
| BY AGE | | | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 39% | 61% | 47% | 53% | 44% | 56% |
| 30–49 years | 32 | 68 | 41 | 59 | 48 | 52 |
| 50 years and over | 31 | 69 | 39 | 61 | 45 | 55 |

**8.** (Canada July 10 '46) Even though you may not be superstitious, are there any superstitions to which you find yourself giving way once in a while? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 25% | 75% |
| Women | 42 | 58 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 21–29 years | 42% | 58% |
| 30–49 years | 34 | 66 |
| 50 years and over | 28 | 72 |

**9.** (US Aug 24 '47) Do you throw salt over your shoulder? (AIPO)

Yes 10% No 87% No answer 3%

**10.** (US Aug 24 '47) Do you knock on wood? (AIPO)

Yes 32% No 66% No answer 2%

**11.** (US Aug 24 '47) Do you avoid walking under ladders? (AIPO)

Yes 24% No 74% No answer 2%

**12.** (US Aug 24 '47) Do you avoid crossing the path of a black cat? (AIPO)

Yes 18% No 80% No answer 2%

## SWEARING

**1.** (Sweden Feb '44) Do you use swear words in your ordinary speech? Asked of a national cross-section of men. (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *Yes, occasionally* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 35% | 40% | 24% | 1% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 20% | 41% | 37% | 2% |
| Middle class | 27 | 41 | 31 | 1 |
| Workers | 43 | 39 | 17 | 1 |

| | Yes | Yes, occasionally | No | No answer |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 51% | 38% | 11% | — |
| 30–49 years | 36 | 42 | 20 | 2% |
| 50–64 years | 23 | 44 | 33 | — |
| 65 years and over | 25 | 28 | 47 | — |

**2.** (Sweden Feb '46) Do you think that the use of swearing to the extent that it is now common should be abolished or is there some justification for it? (SGI)

| | Abolish swearing | Limit swearing | Not important | Swearing is justified | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 80% | 12% | 3% | 3% | 2% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Women | 88% | 8% | 2% | 1% | 1% |
| Men | 74 | 15 | 5 | 5 | 1 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Upper class | 85% | 9% | 4% | 2% | — |
| Middle class | 82 | 11 | 3 | 3 | 1% |
| Workers | 79 | 12 | 4 | 4 | 1 |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 75% | 17% | 4% | 3% | 1% |
| 30–49 years | 80 | 12 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| 50–64 years | 86 | 9 | 2 | 3 | — |
| 65 years and over | 87 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 2 |

# SWEDEN

## Census

**1.** (Sweden Dec '45) Did you think the public census forms which you had last time were difficult to understand and fill in, or did they cause you no difficulty? (SGI)

| | Difficult | Understandable but difficult to fill in | Neither | Did not personally fill in forms |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 14% | 19% | 38% | 29% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 15% | 25% | 47% | 13% |
| Women | 12 | 13 | 30 | 45 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | | |
| Farmers | 15% | 22% | 29% | 34% |
| Others | 13 | 18 | 42 | 27 |

## Defenses

**1.** (Sweden Oct '43) Are you convinced that the state of war makes it necessary to keep up our present degree of military preparedness, or do you think that this might be reduced considerably without danger? (SGI)

| | Necessary | Might be reduced | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 20% | 24% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 72% | 12% | 16% |
| Middle class | 59 | 17 | 24 |
| Workers | 53 | 23 | 24 |
| Working parties | 55 | 24 | 21 |
| Wealthy | 66 | 16 | 18 |

**2.** (Sweden June '45) Do you think that, after the war, Sweden's defense should be as strong, stronger, or less strong than it was before the outbreak of war? (SGI)

| | Stronger | Same | Less strong | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46% | 31% | 14% | 9% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 48% | 30% | 16% | 6% |
| Women | 44 | 33 | 11 | 12 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 46% | 33% | 16% | 5% |
| 30–49 years | 47 | 31 | 13 | 9 |
| 50–64 years | 43 | 33 | 14 | 10 |
| 65 years and over | 48 | 25 | 11 | 16 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Right party | 16% | 76% | 5% | 3% |
| Liberals | 23 | 62 | 7 | 8 |
| Agrarians | 27 | 52 | 9 | 12 |
| Social democrats | 35 | 42 | 15 | 8 |
| Communists | 34 | 29 | 29 | 8 |

**3.** (Sweden June '45) Which branch of defense do you think has been the most important for guarding Sweden's neutrality? (SGI)

| | Navy | Army | Anti-aircraft | Air force | All equally | No opinion | Home Guard |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 28% | 15% | 15% | 10% | 15% | 17% | — |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | |
| Men | 33% | 18% | 14% | 10% | 16% | 9% | — |
| Women | 22 | 11 | 16 | 10 | 15 | 26 | — |
| BY AGE | | | | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 28% | 19% | 17% | 11% | 14% | 11% | — |
| 30–49 years | 31 | 15 | 16 | 9 | 14 | 15 | — |
| 50–64 years | 23 | 12 | 13 | 11 | 18 | 23 | — |
| 65 years and over | 21 | 14 | 10 | 9 | 19 | 27 | — |

**4.** (Sweden June '45) Is there any branch of defense that you consider should be kept as strong as possible even after the war? (SGI)

| | Navy | Army | Anti-aircraft | Air force | All equally | No opinion | Home Guard |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 17% | 7% | 7% | 33% | 16% | 19% | 1% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | |
| Men | 19% | 6% | 7% | 41% | 16% | 10% | 1% |
| Women | 15 | 6 | 7 | 25 | 18 | 28 | 1 |
| BY AGE | | | | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 17% | 6% | 6% | 36% | 19% | 15% | 1% |
| 30–49 years | 18 | 7 | 8 | 35 | 13 | 18 | 1 |
| 50–64 years | 15 | 6 | 7 | 33 | 15 | 23 | 1 |
| 65 years and over | 15 | 7 | 5 | 22 | 20 | 28 | 3 |

**5.** (Sweden Apr '46) Should military expenditures be cut down considerably in order to enable a quick carrying through of increased national pension, a general health insurance, and increased support to families with children? (SGI)

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 68% | 17% | 15% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Right party | 43% | 38% | 19% |
| National liberals | 57 | 27 | 16 |
| Agrarians | 66 | 14 | 20 |
| Social democrats | 74 | 13 | 13 |
| Communists | 95 | 2 | 3 |

**6.** (Sweden Apr '46) Would you have anything against diminishing the expenditures for defense now and, instead, increasing the budgets for social relief proportionately? (SGI)

| | Nothing against this suggestion | Do not approve this suggestion | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 72% | 16% | 12% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Right party | 43% | 48% | 9% |
| National liberals | 63 | 27 | 10 |
| Agrarians | 70 | 21 | 9 |
| Social democrats | 80 | 9 | 11 |
| Communists | 91 | 2 | 7 |

## Foreign Relations

**1.** (Sweden Aug '43) After the war, would you like to exchange your job for one month for a corresponding job in one of the northern neighbor countries in order to gain knowledge of the conditions there? Asked of a national cross-section of employed men and single women. (SGI)

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 52% | 42% | 6% |
| BY RURAL-URBAN AND ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| *Towns* | | | |
| Upper class | 55% | 41% | 4% |
| Middle class | 62 | 34 | 4 |
| Workers | 55 | 39 | 6 |
| *Country* | | | |
| Upper class | 54 | 38 | 8 |
| Middle class | 44 | 50 | 6 |
| Workers | 53 | 40 | 7 |

In which country would you like to do this? Asked of the 52% of the sample who said they would like to exchange jobs.

| | Norway | Denmark | Finland | Anywhere |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46% | 21% | 15% | 18% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 29% | 26% | 16% | 29% |
| Middle class | 36 | 24 | 22 | 18 |
| Workers | 55 | 18 | 10 | 17 |

**2.** (Denmark Sept 15 '45) Do you think that during the war Sweden behaved wrongly or correctly toward its neighboring countries? (DGP)

Wrongly 17.8% Correctly 50.8% Don't know 30.3%
No answer 1.1%

**3.** (Sweden Dec '45) Do you think that Norwegians, Danes and Finns should have the same rights as Swedes in obtaining work and employment in Sweden? (SGI)

| | Yes, without reservations | Yes, with reservations | No | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 22% | 21% | 47% | 10% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 22% | 23% | 49% | 6% |
| Middle class | 22 | 21 | 47 | 10 |
| Workers | 23 | 21 | 46 | 10 |

**4.** (Sweden Dec '45) Would you consider it right if they [Norwegians, Danes and Finns] had access to your particular type of work? Housewives were excluded from the cross-section. (SGI)

| BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS | Right | Not right | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| Employed | 22% | 5% | 8% |
| Jobless | — | 65 | — |

## Neutrality

**1.** (Britain May '40) If Sweden, under German pressure, refused any more iron ore to the Allies, would you regard it as a breach of neutrality? (BIPO)

Yes 64% No 18% Don't know 18%

**2.** (Sweden Oct '42) Do you think that Sweden will succeed in keeping out of the war? (SGI)

Yes 58% No 12% Don't know 30%

**3.** (Sweden April '43) Do you think that Sweden will continue to keep out of the war? (SGI)

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 58% | 11% | 31% |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Towns | 63% | 13% | 24% |
| Country | 55 | 9 | 36 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 62% | 13% | 25% |
| Women | 53 | 9 | 38 |

**4.** (Sweden Dec '43) Do you think that the danger of war for Sweden is over now, or do you think that things may be really critical before the war is over? (SGI)

| | Danger over | May be critical | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 19% | 55% | 26% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 20% | 61% | 19% |
| Women | 19 | 48 | 33 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Towns | 19% | 57% | 24% |
| Country | 20 | 53 | 27 |

**5.** (Sweden June '44) Do you think it right that Sweden has tried to keep out of the war? (SGI)

| | Right | Wrong | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 96% | 1% | 3% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| North Sweden | 93% | 1% | 6% |
| Dalarna | 98 | 1 | 1 |
| Mälar district | 97 | 1 | 2 |
| Stockholm | 95 | 1 | 4 |
| East Gotland | 96 | 1 | 3 |
| Skåne | 97 | 1 | 2 |
| West Gotland | 92 | 1 | 7 |

**6.** (Sweden June '44) If we had had the power to do something really helpful for our northern neighbors, do you think that we should have entered the war or still have remained neutral? (SG1)

| | *Entered war* | *Remained neutral* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 16% | 61% | 23% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| North Sweden | 16% | 60% | 24% |
| Dalarna | 5 | 68 | 27 |
| Mälar district | 22 | 54 | 24 |
| Stockholm | 20 | 55 | 25 |
| East Gotland | 9 | 70 | 21 |
| Skåne | 16 | 66 | 18 |
| West Gotland | 20 | 58 | 22 |

Why do you think we should still have remained neutral? Asked of the 61% of the sample who thought Sweden should have remained neutral even if she had been powerful enough to help her northern neighbors.

| | |
|---|---|
| Not obligated, everyone must take care of himself | 31% |
| In this way we are better able to help others | 18 |
| Opposed to war | 9 |
| No answer | 3 |

**7.** (Sweden June '44) Do you think that the danger of war is over for Sweden or do you think that there may be a further critical turn for us before the war is finished? (SG1)

| | *Danger past* | *May be critical* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9% | 77% | 14% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 10% | 81% | 9% |
| Women | 9 | 74 | 17 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Farmers | 8% | 75% | 17% |
| Others | 10 | 79 | 11 |

**8.** (Sweden Apr '45) What do you think is the reason for Sweden having avoided the war up until now? (SG1)

| | *Government & its politics* | *Belligerents' interests; geographical situation* | *Chance* | *King* | *Defenses* | *God* | *Other* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| National total | 50 | 18 | 11 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 8 | 18 | |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | | | |
| Men | 57 | 23 | 13 | 6 | 10 | 4 | 9 | 11 | |
| Women | 41 | 14 | 10 | 11 | 5 | 9 | 8 | 24 | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | | | | | |
| North Sweden | 57 | 19 | 15 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 9 | 15 | = 131* |
| Dalarna | 48 | 16 | 10 | 10 | 5 | 4 | 12 | 20 | = 125* |
| Mälar district | 50 | 17 | 10 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 20 | = 124* |
| Stockholm | 53 | 21 | 17 | 9 | 9 | 2 | 8 | 15 | = 134* |
| Skåne | 41 | 18 | 8 | 12 | 9 | 12 | 9 | 21 | = 130* |
| Bovä | 49 | 17 | 11 | 7 | 7 | 11 | 6 | 17 | = 125* |
| East Gotland | 47 | 18 | 10 | 9 | 9 | 4 | 8 | 17 | = 122* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## Politics and Government

**1.** (Sweden Dec '42) Can you name five members of the government? (SG1)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 44% | 56% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper class | 74% | 26% |
| Middle class | 47 | 53 |
| Workers | 38 | 62 |

**2.** (Sweden Apr '43) Do you think that there should be a coalition government after the war, or would you prefer a party cabinet? (SG1)

| | *Coalition* | *Party cabinet* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 15% | 43% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 51% | 23% | 26% |
| Women | 34 | 8 | 58 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Townsmen | 51% | 15% | 34% |
| Work parties | 44 | 23 | 33 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 47% | 24% | 29% |
| Middle class | 48 | 12 | 40 |
| Workers | 37 | 17 | 46 |

**3.** (Sweden Dec '43) After the death of King Gustaf would you prefer Sweden to continue as a kingdom, or would you rather have a Swedish republic with an elected President? (SG1)

| | *King* | *President* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 84% | 6% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 81% | 10% | 9% |
| Women | 86 | 3 | 11 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Town | 83% | 8% | 9% |
| Country | 84 | 5 | 11 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Working parties | 79% | 10% | 11% |
| Wealthy | 93 | 2 | 5 |

**4.** (Sweden Dec '43) Suppose Sweden had no heir to the throne and the choice arose between electing a king or turning the kingdom into a republic and electing a president for a four year period. Which would you prefer, the King or the president? (SG1)

| | *King* | *President* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 50% | 26% | 24% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 46% | 37% | 17% |
| Women | 55 | 18 | 27 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Working parties | 42% | 27% | 31% |
| Wealthy | 59 | 18 | 23 |

**5.** (Sweden Apr '44) Is there anyone in the present government whom you would like to see replaced by someone else? (SG1)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 12% | 59% | 29% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 16% | 65% | 19% |
| Women | 9 | 51 | 40 |

The 12% who answered Yes were asked whom they would like replaced.

| | *Wigforss* | *Günther* | *Bramstorp* | *Sköld* | *P. A. Hansson* | *Bagge* | *Möller* | *Others* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 3% | 2% | 1.5% | 1.5% | 1% | 0.5% | 0.5% | 2% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | | |
| Men | 3.5% | 3% | 2% | 2.0% | 2.0% | 1.0% | 1.0% | 1.5% |
| Women | 3.0 | 1 | 1 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 2.7 |

**6.** (Sweden Apr '44) Which member of the government do you consider most indispensable just now? (SGI)

| | *P. A. Hansson* | *Günther* | *Wigforss* | *Sköld* | *Bramstorp* | *Bagge* | *Rasjön* | *Others* | *None* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| National total | 34 | 4.5 | 2.5 | 1.5 | 1 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 1.5 | 31 | 23 |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | | | | |
| Men | 37 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 2.0 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 1.0 | 34 | 14 |
| Women | 30 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 2.7 | 28 | 32 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | | | | |
| Wealthy | 30 | 7.0 | 0.5 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 4.5 | 30 | 21.0 |
| Working parties | 45 | 3.5 | 4.0 | 2 | — | — | — | — | 29 | 16.5 |

**7.** (Sweden June '44) Do you follow the more important resolutions of the government? (SGI)

| | *Often* | *Sometimes* | *Never* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 13% | 34% | 53% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 27% | 41% | 32% |
| Middle class | 14 | 37 | 49 |
| Workers | 11 | 32 | 57 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 21% | 44% | 35% |
| Women | 6 | 25 | 69 |

**8.** (Sweden June '44) Do you remember anything that has happened in Parliament this spring? (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Preparedness budgets, defense question generally | 5% |
| Accusations against certain papers for being un-national | 1.5 |
| Aeroplanes over Swedish territory, transit-traffic | 1.5 |
| Pension questions | 1 |
| School questions | 1 |
| Sobriety questions | 1 |
| Other matters | 8 |
| Nothing | 81 |

**9.** (Sweden Dec '44) Would you like to have a coalition government selected from the four big political parties after the war, or would you prefer returning to a majority government with opposition? (SGI)

| | *Coalition* | *Majority* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41% | 22% | 37% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 50% | 30% | 20% |
| Women | 32 | 12 | 56 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 40% | 27% | 33% |
| Middle class | 44 | 19 | 37 |
| Workers | 38 | 23 | 39 |
| Wealthy | 52 | 15 | 33 |
| Working parties | 38 | 30 | 32 |
| Others | 35 | 17 | 48 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 34% | 23% | 43% |
| 30–49 years | 42 | 23 | 35 |
| 50–64 years | 44 | 20 | 36 |
| 65 years and over | 46 | 12 | 42 |

(June '45) Would you prefer to have a coalition government for the next few years, or do you prefer to go back to majority government?

| | *Coalition* | *Majority* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 47% | 27% | 26% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 50% | 38% | 12% |
| Women | 43 | 17 | 40 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Right party | 69% | 18% | 13% |
| Liberals | 66 | 17 | 17 |
| Agrarians | 58 | 16 | 26 |
| Social democrats | 42 | 35 | 23 |
| Communists | 28 | 56 | 16 |

(June '45) Should Communists take part in such a [coalition] government?

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41% | 37% | 22% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 53% | 36% | 11% |
| Women | 30 | 38 | 32 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Right party | 33% | 56% | 11% |
| Liberals | 34 | 50 | 16 |
| Agrarians | 23 | 52 | 25 |
| Social democrats | 41 | 39 | 20 |
| Communists | 91 | 2 | 7 |

**10.** (Sweden Aug '45) Do you think that the new Social Democratic government is going to work at materializing its own party program only, or do you think the government will seek to cooperate with other political parties? (SGI)

| | *No consideration for other parties* | *Consideration for other parties in small matters only* | *Will seek to cooperate* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 21% | 15% | 35% | 29% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Right party | 35% | 19% | 22% | 24% |
| Liberals | 24 | 22 | 30 | 24 |
| Agrarians | 24 | 16 | 29 | 31 |
| Social democrats | 15 | 14 | 44 | 27 |
| Communists | 37 | 15 | 34 | 14 |

The 35% of the sample who thought the new government would cooperate were asked: With whom?

| | *Agrarians* | *Communists* | *Liberals* | *Other parties or combinations of parties* | *All parties* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 8% | 5% | 2% | 5% | 5% | 10% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | | |
| Right party | 4% | 2% | 2% | 5% | 3% | 6% |
| Liberals | 5 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 8 |
| Agrarians | 11 | 5 | — | 3 | 3 | 7 |
| Social democrats | 12 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 7 | 12 |
| Communists | 4 | 12 | 2 | 7 | 4 | 5 |

## SWIMMING

**1.** (US Aug 27 '38) Can you swim? (AIPO)

Yes 68% No 32%

The 68% of the sample who knew how to swim were asked: How far do you think you could swim if you had to?

Median: 440 yards

(France Jan 1 '45) Can you swim? (FIPO)

| | PARIS | | PROVINCES | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *Yes* | *No* |
| National total | 57% | 43% | 36% | 64% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 69% | 31% | 49% | 51% |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 64 years and over | 25% | 75% | 21% | 79% |
| 50–64 years | 37 | 63 | 19 | 81 |
| 35–49 years | 54 | 46 | 36 | 64 |
| 20–34 years | 74 | 26 | 51 | 49 |

(France Jan 1 '45) Do you often visit swimming pools? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Paris | 24% | 73% | 3% |
| Provinces | 13 | 85 | 2 |

(Canada Sept '45) Are you able to swim? (CIPO)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 51% | 49% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 62% | 38% |
| Women | 40 | 60 |

The 51% able to swim were asked: What is the longest distance you have ever swum?

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 25 yards | 6% |
| 25–99 yards | 7 |
| 100 yards to ¼ mile | 13 |
| ¼ mile and over | 19 |
| Indefinite | 6 |

(US Mar 13 '46) Can you swim? (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 39%

The 61% who can swim were asked: What is the longest distance you ever swam?

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, don't know | 1% |
| Under 50 feet, 10–15 yards | 6 |
| 50 to under 200 feet, 20–30 yards | 8 |
| 100 to under 200 feet, 40–50 yards | 8 |
| 200 to under 400 feet, 100 yards | 11 |
| 400 to under 600 feet, 150 yards | 3 |
| 600 to under 1,320 feet, 200–440 yards | 6 |
| 1,320 to under 2,640 feet, 500 yards, ¼ mile | 5 |
| 2,640 to under 3,960 feet, ½ mile | 4 |
| 3,960 to under 5,280 feet, ¾ mile | 1 |
| 5,280 to under 10,560 feet, 1 mile to under 2 miles | 5 |
| 10,560 plus, 2 miles and over | 3 |

(England June '46) Can you swim? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 54% | 46% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 65% | 35% |
| Women | 42 | 58 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 21–29 years | 72% | 28% |
| 30–49 years | 57 | 43 |
| 50 years and over | 42 | 58 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Higher | 73% | 27% |
| Middle | 66 | 34 |
| Lower | 47 | 53 |

**2.** (US July 27 '38) Do you think that all children in public schools should be required to learn how to swim? (AIPO)

Yes 87% No 8% No opinion 5%

**3.** (Sweden Aug '42) Can you swim fifty metres? (SGI)

BY RURAL-URBAN AND SEX

| | MEN | | | WOMEN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
| Urban | 81% | 18% | 1% | 47% | 51% | 2% |
| Rural | 60 | 37 | 3 | 21 | 78 | 1 |
| BY AGE AND SEX | | | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 80% | 19% | 1% | 57% | 42% | 1% |
| 30–49 years | 74 | 23 | 3 | 38 | 60 | 2 |
| 50 years and over | 47 | 50 | 3 | 11 | 87 | 2 |

(Denmark July 2 '44) Can you swim fifty metres? (DGP)

Yes 36.5% No 57.0% Don't know 6.5%

**4.** (Sweden Dec '45) Have you ever swum as far as fifty metres? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 53% | 42% | 5% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 67% | 29% | 4% |
| Women | 40 | 55 | 5 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Large towns | 72% | 25% | 3% |
| Other towns | 69 | 28 | 3 |

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| Country districts: | | | |
| 75% farmers, farm-hands | 36% | 60% | 4% |
| 50–75% farmers and farm-hands | 34 | 58 | 8 |
| Under 50% farmers. Two-thirds of population in sparsely settled areas | 47 | 52 | 1 |
| Two-thirds of the population | 52 | 35 | 13 |

**5.** (US Mar 13 '46) Do you think all high school students should learn how to swim before they can graduate from high school? (AIPO)

Yes 72% No 24% Don't know 4%

## SYNTHETIC PRODUCTS

**1.** (Hungary Oct '46) Which of the synthetic materials used during the war would be practical in peace-time? Asked of a Budapest cross-section. (HIPOR)

| | Men | Women |
|---|---|---|
| *Clothing* | | |
| Synthetic soles | 4.3% | 4.5% |
| Cork soles | 1.6 | 3.3 |
| Artificial silk, fibre | 4.7 | 8.0 |
| *Industrial and household articles* | | |
| Synthetic rubber | 10.6 | 6.3 |
| Bakelite | 1.3 | 0.9 |
| Motalko (fuel for cars, gasoline) | 2.8 | 2.4 |
| Chemicals for washing | 0.6 | 1.0 |
| Drugs | 0.3 | 0.2 |
| *Food* | | |
| Margarine | 4.3 | 4.8 |
| Oil | 2.1 | 3.7 |
| Artificial honey | 1.2 | 0.5 |
| Saccharine | 3.9 | 5.3 |
| Molasses | 0.7 | 0.6 |
| Artificial spices | 3.1 | 6.6 |
| Powdered eggs | 1.1 | 1.0 |
| Powdered milk | 9.1 | 8.6 |
| Hungarian tea | 4.9 | 4.2 |
| Soy beans | 0.4 | 0.4 |
| None | 20.1 | 20.8 |
| Other, no answer | 22.9 | 16.9 |

## TARIFF

**1.** (US Oct 26 '43) Will you tell me in your own words what a tariff is? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct definitions: | |
| Tax, duty, levy, or excise placed on imports | 31% |
| Tax, duty or levy placed on imports or exports | 10 |
| Tax, duty or levy | 16 |
| To protect home industries; method of limiting imports; equalize cost of American and foreign products | 8 |
| | 65% |
| Vague definitions: | |
| Money charged for trading privileges; tariff; has something to do with prices; etc | 4% |
| Incorrect definitions: | |
| Excise tax on goods; tax on homemade articles; law to protect one person; etc | 5% |
| Don't know | 26 |

(Dec 15 '43)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct definitions: | |
| Tax, duty, levy or excise placed on imports | 35% |
| Tax, duty or levy placed on imports or exports | 7 |
| Tax, duty or levy, tax on goods | 12% |
| To protect home industries; method of limiting imports; equalize cost of American and foreign products; charge to protect industry; restriction on trade | 6 |
| | 60% |
| Vague definitions | 3% |
| Incorrect definitions | 5 |
| No answer | 32 |

(May 2 '45) Can you tell me briefly what is meant by these terms? Among others was listed: tariff.

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct | 39% |
| Incorrect | 5 |
| Vague | 28 |
| No answer | 28 |

(Sept 19 '45) Asked of 73% of a sample who gave an answer to: Will you please tell me in your own words what a tariff is? Are you in favor of high tariffs or low tariffs for this country?

| | |
|---|---|
| High tariffs | 27% |
| Low tariffs | 24 |
| No opinion | 22 |
| Don't know what a tariff is | 27 |

(Sept 19 '45) Asked of 75% of the sample who indicated some knowledge when asked: Will you please tell me in your own words what a tariff is? Which do you think is more important?

| | |
|---|---|
| To give special help to some industries by placing high taxes on foreign goods which compete with the goods some American industries produce, OR | 40% |
| To build up the greatest amount of foreign trade as possible by buying the things foreign nations produce more cheaply than we, and selling them everything we can? | 28 |
| No answer | 7 |
| Don't know what a tariff is | 25 |

**2.** (US Mar 16 '38) If Great Britain reduces tariffs on American goods, should we reduce tariffs on British goods? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 73% | 27% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 76% | 24% |
| Republicans | 66 | 34 |

(Oct 18 '38) If Great Britain reduces tariffs on American goods, should we reduce tariffs on English goods?

Yes 69% No 31%

**3.** (US Apr 12 '39) Our government is showing its disapproval of Germany's policies by putting a special tax on German-made goods brought into the United States. Are you in favor of this special tax? A comparable cross-section was asked: Our government is putting a special tax on German-made goods brought into the United States. Are you in favor of this special tax? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 78% No 22%

**4.** (US Oct '39) Asked of a national cross-section of businessmen: Do you think our present tariffs on manufactured products should be higher or lower than they are or the same? (FOR)

| | *Higher* % | *Higher—qualified* % | *Same* % | *Lower* % | *Lower—qualified* % | *Depends* % | *Don't know* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 26.6 | 4.9 | 34.5 | 10.7 | 2.9 | 5.8 | 14.6 |
| BY TYPE OF BUSINESS | | | | | | | |
| Manufacturers | 23.2 | 3.7 | 35.8 | 9.5 | 6.4 | 9.5 | 11.9 |
| Retailers | 28.7 | 5.7 | 33.7 | 11.5 | .6 | 3.4 | 16.4 |

BY VOLUME OF BUSINESS

| | *Higher* % | *Higher—qualified* % | *Same* % | *Lower* % | *Lower—qualified* % | *Depends or don't know* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Manufacturers* | | | | | | |
| $50,000,000 and over | 3.6 | 3.6 | 25.0 | 14.3 | 17.8 | 36.7 |
| $50,000–$1,000,000 | 37.6 | 4.0 | 27.7 | 7.9 | 2.0 | 20.8 |
| *Retailers* | | | | | | |
| $2,000,000 and over | 11.8 | 5.9 | 33.3 | 19.6 | 2.0 | 27.4 |
| $10,000–$30,000 | 40.4 | 6.4 | 29.1 | 8.5 | .7 | 14.9 |

**5.** (US Apr '42) After the war is over, do you think we should or should not have free trade (i.e. no duties) with the British Empire? (FOR)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42.1% | 35.3% | 22.6% |
| BY SELECTED GROUPS | | | |
| Business leaders | 25.3% | 69.4% | 5.3% |
| Intellectual leaders | 45.2 | 47.3 | 7.5 |

Asked of 57.9% of the total sample who did not think there should be free trade or those who did not know if there should be free trade with the British Empire after the war: After the war is over, do you think we should or should not have free trade (i.e. no duties) with Canada?

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Canadian public | 76.3% | 16.5% | 7.2% |
| National total (US) | 62.1 | 19.5 | 18.4 |
| BY SELECTED GROUPS (US) | | | |
| Business leaders | 76.1% | 15.7% | 8.2% |
| Intellectual leaders | 82.5 | 7.0 | 10.5 |

After the war is over, do you think we should or should not have free trade (i.e. no duties) with Australia?

Should 48.0% Should not 29.2% Don't know 22.8%

**6.** (US Apr '43) Asked of a national cross-section of farmers: When the war is over, would you like to see all countries, including the US, do away with protective tariffs and let any country send its goods duty-free wherever people will buy them? (FOR)

Yes 36.5% No 42.2% Don't know 21.3%

Asked of 63.5% of the sample of farmers who said they did not approve of abolishing protective tariffs or did not know: If a foreign country can manufacture a certain article (like shoes or glassware) as well as we can and can do it cheaper, would you be in favor of letting that article come in duty-free if the other country would let us send them duty-free something we can make cheaper (like radios or furniture)?

Yes 34.0% No 42.9% Don't know 23.1%

In the same way, if a foreign country can grow a certain farm product as well as we can, but cheaper, would you be in favor of letting that come in duty-free if they would let us send them duty-free some farm product we grow cheaper?

Yes 24.0% No 50.7% Don't know 25.3%

**7.** (Canada June 2 '43) After the war, do you think we should have free trade with the United States—that is, that all products and merchandise crossing the border either way should be free of all tariffs and customs duties? (CIPO)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 67% | 17% | 16% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Eastern Canada | 63% | 20% | 17% |
| Western Canada | 78 | 9 | 13 |
| Quebec | 64 | 18 | 18 |
| Ontario | 64 | 22 | 14 |
| (Feb 19 '44) National total | 70% | 20% | 10% |

(Feb 19 '44) If we do have free trade with United States, do you think that some Canadian industries might have to cut down their production, or go out of business?

Yes 40% No 38% No opinion 22%

(Feb 19 '44) Would you favor free trade with United States even if this were the case [that some Canadian industries might have to cut down their production or go out of business]?

Favor free trade, and do not think it would result in curtailment or close-down on the part of some Canadian firms ..... 37%
Favor free trade, even though it meant some firms would have to close or curtail ..... 23
Would not favor free trade if it had this effect (some of this group think it would and some are undecided) ... 28
Do not know whether they would favor free trade under such circumstances or not ..... 12

**8.** (US Oct '43) Asked of a national cross-section of businessmen: After the war, would you in general favor ——— (FOR)

| | *For the sake of all business* | *For the sake of your business* |
|---|---|---|
| Lowered tariffs | 39.3%* | 27.9%** |
| A policy of free trade | 15.5* | 18.9** |
| Continuance of present US tariff structures | 38.5 | 43.7 |
| Increased tariffs | 6.7 | 9.5 |

* Total of 54.8% for revision downward.
** Total of 46.8% for revision downward.

**9.** (US July '44) A national cross-section of college students was confronted with a selection of statements about international policies. After the war some degree of international control of tariffs and trade is necessary. (FOR)

Approve 92% Uncertain 5% Disapprove 3%

**10.** (Australia Aug–Sept '44) It's been suggested that, over a period of years, all countries should gradually lower their duties on imported goods, so that more goods can be imported and exported. Would you favor, or oppose that idea? (APOP)

Favor ..... 65%
Oppose ..... 18
Undecided ..... 11
Unable to answer ..... 6

**11.** (Canada Oct 25 '44) Do you think Canada would be better off, or worse off, if every country in the world allowed all products and merchandise crossing their borders to do so free of all tariff and customs duties? (CIPO)

| | *Better off* | *Worse off* | *About same* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 29% | 11% | 17% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| Quebec | 39% | 27% | 14% | 20% |
| Ontario | 38 | 38 | 9 | 15 |
| Prairies | 54 | 20 | 13 | 13 |

**12.** (US Mar '46) Do you favor a fairly high or a fairly low American tax on foreign goods coming into this country? (NORC)

High 31% Low 30% Medium 17%
None 2% Don't know 20%

**13.** (US Mar '46) From what you've heard, what kind of an effect do you think a high American tax on foreign goods would have on our foreign trade? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| No effect | 9% |
| Increase trade | 1 |
| Lessen trade | 26 |
| Lose all foreign trade | 10 |
| Decrease exports | 5 |
| Good effect by decreasing exports | 6 |
| Bad effect by decreasing exports | 2 |
| Decrease imports | 5 |
| Reciprocal high tax | 6 |
| Strained diplomatic relations | 1 |
| Lead to another war | 1 |
| Hinder foreign reconstruction | 1 |
| Bad (unspecified) effect | 2 |
| Good (unspecified) effect | * |
| Don't know | 29 |
| | 104%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**14.** (US Mar '46) Would you consider it fair or unfair if foreign countries put such a high tariff on American goods that we couldn't sell our goods to those countries? (NORC)

Don't know 9% Fair 15% Unfair 73%
Depends on high or low American tariff 3%

**15.** (Norway July 12 '46) Do you think that the present customs barriers between the Scandinavian countries should be abolished or maintained? (NGI)

| | *Abolished* | *Maintained* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 44% | 23% | 33% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 48% | 28% | 24% |
| Women | 40 | 18 | 42 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–25 years | 43% | 25% | 32% |
| 25–35 years | 44 | 29 | 27 |
| 35–50 years | 46 | 22 | 32 |
| 50 years and over | 43 | 19 | 38 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 55% | 22% | 23% |
| Middle | 46 | 28 | 26 |
| Lower | 43 | 23 | 34 |

**16.** (Brazil Aug '46) Should the government introduce modifications in customs duties to encourage import and export? (IBOPE)

Yes 92% No 5% No opinion 3%

**17.** (Hungary Dec '46) A national cross-section of Hungarians were asked whether or not they thought a customs union with Rumania would be desirable. (HIPOR)

Yes 81% No 13%

# TAXATION

## Australia

**1.** (Australia July–August '42) If taxes are increased, how would you prefer to pay—by income tax, or by indirect taxes? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Income tax | 50% |
| Indirect taxes | 29 |
| No difference | 8 |
| Undecided | 8 |
| Know nothing about taxes | 5 |

The 27% of the sample who said they would prefer heavier indirect taxes to higher income tax were asked: Which indirect taxes: on amusements, beer and spirits, tobacco or higher sales tax?

| | |
|---|---|
| Sales tax | 22% |
| All except sales tax | 13 |
| Amusement tax | 11 |
| Beer and spirits | 8 |
| Beer, spirits and tobacco | 8 |
| Beer, tobacco and amusements | 9 |
| All luxuries | 13 |
| All of them | 16 |

**2.** (Australia July to August '42) What weekly wage should a single person have before starting to pay income tax? Results are for those who gave answers. (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| At least £1 | 4% |
| £2 | 23 |
| £3 | 41 |
| £4 | 22 |
| £5 | 9 |
| £6 | 1 |

**3.** (Australia July to August '42) How much a week should be earned by a married man with a child before he starts to pay income tax? Results are for those who gave answers. (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| At least £3 | 6% |
| £4 | 26 |
| £5 | 41 |
| £6 | 19 |
| £7 | 6 |
| £8 | 2 |

**4.** (Australia Mar '43) Should the amount of this year's income tax be based on this year's income or on last year's income? (APOP)

| | *This year's income* | *Last year's income* | *No answer and no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 53% | 30% | 17% |

| | *This year's income* | *Last year's income* | *No answer and no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Well-to-do | 51% | 36% | 13% |
| Comfortably off | 53 | 32 | 15 |
| Tradesmen and artisans | 58 | 28 | 14 |
| Lowest income | 39 | 30 | 31 |
| (Dec '43) National total | 68% | 17% | 15% |

**5.** (Australia Nov '44) The federal treasurer (Mr. Chifley) says that social security must be paid for by taxation, and that taxes never should return to the prewar level. Do you agree or disagree with this general statement? (APOP)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 53% | 14% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Labor | 36% | 50% | 14% |
| Non-labor | 30 | 56 | 14 |

**6.** (Australia Aug '45) Do you think the pay-as-you-earn method of collecting income tax is a success? (APOP)

Yes 71% No 7% Undecided 10% No answer 12%

**7.** (Australia Sept–Oct '45) When taxes can be further reduced, which do you think should be reduced first—income tax or indirect taxes such as sales and excise? (APOP)

Income tax 55% Indirect taxes 39% No opinion 6%

**8.** (Australia Dec '45 to Jan '46) Regarding uniform tax, do you think the Commonwealth government should or should not continue to collect all income tax and pay fixed amounts to each state? (APOP)

| | *One collector* | *Opposed to it* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 65% | 25% | 10% |
| Women | 40 | 19 | 41 |

**9.** (Australia Feb–Mar '46) Have you followed the recent discussions about the Commonwealth collecting all income tax and paying fixed amounts to each state? Do you agree or disagree with the decision to continue that system? (APOP)

| | *Favor* | *Opposed* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 68% | 25% | 7% |
| Women | 60 | 28 | 12 |

## Canada

**1.** (Canada Apr 15 '42) Suppose it were your job to decide income taxes for the coming year. How much would you have married men with two children earning (various amounts from $1500 a year or $30 a week to $25,000 a year or $500 a week) pay in Dominion income taxes next year? (CIPO)

| | *Tax which public would set* | *Tax as set by government* |
|---|---|---|
| Family of 4 earning: | | |
| $1,500 | $ 23 | Nothing |
| 2,500 | 191 | $ 30 |
| 5,000 | 875 | 525 |
| 25,000 | 8,200 | 9,511 |

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Upper income* | *Middle income* | *Lower income* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Family of 4 earning: | | | |
| $ 1,500 | $ 24 | $ 22 | $ 22 |
| 2,500 | 186 | 184 | 196 |
| 5,000 | 865 | 904 | 857 |
| 25,000 | 8,700 | 8,300 | 7,900 |

(Feb 21 '45)

| | *Tax which public would set* | *Tax as set by government* |
|---|---|---|
| Family of 4 earning: | | |
| $ 1,500 | $ 10 | $ 24 |
| 2,500 | 145 | 218 |
| 5,000 | 742 | 1,062 |
| 25,000 | 7,213 | 13,430 |

**2.** (Canada Oct 3 '42) If you should find it necessary to make sacrifices to meet the new income taxes in what ways do you plan to cut down? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Cut down on pleasures, entertainment or holidays | 24% |
| Cut down on clothes | 20 |
| Cut down on smoking or drinking | 15 |
| Cut down on automobile driving | 13 |
| Cut down luxury purchases | 3 |
| Cut down on food outlay | 7 |
| Cut down on "everything" | 3 |
| Thought they were down to bare necessities now | 12 |
| Hadn't planned how they could meet the taxes | 8 |
| Didn't think they would have to sacrifice anything | 18 |
| | 123%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (US Nov 20 '43) As far as you know, do Canadians in general pay all their taxes directly to the Canadian government, or do they pay part of their taxes to Great Britain? (AIPO)

All to Canada 28% Part to Britain or Don't know 72%

**4.** (Canada July 7 '43) Do you expect to be paying about the same amount of income taxes for a period after the war—say five years—or do you think that income taxes will come down a lot after the war? (CIPO)

| | *Expect to pay same amount* | *Will come down a little* | *Will come down a lot* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 26% | 18% | 7% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper income | 54% | 28% | 15% | 3% |
| Middle income | 52 | 26 | 17 | 5 |
| Lower income | 43 | 26 | 21 | 10 |

**5.** (Canada Dec 11 '43) It has been suggested that workers should not have to pay taxes on overtime pay. Do you think that overtime pay should be taxed or not? (CIPO)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 37% | 57% | 6% |
| Labor | 22 | 74 | 4 |

**6.** (Canada Dec 29 '43) Do you happen to know whether or not government-owned business such as electricity, liquor, and government-owned industries pay taxes to the Dominion government on what they earn? (CIPO)

Pay taxes 22% Pay no taxes 12% Don't know 66%

**7.** (Canada Dec 29 '43) Should they [government-owned business and government-owned industries] pay such taxes or not? (CIPO)

Should pay 66% Should not pay 18% Undecided 16%

**8.** (Canada Apr 5 '44) Asked of a national cross-section of income tax payers: Now, I don't want to know the amount, but have you (or your husband) figured out how much you will have to pay [in income taxes]? (CIPO)

Had figured 63% Had not figured 37%

Asked of 63% of the sample of income tax payers who had figured out the amount they would have to pay: Was this amount more than you expected to have to pay, or was it about what you expected?

More 53% Amount expected 40% Less 4%
Don't know 3%

**9.** (Canada Apr 5 '44) Asked of a national cross-section of income tax payers: Do you think the amount you have to pay [in income taxes] is fair or not? (CIPO)

Fair 55% Unfair 37% Undecided 8%

**10.** (Canada May 13 '44) Some people have complained about having trouble filling out their income tax form. Did you fill yours out by yourself or did you get somebody to help you with it? (CIPO)

Needed help 46% Didn't need help 54%

(Apr 25 '45) Do you think the amount you have to pay is fair or not?

Fair 57% Unfair 33% Undecided 10%

**11.** (Canada Apr 25 '45) Asked of a national cross-section of income tax payers who had figured out how much they would have to pay for the year. Was this amount more than you expected to have to pay, or was it about what you expected? (CIPO)

More 27% Amount expected 60% Less 7%
Don't know 6%

**12.** (Canada Sept 8 '45) Asked of a national cross-section of income tax payers: Do you think the taxes you will have to pay on this year's earnings should be reduced now that the war with Germany is over, or do you think they should be continued as they are for a year? (CIPO)

| | *Reduced now* | *Continued* | *Qualified or Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 36% | 8% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 44% | 49% | 7% |
| Middle income | 56 | 36 | 8 |
| Lower income | 62 | 31 | 7 |

**13.** (Canada Sept 8 '45) Some people say that after Japan is defeated, reducing taxes on business profits and personal income taxes will help avoid a depression. Do you agree or disagree with this general idea? (CIPO)

Agree 42% Disagree 28% Undecided 30%

Asked of 42% of the sample who agreed with the proposition [that reducing taxes would help avoid a depression]: In your opinion, which do you think would help most in avoiding a depression—reducing taxes on business profits, or reducing personal income taxes?

Business tax 9% Income tax 13% Some of both 19%
Undecided 1%

**14.** (Canada Dec 26 '45) In the next two or three years do you think income taxes will be reduced to what they were before the war? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 58% | 15% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 21% | 70% | 9% |
| Middle income | 25 | 62 | 13 |
| Lower income | 30 | 51 | 19 |

Asked of 73% of the total sample who thought that in the next few years taxes would not be reduced, (58%) or did not know (15%): Do you think income taxes will ever be reduced to what they were before the war?

Yes 20% No 38% No opinion 15%

**15.** (Canada Apr 20 '46) Who do you think should have the right to tax incomes—the Dominion government in Ottawa, or each provincial government? (CIPO)

| | *Dominion* | *Provincial* | *Both* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46% | 29% | 7% | 18% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper income | 62% | 20% | 9% | 9% |
| Middle income | 50 | 30 | 5 | 15 |
| Lower income | 37 | 32 | 9 | 22 |

**16.** (Canada May 22 '46) Do you think present income taxes in Canada are too high, or about right? (CIPO)

Too high 73% About right 18% Don't know 9%

Asked of 73% of the sample who thought present income taxes in Canada were too high: Do you think they [present income taxes in Canada] are too high in all income groups, or just in certain groups?

All groups 22% Certain groups 45% Don't know 6%

45% of the sample who thought that present income taxes were too high only in certain groups said they thought they were too high in the following income groups:

| | |
|---|---|
| "Small salaries," "working man" | 19% |
| Salaries between $660 to $2,000 | 10 |
| Salaries between $2,100 and $3,000 | 6 |
| Salaries over $3,100 | 2 |
| "Should raise minimum exemption" | 3 |
| Salaries of single men | 1 |
| Farmers | 2 |
| No answer | 2 |

**17.** (Canada June 15 '46) As you know, the Premiers from the nine provinces and the federal government could not agree on certain important tax questions during their recent conference at Ottawa. Do you think the federal government should now hold a federal election to let the people vote on these issues, or should they try to hold another conference? (CIPO)

Hold an election 33% Another conference 48%
Don't know 19%

**18.** (Canada July 17 '46) In reference to refundable taxes, a group was asked: When do you think this money [refundable taxes] will be paid back to you? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Can't guess | 29% |
| Within a year | 10 |
| Within two or three years | 26 |
| Five years | 5 |
| Seven to ten years | 6 |
| Never | 8 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 16 |

## Denmark

**1.** (Denmark Nov 9 '43) Would you prefer to pay tax on last year's income, as customary, or would you prefer to pay tax on this year's income? (DGI)

Last year's 23.5% This year's 50.4% Don't know 26.1%

**2.** (Denmark Feb 5 '44) Would you vote for or against a tax on bachelors? (DGI)

For 23.4% Against 46.5% Don't know 30.1%

**3.** (Denmark May 6 '44) Do you consider it more justifiable to mention too low an income to the tax authorities than to cheat a private person? (DGI)

Yes 29.7% No 41.8% Don't know 14.8%
No answer 13.7%

**4.** (Denmark May 6 '44) Do you judge it as fraud not to inform the tax authorities of your entire income? (DGI)

Yes 57.3% No 28.0% Don't know 6.0% No answer 8.7%

**5.** (Denmark May 6 '44) Are you for or against mentioning in the papers the names of those who are fined for cheating the tax authorities? (DGI)

For 37.3% Against 40.2% Don't know 22.5%

**6.** (Denmark May 6 '44) Are you for or against prison sentences for those who deliberately cheat the tax authorities? (DGI)

For 25.6% Against 48.0% Don't know 17.9%
No answer 8.5%

**7.** (Denmark May 6 '44) Are you for or against prison sentences for repeated, extensive cheating of the taxation authorities? (DGI)

For 55.3% Against 21.0% Don't know 15.2%
No answer 8.5%

**8.** (Denmark May 6 '44) Would you prefer the assessments to be made by special taxation experts instead of, as now, by local government officials? (DGI)

Taxation experts 28.5% Local officials 30.9%
Don't know 40.6%

**9.** (Denmark May 6 '44) Are you for or against the taxation authorities' obtaining further access to controlling people; for instance, through the examination of their bank accounts? (DGI)

For 35.8% Against 43.1% Don't know 21.1%

**10.** (Denmark June 22 '46) The government must get money by increasing taxation. Do you think it more fair to obtain this money from duty on tobacco, beer, alcohol, theatre tickets, etc., than from increased income tax? (DGI)

Existing taxes 53% Increasing income tax 29%
Don't know 18%

## France

**1.** (France May 16 '45) Would you approve or disapprove of a capital levy? (FIPO)

Approve 74% Disapprove 17% No opinion 9%

**2.** (France Mar 16 '46) Do you approve of the decision of the government to raise the taxes? (FIPO)

Approve 24% Disapprove 69% No opinion 7%

**3.** (France Apr 1 '46) Have you heard or read about the national solidarity tax? (FIPO)

Yes 96% No 4%

Asked of 96% of the sample who had heard or read of the national solidarity tax: It has been said that this tax is too complicated. Do you agree?

Yes 66% No 6% No opinion 28%

Do you think the tax is fair?

Yes 53% No 25% No opinion 22%

Do you think this tax will help the financial recovery of the country?

Yes 24% No 44% No opinion 32%

## Germany

**1.** (Germany Feb '46) The new tax laws will abolish the reductions (rebates, bonuses) for families with many children. Do you think that this is justified or unjustified? (OMGUS)

Justified 48% Unjustified 35% No opinion 17%

Asked of 48% of the sample who thought the abolition of tax reductions justified: Why?

| | |
|---|---|
| To raise more money, State can't afford reduction, we must tighten our belts | 3% |
| Equity: justice for people with small or no families | 15 |
| To prevent a future war | 1 |
| Number of children is individual's own affair—let everybody take care of his own | 13 |
| Too many children now, more Lebensraum will be had if fewer children, more good if fewer people | 3 |
| But tough on people who want children | 1 |
| Too many privileges for large families; Nazi laws abrogated puts us back in Weimar Republic situation | 4 |
| Other | 4 |
| No answer | 4 |

Asked of 35% of the sample who thought the abolition of tax reductions not justified: Why?

| | |
|---|---|
| Unfair to poor people: How will poor with large family feed their children; children expensive, workers will have a hard time | 28% |
| Unfair to children—must pay for the sins of the parents | 3 |
| Reduces birthrate | 1 |
| Other | 1 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 36%* |

* Percentages add to more than 35 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (Germany Feb '46) Do you think the increase of taxes will promote or hinder the reconstruction of the German economy? (OMGUS)

Promote 61% Hinder 14% No opinion 24% No answer 1%

Asked of 61% of the sample who thought the increase of taxes would promote the reconstruction of German economy: Why?

| | |
|---|---|
| If money is spent for reconstruction | 22% |
| Unless money is spent for reparations | 1 |
| State will support and bolster the economy, put money into circulation, check inflation, more money—check black market | 30 |
| State will rebuild cities | 1 |
| State will rehabilitate those who suffered war damage | 1 |
| Drive people to work harder; force people to work rather than to live on other income | 2 |
| General approval: it is the only way to get back to normal—history shows it works | 1 |
| Other | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know, no opinion | 3% |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 63%* |

* Percentages add to more than 61 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

Asked of 14% of the sample who thought the increase of taxes would hinder the reconstruction of German economy: Why?

| | |
|---|---|
| Will remove money from circulation | 1% |
| Will hurt business (men or concerns), industry | 4 |
| Will remove incentive for work | 3 |
| Cost of administration of tax will be too high | 2 |
| All will suffer: Nobody will be able to pay for repairs, new buildings; only able to support selves, not families | 4 |
| General disapproval: taxes too high already | 2 |
| Will be used for reparations | 2 |
| Other | 2 |
| Don't know, no opinion | 2 |
| No answer | 2 |
| | 24%* |

* Percentages add to more than 14 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (Germany Oct 28 '46) Naturally no one likes to pay taxes, yet most people see it is necessary to support the government. Are there any taxes which you feel are too high and should be lowered? (OMGUS)

Yes 52% No 26% No opinion 22%

## Great Britain

**1.** (Great Britain Apr 24 '39) If further taxation is necessary, which would you prefer: (a) An increase in direct taxation such as income tax, super tax and death duties, or (b) an increase in indirect taxes such as the duties on petrol, oil, beer, spirits, tobacco, sugar, tea, etc.? (BIPO)

Direct 64% Indirect 32% No opinion 4%

**2.** (Great Britain Apr '41) The new budget bill will increase income taxation and return some of the money after the war. Do you approve or disapprove of this idea? (BIPO)

Approve 72% Disapprove 16% Don't know 12%

**3.** (Great Britain Jan 16 '42) Do you think that people would or would not work harder if no income tax were charged on overtime earnings? (BIPO)

Would 54% Would not 23% Don't know 23%

**4.** (Great Britain Apr '42) Do you think that the new budget proposals spread taxation fairly amongst all groups? (BIPO)

Yes 45% No 44% Don't know 11%

**5.** (Great Britain July 12 '43) Are you liable for income tax? (BIPO)

Yes 54% No 46%

Asked of 54% of the sample who said they were liable for income tax: Would you prefer income tax to be collected each week on the amount you have actually earned that week?

Yes 75% No 15% Don't know 10%

**6.** (Great Britain Apr '44) Judging by your experience so far, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with PAYE [Pay-as-you-earn plan]? (BIPO)

Satisfied 58% Dissatisfied 13% Don't know 29%

**7.** (Great Britain May '45) Do you think that the amount of income tax you pay is fair or unfair? (BIPO)

Fair 13% Unfair 28% Fair for wartime only 33%
Don't pay 26%

**8.** (Great Britain July '45) If a cut can be made in income tax, what form should this take? Should the amount that has to be paid out of each £ be reduced, or should the rate remain as it is and allowances be increased? (BIPO)

| | *Cut rate* | *Increase allowances* | *Partly one, partly the other* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 44% | 32% | 14% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 43% | 34% | 17% | 6% |
| Women | 45 | 30 | 12 | 13 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 48% | 34% | 13% | 5% |
| 30–49 years | 42 | 35 | 15 | 8 |
| 50 years and over | 45 | 27 | 14 | 14 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 57% | 26% | 15% | 2% |
| Middle | 47 | 31 | 17 | 5 |
| Lower | 41 | 33 | 14 | 12 |
| BY FAMILY STATUS | | | | |
| Without children under 16 years | 48% | 27% | 15% | 10% |
| With children under 16 years | 37 | 40 | 14 | 9 |

**9.** (Great Britain Sept 29 '45) Are you (your family) keeping a record of postwar credits due on income tax? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Have none* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 24% | 21% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 61% | 24% | 15% |
| Women | 50 | 24 | 26 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 51% | 27% | 22% |
| 30–49 years | 59 | 24 | 17 |
| 50 years and over | 53 | 23 | 24 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 77% | 19% | 4% |
| Middle | 72 | 22 | 6 |
| Lower | 49 | 25 | 26 |

**10.** (Great Britain Sept 29 '45) When do you expect that they [income tax credits due] will be paid? (BIPO)

| | *Soon* | *After a long time* | *Don't know* | *Other* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 10% | 38% | 35% | 17% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 11% | 39% | 30% | 20% |
| Women | 9 | 37 | 41 | 13 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 13% | 38% | 34% | 15% |
| 30–49 years | 10 | 39 | 34 | 17 |
| 50 years and over | 11 | 37 | 36 | 16 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 9% | 48% | 20% | 23% |
| Middle | 10 | 46 | 21 | 23 |
| Lower | 11 | 34 | 15 | 40 |

**11.** (Great Britain Feb 16 '46) Which do you think should come first, a further cut in income tax or a cut in the taxes on beer and tobacco? (BIPO)

| | *Income tax* | *Beer and tobacco* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 69% | 27% | 4% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 65% | 33% | 2% |
| Women | 74 | 21 | 5 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 74% | 22% | 4% |
| 30–49 years | 71 | 26 | 3 |
| 50 years and over | 67 | 29 | 4 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 84% | 16% | — |
| Middle | 82 | 16 | 2% |
| Lower | 64 | 31 | 5 |
| Very poor | 55 | 38 | 7 |

## Netherlands

**1.** (Netherlands Sept '46) People with no children or with a few children now pay more taxes than large families. The government has proposed to let people without and with few children pay a little less, and big families a little higher tax than before. Do you think that a good or a bad measure? (NIPO)

Good measure 43% Bad measure 44% Don't know 13%

## Sweden

**1.** (Sweden Feb '42) Tax is now paid one year to eighteen months after the income has been earned. Would you rather pay it during the year that it is actually earned or is the present system good enough? (SGI)

| | *Actual year when earned* | *Good enough as it is* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 53% | 47% |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | |
| Towns | 61% | 39% |
| Country | 42 | 58 |
| Other country dwellers | 58 | 42 |

**2.** (Sweden Aug '42) Do you consider it necessary to give families with children further tax modifications? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 70% | 14% | 16% |
| BY MARITAL STATUS | | | |
| Married | 61% | 18% | 21% |
| Unmarried | 73 | 13 | 14 |

Asked of 70% of the total sample who considered it necessary to modify taxation of families with children: Do you think that such modifications [of taxes on families with children] should be made possible through the introduction of a so-called bachelor-tax?

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 45% | 37% | 18% |
| BY SEX AND MARITAL STATUS | | | |
| Unmarried men | 28% | 63% | 9% |
| Married men | 49 | 36 | 15 |
| Unmarried women | 49 | 32 | 19 |
| Married women | 46 | 29 | 25 |

Asked of 45% of a national cross-section of people who considered tax modification for families with children necessary and were in favor of a tax on bachelors. (This represents 31.5% of the total sample.) Do you think that such taxation [on bachelors] should not only include unmarried people, but also married, childless persons?

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 84% | 8% | 8% |
| BY MARITAL STATUS AND SEX | | | |
| Unmarried men | 88% | 6% | 6% |
| Married men | 86 | 8 | 6 |
| Unmarried women | 84 | 8 | 8 |
| Married women | 82 | 8 | 10 |

**3.** (Sweden Oct '42) On account of the enormous increase of the national debt, the government has to obtain extra income through taxation. Do you think the state should increase the direct taxes further or take a once-for-all tax on capital and property? (SGI)

| | *Once-for-all tax* | *Direct taxes* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 47% | 18% | 35% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 21% | 48% | 31% |
| Middle class | 37 | 24 | 39 |
| Workers | 56 | 10 | 34 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Towns people | 29% | 34% | 37% |
| Work parties | 61 | 11 | 28 |

The 47% of the total sample who favored the once-for-all tax were asked: Where do you think the limit for this particular tax should be made?

| | *3000 kr.** | *10,000 kr.* | *20,000 kr.* | *50,000 kr.* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 3% | 35% | 29% | 14% | 19% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Upper class | — | 29% | 23% | 26% | 22% |
| Middle class | 2% | 28 | 34 | 19 | 17 |
| Workers | 4 | 38 | 27 | 11 | 20 |

* The krona is worth approximately 28 cents in American money.

**4.** (Sweden Oct '42) If the risk of prices going up would be diminished through a step of this kind (a once-for-all tax), would you consider it advisable that one-twentieth of all wages and incomes be paid out in government bonds that would only be converted into money after the war? (SGI)

| | *Advisable* | *Inadvisable* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 30% | 37% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 38% | 33% | 29% |
| Women | 27 | 27 | 46 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 44% | 33% | 23% |
| Middle class | 33 | 28 | 39 |
| Workers | 31 | 31 | 38 |

**5.** (Sweden Oct '43) Where do you think false income tax declarations occur most frequently? Is there any profession whose statements you particularly distrust? (SGI)

| | *All* | *Businessmen, manufacturers, artisans* | *Farmers* | *Doctors, lawyers, free professions* | *Other groups* | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 35% | 19% | 14% | 4% | 5% | 32% | = 109%* |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | | | | | |
| Towns | 38% | 29% | 12% | 7% | 5% | 24% | = 115%* |
| Country | 34 | 13 | 15 | 2 | 5 | 37 | = 106* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (Sweden Apr '44) Do you think that an improved unemployment insurance, an increase of the national insurance, greater support to families with children, and other social reforms are so important that, after the war, we should continue the higher taxation in order to retain these improvements, or do you think that we should give them up and reduce the taxation as soon as possible after the war? (SGI)

| | *Keep taxes* | *Lower taxes* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 41% | 16% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 46% | 40% | 14% |
| Women | 39 | 42 | 19 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Country | 40% | 41% | 19% |
| Towns | 47 | 40 | 13 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 44% | 37% | 19% |
| 30–49 years | 45 | 39 | 16 |
| 50–64 years | 38 | 46 | 16 |
| 65 years and over | 43 | 39 | 18 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Wealthy | 42% | 43% | 15% |
| Working parties | 49 | 38 | 13 |

**7.** (Sweden Apr '44) Would you, for the sake of these (social) reforms, want to retain the turnover tax? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 37% | 48% | 15% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 37% | 53% | 10% |
| Women | 37 | 42 | 21 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Country | 36% | 46% | 18% |
| Town | 38 | 50 | 12 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 41% | 45% | 14% |
| 30–49 years | 38 | 48 | 14 |
| 50–64 years | 36 | 49 | 15 |
| 65 years and over | 30 | 46 | 24 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Wealthy | 39% | 47% | 14% |
| Working parties | 39 | 48 | 13 |

**8.** (Sweden Apr '44) If the higher taxes are retained, should this be done to procure higher national pensions or chiefly to give greater support to families with children? (SGI)

| | *National pensions* | *Families with children* | *Same for both* | *Other thing of importance* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 32% | 20% | 41% | 1% | 6% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 30% | 19% | 45% | 1% | 5% |
| Women | 33 | 21 | 38 | 1 | 7 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | | | |
| Country | 31% | 19% | 43% | 1% | 6% |
| Towns | 33 | 21 | 39 | 1 | 6 |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 22% | 29% | 41% | 1% | 7% |
| 30–49 years | 29 | 21 | 44 | 1 | 5 |
| 50–64 years | 41 | 13 | 38 | 3 | 5 |
| 65 years and over | 46 | 9 | 37 | 1 | 7 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Wealthy | 34% | 20% | 39% | 1% | 6% |
| Working parties | 32 | 20 | 43 | 1 | 4 |

**9.** (Sweden Feb '45) Would you prefer to pay your tax by direct deduction from your wages? Asked of a national cross-section of wage-earners or their wives. (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *Pay through a holding company or similar organization* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 62% | 19% | 8% | 11% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 67% | 17% | 6% | 10% |
| Women | 58 | 21 | 9 | 12 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 69% | 15% | 2% | 14% |
| Middle class | 60 | 18 | 7 | 15 |
| Workers | 63 | 20 | 8 | 9 |

**10.** (Sweden Feb '45) Persons on pension, or women who have married and left their jobs, now pay tax on the income of last year's high incomes, continuing this for two years. Do you consider this right or should this kind of taxation be abolished? (SGI)

| | *Keep tax* | *Abolish tax* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 28% | 55% | 17% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 32% | 53% | 15% |
| Women | 23 | 57 | 20 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 37% | 53% | 10% |
| Middle class | 32 | 49 | 19 |
| Workers | 23 | 60 | 17 |
| BY MARITAL STATUS | | | |
| Unmarried | 29% | 52% | 19% |
| Married | 27 | 56 | 17 |
| Widowed; divorced | 24 | 59 | 17 |

| | *Keep tax* | *Abolish tax* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Country | 32% | 48% | 20% |
| Town | 21 | 65 | 14 |
| Farmers | 36 | 42 | 22 |
| Others | 24 | 60 | 16 |

**11.** (Sweden Feb '45) Do you think it right that married couples who both have incomes should be taxed higher than if they had been unmarried, or would you think it right that the incomes of husband and wife were taxed separately also after marriage? (SGI)

| | *Assess jointly* | *Assess separately* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 19% | 57% | 24% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 23% | 58% | 19% |
| Women | 15 | 57 | 28 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 23% | 67% | 10% |
| Middle class | 21 | 55 | 24 |
| Workers | 16 | 59 | 25 |
| BY MARITAL STATUS | | | |
| Unmarried | 18% | 56% | 26% |
| Married | 19 | 59 | 22 |
| Widowed; divorced | 17 | 52 | 31 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Country | 21% | 52% | 27% |
| Town | 15 | 66 | 19 |
| Farmers | 22 | 46 | 32 |
| Others | 17 | 62 | 21 |

The 19% of the sample who thought married couples should be taxed higher than if they had remained single were asked why they thought the system was right. (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Incomes often become unproportionately large | 6% |
| Cheaper to be married | 3 |
| Should keep their wives at home | 3 |
| Other motives | 2 |
| General antipathy against any reform | 5 |

The 57% of the sample who favored separate taxation of incomes after marriage were asked why they thought this should be the case.

| | |
|---|---|
| People should not be punished for earning larger incomes; wrong that they should be placed in a separate class | 24% |
| This would make more people marry, assist instead of hinder marriage; newly-weds find budgeting too difficult already | 19 |
| More expensive to be married if wife is working out of home | 2 |
| General sympathy for this reform | 7 |
| No answer | 5 |

**12.** (Sweden Mar '46) The biggest social reforms planned are: an increase of the national pension, a compulsory sick insurance with access to free treatment, an improved unemployment insurance, and more support to families with children. These reforms, for the most part, must be paid through taxation. With which of the following statements are you in agreement? (SGI)

| | *I demand immediate lowering of the taxes, even if this should mean that the above social reforms cannot be carried through to their full extent for some years* | *I agree to pay taxes as now for some years, if necessary, in order to enable these planned reforms to be realized before the state finances recover* | *I agree to keep the present taxes for a longer period, should this prove necessary in order to pay for these reforms* | *I agree to pay a somewhat higher tax than now, if this means improving the planned reforms and carrying these through more quickly* | *I will not or can not agree to any of these statements* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 23% | 45% | 9% | 8% | 15% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Upper class | 28% | 46% | 10% | 6% | 10% |
| Middle class | 23 | 47 | 9 | 7 | 14 |
| Workers | 23 | 43 | 10 | 8 | 16 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Farmers | 25% | 41% | 9% | 7% | 18% |
| Industry | 22 | 45 | 9 | 9 | 15 |
| Trade | 23 | 47 | 10 | 7 | 13 |
| Public service | 20 | 50 | 11 | 8 | 11 |
| Domestic workers | 29 | 41 | 6 | 1 | 23 |
| Others | 22 | 43 | 8 | 1 | 26 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Right party | 31% | 40% | 8% | 4% | 17% |
| National party | 30 | 49 | 7 | 5 | 9 |
| Agrarian party | 29 | 42 | 9 | 3 | 17 |
| Social Democrats | 15 | 50 | 13 | 12 | 10 |
| Communists | 35 | 34 | 4 | 13 | 14 |
| Others | 25 | 40 | 6 | 4 | 25 |

## U.S.

**1.** (US July '35) Do you regard your yearly tax bill as high, low, or reasonable? Those who said they had no tax bill were excluded from the tabulation. (FOR)

| | *High* | *Low* | *Reasonable* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 55.1% | .4% | 40.5% | 4.0% |
| Upper middle class | 50.2 | 1.1 | 42.7 | 6.0 |
| Lower middle class | 49.0 | 1.8 | 40.7 | 8.5 |
| Poor | 47.4 | 3.6 | 37.4 | 11.6 |
| BY RACE | | | | |
| Negroes | 39.0% | 2.4% | 51.2% | 7.4% |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | | |
| Cities 1,000,000+ | 59.6% | 1.2% | 28.8% | 10.4% |
| Cities 100,000 to 1,000,000 | 62.9 | 2.6 | 27.9 | 6.6 |
| Small cities | 52.4 | .4 | 35.2 | 12.0 |
| Towns | 49.0 | 1.9 | 41.1 | 8.0 |
| Rural | 40.3 | 1.7 | 52.7 | 5.3 |

**2.** (US Jan '36) Are there any taxes included in the price you pay for gasoline, cigarettes, and bread? (FOR)

| | *Gasoline* | *Cigarettes* | *Bread* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Yes | 62.8% | 47.1% | 39.4% |
| No | 1.0 | 2.7 | 35.7 |
| Don't know | 3.1 | 3.2 | 19.7 |
| Don't buy | 33.1 | 47.0 | 5.2 |

Roughly how many cents go into taxes in every gallon of gas, package of cigarettes, and each loaf of bread? Asked of 62.2% of the sample who said taxes were included in the price of gasoline, 47.1% of those who said they were included in

the cigarette price and 39.4% who said they were included in the price of bread.

| | *Gasoline* |
|---|---|
| More than 5 cents | 21.2% |
| 5 cents | 25.6 |
| 4 cents | 18.5 |
| Under 4 cents | 17.8 |
| Don't know | 16.9 |

| | *Cigarettes* |
|---|---|
| More than 6 cents | 21.9% |
| 6 cents | 14.2 |
| Less than 6 cents | 40.5 |
| Don't know | 23.4 |

| | *Bread* |
|---|---|
| 1 cent or less | 45.5% |
| More than 1 cent | 16.5 |
| Don't know | 38.0 |

**3.** (US Jan '38) Everyone, rich and poor alike, pays hidden taxes as a part of the cost of the things he buys. Do you believe it would be better to tax everyone directly on whatever he or she earns, so as to lighten these indirect taxes? (FOR)

| | *Yes, tax earnings* | *No* | *No difference* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48.7% | 30.2% | 8.8% | 12.3% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 52.7% | 31.3% | 8.7% | 7.3% |
| Poor | 48.2 | 28.1 | 9.1 | 14.6 |

**4.** (US July 27 '38) In which of these countries do you think taxes per person are highest? (AIPO)

England 47% France 13% US 40%

**5.** (US Feb '39) You pay out a part of your income in taxes, either directly or as part of the cost of what you buy. Do you think that you (and other taxpayers) are paying too much, too little, or about right for what the government provides out of the tax money? (FOR)

| | *Too much* | *About right* | *Too little* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49.2% | 41.6% | 2.3% | 6.9% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 55.2% | 38.6% | 2.9% | 3.3% |
| Poor | 48.5 | 41.3 | .9 | 9.3 |

**6.** (US June 21 '39) Do you happen to pay any taxes? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 75% | 25% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper class | 93% | 7% |
| Middle class | 81 | 19 |
| Lower class | 60 | 40 |

(Jan 19 '40) Do you happen to pay taxes of any kind?

Yes 80% No 20%

Asked of 80% of the sample who had to pay taxes of some kind: What one tax do you most dislike to pay?

| | |
|---|---|
| Sales tax | 18% |
| Income | 6 |
| Gas tax | 4 |
| Cigarette | 3 |
| Property | 5 |
| Personal | 3 |
| Poll | 2 |
| School | 1 |
| Food | 1% |
| Automobile | 1 |
| State | 1 |
| Hidden | 1 |
| Social Security | 1 |
| All others | 1 |
| No answer | 26 |
| | 80% |

(Mar 31 '42) Do you happen to pay any taxes?

Yes 78% No 22%

**7.** (US Apr 19 '39) Some people believe that unemployment would be reduced if taxes on the rich were cut so that they could put more money into business. Do you believe that taxes on the rich should be reduced? (AIPO)

Yes 28% No 59% No opinion 13%

**8.** (US May 10 '39) Asked of a national cross-section of taxpayers (75% of the sample represented): About what portion of your income do you think goes to pay taxes? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 5% | 14% |
| 5% | 12 |
| 10% | 22 |
| 15% | 9 |
| 20% | 11 |
| 25% | 14 |
| 30% | 3 |
| 33% | 5 |
| 35% | 1 |
| 40% | 3 |
| 50% and over | 6 |
| | 100% |
| No answer and indefinite answer | 34% |

**9.** (US May 10 '39) Asked of a national cross-section of taxpayers (75% of the sample is represented): Which one tax do you most dislike to pay? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Social security tax | 2% |
| Unemployment tax | 1 |
| Hidden tax | 2 |
| Property | 3 |
| Food | 2 |
| Income | 6 |
| Gas | 6 |
| Cigarette | 2 |
| Sales | 26 |
| City sales tax | 1 |
| Personal | 2 |
| Luxury | 1 |
| Poll | 2 |
| Tobacco | 1 |
| Amusement | 1 |
| School | 1 |
| Automobile | 1 |
| Real estate | 3 |
| Others | 4 |
| No answer | 33 |

**10.** (US May 10 '39) Do you think that most of the tax money that people pay goes to the federal government or to the state, city and local governments combined? (AIPO)

Federal 18% Combined 55% Don't know 27%

**11.** (US May 18 '39) Do you think that in ten years taxes will be higher or lower than now? (AIPO)

Higher 61% Lower 15% Same 13% Don't know 11%

**12.** (US Dec 24 '39) If Congress decides to increase the Army and Navy, should this increase be paid for by extra taxes next year, or by borrowing more money? A comparable cross-section was asked: If Congress decides to increase our national defense, etc. Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Favor new taxes* | *Favor borrowing* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 58% | 42% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper income | 66% | 34% |
| Middle income | 60 | 40 |
| Lower income (including people on relief) | 48 | 52 |
| On relief only | 44 | 56 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 55% | 45% |
| Republicans | 61 | 39 |

**13.** (US Jan 19 '40) To pay the cost of a bigger army and navy, should the people now paying federal income taxes be required to pay one-tenth more tax? A comparable cross-section was asked: Would you approve or disapprove of increasing all federal income tax payments by one-tenth (10%) in order to pay the cost of a bigger army and navy? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 47% No 44% No opinion 9%

(July 20 '40) Would you be willing to pay considerably more taxes now in order to meet the cost of our national defense program? (OPOR)

Yes 74% No 20% Don't know 5% No answer 1%

(Jan 15 '41) Would you be willing to pay considerably more taxes now in order to meet the cost of our national defense program? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 61% | 27% | 12% |
| BY POLITICS (EXCLUDING DON'T KNOW) | | | |
| For Willkie | 59% | 41% | |
| For Roosevelt | 62 | 38 | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 56% | 31% | 13% |
| East central | 60 | 28 | 12 |
| West central | 57 | 33 | 10 |
| South | 69 | 16 | 15 |
| Pacific coast | 69 | 21 | 10 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 71% | 21% | 8% |
| Middle income | 63 | 27 | 10 |
| Lower income | 53 | 31 | 16 |

**14.** (US Oct '40) Asked of a national cross-section of business executives: Assuming that the government must raise added revenue now to pay part of the cost of rearmament, which do you believe would be the most effective means? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Maintain present tax structure and rely upon larger revenues for the increase | 10.5% |
| Superimpose new emergency rates like the Revenue Act of 1940 and the proposed excess-profits tax | 23.8 |
| Make a thorough permanent revision of the tax system before attempting to levy temporary surtaxes now | 56.3 |
| Don't know or no answer | 9.4 |

**15.** (US Feb '41) Asked of a national cross-section of business executives: Many businessmen and many tax experts believe that by shifting the incidence, taxation can be used to stimulate business expansion and to encourage re-employment, whereas the *Fortune* Forum of Executive Opinion has voted that the present federal tax policy is a major deterrent to sound business recovery. Below are listed a few of the suggestions which have been made for using the tax system to stimulate instead of penalize business activity. Which of these suggestions would you approve? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Tax income from bond interest more heavily than income from dividends (to encourage venture capital) | 33.9% |
| Tax improvements on land at a lower rate (as in Pittsburgh and other cities) than the land itself (to stimulate fuller economic use of the land) | 40.1 |
| Modify the present $800 million a year social-security tax to impose a tax of several weeks' salary on laying off an employee without replacing him, at the same time reducing substantially the present 3% unemployment tax on keeping a man employed (to reward companies with stable or expanding payrolls pay a larger share of the cost of taking care of their laid-off employees on relief or social security) | 29.2 |
| Impose a tax on idle funds so that the entire burden of taxation would not fall on money actively employed in creating jobs and supplying services (to discourage production control and encourage business to quote prices which would bring the idle capacity back into use) | 23.5 |
| Devise a special tax on idle capacity (to encourage business to go after volume at low profit margin, thereby creating jobs for many of the unemployed) | 7.5 |
| Change the incidence of some or all of the excess-profits tax so that all profits up to, say, 5% of a company's gross would be exempt from this levy, but above 5% a sliding scale of excess-profits taxation would begin to apply, running up as high as, say, 50% on profits in excess of 15% of gross | 43.3 |
| No answer | 22.0 |
| | 199.5%* |

* Percentages add to considerably more than 100 because many respondents approved of more than one suggestion.

**16.** (US Feb '41) Asked of a national cross-section of business executives: If taxes are increased, a large part of the increase will have to be paid by business. Do you favor higher taxes now, either to balance the regular budget or to pay as much as possible of the cost of rearmament out of current revenue? (FOR)

Yes 66.7% No 28.1% No answer 5.2%

**17.** (US Feb '41) Asked of a national cross-section of business executives: Now that the *Fortune* Forum of Executive Opinion has voted (Dec 1940) the New Deal's tax policies one of the two principal government deterrents to lasting recovery, will you tell us whether your objections to these tax policies are against: (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Specific present taxes | 6.0% |
| The New Deal's general tax philosophy | 37.7 |
| Both | 40.6 |
| No answer | 15.7 |

**18.** (US Feb '41) And will you tell us what you think of the specific taxes listed below with the approximate full-year revenue anticipated from each? (FOR)

| | *Wrong in principle* | *Rates should be lower* | *Rates should be higher* | *Rates about right* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Taxes on consumption* | % | % | % | % | % |
| Tariff ($275,000,000) | 6.4 | 11.8 | 16.0 | 48.2 | 17.6 |
| Liquor excise ($750,000,000) | 1.0 | 5.2 | 33.0 | 48.0 | 12.8 |
| Tobacco tax ($640,000,000) | 1.1 | 8.4 | 24.5 | 52.9 | 13.1 |
| Gasoline tax ($340,000,000) | 4.8 | 20.0 | 14.2 | 48.1 | 12.9 |
| Other manufacturers' excise taxes ($250,000,000) | 12.8 | 12.0 | 9.8 | 42.3 | 23.1 |
| *Taxes on individuals* | | | | | |
| Regular income tax ($1,234,000,000) | 8.4 | 20.5 | 14.4 | 43.5 | 13.2 |
| New 10% income tax surcharge ($123,000,000) | 27.3 | 14.8 | 5.0 | 38.3 | 14.6 |
| Estate tax ($360,000,000) | 10.5 | 29.9 | 10.8 | 36.8 | 12.0 |
| Gift tax ($32,000,000) | 12.2 | 19.2 | 13.4 | 41.9 | 13.3 |
| *Taxes on business profits* | | | | | |
| 21% normal corporation income tax ($1,325,000,000) | 6.6 | 31.9 | 7.2 | 41.2 | 13.1 |
| 3% rearmament extra corporation income tax ($175,000,000) | 16.6 | 8.9 | 9.9 | 48.4 | 16.2 |
| Old capital-stock and old excess-profits tax ($170,000,000) | 46.5 | 10.1 | 2.3 | 24.1 | 17.0 |
| New excess-profits tax ($200,000,000) | 40.1 | 17.4 | 5.4 | 21.9 | 15.2 |
| *Taxes on employment* | | | | | |
| Social security tax ($800,000,000) | 23.9 | 27.3 | 1.6 | 33.2 | 14.0 |

**19.** (US Feb '41) With which of these criticisms of the New Deal tax philosophy do you agree? (FOR) Asked of a national cross-section of business executives.

The New Deal is penalizing business enterprise and business expansion by taxing speculative and expanding business far more heavily than conservative investment. (For example, idle funds and government bonds are tax-exempt. Corporate bond interest is subject to individual income tax starting at 4% but is not affected by the 24% corporation income tax; non-expanding profits of business are subject to the 24% corporation income tax plus all the individual income taxes; profits of business expansion are subject to a 50% excess-profits tax on top of the 24% corporation tax plus the individual income taxes) ..... 71%

The New Dealers accept bigness as inevitable and are therefore indifferent to the effect of taxation on small and growing enterprise ..... 35.2

The New Deal is deliberately overtaxing the saving classes of the country because the New Dealers think unemployment can be reduced by reducing what they call "oversaving" ..... 52.1

The New Dealers are afraid to let the great bulk of the voters become conscious of the tax cost of the New Deal program and consequently they are trying to raise too much money through hidden taxes and taxes on the rich ..... 80.7%

No answer ..... 5.6

244.6%*

* Percentages add to considerably more than 100 because many respondents agreed with more than one criticism.

**20.** (US Feb '41) If you object to the New Deal tax philosophy, a national cross-section of business executives was asked: (FOR)

Is it because you feel the Administration is unfriendly to business and do not trust it not to impose taxes later on which you would consider unjust ..... 24.6%

Or is the philosophy you object to actually expressed in present laws ..... 7.3

Or both? ..... 59.8

No answer ..... 8.3

**21.** (US May 6 '41) Have you heard or read anything about the new taxes which are being discussed in Washington to pay for the increased cost of defense? (AIPO)

Yes 70% No 30%

The 70% of the sample who had heard or read about the discussion of new taxes to pay for defense expenditures were asked: How should the federal government pay the increased cost of defense—by extra taxes or by borrowing more money?

Taxes 70% Borrowing 18% No opinion 12%

**22.** (US Sept 3 '42) Do you approve or disapprove of the government's policy with respect to taxes? (AIPO)

Approve 50% Disapprove 38% No opinion 12%

**23.** (US Sept 15 '42) Would you approve or disapprove of having a committee of impartial, qualified men to investigate and make a report on taxes? (AIPO)

Approve 72% Disapprove 14% No opinion 14%

**24.** (US Oct 6 '42) Has it been a real hardship for you to pay the total amount of taxes you've had to pay over the past year or not? (NORC)

Yes 22% No 73% No opinion 3% Didn't pay 2%

**25.** (US Mar 24 '43) At present about one quarter of the cost of the war is paid by taxes, the other three quarters is borrowed. Do you think taxes should be increased to pay more than one quarter of the cost of the war, or should we continue to borrow and keep taxes at the present level? (AIPO)

Increase taxes 40% Borrow and keep tax level 40% No opinion 20%

**26.** (US June 22 '43) The President says we need to raise twelve billion dollars more this year to help pay for the cost of the war. This means about $400 a year from the typical American family. This money will either have to be raised by taxes or by government borrowing. What part of the twelve billion dollars would you raise by taxes—all of it, three-fourths, half, one-fourth, or none? (AIPO)

| *All* | ¾ | ½ | ¼ | *None* | *Other* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 17% | 7% | 34% | 20% | 18% | 4% |

**27.** (US June 22 '43) You say you would raise (proportion mentioned by respondent) by taxes. Here are three kinds of taxes which you or your family might have to pay. Do you approve or disapprove of these types of taxes? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Increasing income taxes on every family? | 38% | 54% | 8% |
| Adding a national sales tax of 5% on all purchases? | 41 | 53 | 6 |
| Increasing taxes on cigarettes, liquor, entertainment and things of this kind? | 85 | 11 | 4 |

**28.** (US July 7 '43) Which way do you think taxes will be lower for you after the war—if the Republicans or the Democrats win the next presidential election? (AIPO)

Republicans 24% Democrats 15% No difference 44% No opinion 17%

**29.** (US Oct '43) A reduction in which of the following elements in the tax structure would, in your opinion, do the most to stimulate business expansion after the war? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Excess profits | 81.5% |
| Corporate income | 78.7 |
| Personal income | 65.6 |
| Capital gains | 58.1 |
| Inheritance | 32.5 |
| Real estate | 32.5 |
| Excise taxes | 28.9 |
| | 377.8%* |

* Percentages add to considerably more than 100 because many executives mentioned more than one item.

**30.** (US Mar 19 '44) Would you be willing to pay higher taxes this next year so that the government could pay a larger part of our present war costs? (AIPO)

Yes 48% No 42% Undecided 10%

The 48% who would pay higher taxes were asked: How much more would you be willing to pay: one quarter, one half, three quarters or twice as much as you are now paying?

| | |
|---|---|
| One-fourth | 26% |
| One-half | 8 |
| Three-fourths | 1 |
| 10%–15%–20% | 1 |
| As much as needed | 3 |
| Depends on income | 1 |
| Again as much | 4 |
| Don't know | 4 |

**31.** (US May '44) Asked of a national cross-section of business executives: Solely for the purpose of bringing about the highest level of production after the war, which of the following classes of taxes would you favor reducing first? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Excess-profits taxes | 71.1% |
| Personal income taxes | 22.9 |
| Normal corporation income taxes | 14.7 |
| Taxes on consumer goods | 11.7 |
| | 120.4%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**32.** (US Aug '45) So far as the taxes you pay are concerned, do you think that a year or so after the war you will be paying more, less or about the same as now? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 15.3% |
| Less | 15.3 |
| About the same | 56.7 |
| Pay no taxes (volunteered) | 3.0 |
| Don't know | 9.7 |

**33.** (US Aug '45) Would you want your Congressman to vote for or against continuing the present rate of taxes after the war for the purpose of setting up government projects to help prevent unemployment? (FOR)

For 56.5% Against 30.3% Don't know 13.2%

**34.** (US Aug '45) Would you want your Congressman to vote for or against continuing the present rate of taxes after the war for the purpose of helping the countries that have been freed from Germany get back on their feet? (FOR)

For 43.3% Against 41.7% Don't know 15.0%

**35.** (US Nov 27 '46) In your opinion, who do you think would handle the problem of cutting taxes better—Truman or Dewey? (AIPO)

Truman 17% Dewey 55% Don't know 28%

**36.** (US Nov 27 '46) In your opinion, who do you think would handle the problem of cutting taxes better—Truman or Stassen? (AIPO)

Truman 18% Stassen 38% Don't know 44%

## TEA

**1.** (Great Britain July '40) Since the war began do you find that you are using more or less tea? (BIPO)

More 12% Less 35% Same 52% Don't use it 1%

**2.** (Great Britain Oct '40) Are you drinking your accustomed amount of tea, or has rationing interfered with your tea drinking? (BIPO)

Same 64% Less (due to rationing) 32% Don't know 4%

**3.** (Australia May '42) Is the present method of rationing tea working fairly? (APOP)

Fairly 63% Unfairly 31% No opinion 6%

## TEACHERS

**1.** (US Sept 5 '46) Are you in favor of legislation requiring teachers in your state to take a special oath of loyalty? (AIPO)

Yes 58% No 42% No opinion (19%)

**2.** (US May 10 '37) Do you think married women or unmarried women make the better teachers? (AIPO)

Married 29% Unmarried 45% No opinion 26%

**3.** (US July '37) Do you think it would have a better influence on schoolboys over thirteen years old if they had men teachers instead of women? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Immaterial* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 44.6% | 26.4% | 20.5% | 8.5% |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–40 years | 44 2% | 25.9% | 21.7% | 8.2% |
| Over 40 years | 44.9 | 26.8 | 19.5 | 8.8 |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 45.6% | 27.1% | 20.0% | 7.3% |
| Women | 43.6 | 25.6 | 21.1 | 9.7 |

**4.** (US Sept 7 '37) Four out of every five teachers in public schools are women. Would you favor the employment of more men? (AIPO)

Yes 51% No 36% No opinion 11% No answer 2%

**5.** (US Aug 16 '38) In grade schools, which do you think makes the better teacher—a married woman or an unmarried woman? (AIPO)

Married 32% Unmarried 37% No difference 31%
No opinion (9%)

**6.** (US Aug 16 '38) Schools in some states hire only unmarried teachers and discharge them if they get married. Do you approve of this rule? (AIPO)

Yes 50% No 50% = 100% No opinion 8%

**7.** (US Sept 17 '40) Which do you think make the best teachers—men or women? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Men | 33% |
| Women | 30 |
| Both | 5 |
| Qualified answer | 29 |
| No opinion | 3 |

(Jan 22 '41)

| | |
|---|---|
| Men | 37% |
| Women | 31 |
| Both | 4 |
| No opinion | 28 |

(Jan 23 '42)

| | |
|---|---|
| Men | 29% |
| Women | 37 |
| Both | 19 |
| Qualified answer | 9 |
| No opinion | 4 |
| No answer | 2 |

**8.** (US Dec '42) Asked of a national cross-section of high-school students: How many of last year's teachers would you be willing to describe as top-flight, Grade A—ones you really enjoyed and got something out of? How many of last year's teachers would you say were really second-rate? How many teachers in all did you have last year? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Percentage of teachers reported as top-flight | 52.6% |
| Percentage reporting no teachers second-rate | 21.7 |
| Percentage of teachers reported as second-rate | 27.4 |
| Percentage who consider no teachers top-flight | 1.9 |
| | 103.6%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (US Nov '43) On the average, how much would you say teachers are paid a month in this city (town) (county)? Just your best guess. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $90 | 11% |
| $90–$110 | 16 |
| $111–$130 | 17 |
| Over $130 | 37 |
| Don't know | 19 |

**10.** (US Nov '43) In general, do you think teachers are paid too much or too little for the job they are expected to do? (NORC)

Too much 2% Too little 58% About right 31%
Don't know 9%

**11.** (Canada Dec 23 '44) In general, do you think that public-school teachers in this province are paid too much or too little? (CIPO)

Underpaid 63% Other or no answer 37%

Are high-school teachers in this province paid too much or too little? [This part of the question was not asked in Quebec.]

Underpaid 33% Other or no answer 67%

**12.** (US Aug '46) When men and women are given an equal chance, who do you think would generally make the best high-school teachers of history? (FOR)

BY SEX

| | *Men* | *Women* | *No difference* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 38.3% | 36.8% | 15.6% | 9.3% |
| Women | 41.7 | 27.5 | 19.3 | 11.5 |

**13.** (US Feb 28 '47) Do you think the schoolteachers' pay in your community is too high, too low, or about right? (AIPO)

Too high 2% Too low 44% About right 33%
Don't know 21%

**14.** (US Dec 25 '46) Do you think schoolteachers should form unions? (AIPO)

Yes 43% No 40% No opinion 17%

**15.** (US Nov 23 '46) The school boards in many communities do not allow women schoolteachers to smoke. Do you think this rule should be changed to allow women schoolteachers to smoke while outside the classroom? (AIPO)

Yes 62% No 32% No opinion 6%

**16.** (Netherlands Dec 23 '46) What do you think: should teachers in our country get a higher salary or not? (NIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 77% | 10% | 13% |

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Yes* | *No and Don't know* |
|---|---|---|
| Well-to-do | 89% | 11% |
| Middle class | 86 | 14 |
| Low income | 78 | 22 |
| Lowest income | 66 | 34 |

**17.** (Netherlands Dec 23 '46) Are you prepared to pay higher taxes if it is necessary to pay teachers higher salaries? (NIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41% | 39% | 20% |

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Yes* | *No and No opinion* |
|---|---|---|
| Well-to-do | 57% | 43% |
| Middle class | 55 | 45 |
| Low income | 40 | 60 |
| Lowest income | 28 | 72 |

**18.** (Netherlands Dec 23 '46) And would you be prepared to pay a higher school fee [in order to provide higher salaries for teachers]? (NIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40% | 35% | 25% |

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Yes* | *No and Don't know* |
|---|---|---|
| Well-to-do | 44% | 56% |
| Middle class | 51 | 49 |
| Low income | 41 | 59 |
| Lowest income | 30 | 70 |

# TEACHING, FREEDOM OF

**1.** (US May 17 '36, June 6 '37, June 20 '37) Should schools teach the facts about all forms of government including fascism and socialism? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 62% | 38% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 62% | 38% |
| Republicans | 59 | 41 |
| Socialists | 85 | 15 |
| Third party | 73 | 27 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | |
| Farmers | 60% | 40% |
| Small towns | 63 | 37 |
| Big cities | 58 | 42 |
| Students | 95 | 5 |
| Teachers | 87 | 13 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION (STATE BY STATE) | | |
| Rhode Island | 58% | 42% |
| Massachusetts | 60 | 40 |
| Maine | 65 | 35 |
| New Hampshire | 71 | 29 |
| Vermont | 72 | 28 |
| Connecticut | 73 | 27 |
| Maryland | 53 | 47 |
| New Jersey | 58 | 42 |
| New York | 58 | 42 |
| Pennsylvania | 62 | 38 |
| Delaware | 66 | 34 |
| West Virginia | 67 | 33 |
| Illinois | 56 | 44 |
| Ohio | 60 | 40 |
| Indiana | 63 | 37 |
| Michigan | 63 | 37 |
| Nebraska | 59 | 41 |
| Minnesota | 60 | 40 |
| Mississippi | 63 | 37 |
| North Dakota | 63 | 37 |
| Wisconsin | 63 | 37 |
| Kansas | 65 | 35 |
| South Dakota | 66 | 34 |
| Iowa | 68 | 32 |
| Kentucky | 54 | 46 |
| Virginia | 54 | 46 |
| Oklahoma | 58 | 42 |
| South Carolina | 59 | 41 |
| Texas | 61 | 39 |
| Georgia | 64 | 36 |
| North Carolina | 64 | 36 |
| Louisiana | 65 | 35 |
| Arkansas | 66 | 34 |
| Florida | 67 | 33 |
| Tennessee | 71 | 29 |
| Missouri | 72 | 28 |
| Alabama | 74 | 26 |
| Arizona | 56 | 44 |
| Montana | 59 | 41 |
| New Mexico | 65 | 35 |
| Wyoming | 66 | 34 |
| Idaho | 67 | 33 |
| Utah | 72 | 28 |
| Nevada | 74 | 26 |
| Colorado | 77 | 23 |
| California | 59 | 41 |
| Oregon | 63 | 37 |
| Washington | 65 | 35 |

**2.** (US May 17 '36, June 6 '37, June 20 '37) Should college teachers be free to express their views on all subjects, including government and religion, in classrooms? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 59% | 41% |
| BY RELATION TO COLLEGE | | |
| College teachers | 79% | 21% |
| College students | 83 | 17 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 65% | 35% |
| Middle Atlantic | 57 | 43 |
| East central | 55 | 45 |
| West central | 57 | 43 |
| South | 64 | 36 |
| Mountain | 62 | 38 |
| Pacific coast | 51 | 49 |

**3.** (US Apr '45) If the government should start giving some financial support to those colleges and universities now supported largely by money from private people, do you think the professors would have more freedom in teaching, or less freedom, or about the same as now? (FOR)

| | *More* | *Less* | *Same* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 16.4% | 28.6% | 36.4% | 18.6% |
| College graduates | 17.3 | 48.4 | 27.9 | 6.4 |

**4.** (US Apr '45) Do you think (the following) should or should not try to direct the way a professor teaches his subject in a college or university? (FOR)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| The people who give large sums of money to a college | 11.0% | 74.6% | 14.4% |
| The government | 19.5 | 63.4 | 17.1 |
| Alumni | 26.9 | 56.3 | 16.8 |
| Faculty | 24.0 | 51.0 | 25.0 |
| Board of trustees | 35.0 | 45.6 | 19.4 |

# TELEVISION

**1.** (US Apr 30 '39) If you could buy a television set for $200, which would produce a picture about five inches by seven inches, would you buy one? (AIPO)

Yes 16% No 84%

**2.** (US Dec 29 '45) Do you know what television is? (AIPO)

Yes 84% No 16%

The 84% who knew what television is were asked: Have you ever seen a television set in operation?

Yes 22% No 62%

The same 84% were asked: What is your guess as to how long it will be before one-fourth of the people in this community have television sets?

| | |
|---|---|
| One year to under two years | 4% |
| Two years to under three years | 9 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Three years to under four years | 6% |
| Four years to under five years | 2 |
| Five years | 17 |
| Over five years to under ten years | 6 |
| Ten years | 19 |
| Over ten years to twenty years | 9 |
| Over twenty years | 4 |
| It won't be popular | 2 |
| Don't know, no answer | 6 |

Median = 5 years

The 84% who knew what television was were also asked: What is your guess before one-half of the people in this community have television sets?

| | |
|---|---|
| Under one year | 2% |
| One year to under two years | 4 |
| Two years to under three years | 6 |
| Three years to under four years | 4 |
| Four years to under five years | 2 |
| Five years | 13 |
| Over five years to under ten years | 6 |
| Ten years | 24 |
| Over ten years up to twenty years | 11 |
| Over twenty years | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Don't know; no answer | 6 |

Median = ten years

The same 84% of the total sample were asked: What would you regard as a fair price for a television set—that is, one that would be good enough to give satisfactory service and low enough in price to interest you in buying it?

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $100 | 16% |
| $100 | 18 |
| $125 | 5 |
| $150 to under $200 | 17 |
| $200 | 12 |
| $250 | 6 |
| Over $200 to under $500 | 7 |
| $500 | 1 |
| Over $500 (estimates ran to over $5000) | 1 |
| Don't know | 17 |

Median = $150 to under $200

**3.** (US Jan '46) Do you think the chances are that you will own a television set? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Within a year or so | 3.4% |
| In two or three years | 24.6 |
| Longer than that | 36.0 |
| Probably never | 25.2 |
| Don't know | 10.8 |

## TEMPERATURE

**1.** (US Dec 19 '42) What is the normal temperature at the place where you work? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 65° | 12% |
| 65° | 13 |
| 68° | 12 |
| 70° | 32 |
| 72° | 12 |
| 75° | 12 |
| Over 75° | 7 |

Median = 70°

**2.** (US Dec 19 '42, Mar 6 '43) At what temperature do you keep your home? (AIPO)

| | *Under 65°* | *65°* | *68°* | *70°* | *72°* | *75°* | *Over 75°* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 6% | 12% | 12% | 38% | 12% | 13% | 7% | 23% |
| Homes heated by oil* | 7 | 25 | 16 | 32 | 9 | 6 | 5 | 10 |
| Homes heated by coal and other types of furnaces** | 7 | 10 | 11 | 39 | 13 | 14 | 6 | 25 |

[66% of owners of oil furnaces in the 30 states with fuel oil rationing say they keep occupied rooms of their homes above 65°.]

* 68° recommended.
** 65° recommended by health agencies.

**3.** (US Dec 19 '42) What is the ideal temperature for a home? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 65° | 3% |
| 65° | 5 |
| 68° | 11 |
| 70° | 41 |
| 72° | 19 |
| 75° | 14 |
| Over 75° | 7 |

Median = 70°

**4.** (US Mar 6 '43, Feb 11 '45) Asked of residents whose homes are heated by oil: At what temperature do you keep your home during the day? (AIPO)

| | *In oil rationed states* | *In all states* |
|---|---|---|
| Under 65° at present | 11% | 10% |
| At 65° | 33 | 28 |
| At 68° | 19 | 19 |
| At 70° | 23 | 27 |
| Above 70° | 14 | 16 |

Median = 70°*

* 70° was also given as the median temperature at their place of work by respondents questioned.

**5.** (US Feb 3 '43) At what temperature do you keep your home during the night, after going to bed? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No heat | 8% |
| Below freezing | 2 |
| 33°–45° | 7 |
| 50° | 14 |
| 55° | 8 |
| 60° | 33 |
| 65° | 16 |
| 70° | 10 |
| 75° and over | 2 |
| | 100% |
| Didn't know | (36%) |

Median = 60°

**6.** (US Feb 3 '43) What was the normal (average) temperature of your home during the day last winter? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 65° | 5% |
| 65°–66° | 8 |
| 67°–69° | 8 |
| 70° | 35 |
| 71°–73° | 15 |

| | |
|---|---|
| 74°–76° | 19% |
| Over 76° | 10 |
| | 100% |
| Didn't know | (21%) |

Median = 70°

**7.** (US Feb 3 '43) What is the ideal temperature for a home in the daytime? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 65° | 4% |
| 65°–66° | 7 |
| 67°–69° | 13 |
| 70° | 37 |
| 71°–73° | 18 |
| 74°–76° | 15 |
| Over 76° | 6 |
| | 100% |
| Didn't know | (12%) |

Median = 70°

**8.** (Canada Sept 18 '43) What do you think is an ideal temperature for a home during the winter months? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 65° or less | 14% |
| 66°–69° | 13 |
| 70° | 43 |
| 71°–74° | 14 |
| 75° or more | 16 |

**9.** (US Aug 24 '47) At what temperature do you keep your home during the night, after going to bed? What is the ideal temperature for a home in the daytime? (AIPO)

| | *During the night* | *Ideal daytime temperature* |
|---|---|---|
| No heat | 6% | * |
| 60° and under | 36 | 2% |
| 61°–63° | 1 | — |
| 64°–66° | 10 | 4 |
| 67°–69° | 3 | 15 |
| 70° | 3 | 30 |
| 71°–73° | 1 | 16 |
| 74°–76° | 1 | 12 |
| 77°–79° | — | 2 |
| 80° and over | — | 3 |
| Don't know or no answer | 39 | 16 |
| Median = | 60° | 70° |

* Less than 1%.

At what temperature do you keep your home during the day?

| | *Under 65°* | *At 65°* | *At 68°* | *At 70°* | *Above 70°* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 7% | 13% | 19% | 34% | 27% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 9% | 18% | 24% | 30% | 19% |
| New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky | 9 | 18 | 23 | 30 | 20 |
| Oil users (15% of sample) | 5 | 17 | 28 | 32 | 18 |

## THEATRE

**1.** (Great Britain Apr '41) Do you approve or disapprove of people being able to go to theatres on Sundays in wartime? (BIPO)

Approve 67% Disapprove 26% Don't know 7%

**2.** (Sweden Oct '42) When did you go to a theatre last? (SGI)

| | *This year* | *Last year* | *2–5 years ago* | *Never* | *More than 5 yrs. ago* | *Don't remember* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24% | 13% | 13% | 23% | 22% | 5% |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | | | | |
| Town | 42% | 16% | 13% | 9% | 16% | 4% |
| Country | 15 | 11 | 12 | 32 | 25 | 5 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Upper class | 61% | 17% | 7% | 3% | 11% | 1% |
| Middle class | 25 | 12 | 13 | 22 | 24 | 4 |
| Workers | 21 | 14 | 13 | 25 | 21 | 6 |

**3.** (Sweden Oct '42) What did you see [when you last attended the theatre]? Asked of a national cross-section of theatre-goers. (SGI)

| | *Theatre without literary or musical aspiration* | *Theatre with literary or musical aspiration* | *Classics* | *Miscellaneous* | *Don't remember* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 30% | 12% | 11% | 5% | 42% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 31% | 12% | 9% | 4% | 44% |
| Women | 28 | 12 | 13 | 6 | 41 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Upper class | 32% | 24% | 17% | 3% | 24% |
| Middle class | 28 | 14 | 13 | 5 | 40 |
| Workers | 30 | 9 | 10 | 5 | 46 |

**4.** (Great Britain Jan 24 '43) Would you approve or disapprove of theatres being allowed to open on Sundays, just as they do on other days? (BIPO)

Approve 58% Disapprove 33% Don't know 9%

**5.** (Germany Dec 1 '45) Will you go to the theatre when they are reopened? (OMGUS)

Yes 70% No 29% No opinion 1%

What sort of plays would you like to see?

| | |
|---|---|
| Musical comedy, operetta, opera | 42% |
| Drama | 5 |
| Classical plays | 8 |
| Modern plays | 7 |
| Comedies | 17 |
| Never go to the theatre, prefer movies | 6 |
| Other | 7 |
| No opinion, don't know | 2 |
| No answer | 16 |
| | 120%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (Hungary May '46) Asked of Budapest and suburban adults: How often do you go to [visit] the theatre? (HIPOR)

| | EDUCATED CLASSES | | BOURGEOISIE | | WORKERS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* |
| Once a week | 8% | 11% | 7% | 6% | 4% | 3% |
| Twice a week | 3 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 3 |
| Three times a week | 2 | 3 | 3 | 1 | — | — |
| Four times a week | 1 | — | — | 1 | — | — |
| Once a month | 25 | 25 | 16 | 25 | 13 | 18 |
| Twice a month | 8 | 7 | 3 | 6 | 6 | 4 |
| Three times a month | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 3 | — |
| Four times a month | — | 2 | 3 | 1 | — | 2 |
| Once a year | 7 | 11 | 8 | 6 | 23 | 15 |
| Twice a year | 10 | 10 | 16 | 12 | 18 | 26 |
| Three times a year | 6 | 3 | 7 | 9 | 12 | 10 |
| Four times a year | 2 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 2 | 1 |
| Five times a year | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 1 |
| Six times a year | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| More than six times a year | 5 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| Never, no answer | 17 | 11 | 16 | 12 | 9 | 13 |

Asked of Budapest and suburban children: How often do you visit theatres and movies?

| | THEATRES | | MOVIES | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Boys* | *Girls* | *Boys* | *Girls* |
| Once a week | 12% | 4% | 30% | 17% |
| Twice a week | — | 1 | 7 | 6 |
| Three times a week | — | — | 2 | 1 |
| Four times a week | — | — | 1 | — |
| Once a month | 22 | 23 | 17 | 35 |
| Twice a month | 12 | 6 | 18 | 16 |
| Three times a month | 1 | 4 | 10 | 8 |
| Four times a month | 4 | — | 3 | — |
| Once a year | 4 | 27 | 1 | 3 |
| Twice a year | 10 | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| Three times a year | 7 | 7 | 1 | 2 |
| Four times a year | 3 | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| Five times a year | 4 | 4 | — | 2 |
| Six times a year | 4 | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| More than six times a year | 3 | 4 | 1 | 3 |
| Never, no answer | 14 | 8 | 6 | 4 |

**7.** (Hungary Sept '46) Asked of Budapest residents: Which do you prefer, plays or movies? (HIPOR)

| | *Theatre* | *Movies* | *Both* | *Other, no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Educated women | 71.0% | 24.8% | 3.6% | 0.6% |
| Educated men | 66.1 | 29.2 | 4.1 | 0 6 |
| Uneducated women | 48.5 | 47.9 | 3.4 | 0.2 |
| Uneducated men | 45.5 | 49.7 | 3.9 | 0.9 |

**8.** (Hungary Sept '46) Why do you prefer the theatre to the movies? Asked in Budapest only. (HIPOR)

| | MEN | | WOMEN | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Educated* | *Uneducated* | *Educated* | *Uneducated* |
| More direct, more eventful; living actors are seen | 34.0% | 41.6% | 30.4% | 39.3% |
| More literary, more artistic; more significant and serious | 31.3 | 16.6 | 31.2 | 21.4 |
| Has greater effect | 13.8% | 19.5% | 18.5% | 20.7% |
| Films are tiresome, automatic | 2.7 | 3.8 | 2.6 | 2.7 |
| Theatre's dialogue is in Hungarian, thus intelligible | 5.4 | 5.8 | 7.6 | 4.7 |
| Other, no answer | 12.8 | 12.7 | 9.7 | 11.2 |

**9.** (Hungary Sept '46) Why do you prefer the movies to the theatre? (HIPOR)

| | MEN | | WOMEN | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Educated* | *Uneducated* | *Educated* | *Uneducated* |
| Less expensive | 15.1% | 42.5% | 17.8% | 26.0% |
| More lively, more colorful, more exciting | 15.1 | 11.4 | 4.8 | 16.7 |
| Larger perspectives | 22.1 | 4.2 | 7.2 | 8.1 |
| Amusing, varied | 21.3 | 14.3 | 29.7 | 25.1 |
| Convenient, easy to reach | 7.1 | 7.3 | 14.2 | 8.6 |
| More intelligible, more showy | 4.5 | 4.1 | 2.4 | 2.3 |
| Greater selection | 9.7 | 4.1 | 2.4 | 2.3 |
| Other, no answer | 5.1 | 12.1 | 17 9 | 10.1 |

**10.** (Hungary Sept '46) Which kind of play is your favorite? (HIPOR)

| | MEN | | WOMEN | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Educated* | *Uneducated* | *Educated* | *Uneducated* |
| Tragedy | 18.0% | 11.0% | 16.0% | 12.8% |
| Chamber drama | 27.0 | 12.3 | 28.5 | 15.7 |
| Comedy | 18.0 | 33.3 | 19.7 | 30.7 |
| Burlesque | 2.3 | 11.4 | 2.2 | 6.5 |
| Musical comedy | 12.0 | 22.9 | 11.7 | 24.7 |
| Opera | 17.0 | 5.2 | 19.0 | 6.3 |
| Other, no answer | 5.7 | 3.9 | 2.9 | 3.3 |

What is the foundation of your decision as to choice of theatre? Asked in Budapest only.

| | MEN | | WOMEN | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Educated* | *Uneducated* | *Educated* | *Uneducated* |
| The play | 49.6% | 24.1% | 42.5% | 38.9% |
| The artists | 15.4 | 38.1 | 19.2 | 32.7 |
| The acting ensemble | 13.7 | 19.9 | 13.3 | 12.5 |
| The management | 7.8 | 7.7 | 9.1 | 6.2 |
| The author | 8.0 | 2.2 | 10.6 | 3.4 |
| Other, no answer | 5.5 | 8.0 | 5.3 | 6.3 |

**11.** (Hungary Sept '45) Asked in Budapest only: What is the foundation of your decision as to choice of play? (HIPOR)

| | MEN | | WOMEN | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Educated* | *Uneducated* | *Educated* | *Uneducated* |
| Interest aroused by friends.. | 42.8% | 48.8% | 39.7% | 50.9% |
| Criticism in papers..... | 43.7 | 34.2 | 48.9 | 30.6 |
| A theatre critic..... | 10.7 | 11.5 | 8.8 | 14.6 |
| Opportunity, free tickets... | 2.8 | 5.5 | 2.6 | 3.9 |

Do you read theatrical criticism in the papers? Asked in Budapest.

| | MEN | | WOMEN | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Educated* | *Uneducated* | *Educated* | *Uneducated* |
| Yes..... | 84.0% | 59.6% | 81.6% | 61.2% |
| No..... | 15.6 | 35.0 | 12.7 | 35.5 |
| Occasionally, not systematically..... | 0.4 | 5.4 | 5.7 | 3.3 |

**12.** (Czechoslovakia Oct '46) Have you been to the theatre this year? (CZIPO)

| | *Several times* | *Once* | *Never* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 52% | 23% | 25% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Laborers..... | 44% | 28% | 28% |
| White collar and civil service... | 71 | 15 | 14 |
| Farmers..... | 38 | 27 | 35 |
| Business..... | 63 | 15 | 22 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–29 years..... | 65% | 22% | 13% |
| 30–49 years..... | 52 | 22 | 26 |
| 50 years and over..... | 44 | 24 | 32 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men..... | 54% | 21% | 25% |
| Women..... | 50 | 25 | 25 |

# TIN

**1.** (US Apr 28 '43) Asked of women only: Have you turned in any tin cans? (NORC)

Yes 60% No 40%

**2.** (US Aug 27 '43) About how many tin cans do you use in an average week? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| One or less..... | 8% |
| Two..... | 15 |
| Three..... | 19 |
| Four..... | 13 |
| Five..... | 10 |
| Six..... | 7 |
| Seven..... | 4 |
| Eight..... | 3 |
| Nine..... | * |
| Ten..... | 4 |
| More than ten..... | 7 |
| None..... | 8 |
| Not ascertainable..... | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**3.** (US Aug 27 '43) Have you (or you family) turned in any old tin cans? (NORC)

Yes 60% No 40% Don't know less than 0.5%

Asked of the 40% of the total sample who said they or their family had not turned in any old tin cans: Have you heard about the campaign to get people to save their old tin cans?

Yes 34% No 6% Don't know less than 0.5%

Asked of 34% of the sample who had heard about the campaign to get people to save their tin cans, but hadn't turned in any yet: How does it happen you haven't turned any in?

| | |
|---|---|
| Fault of collection system..... | 12% |
| Lack of cans..... | 10 |
| Fault of collection system and/or information..... | 6 |
| Negligence and distaste..... | 5 |
| Too busy..... | 2 |
| Someone else turns them in..... | 1 |
| Cans are utilized at home..... | 1 |
| Difficulties in opening cans..... | 1 |
| Miscellaneous..... | 1 |
| Not ascertainable..... | * |
| | 39%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 34 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Asked of the 34% of the total sample who had heard about the campaign to get people to save their tin cans, but hadn't turned any in yet: Do people around here have to flatten the cans before they turn them in?

Yes 25% No 2% Don't know 7%

Asked of the 25% of the sample who said people had to flatten the cans before they turned them in: Why do you suppose the government wants them flattened?

| | |
|---|---|
| Conservation of space and ease of handling..... | 20% |
| Preparation for processing..... | 2 |
| Saving of time..... | 1 |
| Saving of labor..... | * |
| Miscellaneous..... | 1 |
| Not ascertainable..... | 3 |
| | 27%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 25% as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Asked of the 60% of the sample who said they or their family had turned in tin cans. Do you turn in all the tin cans you have?

Yes 46% No 13% Don't know 1%

Asked of the 13% of the sample who did not turn in all the tin cans they had: Why not?

| | |
|---|---|
| Collection difficulties..... | 4% |
| Type of can..... | 3 |
| Negligence or carelessness..... | 2 |
| Difficulties with opening..... | 1 |
| Too busy..... | 1 |
| Some cans are utilized at home... | 1 |
| Have too few cans..... | * |
| Miscellaneous..... | 1 |
| Not ascertainable..... | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

Asked of 60% of the sample who said they or their family turned in tin cans: Well, are you turning in as many now as you were when you first started saving them?

More now 3% Less now 35% Same 20% Don't know 2%

Asked of the 35% of the total sample who were turning in less tin cans now than they were when they first started saving them: Why?

| | |
|---|---|
| Use fewer cans—no reason given | 12% |
| Use fewer cans in summertime | 6 |
| Use fewer cans due to rationing | 5 |
| Use fewer cans in summer because of own garden | 3 |
| Use fewer cans because foods come in jars | 2 |
| Collection system or publicity at fault | 5 |
| Change in household arrangement | 2 |
| Distaste or carelessness | 1 |
| Trouble with can opener | * |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| | 38%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 35 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Asked of 60% of total sample who said they or their family had turned in tin cans. Do you think the government really needs the cans as badly now as they did when you first started saving them?

Yes 46% No 7% Don't know 7%

Asked of 7% of the total sample who thought the government didn't need tin cans as badly now as it did when they first started saving them: Why not?

| | |
|---|---|
| Because collection efforts have relaxed | 2% |
| Because they've stopped asking for them | 1 |
| Because they have plenty of material now | 1 |
| Because the results were disappointing | * |
| Because the war is not as serious as expected | * |
| Because the need for tin cans is not so great | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 7%** |

* Totals 1%.
** Multiple answers were permissible but not enough to add to more than 7%.

Asked of 60% of the total sample who said they or their families had turned in old cans: Are the cans collected at your door or do they have to be taken some place?

| | |
|---|---|
| Collected at door | 37% |
| Taken some place | 20 |
| Both | 1 |
| No system | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |

How far do they have to be taken? (Blocks or miles.) Asked of 21% of total sample whose tin cans had to be taken some place or were collected at door and also had to be taken some place.

| | |
|---|---|
| ¼ mile or less or five blocks or less | 8% |
| ½ mile or 6 to 10 blocks | 4 |
| ¾ mile or 11 to 15 blocks | * |
| 1 mile or 16 to 20 blocks | 2 |
| 1½ miles | 1 |
| 2 miles | 1 |
| 2½ miles | 1 |
| 3 to 5 miles | 2 |
| Over 5 to 6 miles | 1 |
| Over 6 to 8 miles | 1 |
| Over 8 miles | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 23%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 21% as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Is this much of a bother to you? Asked of 21% of total sample whose tin cans had to be taken some place or were collected at door and also had to be taken some place.

Yes 4% No 16% Don't know 1%

Is there any way that you think this system could be improved? Asked of 60% of the total sample who said they or their family had turned in old tin cans.

Yes 19% No 35% Don't know 6%

How? Asked of 19% of the total sample who thought that the system of collecting tin cans could be improved.

| | |
|---|---|
| *If "taken some place"* | |
| Should collect them at door | 6% |
| Remind people to save cans | 1 |
| *If "collected at door"* | |
| Collections should be more regular; systematic | 4 |
| Collections should be more frequent | 3 |
| Specific suggestions for organization | 3 |
| Designate a place where they could be taken | 1 |
| More notice of collections should be given | 1 |
| Collect cans separately from garbage | 1 |
| Don't require tin cans to be specifically prepared | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | * |
| | 21%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 19 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Do you (or your family) flatten the cans or do you turn them in just as they are? Asked of 60% of the total sample who said they or their family had turned in old tin cans.

Flatten 52% Turn in as is 8% Don't know Less than 0.5%

Is this much of a bother to you? Asked of 52% of the total sample who flattened the tin cans before turning them in.

Yes 10% No 41% Don't know 1%

Why do you suppose the government wants them flattened? Asked of 52% of the total sample who flattened their tin cans before turning them in.

| | |
|---|---|
| Conservation of space and ease of handling | 40% |
| Preparation for processing | 5 |
| Saving of labor | 4 |
| Saving of time | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 3 |
| | 56%* |

* Percentages add to more than 52 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Do you think people should be paid for the cans they turn in? Asked of 94% of the total sample who had heard of the campaign to turn in tin cans (34%) or had turned in cans (60%).

Yes 3% No 89% Don't know 2%

As far as you know, is anyone making any money out of these tin can collections? Asked of 94% of total sample who had turned in tin cans or had heard of the campaign to turn in old tin cans.

Yes 2% No 80% Don't know 12%

Have you heard or read anything that told you *why* people should save tin cans? Asked of 94% of the total sample who had turned in old tin cans or had heard of the campaign to turn in tin cans.

Yes 76% No 17% Don't know 1%

Have you heard or read anything of this sort recently? Asked of 76% of the total sample who had heard or read something that told them why people should save tin cans.

Yes 20% No 55% Don't know 1%

From what you know or have heard, do you think the government has enough plants to handle the cans that are turned in? Asked of 94% of the total sample who had turned in old tin cans or had heard of the campaign to turn in cans.

Yes 44% No 8% Don't know 42%

(Jan 21 '44) Have you (or your family) turned in any old tin cans? (NORC)

Yes 70% No 29% Don't know 1%

**4.** (US Aug 27 '43) As far as you know, are there any tin mines in the United States? (NORC)

Yes, there are 18% No, there aren't 32% Don't know 50%

**5.** (US Aug 27 '43) Where do you think we got most of our tin before the war? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Pacific: | |
| East Indies | 6% |
| Japan | 3 |
| Malaya | 2 |
| Japanese controlled (now) | 1 |
| Burma | 1 |
| Java | 1 |
| Other specific places in Pacific area | 2 |
| Unspecified | 2 |
| Latin America: | |
| Bolivia | 2 |
| Brazil | * |
| Argentina | * |
| Other specific places | 1 |
| Unspecified | 8 |
| India | 1 |
| Africa | * |
| United States | 4 |
| Miscellaneous specific places | 4 |
| Imported (no place mentioned) | 3 |
| Other answers | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 61 |
| | 103%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (US May 18 '44) And tin cans? (Is there as much need to turn them in now?) (NORC)

Yes 73% No 12% Don't know 15%

Why not? Asked of 12% of the sample who did not think it necessary to turn in tin cans now.

| | |
|---|---|
| Difficulties in collection | 4% |
| Tin cans not needed so much now for production | 3 |
| Little or no tin in cans any more | 2 |
| Requests diminished or not reached by requests | 2 |
| Not required to turn in tin tubes now | * |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know | * |
| | 12%** |

* Totals 1%.
** Multiple answers permissible, but not enough to add to more than 12%.

# TIPPING

**1.** (US June 7 '37) Would you favor laws against tipping? (AIPO)

Yes 40% No 60% No opinion (12%)

**2.** (US Aug '38) Many people in restaurants, hotels, barbershops, etc., depend upon tips for a part of their pay. Do you think it would be better to have them paid larger wages out of an additional amount added to the bills the customers pay? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 65.1% | 22.2% | 12.7% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 75.1% | 19.8% | 5.1% |
| BY RACE | | | |
| Negroes | 53.2% | 25.1% | 21.7% |

**3.** (Denmark Nov 5 '44) How much do you generally tip in restaurants? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| 10% or less | 6.6% |
| 12½% | 1.5 |
| 15% | 75.0 |
| 20% or more | 7.2 |
| Varies | 3.9 |
| Don't know | 5.8 |

**4.** (Denmark Nov 5 '44) How much do you think one should give if a fixed rate of tipping is introduced all over the country? (DGI)

| | *On small bills* | *On large bills* |
|---|---|---|
| 10% | 29.3% | 40.6% |
| 12½% | 3.5 | 2.3 |
| 15% | 24.5 | 14.9 |
| 20% | 3.0 | 1.8 |
| Don't know | 33.0 | 34.0 |
| Nothing fixed | 6.7 | 6.4 |

**5.** (Sweden Feb '46) How much did you tip, and how much did it cost the last time you ate in a restaurant? Asked of a national cross-section of people who had eaten in restaurants. (SGI)

| | *Nothing, or less than 10%* | *10%* | *11%–15%* | *15%* | *16%–20%* | *20%* | *Over 20%* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9% | 32% | 34% | 6% | 8% | 5% | 6% |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | | | | | |
| Large towns | 6% | 24% | 44% | 7% | 11% | 3% | 5% |
| Other towns | 5 | 31 | 38 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 6 |
| Country | 13 | 35 | 29 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 6 |

**6.** (Sweden Feb '46) How much did you tip, and how much did you pay for the taxi the last time you rode in one? Asked of a national cross-section of people who had ridden in taxis. (SGI)

| | *Nothing, or less than 10%* | *10%* | *11%–15%* | *15%* | *16%–20%* | *20%* | *Over 20%* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total.... | 54% | 11% | 16% | 3% | 6% | 3% | 7% |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | | | | | |
| Large towns..... | 12% | 19% | 33% | 7% | 12% | 7% | 10% |
| Small towns..... | 39 | 12 | 22 | 4 | 9 | 4 | 10 |
| Country..... | 73 | 8 | 8 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 4 |

## TIRES AND RUBBER

**1.** (US Jan 5 '42) Do you think that the rationing of automobile tires by the government is necessary or unnecessary? (NORC)

| | *Necessary* | *Unnecessary* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 79% | 14% | 7% |
| (Jan 28 '42)..... | 77 | 11 | 12 |
| (Aug 21 '42)..... | 79 | 12 | 9 |
| (Nov 27 '42)..... | 83 | 12 | 5 |

**2.** (US Jan 26 '42) Have you heard about the government regulation of sales of automobile tires? Asked of a national cross-section of car owners: 58% of the total sample is represented. (AIPO)

Yes 99% No 1%

**3.** (US Jan 26 '42) Do you feel that this government regulation of tire sales is necessary? Asked of a national cross-section of car owners. 58% of the total sample is represented. (AIPO)

Yes 81% No 8% Don't know 11%

**4.** (US Jan 26 '42) How long do you expect the government regulation of tire sales will be in effect? Asked of a national cross-section of car owners. 58% of the total sample is represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 year..... | 10% |
| 2–5 years..... | 12 |
| For war's duration..... | 44 |
| Others and no opinion..... | 34 |

**5.** (US Jan 26 '42) It has been suggested that to save rubber and reduce automobile accidents every state should pass a law against people driving more than 35 miles an hour on any road. Would you approve or disapprove of such a law in every state in the country? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 67% | 28% | 5% |
| Car owners..... | 61 | 36 | 3 |

**6.** (US Feb 25 '42) About how long do you think it will be before your tires are so worn that you will not be able to drive your car? Asked of a national cross-section of car owners. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Tires worn out now..... | 2% |
| 6 months or less..... | 21 |
| 6 months to 1½ years..... | 47 |
| 2 years..... | 19 |
| More than 2 years..... | 11 |

(Canada Mar 18 '42) About how long do you think it will be before your tires are so worn out that you will not be able to drive your car? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 6 months..... | 8% |
| 6 months to 1 year..... | 15 |
| 1 to 2 years..... | 37 |
| 2 years or more..... | 40 |

**7.** (US Mar 28 '42) From what you have heard about the situation, do you think we are doing the right thing by rationing tires? (NORC)

Yes 86% No 8% Don't know 6%

**8.** (US Mar 28 '42) Do you think there is much chiseling in the rationing of tires, or do you think the rationing rules are being pretty generally obeyed? (NORC)

Chiseling 23% Obeyed 58% Don't know 19%

**9.** (US May 20 '42) Have you changed your way of getting to work since tire or gas rationing went into effect? Asked of a national cross-section of employed or employers. (AIPO)

Yes 14% No 86%

In what way? Asked of 14% of the sample who said they had changed their way of getting to work.

| | |
|---|---|
| Walk instead of drive..... | 4% |
| Bicycle instead of drive..... | 1 |
| Double up with neighbors..... | 2 |
| Use car less..... | 2 |
| Train instead of drive..... | 1 |
| Bus instead of drive..... | 2 |
| Other changes..... | 1 |
| Have changed but didn't say how..... | 1 |

**10.** (US June 26 '42) Have you heard anything about a campaign to get people to turn in old rubber to filling stations and places like that? (NORC)

Yes 97% No 3%

**11.** (US June 26 '42) Well, from what you know, has anyone in your house turned in any old rubber during the last two weeks? (NORC)

Yes 58% No 37% Don't know 5%

**12.** (US June 26 '42) Are there any old rubber things around your house now that you think should be turned in? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 23% | 69% | 8% |
| (July 11 '42)..... | 14 | 78 | 8 |

**13.** (US June 26 '42) Do you think that collecting old rubber things will bring in enough rubber to really help the war effort? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 78% | 7% | 15% |
| (July 11 '42)..... | 78 | 8 | 14 |

**14.** (US June 26 '42) Do you think there is a serious rubber shortage in this country now? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 64% | 16% | 20% |
| (July 11 '42)..... | 66 | 15 | 19 |
| (July 18 '42)..... | 64 | 24 | 12 |
| (Sept 16 '42)..... | 71 | 13 | 16 |

(Sept 16 '42) Asked of 71% of the sample who thought there was a serious rubber shortage in the United States. Do you think the rubber shortage is so serious that there is a real need for people to cut down on their driving and save the tires they have on their cars now?

Yes 67% No 3% Don't know 1%

Do you think the government did everything it could reasonably be expected to do to prevent this rubber shortage? Asked of 71% of the sample who thought there was a serious rubber shortage.

Yes 34% No 27% Don't know 10%

(Nov 8 '42) Do you think there is a serious rubber shortage in this country now?

Yes 64% No 24% Don't know 12%

(Dec 11 '42) Do you think there is a serious rubber shortage in this country now?

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| In newly rationed area | 67% | 23% | 10% |
| In old rationed area | 74 | 16 | 10 |
| (July 23 '43) National total | 57 | 30 | 13 |

**15.** (Canada July 11 '42) If the rubber shortage became very serious, do you think the government should take the tires from automobiles that are not necessary to the war effort, or for making a living? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 84% | 8% | 8% |
| Car owners | 84 | 10 | 6 |
| Non-car owners | 84 | 7 | 9 |

**16.** (Canada July 11 '42) Do you think the government should take these tires without paying for them, or do you think the owner should get a fair price for his tires? (CIPO)

Without pay 10% Should pay 87% No opinion 3%

**17.** (US July 11 '42) From what you know, did anyone in your house turn in any old rubber things for the scrap rubber collection? (NORC)

Yes 69% No 27% Don't know 4%

**18.** (US July 11 '42) Do you have an automobile in your family? (NORC)

Yes 67% No 33%

Is it [your automobile] still being used? Asked of 67% of the sample who said there was an automobile in their family.

Yes 64% No 3%

About how much longer do you think your tires will last? Asked of 64% of the sample who said there was an automobile in their family that was still being used.

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 8 months | 17% |
| 8 months to 1 year | 23 |
| 13 months to 3 years | 20 |
| Over 3 years | 1 |
| Don't know | 3 |

**19.** (US Aug 1 '42) If the government needs tires, would you offer to sell some of your tires to the government for a fair price? Asked of a national cross-section of car owners (AIPO)

Yes 73% No 22% Don't know 5%

**20.** (US July 14 '42) How long do you think it will be before we have enough synthetic (artificial) rubber so that people can buy new tires? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 1 year | 9% |
| 1 year | 19 |
| 2 years | 33 |
| 3 years | 14 |
| 4 years | 5 |
| Never | 2 |
| 5 or more years | 8 |
| Not until after the war | 6 |
| Depends on the government's efforts | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| | 100% |
| Don't know | (16%) |

**21.** (US Oct 3 '42) In order to save rubber, do you think there should be a law limiting driving speed to 35 miles per hour in every state? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 87% | 8% | 5% |
| Car owners | 89 | 9 | 2 |

**22.** (US Sept 15 '42) Have you read or heard about the report of the special committee appointed by the President to investigate the rubber situation? (AIPO)

Yes 67% No 33%

**23.** (US Sept 15 '42) The President appointed a committee of three, made up of Baruch and two university presidents, to investigate the rubber situation. Do you think this committee, or one like it, should be appointed to investigate other national problems? (AIPO)

Yes 67% No 13% No opinion 20%

**24.** (US Sept 16 '42) Do you think people will be able to get new tires for pleasure driving any time within the next two years? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *Qualified* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 12% | 69% | 19% | — |
| (Dec 11 '42) | | | | |
| Old rationed areas | 22 | 52 | 12 | 14% |
| Newly rationed areas | 17 | 61 | 9 | 13 |

**25.** (US Sept 16 '42) Did you happen to read anything or hear anything over the radio about the Baruch Rubber Report—a report to the President on the rubber situation—about a week ago? (NORC)

Yes 36% No 62% Don't know 2%

**26.** (US Oct 13 '42) Do you own a car or truck? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, car or cars | 49% |
| Yes, both | 3 |
| Yes, truck | 3 |
| No | 45 |

About how long do you think it will be before your tires are so worn out that you will not be able to drive your car? Asked of the 55% who owned a car or truck or both.

| | |
|---|---|
| Worn out now | 2% |
| Six months or less | 24 |
| Seven months to two years | 44 |
| Two years | 18 |
| More than two years | 12 |
| No opinion | (7) |

**27.** (US Dec 11 '42) If the car owner himself doesn't mind putting his car away when the tires are worn out, what would you say is the government's reason for wanting people to save their tires? (NORC)

| | *Old rationed area* | *Newly rationed area* |
|---|---|---|
| Save rubber for war effort | 28% | 21% |
| Save tires for public | 14 | 16 |
| Relieve transportation system | 13 | 15 |
| Getting people to work | 6 | 8 |
| Keep flow of business normal | 4 | 9 |

| | *Old rationed area* | *Newly rationed area* |
|---|---|---|
| Possibility of government commandeering tires | 12% | 11% |
| Make people war-minded | * | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 16 | 12 |
| Not ascertainable | 19 | 17 |
| | 112%** | 110%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**28.** (US Jan 21 '43) Have you tried to buy tires to run your farm? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Yes 27% No 73%

Were you able to get as many [tires] as you needed? Asked of the 27% who said they had tried to buy tires.

Yes 18% No 9%

**29.** (US Apr 28 '43) Have you turned in any old rubber? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 75% | 25% | * |
| (Aug 27 '43) | 78 | 22 | |
| (Jan 21 '44) | 72 | 28 | |

* Less than 0.5%.

**30.** (US July 23 '43) How long do you think it will be before people will be able to get new tires for pleasure driving? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 6 months | 3% |
| 6–11 months | 9 |
| One year | 22 |
| One year and a half | 5 |
| Two years | 13 |
| Three years | 7 |
| Four years | 2 |
| Over four years | 3 |
| After the war | 7 |
| "Depends" answers | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 27 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |

**31.** (US July 23 '43) About how much longer do you think your tires will last? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't own a car | 31% |
| Car is not being used | 4 |
| Less than 4 months | 10 |
| 4–5 months | 3 |
| 6–7 months | 10 |
| 8–9 months | 2 |
| 10 months to 1 year | 18 |
| 13 months to 1 year and a half | 3 |
| 19 months to 2 years | 10 |
| 25 months to 2 years and a half | * |
| 31 months to 3 years | 2 |
| Over 3 years | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 5 |

* Less than 0.5%.

(Dec 18 '43) About how much longer do you think your tires will last? Asked of 63% of the total sample who were car users.

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 4 months | 7% |
| 4–5 months | 3 |
| 6–7 months | 10 |
| 8–9 months | 3 |
| 10 months to 1 year | 19% |
| 13 months to 1 year and a half | 4 |
| 19 months to 2 years | 8 |
| 25 months to 2 years and a half | * |
| 31 months to 3 years | 2 |
| Over 3 years | 2 |
| Don't know | 5 |
| | 63% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**32.** (US July 23 '43) From what you've heard, is it hard to get tire certificates from the ration boards around here? Asked of 65% of the sample who were still using their cars. (NORC)

Yes 25% No 23% Don't know 17%

Do you have any trouble actually getting a tire, once you have a certificate? Asked of 48% of the total sample who had an opinion as to the difficulty of getting tire certificates from ration boards.

Yes 12% No 25% Don't know 11%

**33.** (US Oct 26 '43) After the war, do you think we should put a tax on natural rubber coming in from foreign countries in order to encourage the production of synthetic rubber in this country? (AIPO)

Yes 39% No 39% No opinion 22%

**34.** (US Oct 27 '43) After the war, will you be willing to pay a higher price for all rubber products so that the new synthetic rubber factories in this country can compete with natural rubber from abroad? (AIPO)

Yes 53% No 23% No opinion 19%
Qualified answer 5%

**35.** (US Dec 18 '43) Do you have an automobile in your immediate family? (NORC)

Yes 67% No 33%

Is it still being used? Asked of 67% of the sample who had a car in the immediate family.

Yes 63% No 4%

What are some of the things the government is asking people to do, so their tires will last longer? Anything else? Asked of 63% of the sample who were car users.

| | |
|---|---|
| Have tires checked | 24% |
| Keep tires inflated | 20 |
| Drive less; don't do unnecessary driving | 21 |
| Drive under 35 m.p.h. | 17 |
| Rotate tires on car | 11 |
| Have tires recapped, retreaded, repaired | 10 |
| Be careful about starting and stopping | 9 |
| Drive carefully | 5 |
| Take care of tires (general) | 3 |
| Don't bump tires against curb | 2 |
| Take curves slowly | 2 |
| Have proper wheel alignment | 2 |
| Keep car in repair | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Drive slowly | * |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 129%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 63 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

Have you had any tires recapped? Asked of 63% of the sample who were car users.

Yes 24% No 38% Don't know 1%

Did you have any trouble getting them recapped? What kind of trouble? Asked of 24% of the total sample who were car users and had had some tires recapped.

| | |
|---|---|
| Job poorly done | 1% |
| Too long getting job done | 2 |
| Trouble getting permit | * |
| Job cost too much | * |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| No trouble | 20 |
| Don't know | * |
| | 24% |

* Total 1%.

From what you've heard, do people have any trouble getting tires recapped around here? What kind of trouble? Asked of 38% of the total sample who were car users and had not had tires recapped.

| | |
|---|---|
| Takes too long getting job done | 2% |
| Job poorly done | 2 |
| Trouble—red tape—getting permit | 1 |
| Can't get material to get job done | 1 |
| No; not now, but had trouble before | 1 |
| Yes (no specific trouble mentioned) | * |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know | 7 |
| No trouble | 24 |
| | 38% |

* Less than 0.5%.

If you want your tires recapped, do you have to get permission from your ration board? Asked of 63% of the total sample who were car users.

Yes 15% No 37% Don't know 11%

Have you tried to buy any tires since rationing went into effect? Asked of 63% of the total sample who were car users.

Yes 19% No 43% Don't know 1%

[Did you try to buy] new or second hand [tires]? Asked of 19% of the total sample who were car users and had tried to buy tires since tire rationing went into effect.

New 15% Second hand 4% Don't know Less than 0.5%

Did you have any trouble [buying tires]? Asked of 19% of the total sample who are car users and had tried to buy tires since tire rationing went into effect.

Yes 7% No 12% Don't know Less than 0.5%

Was it trouble getting a certificate, trouble getting the tire after you had the certificate, or what? Asked of 7% of the total sample who were car users and had had trouble buying new tires since tire rationing went into effect.

| | |
|---|---|
| Trouble getting certificate | 3% |
| Trouble getting tire after had certificate | 3 |
| Both | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| | 9%* |

* Percentages add to more than 7 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

From what you've heard, is it hard to get tire certificates from the ration boards around here? Asked of 43% of the total sample who were car users and had not tried to buy any tires since tire rationing went into effect.

Yes 21% No 10% Don't know 12%

From what you've heard, do people have any trouble getting a tire once they have a certificate? Asked of 43% of the total sample who were car users and had not tried to buy any tires since tire rationing went into effect.

Yes 11% No 16% Don't know 16%

Have you had any trouble getting your tires inspected? What kind of trouble? Asked of 63% of the total sample who were car users.

Yes 1% No 61% Don't know 1%

Do you think these tire inspections are worth while, or not? Asked of 63% of the total sample who were car users.

Worth while 45% Not worth while 15% Don't know 3%

Why don't you think so? Asked of 15% of the total sample who were car users and thought tire inspection was not necessary.

| | |
|---|---|
| Inspections are not necessary | 6% |
| Owners already know condition of tires—check not necessary | 4 |
| It's unnecessary expense—a racket | 2 |
| No good—don't fix tires when something is wrong | 1 |
| The inspectors not qualified | 1 |
| Wastes too much time | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 16%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 15 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

Can you think of any way these tire inspections could be improved? How? Asked of 48% of the total sample who were car users and thought tire inspection worthwhile.

| | |
|---|---|
| Inspections could be more thorough | 5% |
| Have better inspectors | 2 |
| Have more frequent inspections | 1 |
| Not all places are reliable—honest | * |
| Service is slow | * |
| Fix tires after inspection | * |
| Don't charge a fee for inspection | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 33 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| No—inspections good as they are now | 4 |
| | 48% |

* Total = 1%.

**36.** (US Dec 18 '43) How long do you think it will be before there are enough new tires for everyone? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 6 months | 4% |
| 7–11 months | 2 |
| 1 year | 19 |
| 1½ years | 6 |
| 2 years | 26 |
| 3 years | 14 |
| 4 years | 5 |
| Over 4 years | 5 |
| After the war | 7 |
| Depends | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 10 |

**37.** (US Dec 18 '43) Do you think there is any danger of the tire shortage becoming so serious in the next six months that a lot of people will have to stop driving their cars entirely? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| In newly rationed area | 40% | 51% | 9% |
| In old rationed area | 35 | 55 | 10 |

**38.** (US Dec 18 '43) How about trucks? Do you think there's any danger of the tire shortage becoming so serious that a lot of trucks will have to be taken off the road in the next six months? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| In newly rationed area | 24% | 63% | 13% |
| In old rationed area | 20 | 67 | 13 |

**39.** (US Dec 18 '43) From what you've heard, do you think the tires they are now making from synthetic rubber are better than regular tires, or not as good? (NORC)

| | *Better* | *About the same* | *Not as good* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| In newly rationed area | 8% | 12% | 63% | 17% |
| In old rationed area | 6 | 13 | 60 | 21 |

## TITLES OF HONOR AND NOBILITY

**1.** (US Apr '42) Do you think the British should or should not do away with their titles? (FOR)

Should 50.2% Should not 27.5% Don't know 22.3%

(Canada June '42) Do you believe the British should or should not be required (in such a united nation) to do away with their titles? (CIPO)

Should 57.9% Should not 30.6% Don't know 11.5%

**2.** (US June 3 '42) Do you think it would be a good idea if we had titles like Lord, Duke, and Sir in this country the way they have in England? (OPOR)

No 98% Don't know 2%

**3.** (US June 3 '42) Do you think it is a good idea for them to have those titles (Duke, Lord, and Sir) in England? (OPOR)

Yes 41% No 45% Don't know 14%

**4.** (Canada Oct 14 '42) There has been some argument about whether or not Canadians should be given titles (Sir, Lord, Viscount) for outstanding service to their country. What are your views on this? (CIPO)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 32% | 55% | 13% |
| BY NATIONAL ORIGIN | | | |
| British | 35% | 55% | 10% |
| French | 30 | 48 | 22 |
| Other | 27 | 60 | 13 |

**5.** (Hungary Oct '46) Do you approve of abandoning titles of noble birth? (HIPOR)

BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Approve* | *Oppose* | *Other, no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Men* | | | |
| Higher | 75.7% | 22.1% | 2.2% |
| Middle | 74.0 | 20.6 | 5.4 |
| Lower | 78.9 | 17.1 | 4.0 |
| *Women* | | | |
| Higher | 69.6 | 24.9 | 5.5 |
| Middle | 67.3 | 24.1 | 8.6 |
| Lower | 60.1 | 28.4 | 11.5 |

Do you approve of abandoning titles of official rank?

BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Approve* | *Oppose* | *Other, no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Men* | | | |
| Higher | 83.2% | 13.7% | 3.1% |
| Middle | 81.6 | 14.2 | 4.2 |
| Lower | 83.9 | 13.3 | 2.8 |
| *Women* | | | |
| Higher | 79.7 | 12.9 | 7.4 |
| Middle | 72.7 | 20.4 | 6.9 |
| Lower | 69.8 | 18.9 | 11.3 |

How should men in high position be addressed?

BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *By profession* | *By name* | *Sir* | *Other, no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Men* | | | | |
| Higher | 57.9% | 6.5% | 31.8% | 3.8% |
| Middle | 58.6 | 7.7 | 30.7 | 3.0 |
| Lower | 56.7 | 10.1 | 31.3 | 1.9 |
| *Women* | | | | |
| Higher | 55.6 | 4.6 | 35.2 | 4.6 |
| Middle | 58.3 | 11.7 | 26.8 | 3.2 |
| Lower | 42.5 | 14.5 | 37.6 | 5.4 |

How should women in high position be addressed?

BY SEX AND ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *By husband's profession* | *By husband's name* | *Madam* | *Other, no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Men* | | | | |
| Higher | 9.3% | 9.4% | 79.0% | 2.3% |
| Middle | 16.7 | 7.7 | 71.9 | 3.7 |
| Lower | 17.6 | 14.8 | 63.9 | 3.7 |
| *Women* | | | | |
| Higher | 8.3 | 5.6 | 79.6 | 6.5 |
| Middle | 20.1 | 11.1 | 63.2 | 5.6 |
| Lower | 13.3 | 13.7 | 66.9 | 6.1 |

## TOTALITARIANISM

**1.** (US June 12 '36) Do you believe the acts and policies of the Roosevelt administration may lead to dictatorship? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 45% | 55% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrat | 9% | 91% |
| Republican | 83 | 17 |
| Third party | 53 | 47 |
| Socialist | 30 | 70 |
| BY STATE | | |
| Vermont | 69% | 31% |
| Maine | 66 | 34 |
| New Hampshire | 59 | 41 |
| Kansas | 56 | 44 |
| Connecticut | 54 | 46 |
| Massachusetts | 54 | 46 |
| Indiana | 53 | 47 |
| Rhode Island | 52 | 48 |
| West Virginia | 52 | 48 |
| New Jersey | 51 | 49 |

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Colorado | 50 | 50 |
| Idaho | 50 | 50 |
| Iowa | 49 | 51 |
| Delaware | 48 | 52 |
| South Dakota | 48 | 52 |
| Minnesota | 47 | 53 |
| New York | 47 | 53 |
| Wyoming | 47 | 53 |
| Illinois | 46 | 54 |
| Pennsylvania | 46 | 54 |
| Ohio | 45 | 55 |
| Florida | 44 | 56 |
| Maryland | 43 | 57 |
| Michigan | 43 | 57 |
| Missouri | 43 | 57 |
| Oregon | 42 | 58 |
| Montana | 42 | 58 |
| Wisconsin | 42 | 58 |
| Oklahoma | 41 | 59 |
| Virginia | 41 | 59 |
| Washington | 40 | 60 |
| New Mexico | 39 | 61 |
| North Dakota | 39 | 61 |
| Arkansas | 38 | 62 |
| Kentucky | 38 | 62 |
| Nebraska | 38 | 62 |
| Louisiana | 37 | 63 |
| Arizona | 36 | 64 |
| Tennessee | 36 | 64 |
| California | 35 | 65 |
| Nevada | 34 | 66 |
| North Carolina | 34 | 66 |
| Texas | 28 | 72 |
| Utah | 28 | 72 |
| Georgia | 26 | 74 |
| South Carolina | 26 | 74 |
| Mississippi | 22 | 78 |
| Alabama | 20 | 80 |

**2.** (US Mar 22 '37) Have you paid any attention to articles on Fascism and Communism? (AIPO)

Yes 41% No 47% No opinion 12%

If you had to choose between Fascism and Communism, which would you choose? Asked of 41% of the total sample who had paid attention to articles on Fascism and Communism.

Fascism 17% Communism 11% No opinion 13%

**3.** (Great Britain Nov '37) If you had to choose between Fascism and Communism, which would you choose? (BIPO)

| | *Fascism* | *Communism* | *No answer or no opinion* | *Neither* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 49% | 51% | (46%) | |
| (US June 21 '38) (AIPO) | 24 | 24 | 52 | |
| (Great Britain Feb '39) (BIPO) | 26 | 74 | (16) | |
| | 21 | 63 | 16 | |
| (US Jan 20 '39) (AIPO) | 25 | 24 | 50 | 1% |

**4.** (US May 17 '37) Would you like to see a dictatorship established in this country? (AIPO)

Yes 3% No 91% No opinion 6%

**5.** (US July 5 '37) If you had to choose, which kind of government would you prefer to live under: the kind in Germany or the kind in Russia? (AIPO)

| | *Germany* | *Russia* | *No opinion* | *Don't know about them* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 33% | 21% | 22% | 24% |
| | 61 | 39 | — | — |

| | *Germany* | *Russia* | *No opinion* | *Unable to choose* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Sept 17 '41) | 11% | 37% | 10% | 42% |
| (Jan 6 '42) | 9 | 52 | 10 | 29 |

**6.** (US Oct 31 '37) Do you believe the policies and acts of the Roosevelt administration may lead to dictatorship? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 37% | 63% | — |
| (Apr 6 '38) | 34 | 56 | 10% |

**7.** (US Apr 13 '38) Do you think the United States will have a dictator in our lifetime? (AIPO)

Yes 33% No 61% No opinion 6%

**8.** (US Apr 13 '38) Do you think the United States will have a dictator in your lifetime? (AIPO)

Yes 17% No 74% No opinion 9%

**9.** (US May 27 '38) Do you think the foreign countries that now have dictatorships will sooner or later become democracies? (AIPO)

Yes 42% No 32% No opinion 26%

**10.** (US June 21 '38) Which do you think is worse, Communism or Fascism? (AIPO)

Communism 31% Fascism 22% No opinion 47%

**11.** (US Aug 16 '38) Do you think that the possibility of a dictatorship in this country has been increased or decreased by Roosevelt's policies? (AIPO)

Increased 50% Decreased 16% Neither 34%
No opinion (15%)

**12.** (US Feb 2 '39) Which do you think is the greater danger to America—the Communists living in this country or the Nazis living in this country? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Communists | 32% |
| Nazis | 29 |
| Both | 4 |
| Neither | 1 |
| No opinion | 34 |

**13.** (France Aug '39) Do you think that a French loan to Spain might detach that country from its friendship with the totalitarian countries? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 37% | 54% | 9% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 40% | 54% | 6% |
| 30–39 years | 32 | 61 | 7 |
| 40–49 years | 31 | 55 | 14 |
| 50–59 years | 39 | 55 | 6 |
| 60 years and over | 49 | 42 | 9 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Agriculture | 34% | 55% | 11% |
| Industry and transportation | 37 | 53 | 10 |
| Commerce | 48 | 47 | 5 |
| Professional | 32 | 63 | 5 |

**14.** (US July '40) Which one of these comes closest to what you think the government should do about Communist sympathizers? Nazi sympathizers? (FOR)

| | *Communist* | *Nazi* |
|---|---|---|
| Nothing, or no more than it is now doing | 3.4% | 2.7% |
| Keep track of them so that they could be rounded up if necessary | 16.6 | 13.1 |
| Keep track of them and also prevent them from agitating and organizing | 32.9 | 28.2 |
| Deport them or put them in jail | 37.8 | 46.1 |
| Don't know | 9.3 | 9.9 |

**15.** (US July 10 '41) If you were living under a dictatorship instead of under our present form of government, in what way do you think you, personally, would be most affected? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Wouldn't be affected | 3% |
| Loss of personal freedom | 60 |
| Loss of political freedom | 4 |
| Loss of economic freedom | 29 |
| Unpleasant psychologically | 4 |
| Loss of religious freedom | 12 |
| Control of family | 1 |
| We have dictatorship now | 2 |
| Others | 1 |
| Don't know, but it would be bad | 3 |
| Don't know | 10 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 130%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**16.** (US Oct '41) Which one of the following statements most nearly describes your present feelings about the Russian and German governments? (FOR)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The Russian government is worse than the German government | 4.6% | |
| The Russian government and the German government are equally bad | 35.1 | |
| | | 39.7% |
| While there is not much choice between the two, the Russian government is slightly better | 32.0 | |
| The Russian government is far better than the German government | 8.5 | |
| | | 40.5 |
| Don't know | | 19.8 |

**17.** (Sweden Apr '42) Do you think that Nazis and Communists should be forbidden? (SGI)

| | *Nazis* | *Communists* | *Both* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 10% | 10% | 43% | 37% |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | | |
| Towns | 12% | 9% | 42% | 37% |
| Country | 10 | 11 | 42 | 37 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 3% | 17% | 36% | 44% |
| Lower class | 5 | 12 | 45 | 38 |
| Workers | 15 | 8 | 40 | 37 |

**18.** (US July 15 '42) If you had to choose, which would you rather see in control of Europe—Germany or Russia? (OPOR)

Germany 6% Russia 71% Don't know or no answer 23%

**19.** (Sweden June '43) Do you think that Nazis or Communists should be forbidden to hold outdoor meetings? (SGI)

| | *Nazis* | *Communists* | *Both* | *Neither* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 11% | 2% | 45% | 18% | 24% |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | | | |
| Towns | 11% | 2% | 45% | 23% | 19% |
| Country | 11 | 2 | 45 | 15 | 27 |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 13% | 2% | 47% | 23% | 15% |
| Women | 9 | 2 | 43 | 14 | 32 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Working parties | 15% | 2% | 48% | 19% | 16% |
| Higher classes | 7 | 3 | 49 | 19 | 22 |

**20.** (Sweden Aug '44) Can you give me an example of a typical dictatorship state? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 70% | 30% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 81% | 19% |
| Women | 58 | 42 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper class | 84% | 16% |
| Middle class | 75 | 25 |
| Workers | 65 | 35 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | |
| Country | 65% | 35% |
| Town | 77 | 23 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Right party | 80.3% | 19.7% |
| National party | 94.4 | 5.6 |
| Agrarians | 67.6 | 32.4 |
| Social democrats | 69.8 | 30.2 |
| Communists | 87.8 | 12.2 |
| Liberals | 74.7 | 25.3 |
| Others | 63.3 | 36.7 |

**21.** (Sweden Feb '45) Do you think that a person with pronounced Nazi sympathies should be allowed to be an officer in our army or join the police force? With Communistic sympathies? (SGI)

| | WITH NAZI SYMPATHIES | | | WITH COMMUNISTIC SYMPATHIES | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
| National total | 2% | 91% | 7% | 10% | 78% | 12% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Upper class | 3% | 90% | 7% | 6% | 88% | 6% |
| Middle class | 2 | 91 | 7 | 5 | 85 | 10 |
| Workers | 2 | 92 | 6 | 16 | 71 | 13 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | | |
| North Sweden | 1% | 95% | 4% | 11% | 81% | 8% |
| Dalarna | — | 94 | 6 | 9 | 75 | 16 |
| Mälar district | 3 | 91 | 6 | 8 | 80 | 12 |
| Stockholm | 3 | 89 | 8 | 16 | 71 | 13 |
| East Gotland | 1 | 90 | 9 | 8 | 81 | 11 |
| Skåne | 3 | 89 | 8 | 7 | 82 | 11 |
| Bovä | 1 | 94 | 5 | 16 | 70 | 14 |

| | WITH NAZI SYMPATHIES | | | WITH COMMUNISTIC SYMPATHIES | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | | |
| Right party | 6% | 86% | 8% | 5% | 87% | 8% |
| Liberals | 1 | 95 | 4 | 3 | 90 | 7 |
| Agrarians | 1 | 95 | 4 | — | 93 | 7 |
| Social Democrats | 1 | 93 | 6 | 8 | 81 | 11 |
| Communists | 1 | 96 | 3 | 75 | 14 | 11 |

**22.** (Germany Dec 11 '45) If you had the choice between Communism and National Socialism under which government would you rather live? (OMGUS)

| | *Communism* | *National Socialism* | *No opinion* | *Neither* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 35% | 19% | 24% | 22% |
| (Mar 22 '46) | 13 | 25 | 25 | 37 |

**23.** (US Apr 24 '46) Some people believe that Spain will be ruled by either Communists or Fascists. It may be that you don't like either one, but if you had to choose, which of these two would you prefer to have in power in Spain? (AIPO)

| | *Communists* | *Fascists* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 35% | 19% | 46% |
| (Nov 14 '46) | 28 | 21 | 51 |

**24.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: the Communists and the Social-Democrats should be suppressed? (OMGUS)

Yes 15% No 75% No opinion 10%

**25.** (US June 12 '46) For the next ten years which do you think America should fear more—Fascism or Communism? (AIPO)

Fascism 20% Communism 57% No opinion 23%

**26.** (US June 12 '46) How would you describe the difference between a fascist and a communist? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No difference | 17% |
| Gave an answer | 32 |
| Answered part on communism | 2 |
| Answered part on fascism | 1 |
| Don't know | 48 |

**27.** (Germany Nov 25 '46) If you had to choose between Communism and National Socialism, what would you choose? (OMGUS)

Communism 10% National Socialism 15% Neither 66%
Qualified 4%

## TRADE UNIONS

**1.** (US Mar 21 '36) Are you in favor of stronger labor unions? (AIPO)

Yes 53% No 47%

(US Aug 16 '36, June 20 '37, July 4 '37, June 11 '39) Are you in favor of labor unions? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 76% | 24% | (8%) | |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democratic | 83% | 17% | | |
| Republican | 65 | 35 | | |
| Socialist | 91 | 9 | | |
| Union party | 85 | 15 | | |
| Other | 79 | 21 | | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England | 72% | 28% | | |
| Middle Atlantic | 76 | 24 | | |
| East central | 76 | 24 | | |
| West central | 74 | 26 | | |
| South | 74 | 26 | | |
| Mountain | 83 | 17 | | |
| Pacific coast | 78 | 22 | | |
| (US June 21 '37) (AIPO) National total | 76 | 24 | (8%) | |
| (US Oct 8 '38) (AIPO) | 58 | 28 | 14 | |
| (US June 11 '39, Oct 25 '41) (AIPO) | 70 | 30 | | |
| (US Aug 8 '39) (AIPO) | 71 | 21 | 7 | 1% |

(US Oct '39) Are you in favor of the idea of labor unions? Asked of a national cross-section of manufacturers. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Depends* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 78.5% | 11.4% | 9.8% | .3% |
| BY TYPE OF MANUFACTURING | | | | |
| Capital goods | 73.8% | 11.9% | 13.1% | 1.2% |
| Consumers' goods | 80.2 | 11.1 | 8.7 | — |
| BY VOLUME OF BUSINESS | | | | |
| $50,000,000 and over | 100% | — | — | — |
| $50,000,000 to $1,000,000 | 76.2 | 13.9% | 8.9% | 1.0% |

(US Nov 15 '39) Are you in favor of labor unions? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 74% | 26% | (8%) | |
| (US May 3 '40) (AIPO) | 76 | 24 | (11) | |
| (US May 16 '40) (AIPO) | 64 | 22 | 14 | |
| (Canada Aug 24 '46) (CIPO) | 63 | 23 | 14 | |
| (US Oct 25 '41, Sept 1 '47) (AIPO) | 67 | 33 | (9) | |
| (US Oct 25 '41, Nov 21 '41, Nov 16 '41) (AIPO) National total | 67 | 33 | | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 74% | 26% | | |
| East central | 70 | 30 | | |
| West central | 55 | 45 | | |
| South | 51 | 49 | | |
| West | 72 | 28 | | |
| BY OCCUPATION* | | | | |
| Farmers | 52% | 48% | | |
| Businessmen | 66 | 34 | | |
| White-collar | 69 | 31 | | |
| Professional | 77 | 23 | | |
| Skilled workers | 75 | 25 | | |
| Unskilled | 71 | 29 | | |
| (US May 12 '43) (AIPO) National total | 65% | 27% | 8% | |
| (US Feb 13 '46) (AIPO) | 64 | 32 | — | 4% |
| (Canada Aug 24 '46) (CIPO) National total | 61 | 21 | 18 | |
| BY UNION STATUS | | | | |
| Union members | 85% | 7% | 8% | |
| Non-union members | 56 | 24 | 20 | |

* Occupational breakdown covers interviewing done between May 29 '41 and Oct 1 '41.

**2.** (US July '36) Do you believe that all wage-earners should belong to a labor union? (FOR)

| | *All* | *Most* | *Some* | *None* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total... | 29.3% | 7.6% | 22.9% | 24.6% | 15.6% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Proprietors..... | 25.9% | 8.1% | 24.9% | 30.3% | 10.8% |
| Farm labor..... | 29.4 | 4.6 | 20.2 | 22.9 | 22.9 |
| Housekeepers.... | 25.2 | 6.5 | 19.4 | 25.5 | 23.4 |
| Salaried workers.. | 29.2 | 9.0 | 26.9 | 23.5 | 11.4 |
| Factory workers.. | 51.7 | 4.5 | 18.2 | 14.8 | 10.8 |
| Unemployed..... | 33.3 | 11.7 | 16.3 | 20.9 | 17.8 |

**3.** (US Aug 16 '36, July 4 '37) Do you favor one union for all workers in an industry, or separate unions for each craft in an industry, like carpenters, masons, machinists, etc.? Asked of 76% of the sample who were in favor of labor unions. (AIPO)

| | *Craft* | *Industrial* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 59% | 41% | |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic..... | 53% | 47% | |
| Republican..... | 70 | 30 | |
| Socialist..... | 34 | 66 | |
| Union party..... | 41 | 59 | |
| Others..... | 30 | 70 | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England..... | 61% | 39% | |
| Middle Atlantic..... | 57 | 43 | |
| East central..... | 56 | 44 | |
| West central..... | 57 | 43 | |
| South..... | 63 | 37 | |
| Mountain..... | 57 | 43 | |
| Pacific coast..... | 52 | 48 | |
| (Feb 7 '37, Feb 14 '37) | | | |
| National total..... | 63 | 37 | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL AREA | | | |
| New England..... | 60% | 40% | |
| Middle Atlantic..... | 62 | 38 | |
| East central..... | 69 | 31 | |
| West central..... | 64 | 36 | |
| South..... | 59 | 41 | |
| Mountain states..... | 60 | 40 | |
| Pacific coast..... | 59 | 41 | |
| Women..... | 63 | 37 | |
| Young people..... | 65 | 35 | |
| Reliefers..... | 57 | 43 | |
| Farmers..... | 65 | 35 | |
| Urban voters..... | 62 | 38 | |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats..... | 60% | 40% | |
| Republicans..... | 71 | 29 | |
| (Mar 29 '37) | | | |
| National total..... | 62 | 38 | (27%) |
| (June 7 '37) | | | |
| National total..... | 64 | 36 | |
| Union members only..... | 57 | 43 | |

**4.** (US Feb 15 '37) Would you like to see John L. Lewis succeed in organizing the steel industry? (AIPO)

Yes 28% No 45% No opinion 27%

**5.** (US Feb 15 '37) Would you like to see John L. Lewis succeed in organizing the Ford Motor Company? (AIPO)

Yes 22% No 52% No opinion 26%

**6.** (US July 5 '37) John L. Lewis is trying to organize the workers of the Ford Motor Company into a CIO labor union. Do you hope he succeeds? (AIPO)

Yes 26% No 74% No opinion 18%

**7.** (US Mar 29 '41) Henry Ford says he will refuse to recognize labor unions in his plants. Do you agree or disagree with his viewpoint? (AIPO)

Agree 47% Disagree 41% No opinion 12%

**8.** (US Mar 28 '41) Henry Ford has refused to recognize labor unions in his plants. Do you approve or disapprove of his attitude toward labor unions? (AIPO)

Approve 58% Disapprove 29% No opinion 13%

**9.** (US May 16 '37, June 20 '37, July 4 '37) Should labor unions be required to incorporate in order to make them legally responsible for carrying out their contracts? (AIPO)

Yes 86% No 14%

**10.** (US June 21 '37) Do you think that labor unions should be required to incorporate? (AIPO)

Yes 73% No 27% No opinion (11%)

**11.** (US July '37) Do you approve of the proposal that all labor unions be incorporated in order that they may be held legally liable for the contracts they make? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 72.9% | 5.0% | 22.1% |
| BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS | | | |
| Executives..... | 86.9% | 3.3% | 9.8% |
| Factory labor..... | 62.4 | 9.3 | 28.3 |

**12.** (US July 4 '37) Has your attitude toward labor unions changed any during the last six months? (AIPO)

Yes 50% No 50%

Are you more in favor or less in favor of labor unions at this time? Asked of the 50% of the sample whose attitudes had changed.

More 29% Less 71%

**13.** (US July '37) In the struggle going on between the American Federation of Labor (headed by William Green) and the Committee for Industrial Organization (recently organized by John L. Lewis), where are your sympathies? (FOR)

| | *With CIO* | *With AFL* | *With both* | *Against both* | *Indifferent* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 10.8% | 29.8% | 6.4% | 17.0% | 11.3% | 24.7% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Prosperous... | 7.3% | 35.9% | 5.5% | 26.2% | 8.8% | 16.3% |
| Poor..... | 13.8 | 29.1 | 7.0 | 10.5 | 12.9 | 26.7 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | | |
| Executives... | 8.2% | 41.6% | 2.7% | 28.8% | 8.7% | 10.0% |
| Factory labor | 27.2 | 21.5 | 8.7 | 13.4 | 7.7 | 21.5 |

**14.** (US Oct 3 '37) Would you like to see the CIO and the AFL labor unions settle their differences and work as one labor union? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 79% | 21% |
| Union members..... | 75 | 25 |

**15.** (US Jan 18 '42) Would you like to see the AFL and the CIO join in one organization? Asked of a national cross-section of union members and leaders. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Members | 71% | 22% | 7% |
| Leaders | 87 | 9 | 4 |
| BY UNION | | | |
| AFL members | 69% | 25% | 6% |
| CIO members | 74 | 19 | 7 |
| AFL leaders | 88 | 9 | 3 |
| CIO leaders | 87 | 9 | 4 |

**16.** (US Jan 19 '38) In the present dispute between Henry Ford and the automobile workers union, are your sympathies with Ford or with the union? (AIPO)

| | *Ford* | *Union* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 66% | 34% |
| Car owners | 73 | 27 |
| Non-car owners | 54 | 46 |

**17.** (US Aug 10 '38) Do you think Communists have influence in labor unions? (AIPO)

Yes 83% No 17% No opinion (22%)

How much [influence do Communists have with labor unions]? Asked of the 83% of the sample who thought Communists had such influence.

Very much 45% Some 44% Very little 11%
No opinion (3%)

In what union do you think their [Communists'] influence is the greater—CIO or AFL? Asked of the 83% of the sample who thought Communists had influence with labor unions.

CIO 93% AFL 7% No opinion (22%)

**18.** (US Aug 10 '38) Do you think a [labor] union should allow a member of the Communist party to be an official in that union? (AIPO)

Yes 15% No 85% No opinion (19%)

**19.** (US Oct '39) As unions are now organized and run, what do you think are their greatest virtues? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| They have raised wages, maintained living wages | 24.0% |
| They have improved working conditions | 13.2 |
| They have established collective bargaining | 11.6 |
| They protect and help labor against injustice | 10.7 |
| They have raised living standards | 10.5 |
| They have shortened working hours | 9.7 |
| They are a stabilizing and regulating factor | 5.7 |
| They have accomplished something for the worker | 4.3 |
| Others | 16.0 |
| None | 12.9 |
| Don't know | 7.9 |
| | 126.5%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents named more than one item.

**20.** (US Mar 28 '41) What do you think is the chief argument in favor of labor unions? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Protect worker against exploitation | 32% |
| Keep wages up, provide fair wages, decent living standard | 19 |
| Provide shorter hours and higher wages for workers | 4 |
| Better working conditions forced | 3 |
| Give labor a chance to air its views | 1 |
| Job security | 1 |
| Others | 2 |
| None | 17 |
| Don't know | 21 |

**21.** (US May 30 '42) What good things do you feel labor unions do? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Protect wages of workers | 29% |
| Improve working conditions | 21 |
| Protect the worker | 10 |
| Secure the job | 2 |
| Maintain skilled standards in industry | 1 |
| Create labor peace by balance of power | 2 |
| Keep up standard of living | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | 8 |
| Nothing good | 15 |
| Not ascertainable | 28 |
| | 121%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**22.** (US Oct '39) As unions are now organized and run, what do you think are their greatest faults? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Leadership is poor, unreliable | 31.6% |
| Leaders are grafters, gangsters or racketeers | 17.0 |
| They are unreasonable | 13.1 |
| They or their leaders are insincere | 11.2 |
| They are not responsible | 10.6 |
| Members are dominated and dictated to by outside | 7.9 |
| They are unwilling to cooperate | 7.9 |
| The organization is bad | 7.0 |
| They are too radical | 6.1 |
| The members are exploited | 5.5 |
| Internal strife | 5.0 |
| Other | 18.6 |
| Don't know | 1.7 |
| | 143.2%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**23.** (US Mar 28 '41) What do you think is the chief argument against labor unions? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Racketeers, exploiters among the leaders | 12% |
| Take advantage of their power, never satisfied | 14 |
| Strikes | 10 |
| Poor leadership and management | 6 |
| Reds, Communists, Fascists among the leaders | 6 |
| Hindering national defense | 6 |
| Raise cost of living, against common good | 2 |
| Indulge in violence and law-breaking to gain their ends | 3 |
| Dues and initial fees exorbitant | 2 |
| Closed shop hinders employment of non-union workers | 2 |
| Unions not democratic, leaders are dictators | 3 |
| Dissension between unions | 1 |
| Hurt private enterprise, small business, etc | 2 |
| Others | 3 |
| None | 9 |
| Don't know | 19 |

**24.** (US May 30 '42) What bad things do you feel labor unions do? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Call excessive unnecessary strikes | 15% |
| Union leaders are racketeers | 9 |
| Stir up trouble | 8 |
| Make unreasonable demands | 8 |
| Unions are "rackets" | 7 |
| Abuse their power | 7 |
| Hiring policy is unfair | 6 |
| Union tactics interfere with production | 5 |
| Charge exorbitant dues and initiation fees | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Nothing bad | 9% |
| Not ascertainable | 32 |
| | 115%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**25.** (US Oct '39) Do you think business would be better off if the unions were to merge into one big powerful union? Would labor be better off? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Better off* | *Same* | *Worse off* | *Depends* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **BUSINESS** | | | | | |
| National total | 42.9% | 4.2% | 38.5% | 10.7% | 3.7% |
| BY TYPE OF BUSINESS | | | | | |
| Manufacturers | 35.5% | 3.7% | 44.9% | 14.1% | 1.8% |
| Retailers | 47.7 | 4.5 | 34.3 | 8.6 | 4.9 |
| **LABOR** | | | | | |
| National total | 53.7% | 4.7% | 30.3% | 8.1% | 3.2% |
| BY TYPE OF BUSINESS | | | | | |
| Manufacturers | 43.9% | 4.0% | 38.3% | 12.3% | 1.5% |
| Retailers | 60.0 | 5.1 | 25.1 | 5.5 | 4.3 |

**26.** (US Oct '39) Do you think that labor unions have helped or hurt this country as a whole? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Helped* | *Both* | *Hurt* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 31.8% | 18.0% | 48.4% | 1.8% |
| BY TYPE OF BUSINESS | | | | |
| Manufacturers | 29.4% | 16.8% | 51 4% | 2.4% |
| Retailers | 33.3 | 18.7 | 46.6 | 1.4 |
| BY VOLUME OF BUSINESS | | | | |
| $50,000,000 and up | 32.1% | 21.4% | 42.9% | 3.6% |
| $5,000,000 to $50,000,000 | 32.6 | 20.0 | 43.2 | 4.2 |
| $1,000,000 to $5,000,000 | 29.4 | 18.6 | 51.0 | 1.0 |
| $50,000 to $1,000,000 | 25.5 | 10.8 | 61.7 | 2.0 |
| BY SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL SECTIONS | | | | |
| Northeast | 25.4% | 20.6% | 49.2% | 4.8% |
| Middle West | 34.9 | 13.6 | 49.5 | 2.0 |
| Balance of the United States | 28.6 | 15.3 | 56.1 | — |

**27.** (US Oct '39) Do you think that they [unions] have helped or hurt England as a whole? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Helped* | *Both* | *Hurt* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 39.5% | 4.6% | 14.3% | 41.6% |
| BY TYPE OF BUSINESS | | | | |
| Manufacturers | 48.6% | 3.7% | 19.0% | 28.7% |
| Retailers | 33.6 | 5.2 | 11.3 | 49.9 |

**28.** (US Nov 15 '39) Do you think it would be a good thing for the country if the AFL and the CIO got together and settled their differences? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 90% | 10% |
| (Dec 10 '39) | | |
| National total | 93% | 7% |
| Union members | 94 | 6 |

**29.** (US Dec 10 '39) Do you think it would be a good thing for labor if the AFL and the CIO settled their differences? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 95% | 5% |
| Union members | 97 | 3 |

**30.** (US Jan 10 '40) Should people on WPA be allowed to form WPA unions? A comparable cross-section was asked if they thought people on WPA should be allowed to organize unions. Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 21% No 79%

**31.** (US Feb 6 '40) Persons on work relief now have the right to join unions of WPA workers if they want to. Should they continue to have this right, or should they be forbidden by law to join such unions? (AIPO)

Permit unionization 43% Forbid unionization 57%
No opinion (17%)

**32.** (US Feb 6 '40) At the same time as the preceding question was asked, a comparable cross-section was asked: In the last three or four years, some people on WPA have been joining unions. Do you approve of their joining these unions? (AIPO)

Yes 17% No 83% No opinion (17%)

**33.** (US June '40) Which of these statements comes closest to expressing your attitude toward unions in general? Asked of a national cross-section of workers of all classes including unemployed workers: (1) The principle of unionism is good, and we ought to have unions under any circumstances. (2) It would be better if we didn't need unions, but we certainly need them now to protect the working man. (3) Unions are needed in some situations, but certainly not in the majority of them. (4) Unions do more harm than good and should be abolished. (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 29.1% | 30.5% | 25.4% | 9.2% | 5.8% |
| BY UNION AFFILIATION | | | | | |
| CIO | 55.8% | 32.7% | 8.9% | 1.8% | 0.8% |
| AFL | 53.5 | 32.3 | 11.2 | 1.8 | 1.2 |
| Independent union members | 39.1 | 39.5 | 18.6 | 2.4 | 0.4 |
| Non-union | 21.3 | 28.9 | 30.5 | 11.8 | 7.5 |

**34.** (US June '40) How many unions—all, most, about half, some, or none—would you say: (Asked of a national cross-section of workers of all classes, including unemployed workers.) (FOR)

| | *All* % | *Most* % | *About half* % | *Some* % | *None* % | *Don't know* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Keep their promises to employers? | 3.0 | 22.0 | 15.8 | 27.4 | 9.8 | 22.0 |
| Are headed by racketeers who are out for all they can get for themselves? | 7.0 | 20.0 | 13.0 | 34.0 | 4.9 | 21.1 |
| Are run efficiently? | 1.7 | 16.5 | 16.3 | 30.4 | 10.4 | 24.7 |
| Are run with absolute honesty? | 1.4 | 15.7 | 15.7 | 29.0 | 20.8 | 17.4 |
| Gain their membership by forcing workers to join by threats of violence? | 4.9 | 15.3 | 10.6 | 33.7 | 12.6 | 22.9 |
| Are dominated by Communists? | 1.3 | 7.2 | 8.0 | 33.3 | 9.4 | 40.8 |

**35.** (US Mar 7 '41) Are you (or is your husband) a member of a labor union? Which one? 84% of the sample who were not members were asked: Would you (or would your husband) join a union if there was one in your place of employment? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer to first question | 2% |
| Member of CIO | 4 |
| Member of AFL | 8 |
| Other unions | 1 |
| Member of union but didn't say what one | 1 |
| Not a member and would not join a union | 28 |
| Not a member but would join a union | 25 |
| Not a member and undecided about joining | 18 |
| Not a member and gave qualified answers about joining a union | 13 |

**36.** (US Sept 9 '41) Which man would you like to see made national president of the CIO in the coming convention? Asked of a national cross-section of those who were members of the CIO. (4% of the total sample.) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Those who named no one | 61% |
| Phillip Murray | 19 |
| Sidney Hillman | 2 |
| L. Melvin Bishop | 1 |
| John L. Lewis | 8 |
| Harry Bridges | 2 |
| A.J. Thomas | 3 |
| Michael Quill | 2 |
| James B. Carey | 1 |
| John Brophy | 1 |

**37.** (US Oct 1 '41) Do you think labor unions should have more power, or less power, than at present? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 8% |
| Same | 26 |
| Less | 50 |
| No opinion | 16 |

**38.** (US Jan 18 '42) Would you favor or oppose government efforts to bring the two [AFL and CIO] organizations together? Asked of a national cross-section of union members and leaders. (AIPO)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| All members | 66% | 25% | 9% |
| All leaders | 71 | 23 | 6 |

**39.** (US Jan 18 '42) If government efforts fail to bring the AFL and CIO together, would you favor a law requiring them to combine in one union? Asked of a national cross-section of union members and leaders. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| All members | 28% | 62% | 10% |
| All leaders | 13 | 81 | 6 |

**40.** (US Feb '42) Which—CIO or AFL—do you feel has the most members among unskilled labor? The lowest initiation fees? The strictest entrance requirements as regards the skill of its members? Which has called the most strikes during the past year? (FOR)

| | *CIO* | *AFL* | *Both equal* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| LARGEST UNSKILLED MEMBERSHIP | | | | |
| National total | 36.9% | 9.4% | 2.3% | 51.4% |
| BY UNION MEMBERSHIP | | | | |
| Union families | 45.0% | 11.2% | 4.0% | 39.8% |
| Non-union | 34.6 | 8.9 | 1.8 | 54.7 |
| LOWEST INITIATION FEES | | | | |
| National total | 15.6% | 10.9% | 2.2% | 71.3% |
| BY UNION MEMBERSHIP | | | | |
| Union families | 27.5% | 12.5% | 3.0% | 57.0% |
| Non-union | 12.2 | 10.5 | 2.0 | 75.3 |
| STRICTEST ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS | | | | |
| National total | 6.7% | 31.0% | 2.3% | 60.0% |
| BY UNION MEMBERSHIP | | | | |
| Union families | 7.8% | 41.2% | 3.6% | 47.4% |
| Non-union | 6.4 | 28.2 | 1.9 | 63.5 |
| HAS CALLED THE MOST STRIKES | | | | |
| National total | 60.4% | 4.1% | 3.2% | 32.3% |
| BY UNION MEMBERSHIP | | | | |
| Union families | 65.2% | 4.5% | 4.7% | 25.6% |
| Non-union | 59.0 | 4.0 | 2.8 | 34.2 |

**41.** (US Feb '42) Generally speaking, what good things do you feel labor unions do? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Get better wages, get shorter hours for the workingman | 47.6% |
| Get labor a "break," give it a "voice," bargaining power | 17.2 |
| Improve working conditions | 12.6 |
| Other miscellaneous answers | 14.7 |
| Nothing good | 8.5 |
| Don't know | 20.9 |
| | 121.5%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**42.** (US Feb '42) Generally speaking, what bad things do you feel labor unions do? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| They call strikes, interfere with defense, cause trouble | 40.3% |
| They have bad leaders, racketeers and radicals, incompetents | 24.2 |
| They have too much power, demand too much, try to run business | 14.9 |
| Other | 17.1 |
| Nothing bad | 5.5 |
| Don't know | 19.8 |
| | 121.8%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**43.** (US Feb '42) Which of these statements comes closest to expressing your feelings? (FOR)

| | BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *National total* | *Well informed* | *Poorly informed* | *Uninformed* |
| Labor unions have done an excellent job for this country, and they should be given much more power than they now have | 4.8% | 3.3% | 4.5% | 6.1% |
| Labor unions have made some mistakes, but they have done a lot of good and the public should support them | 20.8 | 24.5 | 22.0 | 17.1 |
| Although labor unions have done some good in the past, they have gone too far and should be watched closely | 54.6 | 67.2 | 62.3 | 39.4 |

BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION

| | *National total* | *Well informed* | *Poorly informed* | *Uninformed* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Labor unions are a bad thing for the country and should be done away with | 8.8% | 4.0% | 8.5% | 12.2% |
| Don't know | 11.0 | 1.0 | 2.7 | 25.2 |

Analysis of cross-section's knowledge of labor questions:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Union members (and their families) | 33.3% | 35.5% | 31.2% |

BY RACE

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Negroes | 6.9% | 22.7% | 70.4% |

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Prosperous | 45.9% | 37.8% | 16.3% |
| Poor | 16.5 | 32.6 | 50.9 |

BY OCCUPATION

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Executives | 64.1% | 30.4% | 5.5% |
| Factory labor | 41.4 | 37.9 | 20.7 |
| White-collar workers | 40.8 | 36.8 | 22.4 |
| All labor (unclassified) | 20.7 | 35.8 | 37.2 |
| Housewives | 11.4 | 32.5 | 56.1 |

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pacific coast | 41.7% | 38.3% | 20.0% |
| Middle Atlantic states | 34.4 | 36.5 | 29.1 |
| South Atlantic states | 14.4 | 24.9 | 60.7 |

(Nov '42) Which one of these four statements comes closest to expressing your feeling? Asked of high-school students.

| | |
|---|---|
| Labor unions have done an excellent job for this country, and they should be given much more power than they have now | 8.7% |
| Labor unions have made some mistakes, but they have done a lot of good and the public should support them | 49.4 |
| Although labor unions have done some good in the past, they have gone too far and should be closely watched | 33.8 |
| Labor unions are a bad thing for the country and should be done away with | 4.4 |
| Don't know | 3.7 |

Analysis of cross-section's extremes of opinions on labor unions; as shown by other breakdowns:

| | *Give unions more power* | *Support the unions* | *Watch them closely* | *Do away with them* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **BY ECONOMIC STATUS** | | | | | |
| Prosperous and upper middle class | 5.0% | 45.0% | 43.1% | 4.2% | 2.7% |
| Poor | 12.7 | 54.0 | 23.9 | 4.9 | 4.5 |
| **BY OCCUPATION (OF PARENTS)** | | | | | |
| Executive and professional | 4.6% | 42.8% | 46.8% | 3.3% | 2.5% |
| Labor | 13.3 | 54.1 | 24.3 | 3.4 | 4.9 |
| **BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION** | | | | | |
| Well informed | 4.3% | 45.4% | 45.9% | 2.5% | 1.9% |
| Uninformed | 12.7 | 50.1 | 27.2 | 4.3 | 5.7 |
| **BY RACE** | | | | | |
| Negroes | 25.3% | 48.6% | 14.0% | 3.7% | 8.4% |

(Jan '43) Which one of these statements comes closest to expressing your feelings? Asked of a national cross-section of semi-skilled and personal-service workers.

| | *Mine workers* | *Factory workers* | *Personal-service* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Labor unions have done an excellent job for this country, and they should be given more power than they now have | 17.3% | 13.4% | 8.5% |
| Labor unions have made some mistakes, but they have done a lot of good and the public should support them | 49.2 | 47.0 | 36.1 |
| Although labor unions have done some good in the past they have gone too far and should be watched closely | 22.0 | 29.2 | 33.6 |
| Labor unions are a bad thing for the country and should be done away with | 4.4 | 5.8 | 10.7 |
| Don't know | 7.1 | 4.6 | 11.1 |

BY UNION STATUS

| | *Union members* | *Non-union* |
|---|---|---|
| Give unions more power | 17.5% | 8.0% |
| Support them despite their mistakes | 58.7 | 34.2 |
| Watch the unions closely | 19.2 | 37.8 |
| Unions should be done away with | 2.3 | 10.6 |
| Don't know | 2.3 | 9.4 |

(Apr '43) Which one of these four statements comes closest to expressing your feelings? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers.

BY ECONOMIC LEVEL

| | *Total farmers* | *High* | *Low* | *Hired hands* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Labor unions have done an excellent job for this country, and they should be given more power than they now have | 2.4% | .3% | 3.9% | 6.7% |
| Labor unions have made some mistakes, but they have done a lot of good and the public should support them | 17.4 | 16.2 | 19.7 | 23.3 |
| Although labor unions have done some good in the past they have gone too far and should be watched closely | 52.1 | 66.5 | 45.2 | 33.1 |
| Labor unions are a bad thing for the country and should be done away with | 12.7 | 11.9 | 16.2 | 14.8 |
| Don't know | 15.4 | 5.1 | 15.0 | 22.1 |

**44.** (US Feb '44) Which one of these four statements comes closest to expressing your feelings? (1) Labor unions have done an excellent job for this country, and they should be given more power than they now have. (2) Labor unions have made a number of mistakes, but on the whole they have done much more good than harm and the public should continue to support them. (3) Although labor unions have done some good in the past, they have gone much too far and should be prevented by law from doing many of the things they now do. (4) Labor unions are a bad thing for the country and they should be done away with entirely. (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 6.5% | 28.4% | 49.3% | 7.0% | 8.8% |
| **BY RACE** | | | | | |
| Negroes | 12.2% | 27.7% | 25.6% | 7.6% | 26.9% |

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY ECONOMIC LEVEL | | | | | |
| Higher | 0.9% | 17.5% | 73.2% | 5.8% | 2.6% |
| Lower | 12.6 | 31.5 | 33.7 | 9.0 | 13.2 |
| BY SELECTED OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Professional and executive | 2.3% | 27.9% | 64.7% | 4.0% | 1.1% |
| Wage earners | 12.8 | 42.5 | 32.2 | 5.9 | 6.6 |
| BY POLITICAL PREFERENCE | | | | | |
| Will vote Republican | 4.0% | 22.3% | 60.8% | 9.0% | 3.9% |
| Will vote Democratic | 8.6 | 34.1 | 43.0 | 6.3 | 8.0 |
| Undecided | 6.6 | 28.0 | 43.5 | 5.6 | 16.3 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | | | |
| Cities 25,000–100,000 | 8.5% | 36.5% | 43.1% | 4.9% | 7.0% |
| Farms | 4.8 | 18.5 | 53.1 | 11.6 | 12.0 |
| BY SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL REGION | | | | | |
| South Atlantic | 10.2% | 22.3% | 46.4% | 9.9% | 11.2% |
| Pacific | 4.8 | 35.5 | 52.8 | 2.6 | 4.3 |

If a candidate for President said he thought labor unions in general are all right now, but you agreed with him on everything else, would you vote against him? Asked of 56.3% of the February '44 sample who did not favor labor unions.

| BY DEGREE OF CERTAINTY | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mildly anti-union | 12.5% | 29.4% | 7.4% |
| Strongly anti-union | 2.3 | 3.1 | 1.6 |

If a candidate for President said he thought labor unions should be made much less powerful, but you agreed with him on everything else, would you vote against him? Asked of the 34.9% of the Feb '44 sample who favored labor unions.

| BY DEGREE OF CERTAINTY | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Strongly pro-union | 2.5% | 3.0% | 1.0% |
| Mildly pro-union | 6.6 | 18.0 | 3.8 |

(Jan '46) Which of these four statements comes closest to expressing your feelings?

| | |
|---|---|
| Labor unions have done an excellent job for this country, and they should be given more power than they have now | 5.5% |
| Labor unions have made a number of mistakes, but on the whole they have done much more good than harm and the public should continue to support them | 29.6 |
| Although labor unions have done some good in the past, they have gone much too far and should be prevented by law from doing many of the things they do now | 48.7 |
| Labor unions are a bad thing for the country and they should be done away with entirely | 6.4 |
| Don't know | 9.8 |

**45.** (US Feb '46) With which of these four statements do you come closest to agreeing? (FOR)

| | *National total* | | *Anti-Semites* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Labor unions in this country are doing a fine job | 6.1% | | 6.3% | |
| While they do make some mistakes, on the whole labor unions are doing more good than harm | 37.8 | | 31.7 | |
| Although we need labor unions in this country, they do more harm than good the way they are run now | 37.0 | 45.1% | 50.2 | 58.8% |
| This country would be better off without any labor unions at all | 8.1 | | 8.6 | |
| Don't know | 11.0 | | 3.2 | |

(Nov '46) With which one of these four statements do you come closest to agreeing?

| | |
|---|---|
| Labor unions in this country are doing a fine job | 10.9% |
| While they do make some mistakes, on the whole labor unions are doing more good than harm | 30.9 |
| Although we need labor unions in this country they do more harm than good the way they are run now | 38.8 |
| This country would be better off without any labor unions at all | 10.4 |
| Don't know | 9.0 |

**46.** (US May '42) John L. Lewis is planning to organize the dairy farmers of the country into a branch of the CIO union. Do you favor, or oppose, this movement to organize farmers into unions? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 11% | 70% | 19% |
| (June 10 '42) | 16 | 74 | 10 |

**47.** (Australia July–Aug '42) Should membership in trade unions be voluntary or compulsory? (APOP)

| | *Voluntary* | *Compulsory* | *Undecided* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 52% | 36% | 7% | 5% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Owners, managers, professional | 63% | 28% | 9% | |
| Farmers | 58 | 25 | 17 | |
| Clerks, shophands, etc. | 57 | 39 | 4 | |
| Skilled workers | 40 | 58 | 2 | |
| Semi-skilled | 36 | 60 | 4 | |
| Unskilled | 30 | 61 | 9 | |
| (Aug–Sept '43) | | | | |
| National total | 64 | 26 | 10 | |

**48.** (US Aug 13 '42) Have you heard or read about James C. Petrillo, head of the Musicians' Union (AFL) and his rulings regarding music for phonograph records and broadcasting of music by non-union members? (AIPO)

Yes 50% No 50%

**49.** (US Aug 26 '42) What is your opinion of Mr. Petrillo's rulings [regarding phonograph records and broadcasting music by non-union members]? Asked of a national cross-section of those who had heard or read about Mr. Petrillo's ruling. (AIPO)

Approve 8% Disapprove 75% No opinion 17%

**50.** (US Aug 26 '42) Do you approve or disapprove of the government taking legal action to stop Petrillo? Asked of a national cross-section of those who had heard or read about Mr. Petrillo's ruling regarding phonograph records and broadcasting of music by non-union members. (AIPO)

Approve 73% Disapprove 12% No opinion 15%

**51.** (Australia Feb '43) Do you favor or oppose compulsory unionism for all employees? (APOP)

| | Favor | Oppose | No answer and no opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41% | 41% | 18% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Owners, managers, professional | 29% | 56% | 15% |
| Farm owners | 24 | 56 | 20 |
| Clerks, shophands, etc. | 39 | 40 | 21 |
| Artisans, tradesmen, etc. | 60 | 27 | 13 |

**52.** (US Jan '43) If there were no labor unions in the country at all, do you feel you personally would be earning more or less money than you now do? Have a better or worse chance for promotion than you now have? Asked of a national cross-section of semi-skilled and personal service workers. (FOR)

| | Transport and utilities | Factory workers | Personal service |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Earnings would be* | | | |
| Less | 77.5% | 66.2% | 37.1% |
| No different | 14.9 | 16.7 | 40.0 |
| More | 3.3 | 6.4 | 6.3 |
| Don't know | 4.3 | 10.7 | 16.6 |
| *Chances for promotion would be* | | | |
| Worse | 50.9 | 41.4 | 24.0 |
| No different | 32.8 | 29.7 | 47.0 |
| Better | 10.0 | 13.5 | 10.3 |
| Don't know | 6.3 | 15.4 | 18.7 |

| | Union members | Non-union members |
|---|---|---|
| *Earnings would be* | | |
| Less | 84.2% | 43.4% |
| No different | 7.4 | 33.9 |
| More | 3.7 | 7.5 |
| Don't know | 4.7 | 15.2 |
| *Chances for promotion would be* | | |
| Worse | 57.5 | 25.4 |
| No different | 25.2 | 42.5 |
| Better | 10.1 | 12.7 |
| Don't know | 7.2 | 19.4 |

**53.** (US Apr '43) Do you think it would be a good idea or a bad idea for farm owners to organize into some kind of union? Do you think they will in the next ten years or so? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

| | | BY ECONOMIC LEVEL | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | National total | High | Medium | Low |
| Good idea | 63.4% | 64.6% | 65.3% | 60.8% |
| Bad idea | 24.1 | 30.7 | 25.2 | 22.2 |
| Don't know | 12.5 | 4.7 | 9.5 | 17.0 |
| Will | 33.7 | 34.1 | 33.7 | 28.2 |
| Will not | 46.1 | 54.4 | 46.7 | 52.0 |
| Don't know | 20.2 | 11.5 | 19.6 | 19.8 |

**54.** (US Apr 28 '43) At present, shop foremen in factories are not members of a labor union. Do you think they should or should not become members of a labor union? A comparable cross-section was asked: At present, shop foremen in factories are not permitted to be members of a labor union. Do you think they should or should not become members of a labor union? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | Should | Should not | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 58% = 100% | 24% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Skilled workers | 58% | 42% | |
| Semi-skilled and unskilled | 50 | 50 | |
| Business and professional | 31 | 69 | |
| White-collar | 38 | 62 | |
| Farmers | 30 | 70 | |

(May 5 '45) At present, most shop foremen in factories are not members of a labor union. Do you think they should or should not become members of a labor union?

| | Should | Should not | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 29% | 41% | 30% |
| People who had heard or read about the question [of foremen organizing into a union] | 35 | 51 | 14 |
| Union members | 56 | 27 | 17 |

(Mar 13 '46) At present, most shop foremen in factories are not members of a labor union. Do you think they should or should not become members of a labor union?

Should 33% Should not 37% No opinion 30%

**55.** (US May 14 '43) Has your attitude toward labor unions changed in any way during the last year? (AIPO)

Attitude not changed 57% Attitude changed 43%

43% of the sample who said their attitude had changed were asked: Are you more in favor or less in favor of labor unions than you were a year ago?

More in favor 5% Less in favor 38%

**56.** (US June 2 '43) Should the government prevent labor unions from forcing employers to hire more workers than are needed on a job? A comparable cross-section was asked: Should the government prevent labor unions from forcing employers to hire more workers than are needed on a job or should this practice be allowed? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 77% No 10% No opinion 13%

**57.** (US July 9 '43) Some labor unions make jobs for more of their members by requiring employers to hire more men than are actually needed to do a particular job. The unions say this is necessary in order to give work to all their members. Do you think a law should be passed prohibiting this practice? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | Undecided |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 69% | 19% | 12% |
| Union members | 57 | 31 | 12 |
| (Apr 4 '45, Feb 19 '44) | | | |
| National total | 62% | 17% | 21% |
| Union members | 49 | 30 | 21 |

**58.** (US Apr 4 '45) To make more jobs, some unions require employers to hire more persons than are actually needed to do the work. Would you favor or oppose having a law passed which would stop this practice? (AIPO)

| | Favor | Oppose | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 66% | 20% | 14% |
| (Mar 20 '46) | | | |
| National total | 60% | 23% | 17% |
| Union members | 52 | 31 | 17 |
| World War II veterans | 58 | 26 | 16 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 55% | 26% | 19% |
| Republicans | 69 | 20 | 11 |

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 57% | 24% | 19% |
| East central and West central | 62 | 24 | 14 |
| South | 66 | 17 | 17 |
| Mountain and Far West | 60 | 24 | 16 |

**59.** (Canada Dec 8 '43) In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way labor unions are handling things today? (CIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 31% | 49% | 20% |
| Farm people | 21 | 60 | 19 |
| Union families | 58 | 25 | 17 |

**60.** (US Aug '44) We now have around fifty-six million people employed in this country, not counting those in the armed forces. Which of these figures do you think comes closest to the number of people in the US now belonging to the national labor unions? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| 6,000,000 | 8.1% |
| 12,000,000 | 23.5 |
| 24,000,000 | 28.9 |
| 36,000,000 | 16.0 |
| Don't know | 23.5 |

**61.** (US Apr 4 '45) Can you tell me what the union practice known as feather-bedding is? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Knew | 4% |
| Questionable | 1 |
| Incorrect | 3 |
| Didn't know | 84 |
| No answer | 8 |

Do you approve or disapprove of this practice? Asked of 5% of the sample who either knew what feather-bedding was or gave a questionable answer.

Approve 7% Disapprove 87% No opinion 6%

**62.** (US Mar 7 '45) Do you think that some unions require employers to hire more persons than are actually needed to do the work? (AIPO)

Yes 47% No 19% Don't know 34%

Would you favor or oppose having a law passed which would stop this practice? Asked of 47% of the sample who thought some unions require employers to hire more persons than are actually needed.

Favor 39% Oppose 4% No opinion 4%

**63.** (US Mar 20 '45) Is your attitude toward labor unions today more favorable or less favorable than it was before the war? 18% of the sample who felt more favorably and 48% of the sample who felt less favorably were asked: Why? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Felt the same toward labor unions | 23% |
| Gave no opinion | 11 |
| Felt more favorably because: | |
| Better treatment, healthier conditions for workers | 5 |
| Better wages, higher living standard for workers | 3 |
| War effort helped; mass production; cooperate with government | 2 |
| Public understands unions' needs better | 1 |
| Importance of organized labor shown; a good example of organization; shows strength | 2 |
| Intelligent management | 1 |
| Unions get jobs for people | 2 |
| Other reasons for a more favorable attitude | 1 |
| Felt less favorably because: | |
| Too many strikes; strikes during war | 20 |
| Too much power; domineering | 7 |
| Troublemakers; a racket | 5 |
| Unions poorly managed; against labor leaders, John L. Lewis | 4 |
| War efforts hampered | 4 |
| Overstepped boundary; abused rights | 2 |
| Demands not justified—wages high enough | 2 |
| Unions shouldn't be involved in government, shouldn't try to run government | 1 |
| Too many unions | 1 |
| Other reasons for a less favorable attitude | 1 |
| Didn't say | 3 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**64.** (US May 5 '45) Have you heard or read anything about the question of foremen in factories organizing into a union? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 28% | 72% | |
| (Mar 13 '46) | 35 | 65 | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**65.** (Australia Dec '45 to Jan '46) Which do you consider trade unions should seek—higher wages or profit sharing? (APOP)

Profit sharing 61% Higher wages 28% Undecided 11%

**66.** (Hungary Date doubtful [1946]) Two different steps of the trade unions' aiming at a better satisfaction of workers were judged by the Budapest public with the following results. (HIPOR)

| | *Better* | *Worse* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| New contracts | 66% | 32% | 2% |
| New wage system | 23 | 48 | 29 |

**67.** (US Feb 27 '46) The letters USA, for example, stand for United States of America. Will you tell me what words these letters, CIO, stand for? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct (Congress of Industrial Organization) | 25% |
| Incorrect | 9 |
| Partly correct (Union labor organization) | 28 |
| Committee for Industrial organization | 8 |
| No answer | 30 |

**68.** (Germany Apr 15 '46) Were you (or your husband or wife) a member of a trade union before 1933? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes (respondent) | 17% |
| Yes (respondent's husband or wife) | 7 |
| No | 74 |
| Both (respondent and husband or wife) | 1 |

**69.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) Should the right of the worker to join a free trade union be acknowledged? (OMGUS)

Yes 95% No 5%

**70.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Free trade unions are the source of too much friction between management and labor and should not be allowed. (OMGUS)

Yes 25% No 64% No opinion 11%

**71.** (Netherlands June 1946) Do you think the EVC (Unity Trade Union)* should be acknowledged, that is on consulted wages, talk, etc., or not? (NIPO)

Yes 43% No 41% No opinion 16%

* The EVC is the fourth trade union formed after the liberation and with strong communist interest.

**72.** (US June 12 '46) Which unions, if any, do you think have the most communist members? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, don't know | 42% |
| All of them, all equal | 3 |
| CIO | 42 |
| AFL | 8 |
| Maritime union | 4 |
| Clothing workers | 1 |
| None | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**73.** (US Aug 14 '46) Which union do you think does the most for its members, the CIO or the AFL? (AIPO)

CIO 20% AFL 28% No opinion 52%

**74.** (US Sept 25 '46) What is your criticism of the AFL? Of the CIO? Asked of a national cross-section of labor union members. (AIPO)

| | *AFL* | *CIO* |
|---|---|---|
| No answer | 15% | 18% |
| None, no criticism | 48 | 33 |
| Radical, communistic, unreasonable | 2 | 18 |
| Trying to run the government, make trouble with the government | 1 | * |
| Too many strikes | 2 | 5 |
| Don't do enough for members | 6 | 3 |
| Don't like the leaders | 3 | 4 |
| Have too much power | 1 | 4 |
| They intimidate people, members don't approve of actions | 2 | 1 |
| Always want more, never satisfied | 1 | 2 |
| They play ball with management too much | 1 | — |
| Miscellaneous | 18 | 13 |
| | 100%† | 101%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

† Percentages add to 100 although some respondents gave more than one answer.

**75.** (US Nov '46) Do you think a labor union should have part of the responsibility for seeing that its members work well when on a job, or is that management's job entirely? (FOR)

| | *Both responsible* | *Management responsible* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 64.3% | 25.9% | 9.8% |
| BY SELECTED GROUPS | | | |
| Salaried executives | 76.5% | 23.5% | — |
| Union members | 70.6 | 23.5 | 5.9% |

**76.** (US Nov '46) Which do you think American labor unions should do, support candidates put up by one of the present political parties, form their own labor party and run their own candidates, or keep out of politics altogether? (FOR)

| | *Support candidates of present parties* | *Form own party* | *Keep out of politics* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 20.6% | 11.5% | 49.8% | 18.1% |
| BY 1944 POLITICAL PREFERENCE | | | | |
| Roosevelt | 22.0% | 13.9% | 44.9% | 19.2% |
| Dewey | 19.5 | 8.5 | 61.9 | 10.1 |
| BY UNION STATUS | | | | |
| All union members | 29.9% | 22.6% | 37.7% | 9.8% |
| AFL members | 29.0 | 19.4 | 42.6 | 9.0 |
| CIO members | 31.6 | 28.4 | 30.9 | 9.1 |

**77.** (US Dec '46) On the whole, would you rate the effort of the labor unions in this country in helping to win the war as excellent, good, only fair, or poor? Asked of a national cross-section of World War II veterans. (FOR)

| | *Excellent* | *Good* | *Only fair* | *Poor* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9.8% | 25.6% | 29.7% | 26.7% | 8.2% |
| Union members | 11.1 | 34.3 | 26.4 | 22.7 | 5.5 |

**78.** (Canada Jan 2 '47) If you were asked to criticize labor unions, what would your main criticism be? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Leadership unwise; irresponsible; dictatorial | 27% |
| Excessive demands | 21 |
| Not familiar enough with subject to criticize | 33 |
| No criticism to offer | 19 |

**79.** (Canada Jan 8 '46) In a factory which has a union, should the workers who are not members be free to stay out of the union if they are getting union rates of pay? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Not familiar with issue, undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 45% | 34% | 21% |
| BY UNION STATUS | | | |
| Union families | 25% | 65% | 10% |
| Others | 48 | 30 | 22 |

## Finance

**1.** (US July 5 '37) In some industries, employers collect the dues for labor unions by taking the dues out of the workers' pay. This is called the check-off. Do you favor this plan? (AIPO)

Yes 31% No 69% = 100% No opinion 17%

**2.** (US Jan 11 '38) Do you think labor unions should be required by law to make annual public reports of the money they collect and spend? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 90% | 10% | (12%) | |
| (Sept 30 '41) | 87 | 6 | 7 | |
| (Nov 27 '46) | | | | |
| National total | 84 | 10 | | 6% |
| Union members | 80 | 14 | | 6 |

**3.** (US May 16 '40) Do you think labor unions should be required to file with the government every year a statement of all money taken in and spent? (AIPO)

Yes 90% No 10% = 100% No opinion 15%

**4.** (US June '40) Do you think that most union dues are higher than necessary, or most of them are about right, or most of them are not high enough? Asked of a national cross-section of workers of all classes including unemployed workers. (FOR)

| | *Higher than necessary* | *About right* | *Not high enough* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| All labor | 39.7% | 31.7% | 1.5% | 27.1% |
| Non-union workers | 39.7 | 24.2 | 1.2 | 34.9 |
| BY UNION | | | | |
| CIO members | 36.1% | 56.7% | 2.6% | 4.6% |
| AFL members | 40.5 | 53.6 | 2.1 | 3.8 |
| Independent union members | 43.5 | 41.5 | 2.8 | 12.2 |

**5.** (US Oct 1 '41) Should companies having a closed or union shop take union dues out of the workers' pay envelopes and turn the money over to the unions, or should the unions collect the dues themselves? (AIPO)

| | *Companies should collect* | *Unions should collect* | *Qualified answer* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total (Dec 20 '41) | 15% | 60% | | 25% |
| Union leaders | 46 | 42 | 6 | 6 |
| Union members | 29 | 61 | 4 | 6 |

**6.** (US Apr 3 '42) Do you think all labor unions should be required to register with the federal government and report the amount of money they take in and spend each year? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total (Dec 23 '42) | 80% | 6% | 14% |
| National total | 81 | 6 | 13 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Business executives and professional | 90% | 3% | 7% |
| Farmers | 81 | 5 | 14 |
| White-collar | 83 | 4 | 13 |
| Skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labor | 77 | 8 | 15 |
| (June 16 '43) | | | |
| National total | 85 | 7 | 8 |
| Union members | 80 | 12 | 8 |
| (Dec 1 '43) | | | |
| National total | 75 | 10 | 15 |
| Union members | 71 | 15 | 14 |

**7.** (Nov '46) Do you think the unions should be required by law to give a public accounting of the money they collect and spend, or do you think this is the private business of the union and should not be made public? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should give public accounting | 68.3% |
| Private business of union | 19.6 |
| Don't know | 12.1 |

**8.** (Canada Nov 6 '46) In a factory which has a union, should the workers who are not members be obliged to pay the regular union fees if they are getting union rates of pay? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 52% | 33% | 15% |
| BY UNION STATUS | | | |
| Union families | 75% | 18% | 7% |
| Non-union families | 47 | 36 | 17 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Labor | 62% | 25% | 13% |
| White-collar | 54 | 34 | 12 |
| Small business | 36 | 41 | 23 |
| Business and professional | 39 | 49 | 12 |

# TRADE UNIONS AND STATE

**1.** (US Apr 12 '37) Do you think labor unions should be regulated by the government? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 69% | 31% | = 100% | 14% | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| New England | 64% | 36% | | | |
| Middle Atlantic | 68 | 32 | | | |
| East Central | 69 | 31 | | | |
| West Central | 69 | 31 | | | |
| Southern | 77 | 23 | | | |
| Rocky Mountain | 68 | 32 | | | |
| Pacific Coast | 69 | 31 | | | |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Democrats | 72% | 28% | | | |
| Republicans | 67 | 33 | | | |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | | | |
| Farmers | 75% | 25% | | | |
| City dwellers | 66 | 34 | | | |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Women | 69% | 31% | | | |
| Young persons | 71 | 29 | | | |
| People on relief (June 21 '37) | 65 | 35 | | | |
| National total | 73 | 27 | = 100% | 11 | |
| (Aug 8 '39) | 61 | 26 | | 13 | = 100% |

**2.** (US Sept 12 '37) Do you think the attitude of the Roosevelt administration toward union labor is too friendly or not friendly enough? (AIPO)

| | *Too friendly* | *Not friendly enough* | *About right* | | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46% | 13% | 41% | | |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Republicans | 80% | 12% | 8% | | |
| Democrats | 29 | 15 | 56 | | |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Skilled workers | 51% | 13% | 36% | | |
| Unskilled workers (Oct 28 '37) | 30 | 19 | 51 | | |
| National total | 40 | 15 | 45 | = 100% | 8% |

**3.** (US July '38) On the whole, do you approve or disapprove of President Roosevelt's attitude toward labor unions? (FOR)

| | *Like* | *Dislike* | *Undecided* | *Uninformed* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 38.3% | 30.4% | 13.5% | 17.8% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION* | | | | |
| Southwest | 81.0% | 19.0% | | |
| Southeast | 74.2 | 25.8 | | |
| Mountain states | 58.5 | 41.5 | | |
| Middle west | 47.5 | 52.5 | | |
| Northeast | 46.7 | 53.3 | | |
| Pacific coast | 46.3 | 53.7 | | |
| Northwest plains | 42.5 | 57.5 | | |

| | *Like* | *Dislike* | *Undecided* | *Uninformed* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS* | | | | |
| Poor | 72.9% | 27.1% | | |
| Lower middle class | 57.0 | 43.0 | | |
| Upper middle class | 44.9 | 55.1 | | |
| Prosperous | 27.1 | 72.9 | | |
| BY RACE* | | | | |
| Negroes | 85.5% | 14.5% | | |
| BY OCCUPATION* | | | | |
| Farm labor | 76.0% | 24.0% | | |
| Unemployed | 75 6 | 24.4 | | |
| Other labor | 73.6 | 26.4 | | |
| Factory labor | 73.6 | 26.4 | | |
| Housekeeper | 55.6 | 44.4 | | |
| Farmers | 53.9 | 46.1 | | |
| White-collar | 50.1 | 49.9 | | |
| Proprietors | 47.7 | 52.3 | | |
| Students | 44.2 | 55.8 | | |
| Professional | 43.7 | 56.3 | | |
| Retired | 35.1 | 64.9 | | |
| Executives | 27.8 | 72.2 | | |

* Those who were undecided or uninformed were excluded from these breakdowns.

**4.** (US July 2 '38) Do you think there should be more federal regulation of labor unions? (AIPO)

Yes 72% No 28% = 100% No opinion 19%

**5.** (US Mar 1 '39) Do you think every labor union should be required to take out a license (permit) from the United States government? A comparable cross-section was asked: To give the United States government greater control of labor unions, do you think every labor union should be required to take out a license (permit) from the federal government? Results were combined.

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 75% | 25% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper income | 76% | 24% |
| Middle income | 73 | 27 |
| Lower income | 72 | 28 |

**6.** (US Dec 10 '39) Do you think labor unions should be regulated to a greater extent by the federal government? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 79% | 21% = 100% | 17% |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Urban | 78% | 22% | |
| Small towns | 77 | 23 | |
| Farmers | 84 | 16 | |
| (July 26 '40) | | | |
| National total | 75 | 25 = 100% | 18% |
| (May 29 '41) | 76 | 15 | 9 |

**7.** (US May 3 '40) During the next four years, do you think there should be more regulation or less regulation of labor unions by the federal government than at present? (AIPO)

| | *More* | *Less* | *Same* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 65% | 20% | 15% = 100% | 19% |
| (Nov 22 '40) | | | | |
| National total | 60 | 21 | 19 = 100 | 27 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democrats | 61% | 13% | 26% | |
| Republicans | 59 | 28 | 13 | |

**8.** (US May 16 '40) Would you approve or disapprove of Congress' investigating labor unions? (AIPO)

Approve 90% Disapprove 10% = 100% No opinion 15%

**9.** (US May 30 '42) Do you think the government's attitude toward labor unions is too strict, about right, or not strict enough? (NORC)

| | *Too strict* | *About right* | *Not strict enough* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2% | 37% | 46% | 15% |
| (Nov 23 '42) | 6 | 36 | 46 | 12 |
| (June 18 '43) | 5 | 24 | 61 | 10 |
| (Sept 9 '43) | 6 | 27 | 50 | 17 |

**10.** (US Nov 25 '42) Do you approve or disapprove of the government's policy with respect to labor unions? (AIPO)

Approve 31% Disapprove 63% No opinion 6%

**11.** (US Feb 19 '43) Do you think there should be more government control of labor unions, or less control? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

More 76% Less 4% Same 2% No opinion 18%

**12.** (US Nov '43) After the war, do you think the federal government should regulate labor unions more or less than it did before the war started (say 1938)? (NORC)

More 61% Less 9% Same 15% Depends 2%
Don't know 13%

**13.** (US Nov 11 '46, July 9 '47) Should the Congress to be elected this November pass new laws to control labor unions? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 66% | 22% | 12% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republicans | 77% | 12% | 11% |
| Democrats | 60 | 28 | 12 |
| Independents | 57 | 30 | 13 |

**14.** (US Nov '46) Which one of these statements comes closest to what you believe the government should do about a labor dispute that a small electrical manufacturing company (employing about two hundred people) and the union can't settle themselves? (FOR)

| | BY SELECTED GROUPS | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *National total* | *Salaried executives* | *Union members* |
| The government should do nothing except to see that no violence is used by either side | 19.2% | 26.1% | 33.8% |
| The government should offer its services to help bring the two sides together but should make no proposals itself for settlement | 32.0 | 28.8 | 28.7 |
| The government should insist on sitting in as the public's representative and should present the solution it favors, but it shouldn't force acceptance of it | 18.7 | 22.2 | 16.0 |
| The government should arbitrate and require both parties to accept its decision | 18.6 | 22.2 | 16.7 |
| Don't know | 11.5 | .7 | 4.8 |

**15.** (US Nov '46) Which one of these statements comes closest to what you believe the government should do about a labor

dispute that the railroads and the unions can't settle themselves? (FOR)

| | BY SELECTED GROUPS | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *National total* | *Salaried executives* | *Union members* |
| The government should: do nothing beyond barring violence... | 8.5% | 7.8% | 16.0% |
| Just help bring the two sides together..... | 15.2 | 13.7 | 18.7 |
| Present a solution without forcing acceptance..... | 18.4 | 19.6 | 19.9 |
| Arbitrate and require acceptance | 45.6 | 54.9 | 39.5 |
| Don't know..... | 12.3 | 4.0 | 5.9 |

## TRANSPORTATION

**1.** (US Oct '35) With your choice limited to railroad or a bus, which would you take if you were going to travel? (FOR)

| | *Rail* | *Bus* |
|---|---|---|
| 5 miles..... | 34.7% | 65.3% |
| 50 miles..... | 58.1 | 41.9 |
| 100 miles..... | 74.7 | 25.3 |
| 500 miles..... | 83.7 | 16.3 |

**2.** (US Apr '36) If you had to travel a distance of five hundred miles or more and were given a choice of train or airplane, which would you take? (FOR)

| | *Train* | *Plane* |
|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 75.4% | 24.6% |
| 20–40 year olds..... | 68.3 | 31.7 |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men..... | 70.0% | 30.0% |
| Women..... | 80.9 | 19.1 |

**3.** (US Feb 15 '37) If you had your choice, would you prefer to take a long trip by airplane, by train, by automobile, or by bus? (AIPO)

| | *Plane* | *Train* | *Automobile* | *Bus* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 22% | 41% | 27% | 5% | 5% |
| Those who had been up in an airplane (34% of sample).. | 43 | 31 | 21 | 2 | 3 |

**4.** (US July 25 '37) If someone paid your expenses would you like to go by boat to Europe and back? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 82% | 18% |
| BY AGE | | |
| 18–20 years..... | 92% | 8% |
| 21–24 years..... | 89 | 11 |
| 25–34 years..... | 91 | 9 |
| 35–44 years..... | 82 | 18 |
| 45–54 years..... | 84 | 16 |
| 55 years and over..... | 64 | 36 |

**5.** (Great Britain Dec '37) Have you ever traveled in an airplane? (BIPO)

Yes 13% No 87%

Would you care to [travel in an airplane]?

Yes 58% No 42%

**6.** (Great Britain Nov '41) Do you feel that the war-time transport arrangements for you to get to and from work are reasonable or that you have grounds for complaint? (BIPO)

| | *Reasonable* | *Complaint* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 71% | 29% | — |
| (Nov '42)..... | 70 | 24 | 6% |

**7.** (US Jan 26 '42) How do you normally get to work? Asked of a national cross-section of employed car owners. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer..... | — |
| Walk..... | 34% |
| Drive car or ride with friends..... | 45 |
| Public transportation..... | 18 |
| Other..... | 3 |

**8.** (US Jan 23 '42, Jan 26 '42) Could you get to work by any other means if it were necessary? What other means would you use? Asked of a national cross-section of employed car owners who drive or ride to work with friends. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes; chiefly by trains, buses, street cars... | 73% |
| No, could not get to work by other means | 27 |

**9.** (US June 26 '42) About how many miles do you have to travel to get to work? Asked of a national cross-section of employers and employees. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Two miles and under..... | 70% |
| Over two miles..... | 30 |

Median, excluding farmers = four miles.*

* The distance traveled to get to work by 30% of the sample was so far over two miles that the median was over two miles.

**10.** (US June 26 '42) What means of transportation do you use now? Asked of a national cross-section of employers and employees. (AIPO)

Car 36% Walk 40% Bus 23% Bike 1%

**11.** (US May 30 '42) How about transportation conditions (bus service, etc.) for defense workers around here? Would you say they are satisfactory, only fair, or poor? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Satisfactory..... | 38% |
| Only fair..... | 23 |
| Poor..... | 20 |
| No defense workers around here.... | 6 |
| Don't know..... | 13 |

**12.** (Sweden Feb '44) Do you often travel by train (once every month or more), by bus (once a month or more in the country, practically every day in towns), or street car (practically every day)? (SGI)

| | *Often* | *Not often* | *Rarely* |
|---|---|---|---|
| By train (national total)..... | 23% | 26% | 51% |
| By bus (national total)..... | 32 | 29 | 39 |
| By street car (towns with street cars) | 30 | 26 | 44 |

**13.** (US Apr 8 '45) In your opinion is travel on regular airlines safer, about as safe, or less safe, than on railroads? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Safer..... | 12% |
| About as safe..... | 45 |
| Less safe..... | 33 |
| Don't know..... | 10 |

**14.** (Sweden Aug '45) A parliamentary resolution gives all members of Parliament free trips on the railroads the whole year around (even when Parliament is not sitting). Do you think this is right? (SGI)

| | *Right* | *Wrong* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 18% | 71% | 11% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Right party | 19% | 72% | 9% |
| Liberals | 16 | 74 | 10 |
| Agrarians | 13 | 74 | 13 |
| Social democrats | 21 | 68 | 11 |
| Communists | 13 | 80 | 7 |

**15.** (Sweden Aug '45) In which class [of railway train] do you think members of Parliament should travel—first, second, or third? (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| First class | 3% |
| Second class | 37 |
| Third class | 50 |
| Don't know | 10 |

**16.** (US Oct 17 '45) If you were taking a thousand-mile trip across the country, would you prefer to go by railroad or by airplane? (AIPO)

Railroad 53% Airplane 46% No answer 1%

**17.** (US Jan 12 '46) If you had the money and wanted to take a thousand-mile trip across the country, and the cost was the same, would you prefer to go by railroad or airplane? (AIPO)

| | *Train* | *Plane* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 54% | 46% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 50% | 50% |
| Women | 57 | 43 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 21–29 years | 32% | 68% |
| 30–49 years | 51 | 49 |
| 50 years and over | 68 | 32 |

**18.** (Czechoslovakia Sept '46) If you were able to choose for your journey from Prague to Brun between a train, a coach, a car, and an airplane, which one would you choose? (CZIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Train | 33% |
| Coach | 4 |
| Car | 32 |
| Plane | 31 |

**19.** (Czechoslovakia Sept '46) Do you think that it is safer to travel by train or by plane? (CZIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| By train | 61% |
| By plane | 6 |
| No difference | 27 |
| Don't know | 6 |

**20.** (Czechoslovakia Sept '46) Why have you not traveled by plane so far? Asked of 95% of a cross-section of Czechs who had not traveled by plane. (CZIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| It is dangerous | 13% |
| It is expensive | 24 |
| I am afraid of becoming sick | 9 |
| Had no opportunity so far | 49 |
| Have already traveled in a plane | 5 |

**21.** (Czechoslovakia Sept '46) In your opinion, which is more expensive: to travel by train (second class) or by plane? (CZIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Plane | 51% |
| Train | 10 |
| No difference | 13 |
| Don't know | 26 |

**22.** (Canada Sept 4 '46) If you were going to make a five hundred mile trip, how would you rather travel—by train, car, air, or some other way? (CIPO)

| | *Train* | *Car* | *Air* | *Other* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 22% | 46% | 26% | 3% | 3% |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 15% | 43% | 37% | 2% | 3% |
| 30–49 years | 19 | 50 | 26 | 3 | 2 |
| 50 years and over | 31 | 42 | 19 | 5 | 3 |
| (Great Britain Oct '46) (BIPO) | | | | | |
| National total | 34 | 30 | 29 | 4* | 3 |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 33% | 29% | 31% | 4% | 3% |
| Women | 35 | 32 | 26 | 4 | 3 |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 19% | 33% | 42% | 3% | 3% |
| 30–49 years | 31 | 29 | 33 | 4 | 3 |
| 50 years and over | 43 | 31 | 19 | 4 | 3 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Higher | 22% | 33% | 40% | 3% | 2% |
| Middle | 31 | 30 | 32 | 4 | 3 |
| Lower | 36 | 31 | 27 | 4 | 2 |
| Very poor | 40 | 31 | 23 | 3 | 3 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Other way: Sea | 2% |
| Bus; coach | 1 |
| Horse, cycle, walking | 1 |
| | 4% |

34% of the total sample who preferred to travel by train, 30% of the total sample who preferred to travel by car, and 29% of the total sample who preferred to travel by air were asked to give the reasons for their travel preference.

| *Train* | | *Car* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Comfort | 12% | Independence | 8% |
| Safety | 14 | See scenery | 6 |
| Habit | 3 | Comfort and convenience | 6 |
| Speed | 1 | Like driving | 4 |
| Air travel too risky | 1 | Safety | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 | Habit | 1 |
| | | Air travel too risky | 1 |
| | | Miscellaneous | 2 |

| *Air* | |
|---|---|
| Speed; convenience | 18% |
| Would be an experience; would like to try it | 8 |
| Comfort | 1 |
| More exciting | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |

**23.** (Canada Sept 7 '46) Have you ever traveled by air? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 21% | 79% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper | 41% | 59% |
| Middle | 23 | 77 |
| Lower | 14 | 86 |

**24.** (Canada Sept 7 '46) Have you ever taken an overnight trip on a train? (CIPO)

Yes 77% No 23%

**25.** (Australia Nov '46) If you were going to Perth, and the time and cost did not matter—would you prefer to go by train, ship, or plane? (APOP)

Train 29% Ship 30% Plane 41%

## TRAVEL

**1.** (Great Britain Dec '37) Have you ever traveled to the Continent? (BIPO)

Yes 25% No 75%

Would you care to [travel to the Continent]?

Yes 75% No 25%

Have you ever traveled to America?

Yes 8% No 92%

Would you care to [travel to America]?

Yes 75% No 25%

**2.** (US Aug 10 '38) If you had your choice of visiting any foreign country, which one would you most like to see? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia | 3% |
| Switzerland | 5 |
| England | 18 |
| France | 14 |
| Italy | 6 |
| Germany | 6 |
| Ireland | 5 |
| Others | 32 |
| No opinion | 11 |

**3.** (US Aug 10 '38) What country, outside of the United States, would you most like to see? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sweden | 3% |
| Ireland | 4 |
| Italy | 4 |
| South America | 4 |
| England | 16 |
| France | 11 |
| Switzerland | 6 |
| Germany | 5 |
| Canada | 5 |
| Others | 28 |
| No opinion | 14 |

**4.** (US Sept 15 '39) Should the United States allow its citizens to travel on ships of countries which are not at war? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 18% | 82% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 16% | 84% |
| Mid-Atlantic | 19 | 81 |
| East central | 86 | 14 |
| West central | 18 | 82 |
| South | 16 | 84 |
| West | 22 | 78 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 17% | 83% |
| Republicans | 19 | 81 |

**5.** (US Dec 10 '40) If you had your choice of a trip either to Hawaii or to some Central or South American country, which would you choose? (OPOR)

| | *Hawaii* | *Central or South American country* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 49% | 42% | 9% |
| (Mar 29 '41) | 51 | 38 | 11 |

**6.** (US Dec 10 '40) If you were able to take a trip to any Central or South American country, which country would you choose? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Argentina | 31% |
| Brazil | 27 |
| Others | 17 |
| No answer | 25 |

**7.** (US May 6 '42) Have you ever been in any countries outside of the United States? (NORC)

Yes 44% No 56%

Don't know and No answer less than 0.5%

Which ones? Asked of 44% of the sample who said they had been in countries outside of the United States.

| | |
|---|---|
| United Nations: | |
| Canada | 29% |
| Mexico | 12 |
| England or Scotland | 7 |
| Other British possessions (excluding Ireland) | 2 |
| Russia | 1 |
| China | 1 |
| Other United Nations | 6 |
| Axis countries | 6 |
| Other European countries | 3 |
| All other countries | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | * |
| | 69%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 44 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**8.** (Great Britain July '42) Have you ever visited the United States? (BIPO)

Yes 6% No 94%

**9.** (US Apr 6 '43) Have you ever visited Canada or any other part of the British Empire? (NORC)

Yes 38% No 62% No answer less than 0.5%

Where? Asked of 38% of the sample who had visited Canada or another part of the British Empire.

| | |
|---|---|
| Canada | 34% |
| England | 7 |
| Other | 3 |
| Not ascertainable | * |
| | 44%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 38 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**10.** (Great Britain Sept '43) What country would you most like to visit after the war? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| United States | 20% |
| British Empire | 17 |
| Russia | 11 |
| Germany; Austria | 6 |
| Italy | 4 |
| England | 2 |
| Other European countries | 15 |
| China; Japan | 1 |
| South America | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| No desire to travel | 12% |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| No comment; don't know | 6 |

**11.** (Sweden Dec '43) Have you thought of undertaking a long journey after the war? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24% | 66% | 10% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 52% | 37% | 11% |
| Middle class | 28 | 64 | 8 |
| Workers | 19 | 70 | 11 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 38% | 50% | 12% |
| 30–49 years | 25 | 65 | 10 |
| 50 years and over | 13 | 79 | 8 |

Where to? Asked of 24% of a national sample who said they had thought of taking a long journey after the war.

| | |
|---|---|
| In Sweden | 23% |
| To Norway | 13 |
| Finland | 6 |
| Denmark | 6 |
| Germany | 13 |
| England | 9 |
| France | 5 |
| Italy | 5 |
| Other European countries | 11 |
| Other parts of the world | 9 |
| | 100% |

Have you begun to save up for this [long journey after the war]? Asked of 24% of a national sample who said they had thought of taking a long journey after the war.

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 35% | 65% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper class | 26% | 74% |
| Middle class | 32 | 68 |
| Workers | 39 | 61 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 20–29 years | 29% | 71% |
| 30–49 years | 38 | 62 |
| 50 years and over | 38 | 82 |

**12.** (Canada Dec 4 '43) If it becomes necessary to restrict travel in Canada during the Christmas and New Year's season to avoid a tie-up of railroad and bus lines, which of these things would you rather see done—cancel the five-day leave for the armed services, or forbid all civilian travel not connected with the war during this period? (CIPO)

Cancel leaves 6% Stop civilian travel 83% Undecided 11%

**13.** (France Oct '44) If you could, what foreign country would you like to visit after the war? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| United States | 43% |
| USSR | 13 |
| Great Britain | 11 |
| Germany | 5 |
| Italy | 4 |
| Others | 28 |
| Each country | 2 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**14.** (US Apr 14 '45) When this war is over, many Americans will want to travel to various parts of the world. If you could take a trip outside of the United States to which one country would you most like to go? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| England, Great Britain | 20% |
| France | 17 |
| Germany | 8 |
| Russia | 5 |
| Brazil | 3 |
| Canada | 4 |
| China | 2 |
| Australia | 3 |
| Italy | 4 |
| Mexico | 3 |
| Switzerland | 2 |
| Japan | 1 |
| Ireland | 2 |
| Norway | 2 |
| Poland | 1 |
| Philippines | 2 |
| Palestine | 1 |
| All others | 20 |

**15.** (Sweden June '45) Have you ever been abroad? If so, where? (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Upper class* | *Middle class* | *Workers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Denmark and Iceland | 23% | 59% | 29% | 17% |
| Norway | 15 | 38 | 18 | 11 |
| Germany | 7 | 38 | 9 | 3 |
| Finland | 5 | 16 | 5 | 3 |
| France and Italy | 3 | 19 | 3 | 2 |
| England | 2 | 15 | 2 | 1 |
| Russia and the Baltics | 1 | 5 | 1 | 1 |
| Other European countries | 2 | 10 | 2 | 2 |
| America | 2 | 7 | 2 | 2 |
| Other countries outside Europe | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Never been abroad | 61 | 16 | 56 | 68 |
| | 122%* | 225%* | 128%* | 111%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**16.** (Sweden June '45) Where would you like to go once the frontiers are open again? (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Upper class* | *Middle class* | *Workers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Denmark and Iceland | 11% | 11% | 11% | 10% |
| Norway | 16 | 9 | 16 | 16 |
| Germany | 9 | 3 | 10 | 8 |
| Finland | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| France and Italy | 11 | 18 | 13 | 10 |
| England | 8 | 11 | 9 | 7 |
| Russia and the Baltics | 4 | 3 | 3 | 5 |
| Other European countries | 5 | 13 | 6 | 4 |
| America | 15 | 22 | 14 | 15 |
| Other countries outside Europe | 4 | 6 | 3 | 4 |
| No particular country | 11 | 10 | 9 | 12 |
| No wish to go abroad | 18 | 8 | 19 | 18 |
| | 115%* | 117%* | 117%* | 112%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**17.** (US Aug 8 '45) Would you like to travel after the war? (AIPO)

Yes 78% No 19% No opinion 3%

**18.** (US Aug 8 '45) What is the most distant place you have ever visited? About how far is that from here? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 100 miles | 3% |
| 100 and under 200 miles | 5 |
| 200 and under 300 miles | 5 |
| 300 and under 400 miles | 6 |
| 400 and under 500 miles | 4 |
| 500 and under 750 miles | 11 |
| 750 and under 1,000 miles | 5 |
| 1,000 and under 2,000 miles | 18 |
| 2,000 and under 3,000 miles | 11 |
| 3,000 and under 4,000 miles | 10 |
| 4,000 and under 7,500 miles | 6 |
| Over 7,500 miles | 2 |
| Don't know | 14 |

Median: 1,000 and under 2,000 miles

**19.** (US Aug 8 '45) If you could afford it, would you like to take a trip outside this country after the war? (AIPO)

Yes 65% No 33% No opinion 2%

Where would you like to go? Asked of 65% of the sample who said they would like to take a trip outside of the United States after the war if they could afford it.

| | |
|---|---|
| Around the world | 2% |
| Africa | 1 |
| Europe or a European country | 32 |
| Asia and the Pacific or a country in Asia, etc. | 7 |
| South America, etc. | 7 |
| North America (outside of US and including Central America) | 7 |
| Miscellaneous | 8 |
| Don't know | 1 |

**20.** (Canada Sept 26 '45) Have you ever done any traveling in Canada outside this province? (CIPO)

Yes 64% No 36%

**21.** (Canada Aug 17 '46) If there were suddenly a big gold rush, such as that of the Klondike, with all its excitement, risks, and hardships, would you feel like packing up and going? (CIPO)

Yes 20% No 76% Don't know 4%

Do you think you really would go? Asked of the 20% of the sample who said they would feel like packing up and going if there were a gold rush like that of the Klondike.

Yes 10% No 7% Don't know 3%

**22.** (US Oct '46) Approximately how much of your time do you spend traveling on business? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than a quarter | 73.6% |
| About a quarter | 17.6 |
| Between a quarter and a half | 5.0 |
| A half or more | 3.8 |

**23.** (Czechoslovakia Dec '46) Have you ever been to Slovakia? (CZIPO)

Several times 31% Once 19% Never 50%

## TRUMAN, HARRY S.

**1.** (US May 11 '45) What is your opinion of President Truman? (AIPO)

| | *Approval* | *Qualified approval* | *Disapproval* | *Miscellaneous* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 71% | 7% | 6% | 1% | 15% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Democrats | 74% | 10% | 4% | 1% | 11% |
| Republicans | 71 | 4 | 10 | 1 | 14 |

(Jan 3 '46) What is your opinion of President Truman?

| | |
|---|---|
| Not getting support, lack of cooperation | 1% |
| Good man, doing good job, honest man, etc. | 56 |
| Follows Roosevelt's ideas—I approve | 1 |
| Doing as well as possible, good under the circumstances | 12 |
| Has some good points, some bad | 1 |
| Too soon to judge | 2 |
| Not too strong, lacks leadership | 11 |
| Not presidential material | 8 |
| Just a politician | 1 |
| Policies aren't good, follows Roosevelt too much | 1 |
| Disapprove, don't think much of him | 6 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| No opinion, don't know | 4 |
| | 108%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (US Apr 18 '45) Is there anything that you would particularly like to see President Truman do in the next four years? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Solve problems of war and peace | 32% |
| Generally carry out New Deal policies | 24 |
| Follow conservative policies | 19 |
| Bring about harmony between various groups, labor and management | 2 |
| Cooperate with Congress; confide in the people | 2 |
| Take care of servicemen | 8 |
| Solve food and clothing shortages; end rationing | 2 |
| Take care of reconversion, bring country back to normal | 2 |
| Do something about wild living, drinking, gambling, end of crime, juvenile delinquency | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| Nothing special, let him use his own judgment | 18 |
| | 115%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (US Apr 18 '45) Do you think President Truman should try to do things as he thinks Roosevelt would have done them, or should he go ahead according to his own ideas? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| As Roosevelt | 28% |
| Own ideas | 67 |
| Both | 1 |
| No opinion | 4 |

**4.** (US May 12 '45) Do you think Truman will be more favorable or less favorable toward business than Roosevelt was? (AIPO)

| | *More* | *About same* | *Less* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40% | 25% | 7% | 28% |
| Business and professional people only | 60 | 18 | 7 | 15 |
| Union members only | 35 | 30 | 7 | 28 |

**5.** (US May 12 '45) Do you think Truman will be more favorable or less favorable toward labor unions than Roosevelt was? (AIPO)

| | More | About same | Less | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 6% | 25% | 38% | 31% |
| Business and professional people only | 5 | 20 | 55 | 20 |
| Union members only | 9 | 31 | 30 | 30 |

**6.** (US Apr 18 '45) Do you think President Truman should go ahead according to his own ideas, or should he try to do things as he thinks Roosevelt would have done them? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| As Roosevelt | 38% |
| Own ideas | 56 |
| No opinion | 6 |

**7.** (US May 13 '45) Some writers believe that with Truman as President, Congress will have more importance and power than it had under Roosevelt. Do you think this would be a good thing or a bad thing for the country? (AIPO)

| | Good thing | Bad thing | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 65% | 16% | 19% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 84% | 9% | 7% |
| High school | 70 | 16 | 14 |
| Grade school or less | 57 | 18 | 25 |

**8.** (US May 29 '45) Do you approve or disapprove of the way Truman is handling his job as President? (AIPO)

| | Approve | Disapprove | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 87% | 3% | 10% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 88% | 2% | 10% |
| Republicans | 89 | 3 | 8 |
| (Aug 22 '45) National total | 90 | 3 | 7 |
| (Oct 3 '45) | 82 | 9 | 9 |
| (Oct 31 '45) | 75 | 14 | 11 |
| (Jan 3 '46) National total | 63 | 22 | 15 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 75% | 13% | 12% |
| Republicans | 46 | 37 | 17 |
| (Feb 27 '46) National total | 49 | 38 | 13 |
| (Mar 27 '46) | 50 | 36 | 14 |
| (May 29 '46) | 45 | 41 | 14 |
| (June 12 '46) | 43 | 45 | 12 |
| (Sept 11 '46) | 32 | 53 | 15 |
| (Nov 13 '46) | 34 | 52 | 14 |
| (Dec 11 '46) | 35 | 47 | 18 |

**9.** (US Sept 6 '45) So far as President Truman's handling of our relations with foreign countries goes, would you say he is doing an excellent, good, only fair, or poor job? (NYHT)

| | Excellent | Good | Only fair | Poor | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24.1% | 48.2% | 9.9% | .8% | 17.0% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 24.3% | 50.4% | 11.6% | 1.2% | 12.5% |
| Women | 23.9 | 46.5 | 8.5 | .4 | 20.7 |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 21–34 years | 21.9% | 48.5% | 10.9% | 1.0% | 17.7% |
| 35–49 years | 25.2 | 49.8 | 9.9 | .2 | 14.9 |
| 50 years and over | 25.0 | 46.5 | 9.0 | 1.1 | 18.4 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 31.2% | 51.2% | 8.8% | .6% | 8.2% |
| Upper middle | 30.1 | 50.1 | 9.4 | .5 | 9.9 |
| Lower middle | 25.6 | 48.5 | 9.3 | 1.1 | 15.5 |
| Poor | 16.2 | 47.5 | 8.6 | .4 | 27.3 |
| BY RACE | | | | | |
| White | 25.1% | 48.9% | 9.1% | .7% | 16.2% |
| Negro | 13.4 | 41.2 | 18.1 | 1.4 | 25.9 |
| BY RELIGION | | | | | |
| Protestant | 23.4% | 49.5% | 10.2% | .8% | 16.1% |
| Catholic | 28.0 | 45.5 | 8.9 | .6 | 17.0 |
| Jewish | 24.4 | 48.8 | 8.5 | 1.2 | 17.1 |
| Other | 15.7 | 39.2 | 9.8 | 2.0 | 33.3 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | | | |
| Grade school | 18.2% | 45.8% | 10.0% | 1.3% | 24.7% |
| High school | 25.8 | 49.4 | 10.1 | .5 | 14.2 |
| College | 30.5 | 50.6 | 9.3 | .5 | 9.1 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| Northwest | 22.2% | 45.8% | 9.8% | .7% | 21.5% |
| Middle West | 24.8 | 48.3 | 10.6 | .6 | 15.7 |
| South | 23.7 | 51.2 | 9.1 | .9 | 15.1 |
| Far West | 28.0 | 46.4 | 10.3 | 1.1 | 14.2 |
| BY SIZE OF PLACE | | | | | |
| Over 25,000 | 27.1% | 46.1% | 11.2% | .8% | 14.8% |
| Under 25,000 | 23.1 | 48.9 | 8.8 | .5 | 18.7 |
| Rural | 19.6 | 51.7 | 9.2 | 1.2 | 18.3 |

**10.** (US Sept 13 '45) So far as his handling of Congress goes, would you say President Truman is doing an excellent, good, only fair, or poor job? (NYHT)

| | Excellent | Good | Only fair | Poor | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 26.7% | 43.1% | 8.7% | 1.1% | 20.4% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 28.8% | 45.8% | 10.2% | 1.6% | 13.6% |
| Women | 25.0 | 41.0 | 7.4 | .7 | 25.9 |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 21–24 years | 23.4% | 44.1% | 9.2% | .6% | 22.7% |
| 35–49 years | 31.3 | 42.3 | 9.0 | 1.0 | 16.4 |
| 50 years and over | 25.2 | 43.1 | 8.0 | 1.7 | 22.0 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 42.9% | 41.8% | 5.3% | 1.8% | 8.2% |
| Upper middle | 37.0 | 45.4 | 6.1 | .9 | 10.6 |
| Lower middle | 27.2 | 43.5 | 9.5 | .8 | 19.0 |
| Poor | 14.4 | 42.5 | 8.0 | 1.2 | 33.9 |
| BY RACE | | | | | |
| White | 28.1% | 43.6% | 8.0% | 1.0% | 19.3% |
| Negro | 12.0 | 38.0 | 16.2 | 2.8 | 31.0 |
| BY RELIGION | | | | | |
| Protestant | 26.6% | 44.0% | 9.3% | 1.0% | 19.1% |
| Catholic | 27.4 | 41.5 | 6.6 | 1.0 | 23.5 |
| Jewish | 29.3 | 46.3 | 12.2 | 2.4 | 9.8 |
| Other | 22.6 | 33.3 | 5.9 | 2.9 | 35.3 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | | | |
| Grade school | 15.0% | 40.8% | 11 4% | 1.6% | 31.2% |
| High school | 28.2 | 45.4 | 8.2 | .8 | 17.4 |
| College | 43.6 | 42.6 | 5.1 | .9 | 7.8 |

| | *Excellent* | *Good* | *Only fair* | *Poor* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| Northeast | 25.6% | 42.1% | 9.6% | 1.3% | 21.4% |
| Middle West | 28.1 | 41.5 | 10.3 | .6 | 19.5 |
| South | 22.7 | 47.7 | 7.1 | 1.5 | 21.0 |
| Far West | 35.8 | 38.3 | 6.0 | 1.1 | 18.8 |
| BY SIZE OF PLACE | | | | | |
| Over 25,000 | 31.5% | 39.9% | 10.2% | 1.1% | 17.3% |
| Under 25,000 | 25.3 | 45.4 | 6.3 | 1.0 | 22.0 |
| Rural | 19.2 | 45.6 | 10.0 | 1.4 | 23.8 |

**11.** (US Sept 29 '45) So far as his handling of home problems goes, would you say President Truman is doing an excellent, good, only fair, or poor job? (NYHT)

| | *Excellent* | *Good* | *Only fair* | *Poor* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 18.1% | 45.9% | 12.7% | 2.3% | 21.0% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 17.9% | 47.5% | 13.8% | 3.5% | 17.3% |
| Women | 18.2 | 44.6 | 11.8 | 1.3 | 24.1 |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 21–34 years | 16.0% | 47.2% | 14.2% | 2.0% | 20.6% |
| 35–49 years | 20.0 | 46.6 | 12.6 | 1.9 | 18.9 |
| 50 years and over | 18.0 | 44.3 | 11.4 | 2.8 | 23.5 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 23.5% | 52.4% | 13.5% | 2.4% | 8.2% |
| Upper middle | 24.9 | 48.2 | 11.8 | 1.6 | 13.5 |
| Lower middle | 17.7 | 45.3 | 12.8 | 2.2 | 22.0 |
| Poor | 13.0 | 43.9 | 10.6 | 2.6 | 29.9 |
| BY RACE | | | | | |
| White | 18.9% | 46.3% | 12.1% | 2.1% | 20.6% |
| Negro | 9.3 | 42.6 | 18.5 | 3.7 | 25.9 |
| BY RELIGION | | | | | |
| Protestant | 17.6% | 48.1% | 12.7% | 2.3% | 19.3% |
| Catholic | 20.1 | 41.3 | 12.7 | 1.4 | 24.5 |
| Jewish | 15.9 | 45.1 | 13.4 | 2.4 | 23.2 |
| Other | 17.6 | 31.4 | 11.8 | 5.9 | 33.3 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | | | |
| Grade school | 13.3% | 42.6% | 13.6% | 2.8% | 27.7% |
| High school | 18.1 | 48.4 | 11.5 | 2.3 | 19.7 |
| College | 25.7 | 47.0 | 13.3 | 1.3 | 12.7 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| Northeast | 17.0% | 44.0% | 12.3% | 2.3% | 24.4% |
| Middle West | 17.4 | 45.7 | 14.7 | 2.3 | 19.9 |
| South | 17.1 | 49.5 | 11.1 | 2.4 | 19.9 |
| Far West | 25.2 | 41.8 | 12.1 | 1.8 | 19.1 |
| BY SIZE OF PLACE | | | | | |
| Over 25,000 | 20.0% | 42.7% | 14.0% | 2.5% | 20.8% |
| Under 25,000 | 17.2 | 48.3 | 10.8 | 1.6 | 22.1 |
| Rural | 15.5 | 48.3 | 13.6 | 2.9 | 19.7 |

**12.** (US Dec 13 '45) Breakdowns of how respondents who voted for or favored Roosevelt in 1944, and how respondents who voted for or favored Dewey, rated President Truman's job in various fields. (NYHT)

| | *Roosevelt voters* | *Dewey voters* |
|---|---|---|
| BY POLITICS | | |
| *President Truman's job on our relations with foreign countries* | | |
| Excellent | 26.5% | 22.7% |
| Good | 50.8 | 53.7 |
| Only fair | 12.5% | 16.2% |
| Poor | .9 | 1.0 |
| Don't know | 9.3 | 6.4 |
| *President Truman's job in handling Congress* | | |
| Excellent | 17.9 | 16.8 |
| Good | 46.6 | 51.7 |
| Only fair | 15.6 | 17.7 |
| Poor | 1.4 | 1.5 |
| Don't know | 18.5 | 12.3 |
| *President Truman's handling of home problems* | | |
| Excellent | 13.6 | 11.3 |
| Good | 48.8 | 44.8 |
| Only fair | 19.3 | 26.1 |
| Poor | 3.4 | 5.0 |
| Don't know | 14.9 | 12.8 |

**13.** (US Dec '45) Of the various things Truman has done since he has been President, which one or two have you not liked so well? (FOR)

| | *All people* | *Prosperous* | *Poor* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| National topics: | | | |
| Unemployment bill | 5.1% | 16.6% | 1.0% |
| Handling of labor | 4.1 | 8.1 | 1.6 |
| Other | 6.8 | 9.0 | 4.2 |
| International topics: | | | |
| Giving De Gaulle a plane | .7 | 1.2 | .6 |
| Policy in Japan | .7 | .4 | .4 |
| Other | 2.4 | 2.1 | 1.4 |
| General comments (e.g., "just a politician") | 3.1 | 6.8 | 1.6 |
| Nothing or don't know | 79.4 | 58.7 | 89.3 |
| | 102.3%* | 103.8%* | 100.1%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**14.** (US Dec '45) Of the various things Truman has done since he has been President, which one or two have you liked best? (FOR)

| | *All people* | *Prosperous* | *Poor* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| National topics: | | | |
| Appointments good | 8.4% | 22.5% | 3.4% |
| Adherence to F.D.R.'s program | 5.7 | .9 | 6.4 |
| Unemployment policy | 3.4 | 2.1 | 5.4 |
| Cutting down expenses | 3.3 | 8.9 | 2.0 |
| Bringing servicemen home | 2.4 | — | 2.8 |
| Other | 11.6 | 17.8 | 5.7 |
| International topics: | | | |
| Handling foreign situation | 5.6 | 8.1 | 2.1 |
| Canceling lend-lease | 3.8 | 6.8 | 3.6 |
| Ending of the war | 2.8 | 3.0 | 4.3 |
| Other | 3.0 | 4.3 | 2.3 |
| General comments (e.g., "everything he has done has been good") | 15.2 | 24.7 | 10.1 |
| Nothing or don't know | 46.2 | 24.7 | 57.9 |
| | 111.4%* | 123.8%* | 106.0%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**15.** (US Dec '45) We want to know how the public rates President Truman on several specific things, from what they have seen of him up to now. So far as his handling of our relations

with foreign countries (Congress, home problems) goes, would you say President Truman is doing an excellent, good, only fair, or poor job? (FOR)

| | *Excellent* | *Good* | *Only fair* | *Poor* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Foreign relations | 24.3% | 51.3% | 13.4% | 1.0% | 10.0% |
| Congress | 16.9 | 47.8 | 15.9 | 1.4 | 18.0 |
| Home problems | 12.3 | 46.6 | 21.4 | 4.0 | 15.7 |
| (June '46) | | | | | |
| Foreign relations | 3.7 | 28.7 | 41.5 | 12.5 | 13.6 |
| Congress | 1.7 | 19.6 | 37.5 | 21.5 | 19.7 |
| Home problems | 2.6 | 28.1 | 38.1 | 22.4 | 8.8 |

**16.** (US Jan '46) With which one of these four statements do you come closest to agreeing? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Truman is doing such an excellent job that he is likely to be considered one of our great Presidents | 19.7% |
| While Truman has made some mistakes, on most things he is doing a good job | 62.4 |
| While Truman has done some things well, he is not really capable of handling the job | 8.5 |
| It is unfortunate that we have to have Truman as President at this important period of our history | 3.9 |
| Don't know | 5.5 |

**17.** (US Jan '46) Since President Truman took office he has made quite a number of appointments. Would you say that his appointments so far have been on the whole excellent, good, only fair, or poor? (FOR)

| | *Excellent* | *Good* | *Only fair* | *Poor* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 11.0% | 48.7% | 21.8% | 1.4% | 17.1% |
| (June '46) | 2.4 | 25.8 | 39.3 | 13.3 | 19.2 |

**18.** (US Jan 23 '46) Do you think that Truman has done all that he should in handling the strike problem? (AIPO)

Yes 45% No 37% Don't know 18%

What more should he do? Asked of 37% of the sample who thought that Truman had not done all that he should in handling the strike problem.

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, don't know | 4% |
| Stop strikes | 3 |
| Define a definite labor policy and enforce it | 12 |
| Have government take over the plants | 4 |
| Legislation to control labor unions, stop favoring unions | 4 |
| Reach an agreement with management | 1 |
| Legislation to force acceptance of arbitration | 2 |
| Take union leaders out of politics, make leaders responsible | 1 |
| Get new, qualified leaders | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |

**19.** (US Jan 23 '46) Generally speaking, do you feel that President Truman is doing a good, fair, or poor job as President? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good | 37% |
| Fair | 45 |
| Poor | 13 |
| Undecided | 5 |

**20.** (US Mar 27 '46) Has your feeling about President Truman changed since he took office? (AIPO)

Yes 33% No 62% No answer 5%

What things has he done, or not done, to make you change your mind? Asked of 33% of the sample whose feeling about President Truman had changed since he took office.

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, don't know | 2% |
| Has done nothing | 1 |
| Lacks leadership, strength | 9 |
| Appointments | 4 |
| Has followed Roosevelt | 1 |
| Has not followed Roosevelt | 1 |
| Handling of strike situation | 5 |
| Handling of foreign affairs | 2 |
| Acts on own responsibility, independent of politics | 1 |
| Trying to get along with all factions | 3 |
| Changed from original course | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| | 35%* |

* Percentages add to more than 33 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**21.** (US May 29 '46) Have you heard or read about Mr. Truman's recent speech to Congress and the people regarding the railroad strikes? (AIPO)

Yes 82% No 18%

Has your opinion about Mr. Truman changed since that speech? Asked of 82% of the sample who had heard or read about Mr. Truman's recent speech to Congress and the people regarding the railroad strike.

Yes 35% No 46% No answer 1%

Do you think more favorably or less favorably of him? Asked of 35% of the sample who knew of Truman's speech concerning the railroad strike and consequently had changed their opinion of him.

More 23% Less 12%

**22.** (US June '46) With which one of these four statements do you come closest to agreeing? (FOR)

| | *National total* | *Veterans* |
|---|---|---|
| Truman is doing such an excellent job that he is likely to be considered one of our great Presidents | 6.2% | 5.0% |
| While Truman has made some mistakes, on most things he is doing a good job | 45.9 | 45.0 |
| While Truman has done some things well, he is not really capable of handling the job | 33.5 | 40.5 |
| It is an extremely bad thing for the country to have a man like Truman as President | 6.1 | 5.3 |
| Don't know | 8.3 | 4.2 |

**23.** (US July 10 '46) Do you approve or disapprove of the way Truman is handling the strike problem? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 36% | 49% | 15% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Business and professional | 37% | 56% | 7% |
| White-collar | 34 | 52 | 14 |
| Farmers | 42 | 43 | 15 |
| Manual workers | 34 | 48 | 18 |
| Union members only | 30 | 56 | 14 |

## TUBERCULOSIS

**1.** (US June 28 '39) What do you think is the cause of tuberculosis (consumption)? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germs or bacteria | 18% |
| Run-down condition | 17 |
| Malnutrition | 13 |
| Poor living conditions | 12 |
| Hereditary | 11 |
| Exposure (to bad weather, cold, etc.) | 11 |
| Improper food | 8 |
| Colds, neglect of colds | 6 |
| All others | 4 |

**2.** (US June 28 '39) Do you think it [tuberculosis] is contagious? (AIPO)

Yes 76% No 24%

**3.** (US June 28 '39) Do you think tuberculosis is inherited at birth? (AIPO)

Yes 52% No 48%

**4.** (US June 28 '39) Do you think it [tuberculosis] is curable? (AIPO)

Yes 86% No 14%

What do you think is the best way to cure tuberculosis? Asked of a national cross-section of those who thought it is curable. 86% of the total sample represented.

| | |
|---|---|
| Rest | 43% |
| Proper food and nourishment | 36 |
| Fresh air | 26 |
| Sunshine | 18 |
| Climate | 25 |
| Sanitarium treatment | 13 |
| Medical care | 8 |
| Early treatment | 7 |
| Collapsing lungs | 2 |
| Treatments | 2 |
| Living a regular routine life | 2 |
| Light exercise | 2 |
| All others | 3 |
| No answer | 12 |
| | 199%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**5.** (Hungary Oct '46) Would you approve of compulsory control and care of persons with tuberculosis and syphilis? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Other and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Well-off | 96.8% | 2.8% | 0.4% |
| Middle class | 97.8 | 1.8 | 0.4 |
| Poor | 97.4 | 1.8 | 0.8 |

# UNEMPLOYED

## Australia

**1.** (Australia Aug–Sept '44) Are you confident that you (your husband) will have a suitable job (or occupation) after the war? Asked of a national cross-section of wage and salary earners—63% of the total sample. Results are for men only. (APOP)

Yes 47% No 16%

**2.** (Australia May '45) In the first few years after the war, do you think it will be easy or difficult to get jobs? (APOP)

Easy 54% Difficult 41% Don't know 5%

**3.** (Australia Aug '45) After the war, do you think employers should give men the first chance of jobs—should men and women have equal opportunity? (APOP)

BY SEX

| | *Men first* | *Both equal* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 80% | 18% | 2% |
| Women | 76 | 22 | 2 |

**4.** (Australia Sept–Oct '45) In the next few years, do you expect there will be enough jobs for everyone—some unemployment—or a lot of unemployment? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Will be jobs for all | 31% |
| Will be some unemployment | 39 |
| Will be much unemployment | 28 |
| No opinion | 2 |

**5.** (Australia Sept–Oct '45) And what do you expect in about 10 years time [enough jobs for everyone—some unemployment or a lot of unemployment]? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Jobs for all | 24% |
| Some unemployment | 35 |
| Much unemployment | 23 |
| No opinion | 18 |

## Canada

**1.** (Canada Jan 22 '44) When the war is over, do you think there will be a period when many people will be without jobs or do you think this will be avoided in Canada? (CIPO)

| | *Will be jobless period* | *Will be avoided* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 58% | 29% | 13% |
| (Aug 1 '45) National total | 61 | 25 | 14 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Liberals | 53% | 31% | 16% |
| Progressive-Conservative | 66 | 25 | 9 |
| CCF | 74 | 15 | 11 |

**2.** (Canada May 6 '44) Do you think the problem of making plans to provide jobs for everyone after the war should be up to the federal government in Ottawa, or up to the government in each of the provinces? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Federal | 38% |
| Provincial | 21 |
| Both | 36 |
| Neither | 1 |
| Undecided | 4 |

Would you favor this even if the provinces had to give some of their powers to the federal government in Ottawa in order to have one plan to cover the whole country? Asked of 38% of the sample who thought the federal government should have responsibility for the unemployment problem.

Yes 30% No 4% No opinion 4%

**3.** (Canada Sept 16 '44) Many people said that the winning of this war would mean a better world for ordinary people everywhere. As the end of the war comes nearer, do you feel more confident, or less confident, about the chances for full employment in Canada after the war? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| More confident | 42% |
| Less confident | 29 |
| No difference | 14 |
| Undecided | 15 |

**4.** (Canada Oct 18 '44) Which of these do you think should take the lead in setting up and carrying out plans to provide postwar employment: industry and business, the federal government in Ottawa, or provincial and municipal governments? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Federal government | 49% |
| Industry and business | 23 |
| Provincial and municipal governments | 16 |
| No opinion | 12 |

**5.** (Canada Mar 17 '45) If, some time after the war, the government found it necessary to pay out large sums of money for public works projects or other ways of helping employment, do you think most of the cost should be met by higher taxes, or would you prefer to see the money raised through borrowing by selling government bonds to the people? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Taxes | 19% |
| Bonds | 58 |
| Both | 16 |
| Undecided | 7 |

**6.** (Canada Jan 5 '46) Do you think business firms in this country will be able to provide enough jobs for everyone during the next five years, or will the government have to step in and provide work? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Business can provide jobs | 20% |
| Government must help | 70 |
| Undecided | 10 |

GOVERNMENT AID NEEDED
BY POLITICAL PARTY

| | |
|---|---|
| Progressive-Conservative | 64% |
| Liberal | 71 |
| CCF | 80 |

## Denmark

**1.** (Denmark Feb 28 '43) Which do you prefer, unemployment dole or work camps? Asked of a national cross-section of people eighteen to twenty-five years old. (DGI)

Unemployment dole 12.4% Work camps 57.8% Don't know 29.8%

**2.** (Denmark Mar 28 '43) Have you ever been unemployed for any length of time? (DGI)

Yes 11.0% No 89.0%

**3.** (Denmark May 13 '44) Do you expect to be out of work when the war is over? (DGI)

Yes 5.1% No 83.5% Don't know 11.4%

**4.** (Denmark Jan 7 '45) Do you think that full occupation for everyone can be practiced after the war, so that unemployment may be practically avoided? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 34.0% |
| No | 44.3 |
| Can never be avoided | 6.6 |
| Don't know | 15.1 |

**5.** (Denmark Jan 7 '45) Would you go as far as to think, for instance, that strikes and lockouts should be forbidden, if these measures could reduce unemployment? (DGI)

Yes 27.9% No 42.3% Don't know 29.8%

**6.** (Denmark Jan 7 '45) Do you think that unemployment is best avoided by the greatest possible freedom in business life, or by the State regulating wages, import, prices, etc.? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Freedom for business life | 33.5% |
| State regulations | 22.9 |
| Both | 6.5 |
| Don't know | 37.1 |

## Germany

**1.** (Germany Feb 14 '46) Do you think there are many people in Germany who are capable of working, but do not work because they do not like the kind of jobs offered? (OMGUS)

Yes 70% No 17% No opinion 13%

What kind of jobs are the most sought after today? Asked of 70% of the sample who thought there were people capable of working but who did not work because they didn't like the jobs offered.

| | |
|---|---|
| White-collar jobs: office work, salesman, technical, etc. | 31% |
| Construction work: masons, carpenter, locksmith, etc. | 7 |
| Handwork | 2 |
| Farm work | 2 |
| Factory work, work in industry | 3 |
| People want the jobs they are trained to do: their own calling | 4 |
| Light work: no heavy work | 7 |
| Well-paid work | 3 |
| Jobs with food (food as reason for wanting a job) | 2 |
| Don't know, can't say | 12 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 74%* |

* Percentages add to more than 70 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (Germany Aug 9 '46) We should like to know if you have any criticisms about the following items, for often criticism is worth more than praise. Are you satisfied, not quite satisfied, or not at all satisfied with measures taken to ensure full employment? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Satisfied | 55% |
| Not quite satisfied | 17 |
| Not at all satisfied | 9 |
| No answer | 1 |
| No opinion | 18 |

## Great Britain

**1.** (Great Britain July 12 '43) Do you think that after the war there will be jobs for all who want to work? (BIPO)

Yes 31% No 48% Don't know 21%

Do you think that full employment will last? Asked of 31% of the sample who thought there would be jobs for all who want to work after the war.

Yes 40% No 34% Don't know 26%

**2.** (Great Britain Jan 18 '44) Do you think that you personally, will have difficulty in finding work after the war? (BIPO)

Yes 16% No 47% Don't know 9% Will not work 28%

**3.** (Great Britain June '44) The government has recently published proposals to maintain employment after the war. Have you heard about these proposals? (BIPO)

Yes 60% No 40%

Do you think that the proposals [to maintain employment] will be effective? Asked of 60% of the sample who had heard about the proposals for employment after the war.

Yes 21% No 18% Don't know 21%

**4.** (Great Britain Nov '44) Do you think that in general it will be easy or difficult to get jobs during the first few years after the war? (BIPO)

Easy 39% Difficult 39% Don't know 22%

**5.** (Great Britain Feb '45) If, after the war, the government makes itself responsible for seeing that people get jobs, do you think that they should have the right to direct people through the labor exchanges? (BIPO)

Yes 38% No 49% Don't know 13%

**6.** (Great Britain Mar '46) During the next year, do you think there is any risk that you (your husband) will be unemployed? (BIPO)

| | *Great risk* | *Slight risk* | *No risk* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9% | 18% | 64% | 9% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 8% | 16% | 70% | 6% |
| Women | 10 | 21 | 57 | 12 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 8% | 19% | 61% | 12% |
| 30–49 years | 8 | 21 | 62 | 9 |
| 50 years and over | 10 | 16 | 68 | 6 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 3% | 3% | 93% | 1% |
| Middle | 4 | 12 | 81 | 3 |
| Lower | 11 | 22 | 56 | 11 |
| Very poor | 14 | 21 | 49 | 16 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Professional, salaried-executive | 4% | 6% | 90% | — |
| Salaried-clerical | 4 | 8 | 85 | 3% |
| Proprietors, farmers | — | 7 | 93 | — |
| Weekly wages (factory, heavy industry) | 13 | 26 | 53 | 8 |
| Weekly wages (all others) | 8 | 23 | 58 | 11 |

## Hungary

**1.** (Hungary Oct '46) Should unemployment increase, do you approve of state support for the unemployed? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Other and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Well-off | 51.4% | 43.3% | 5.3% |
| Middle class | 56.8 | 29.6 | 13.6 |
| Poor | 53.3 | 37.2 | 9.5 |

## U.S.

**1.** (US July '35) Do you believe that the government should see to it that every man who wants to work has a job? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 76.8% | 20.1% | 3.1% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 46.6% | 47.8% | 5.6% |
| Upper middle class | 69.0 | 26.2 | 4.8 |
| Lower middle class | 81.1 | 15.8 | 3.1 |
| Poor | 88.8 | 8.6 | 2.6 |
| BY RACE | | | |
| Negroes | 91.1% | 3.6% | 5.3% |

**2.** (US Feb 1 '36) To reduce unemployment, which of the following suggestions do you favor at this time? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Try to spread work by reducing hours of labor even if wages have to be cut | 22% |
| Let the government give employment by building roads, parks, and other public works | 28 |
| Rely on private industry to increase employment the best it can with the government doing all in its power to give businessmen confidence | 50 |
| Other suggestions | — |

**3.** (US Mar 21 '36) Should the responsibility of caring for all persons on relief be returned now to the state and local governments? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 45% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 44% | 56% |
| Republicans | 72 | 28 |
| Socialists | 38 | 62 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| Delaware | 75% | 25% |
| Massachusetts | 67 | 33 |
| Rhode Island | 65 | 35 |
| Connecticut | 63 | 37 |
| New Jersey | 63 | 37 |
| Michigan | 63 | 37 |
| Iowa | 63 | 37 |
| Missouri | 62 | 38 |
| New York | 61 | 39 |
| Maryland | 61 | 39 |
| Illinois | 61 | 39 |
| Virginia | 59 | 41 |
| Indiana | 58 | 42 |
| New Hampshire | 57 | 43 |
| Nebraska | 56 | 44 |
| South Carolina | 56 | 44 |
| Mississippi | 56 | 44 |
| Ohio | 55 | 45 |
| Kentucky | 55 | 45 |
| Texas | 55 | 45 |
| Maine | 54 | 46 |
| Kansas | 54 | 46 |
| Arizona | 53 | 47 |
| New Mexico | 53 | 47 |
| Pennsylvania | 52 | 48 |
| West Virginia | 52 | 48 |
| Minnesota | 51 | 49 |
| North Dakota | 51 | 49 |
| Oklahoma | 51 | 49 |
| Wisconsin | 50 | 50 |
| Nevada | 50 | 50 |
| Washington | 50 | 50 |
| Tennessee | 49 | 51 |
| Florida | 48 | 52 |
| Montana | 48 | 52 |
| Idaho | 48 | 52 |
| Wyoming | 48 | 52 |
| Louisiana | 47 | 53 |
| California | 47 | 53 |
| North Carolina | 46 | 54 |
| Colorado | 46 | 54 |
| Oregon | 46 | 54 |
| South Dakota | 45 | 55 |
| Utah | 45 | 55 |
| Arkansas | 43 | 57 |
| Georgia | 41 | 59 |
| Vermont | 40 | 60 |
| Alabama | 38 | 62 |

**4.** (US Oct '36) Do you believe the unemployed in this locality are provided for too well, just right, fairly well, or not well enough? (FOR)

| | *Too well* | *Just right* | *Fairly well* | *Not well enough* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 12.8% | 12.9% | 42.8% | 12.5% | 19.0% |
| Cities over 1,000,000 | 13.8 | 5.9 | 38.1 | 17.2 | 25.0 |

**5.** (US Oct '36) Do you believe the job of taking care of the unemployed in this locality has been done efficiently or extravagantly? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Efficiently | 38.1% |
| Extravagantly | 31.3 |
| Inefficiently | 2.0 |
| Don't know | 28.6 |

**6.** (US Jan 3 '37) Do you think the persons taken off relief jobs will have a hard or an easy time finding work? (AIPO)

| | *Hard time* | *Easy time* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 76% | 24% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 81% | 19% |
| Middle Atlantic | 76 | 24 |
| East central | 61 | 39 |
| West central | 85 | 15 |
| South | 76 | 24 |
| Mountain | 85 | 15 |
| Pacific coast | 84 | 16 |

**7.** (US Jan 18 '37) Do you think business can absorb the able-bodied persons on relief during the coming year? (AIPO)

Yes 33% No 67% No opinion (9%)

**8.** (US May 16 '37) Do you think the unemployment problem can be solved? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 65% | 35% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 63% | 37% |
| Middle Atlantic | 67 | 33 |
| East central | 69 | 31 |
| West central | 62 | 38 |
| South | 58 | 42 |
| Rocky Mountain | 67 | 33 |
| Pacific coast | 74 | 26 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 67% | 33% |
| Republicans | 64 | 36 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | |
| Farmers | 58% | 42% |
| City dwellers | 66 | 34 |

How [can the unemployment problem be solved]? Asked of 65% of the total sample who thought the unemployment problem could be solved. Listed are the first ten solutions.

(1) Shorten the hours of labor in business and industry.
(2) Less government in business.
(3) Force people on relief into employment by slashing the W.P.A. and other forms of relief.
(4) Retire the worker at the age of 60.
(5) Prohibit married women from holding jobs in business and industry.
(6) It's up to business.
(7) Levy a tax on new labor-saving machinery to support the workers who are being displaced.
(8) Establish the unemployed on small self-sustaining farmsteads.
(9) Stop further foreign immigration and send unemployed aliens back to their own nations.
(10) Eliminate child labor and give the child worker's job to an adult.

(Feb 20 '40) Do you think the unemployment problem can be solved?

Yes 70% No 30% = 100% Don't know 21%

**9.** (US May 16 '37, June 20 '37) Do you think the government should try to find out how many persons are unemployed by taking a national census? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 73% | 27% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 71% | 29% |
| Middle Atlantic | 76 | 24 |
| East central | 76 | 24 |
| West central | 75 | 25 |
| South | 72 | 28 |
| Rocky Mountain | 50 | 50 |
| Pacific coast | 66 | 34 |

**10.** (US May 16 '37) If an unemployment census is made, which of these two methods do you think better: Make a house-to-house canvass, or have all unemployed register at some local place, such as the post office? (AIPO)

| | *Registration* | *Canvass* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 59% | 41% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 58% | 42% |
| Middle Atlantic | 59 | 41 |
| East central | 58 | 42 |
| West central | 59 | 41 |
| South | 58 | 42 |
| Rocky Mountain | 59 | 41 |
| Pacific Coast | 61 | 39 |

**11.** (US Apr 26 '37) Do you think there will always be as many people unemployed as there are now? (AIPO)

Yes 36% No 64% No opinion (12%)

**12.** (US June 12 '37) Are you employed now? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 56% |
| No | 10 |
| WPA or work relief | 7 |
| Housewife, student, retired | 27 |

Are you trying to find employment? Asked of 10% of the sample who were unemployed.

Yes 7% No 2% No answer 1%

(Oct 18 '37) Are you employed now?

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 53% |
| No | 8 |
| Work relief | 5 |
| Housewife | 27 |
| Student | 5 |
| Retired | 2 |

Are you employed full time or part-time? Asked of 53% of the sample who were employed.

Full time 77% Part-time 11% No answer 12%

How long have you been unemployed? Asked of 13% of the sample who were unemployed (8%) or on relief (5%).

| | |
|---|---|
| One month | 10% |
| Over 1 month to 5 months | 14 |
| Over 5 months to 11 months | 8 |
| 1–2 years | 22 |
| Over 2 years to 3 years | 7 |
| Over 3 years to 4 years | 8 |
| Over 4 years to 5 years | 8 |
| Over 5 years to 6 years | 4 |
| Over 6 years | 5 |
| No answer | 14 |

Asked of the 13% of the sample who were unemployed or on relief: Are you trying to find employment?

Yes 72% No 17% No answer 11%

Does your health permit you to work in your usual line of work?

Yes 72% No 19% No answer 9%

Are you registered with the government employment service?

Yes 52% No 39% No answer 9%

Are other members of your family employed?

Yes 40% No 49% No answer 11%

(Nov 19 '37) Are you employed now?

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 54% |
| No | 13 |
| Work relief (WPA, CCC, NYA, etc.) | 7 |
| Housewife | 20 |
| Student | 4 |
| Retired | 2 |

**13.** (US July 12 '37) Do you think there will always be as many as five million unemployed in this country? (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 43% No opinion (16%)

**14.** (US Jan 30 '38) In Richmond, Virginia, persons on relief make some goods for their own use. Would you favor such a plan here? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 85% | 15% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 80% | 20% |
| Middle Atlantic | 81 | 19 |
| East central | 86 | 14 |
| West central | 88 | 12 |
| South | 88 | 12 |
| Mountain | 87 | 13 |
| Pacific coast | 86 | 14 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Republicans | 84% | 16% |
| Democrats | 86 | 14 |

**15.** (US Aug 9 '37) Should WPA workers be dropped from relief before they have found jobs in private industry? (AIPO)

Yes 32% No 68% No opinion (13%)

**16.** (US Aug 16 '37) Should WPA workers refuse to leave the relief rolls until they have jobs that pay as much as they now get on WPA? (AIPO)

Yes 46% No 54% No opinion (10%)

**17.** (US Aug 16 '37) Are there many persons in your community on WPA who could get jobs if they tried? (AIPO)

Yes 55% No 45% No opinion (30%)

**18.** (US Sept 7 '37) Do you think it is easier or harder to find work in your community now than it was a year ago? (AIPO)

Easier 51% Harder 15% About same 26% No opinion 8%

**19.** (US Oct '37) Do you believe that machines and new inventions make more jobs, or that instead they take jobs away? (FOR)

| | *Make jobs* | *Take jobs* | *Both* | *Neither* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 17.2% | 52.2% | 23.9% | 1.7% | 5.0% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Executives | 40.7% | 32.8% | 23.2% | 1.2% | 2.1% |
| Factory labor | 20.1 | 51.1 | 20.1 | 2.9 | 5.8 |
| Unemployed | 11.6 | 62.4 | 16.0 | 2.8 | 7.2 |

**20.** (US Oct '37) Which kind of government—federal, state, or local—do you feel should take care of relief? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Federal | 34.8% |
| State | 17.6 |
| Local | 28.4 |
| Combination of these | 6.4 |
| None of them | 2.5 |
| Don't know | 10.3 |

**21.** (US Jan 2 '38) Did you send in an unemployment census card last week? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS | | |
| Full-time employed | 1% | 99% |
| Part-time employed | 43 | 57 |
| Housewives | 2 | 98 |
| Students | 2 | 98 |
| Retired | 6 | 94 |

**22.** (US Dec 12 '37) Do you think all the unemployed should register weekly at the post office so that the government can know each week how many are out of work? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 61% | 39% |
| BY AGE | | |
| 18–24 years | 73% | 27% |
| 25–34 years | 64 | 36 |
| 35–44 years | 58 | 42 |
| 45–54 years | 60 | 40 |
| 55 years and over | 65 | 35 |
| BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS | | |
| Unemployed | 64% | 36% |
| Employed | 62 | 38 |

**23.** (US Nov 19 '37) Are you employed full-time or part-time? Asked of a national cross-section of employed people. (AIPO)

Full-time 87% Part-time 13%

**24.** (US Nov 19 '37) How long have you been without work? Asked of a national cross-section of people unemployed or on relief. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Six months and under | 38% |
| Seven months to one year and six months | 17 |
| One year and seven months—to two years and six months | 13 |
| Three years | 8 |
| Four years | 8 |
| Five years | 7 |
| Six years | 4 |
| Seven years | 2 |
| Over seven years | 3 |

**25.** (US Nov 19 '37) Are you trying to find work? Asked of a national cross-section of people unemployed or on relief. (AIPO)

Yes 85% No 15%

**26.** (US Nov 19 '37) Does your health permit you to work in your usual line of work? Asked of a national cross-section of people unemployed or on relief. (AIPO)

Yes 86% No 14%

**27.** (US Nov 19 '37) Before the unemployment census started were you registered with the government employment service? Asked of a national cross-section of people unemployed or on relief. (AIPO)

Yes 49% No 51%

**28.** (US Jan 2 '38) Is it your understanding that you will get a job because you sent in an unemployment census card? Asked of a national cross-section of unemployed persons. (AIPO)

Yes 20% No 80%

**29.** (US Nov 19 '37) Have you ever had a regular job? Asked of a national cross-section of young unemployed persons. (AIPO)

Yes 52% No 48%

**30.** (US Jan 9 '38, Apr 5 '39) Do you think it is the government's responsibility to pay the living expenses of needy people who are out of work? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 69% | 31% | — |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 76% | 24% | — |
| Republicans | 57 | 43 | — |
| (US July 2 '38) National total | 67 | 28 | 5% |

**31.** (US Jan '38) It has been predicted that hundreds of thousands of able-bodied people now out of work will never again find jobs. If this is so, what do you think should be done about them? (FOR)

| | *Government-made work like WPA* | *Cash relief* | *Private charity* | *Let them shift for themselves* | *Other** | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 57.7% | 3.6% | 2.5% | 17.9% | 7.1% | 11.2% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 46.8% | 2.7% | 2.4% | 24.8% | 10.9% | 12.4% |
| Poor | 63.3 | 4.2 | 2.1 | 13.3 | 5.6 | 11.5 |
| BY SIZE AND TYPE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | | |
| Cities over 1,000,000 | 69.1% | 4.4% | 1.1% | 9.3% | 6.8% | 9.3% |
| Rural | 54.2 | 2.1 | 1.1 | 25.4 | 5.8 | 11.4 |

* Included "reduced hours for all," "absorption by industry," "homesteading land," "deportation of aliens," "other government or state aid," etc.

**32.** (US Aug 24 '38) If you (or your husband) lost your (or his) job (or farm or business) and couldn't find other work, about how long could you hold out before you had to apply for relief? (AIPO)

| | *One month or less* | *Two to six months* | *Six months to two years* | *Three years or more** | *Persons already on relief* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 31% | 20% | 14% | 21% | 14% |
| (Apr 2 '39) | | | | | |
| National total | 19 | 16 | 13 | 35 | 17 |
| Farmers | 27 | 15 | 16 | 42 | — |
| (Dec 25 '40) | | | | | |
| National total (excluding farmers) | 25 | 19 | 13 | 29 | 14 |
| Farmers | 32 | 22 | 17 | 29 | — |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Roosevelt voters | 60% | 58% | 49% | 39% | 80% |
| Willkie voters | 40 | 42 | 51 | 61 | 20 |

* Or indefinitely or would never go on relief.

**33.** (US July 31 '38) If you had a job and then lost it, do you think it would be hard to get relief assistance again? Asked of a national cross-section of people on relief. (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 39%

**34.** (US Apr 5 '39) Would you favor having a national committee made up of members of both major political parties to handle unemployment relief? (AIPO)

Yes 76% No 24%

**35.** (US Apr 5 '39) Do you think unemployment relief should be handled by the federal government or by state and local governments? (AIPO)

Federal government 36%
State and local governments 64

**36.** (US Feb 15 '39) Do you think that, to create new jobs and reduce unemployment, it would be better to follow the ideas of big business men or the ideas of the Roosevelt administration? (AIPO)

| | *Favor businessmen* | *Favor administration* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 45% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 36% | 64% |
| Republicans | 96 | 4 |

**37.** (US Mar 2 '39) If you lost your present job (business, farm) how hard do you think it would be for you to get another job (business, farm) just as good? (AIPO)

BY OCCUPATION

| | *Impossible* | *Quite hard* | *Fairly hard* | *Easy* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Employers and business owners | 14% | 39% | 21% | 26% |
| Employees | 8 | 37 | 32 | 23 |
| Farmers and farm workers | 16 | 39 | 25 | 20 |

**38.** (US Apr 26 '39) Do you think there are any persons on relief in this community who could get jobs in private industry if they tried? (AIPO)

Yes 69% No 31%

About what portion of the people on relief [could get jobs in private industry if they wanted]? Asked of 69% of the total who thought persons on relief in their community could get jobs in private industry if they tried.

Median = 25%

**39.** (US May 18 '39) Ten years from now, do you believe the United States will have more people out of work or fewer people out of work than now? (AIPO)

More 31%
Fewer 44
Same 7
Don't know 18

**40.** (US June '39) Do you think our government should or should not provide for all people who have no other means of subsistence? (FOR)

Should 69.1% Should not 22.7%
Don't know or depends 8.2%

**41.** (US June '39) Do you think our government should or should not be responsible for seeing to it that everyone who wants to work has a job? (FOR)

Should 61.2% Should not 32.2%
Don't know or depends 6.6%

**42.** (US June 29 '39) Would you be willing to serve without pay on a committee made up of private citizens to investigate such problems as unemployment, relief and housing in your community? (AIPO)

Yes 70% No 30%

**43.** (US June 29 '39) Would you be willing to serve without pay on a committee made up of private citizens to investigate such problems as housing, relief, and unemployment in your community? (AIPO)

Yes 63% No 37%

**44.** (US Aug 11 '39) Pennsylvania has a law requiring all able-bodied people on relief (including WPA) to accept any job offered by a local government, no matter what kind of job it is. If they refuse to take the job, their relief is cut off. Would you favor such a law in this state? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 81% | 19% |
| BY RELIEF STATUS | | |
| People on relief | 64% | 36% |
| All others | 83 | 17 |

**45.** (US Jan '40) Do you think employment in general has increased, decreased, or stayed about the same during the last months? (FOR)

| | *Increased* | *Same* | *Decreased* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41.3% | 33.5% | 10.8% | 14.4% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| Middle West | 51.5% | 27.4% | 8.9% | 12.2% |
| Southwest | 25.0 | 34.0 | 18.3 | 22.7 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 49.3% | 28.5% | 5.7% | 16.5% |
| Poor | 34.1 | 37.3 | 15.4 | 13.2 |
| BY RACE | | | | |
| Negroes | 27.4% | 36.5% | 19.2% | 16.9% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Executives | 66.2% | 24.2% | 4.5% | 5.1% |
| Farm labor | 29.4 | 41.2 | 18.1 | 11.3 |
| Unemployed | 38.1 | 34.1 | 21.5 | 6.3 |

**46.** (US Feb 6 '40) Do you personally know of any jobs that are now open, outside of the WPA that could be filled by persons on relief? (AIPO)

Yes 13% No 87%

**47.** (US Apr 17 '40) Which of these candidates would be able to do the most in reducing unemployment: Taft, Wheeler, Vandenberg, Roosevelt, Hoover, Farley, Dewey, Hull, Gannett, McNutt, Bridges, Garner? [Listed on T form as "Please look at this list of names and tell me, etc."] (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Vandenberg | 5% |
| Taft | 5 |
| Dewey | 14 |
| Gannett | 1 |
| Bridges | 1 |
| Hoover | 5% |
| Roosevelt | 33 |
| Garner | 2 |
| McNutt | 1 |
| Hull | 2 |
| Farley | 2 |
| Wheeler | 2 |
| All others | 2 |
| No answer | 25 |

**48.** (US Aug 25 '40) Would you favor a special government program to provide part-time work and training for young people who have left school and are not able to find work? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion and undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 82% | 11% | 7% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 83% | 11% | 6% |
| East central | 84 | 10 | 6 |
| West central | 78 | 13 | 9 |
| South | 82 | 8 | 10 |
| West | 82 | 14 | 4 |

**49.** (US Dec '40) Disregarding the rearmament boom, do you believe that if certain deterrents are removed, private industry can in time create jobs for practically all the unemployed? Or do you believe we must plan for a future in which millions of workers will never be reabsorbed into private enterprise? Asked of a national cross-section of executives. (FOR)

Private industry can in time create jobs for practically all the unemployed 85.4%
Workers will never be reabsorbed into private enterprise 14.6

**50.** (US Dec '40) 85.4% of the sample represented (in question number 49) who believed that private enterprise could reabsorb the unemployed were asked: Do you believe that all these jobs can be created by: (FOR)

| | *National total* | *Finance and investment* | *Commercial and retail* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY TYPE OF EXECUTIVE | | | |
| Removing government deterrents alone | 40.0% | 44.2% | 34.9% |
| Changing certain policies of business (for example, pricing) without the government's changing its attitude toward business | 1.1 | 0.3 | 2.0 |
| Only a change in the policies of business combined with a change in the attitude of government | 58.9 | 55.5 | 63.1 |

**51.** (US Dec '40) Obviously the whole unemployment problem cannot be blamed on the New Deal, since there were nine million unemployed when the New Deal began. The Brookings Institution has published a carefully documented report arguing that the principal reason for the 1929–1932 collapse was that many industries had not expanded their markets by passing on to the consumer, in the form of lower prices, the benefits of increased efficiency and lower costs. Do you agree with the Brookings Institution's explanation? Asked of a national cross-section of executives. (FOR)

Yes 16.2% In part 49.0% No 23.2% Don't know 11.6%

**52.** (US Sept '41) Is your employment total now above or below the average for approximately the past three years? Asked of a national cross section of executives. (FOR)

| | *Above* | *Same* | *Below* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 64.9% | 28.3% | 6.8% |
| BY TYPE OF EXECUTIVE | | | |
| Manufacturing | 70.6% | 24.4% | 5.0% |
| Finance | 46.6 | 42.2 | 11.2 |
| Commerce and retailing | 67.0 | 28.6 | 4.4 |
| Railroads and utilities | 60.2 | 30.6 | 9.2 |

**53.** (US Dec '41) After the war, do you think there will be jobs for everybody, some unemployment, or lots of unemployment? (FOR)

| *Lots of unemployment* | *Some unemployment* | *Jobs for all* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 60.7% | 22.8% | 11.3% | 5.2% |

Will there be more, about the same, or less unemployment than the worst of the last depression? Asked of the 60.7% of the sample who thought there would be lots of unemployment after the war.

More 31.3% Same 17.7% Less 7.8% Don't know 3.9%

**54.** (US Mar 26 '42) After the war is over, do you think there will be jobs for everyone or lots of unemployment? (OPOR)

| | *Jobs* | *Unemployment* | *Qualified* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 17% | 65% | 10% | 8% |
| (May 30 '42) | 30 | 58 | 3 | 9 |

**55.** (US July '42) Five years after the war do you think that there will be more, less, or about the same amount of unemployment in the United States as before the war? (FOR)

| | *More* | *Same* | *Less* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 29.6% | 24.2% | 36.1% | 10.1% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 26.5% | 27.1% | 39.9% | 6.5% |
| Poor | 29.7 | 20.3 | 37.6 | 12.4 |
| BY TYPE OF OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Executive | 27.5% | 24.0% | 42.5% | 6.0% |
| Factory labor | 29.1 | 23.0 | 40.4 | 7.5 |

**56.** (US Aug 21 '42) How about unemployment? Do you think we'll have more unemployment or less unemployment in the five years after the war than we had in the five years before the war started? (NORC)

Don't know 10% More 33% Same 11% Less 46%

**57.** (US Sept '42) After the immediate postwar adjustment and conversion, do you think unemployment in the United States will be small, fairly large, or great? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Small 20.6% Fairly large 58.6% Great 20.8%

Do you think business should get together and assume major responsibility for eliminating unemployment, or should business rely upon the government to do so by large-scale expenditures? Which do you think actually will occur? Asked of the 79.4% who thought unemployment would be fairly large or great. (FOR)

| | *Business* | *Government* | *Both* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Should assume responsibility | 90.5% | 7.5% | 2.0% |
| Will assume responsibility | 15.7 | 81.2 | 3.1 |

**58.** (US Nov '42) When the war is over, do you think our government should or should not make sure there are jobs for everyone who wants to work, even though this means bigger taxes? Asked of a national cross-section of high-school students. (FOR)

Should 77.6% Should not 18.2% Don't know 4.2%

**59.** (US Jan 11 '43) Do you think that one of our aims should be to see that everyone in this country has a chance to get a job after the war? (NORC)

Yes 99% No 1% Don't know Less than 0.5%

The 99% of the sample who thought that full employment should be one of our postwar aims were asked: Do you think that this can actually be done?

Yes 68% No 18% Don't know 13%

The 99% of the sample who thought that full employment should be one of our postwar aims were asked: Do you think we should start to make plans for this (full employment) right now, or do you think this ought to wait till later?

Now 72% Later 23% Don't know 4%

**60.** (US Jan 11 '43) Do you think we should try to see that there is no unemployment in other countries after the war? (NORC)

Yes 28% No 61% Don't know 11%

**61.** (US Jan 27 '43) In case there is lots of unemployment after the war, are you in favor of having the government provide unemployment payments to people until they find jobs again? (AIPO)

Yes 70% No 24% No opinion 6%

**62.** (US Jan 27 '43) Are you now employed at the same job you had a year ago? Asked of a national cross-section of employers and employees. (AIPO)

Yes 69% No 27% Not employed a year ago 4%

**63.** (US Jan 27 '43) After the war is over, do you expect to be able to keep your present job or will you have to look for a new job? Asked of a national cross-section of employers and employees. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Keep present job | 71% |
| Look for new job | 10 |
| Don't plan to work after the war | 5 |
| Don't know | 14 |

**64.** (US Feb '43) What percentage, approximately, of your present working force has been newly hired during the last six months? (FOR)

| | *Few or none* | *10 to 20%* | *20 to 40%* | *40 to 60%* | *60 to 80%* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY CONTRASTING GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| West | 12.4% | 25.3% | 37.6% | 18.8% | 5.9% |
| New York City | 19.8 | 39.6 | 28.4 | 9.7 | 2.5 |
| BY TYPE OF BUSINESS | | | | | |
| Mercantile companies | 14.8% | 27.1% | 36.2% | 17.7% | 4.2% |
| Railroads and utilities | 24.2 | 48.3 | 22.3 | 2.8 | 2.4 |

**65.** (US Feb '43) About what per cent, if any, of the groups listed below are included in your normal peacetime working force? What per cent in your present force? What per cent of them could you employ efficiently? (FOR)

| | *Normally employ* | | *Presently employ* | | *Could employ efficiently* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Negroes* | | | | | | |
| None | 56.3% | 86.1% | 47.5% | 82.3% | 36.9% | 64.7% |
| Less than 10% | 29.8 | | 34.8 | | 27.8 | |
| 10% to 19% | 5.9 | 13.6 | 7.9 | 17.3 | 14.9 | 29.3 |
| 20% to 39% | 4.0 | | 5.4 | | 8.4 | |
| 40% to 59% | 1.9 | | 1.8 | | 3.0 | |
| 60% and over | 1.8 | | 2.2 | | 3.0 | |
| Don't know | .3 | | .4 | | 6.0 | |
| *High-school students* | | | | | | |
| None | 70.4% | 89.0% | 61.4% | 84.9% | 41.0% | 65.4% |
| Less than 10% | 18.6 | | 23.5 | | 24.4 | |
| 10% to 19% | 6.2 | 10.3 | 8.8 | 14.4 | 19.3 | 31.2 |
| 20% to 39% | 1.8 | | 3.1 | | 8.1 | |
| 40% to 59% | .6 | | .7 | | 1.7 | |
| 60% and over | 1.7 | | 1.8 | | 2.1 | |
| Don't know | .7 | | .7 | | 3.4 | |
| *Women* | | | | | | |
| None | 14.9% | 33.6% | 8.9% | 24.1% | 7.0% | 15.0% |
| Less than 10% | 18.7 | | 15.2 | | 8.0 | |
| 10% to 19% | 16.2 | 66.1 | 16.1 | 75.6 | 12.8 | 82.7 |
| 20% to 39% | 19.6 | | 21.2 | | 21.7 | |
| 40% to 59% | 15.3 | | 17.8 | | 18.8 | |
| 60% and over | 15.0 | | 20.5 | | 29.4 | |
| Don't know | .3 | | .3 | | 2.3 | |
| *People younger than normal average* | | | | | | |
| None | | | 48.4% | 73.3% | 33.1% | 50.4% |
| Less than 10% | | | 24.9 | | 17.3 | |
| 10% to 19% | | | 16.2 | 25.3 | 24.9 | 46.2 |
| 20% to 39% | | | 6.4 | | 15.3 | |
| 40% to 59% | | | 1.9 | | 3.8 | |
| 60% and over | | | .8 | | 2.2 | |
| Don't know | | | 1.4 | | 3.4 | |
| *People older than normal average* | | | | | | |
| None | | | 18.3% | 53.0% | 13.1% | 30.9% |
| Less than 10% | | | 34.7 | | 17.8 | |
| 10% to 19% | | | 27.1 | 45.9 | 30.0 | 66.0 |
| 20% to 39% | | | 12.7 | | 25.9 | |
| 40% to 59% | | | 4.1 | | 6.5 | |
| 60% and over | | | 2.0 | | 3.6 | |
| Don't know | | | 1.1 | | 3.1 | |

**66.** (US Apr 11 '43) Do you think your present job will continue after the war, or do you think you will have to find a new one? Asked of a national cross-section of employed people. (AIPO)

Continued 79% Find new one 13% Undecided 8%

Do you think you will have any difficulty finding a new job? Asked of 13% of the sample who thought they would have to find a new job after the war.

Yes 5% No 5% Don't know 3%

**67.** (US Apr '43) For the first year or two after the war, which one of these things do you expect: enough jobs for everybody, some unemployment, or a lot of unemployment? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Enough jobs | 33% |
| Some unemployment | 31 |
| Lots of unemployment | 32 |
| No opinion | 2 |
| Qualified answer | 2 |

(Mar '45)

| | |
|---|---|
| Enough jobs | 37% |
| Some unemployment | 36 |
| Lots of unemployment | 24 |
| Depends on what government does, what party is in (internal) | 1 |
| Depends on taking women out of their jobs | * |
| Depends on men who come back, how many, what they want to do | * |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

(Feb '46)

| | |
|---|---|
| Enough jobs | 23% |
| Some unemployment | 41 |
| Lots of unemployment | 33 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| Qualified answer | 1 |

**68.** (US Apr '43) After we do get back to peacetime conditions, which one of these things do you expect: enough jobs for everybody, some unemployment, or a lot of unemployment? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Enough jobs | 23% |
| Some unemployment | 44 |
| Lot of unemployment | 28 |
| No opinion | 3 |
| Qualified answer | 2 |

Which one of the following things do you think should be done about the people who can't get jobs? Asked of 77% of the sample who didn't expect enough jobs for all after the war or had no opinion.

| | |
|---|---|
| The government should make workers save money now under Social Security to take care of themselves when they don't have jobs | 44% |
| The government should make jobs for them | 20 |
| The government should give them relief money | 1 |
| Private charities should take care of them | 1 |
| Their own families should take care of them | 3 |
| No opinion | 4 |
| Qualified answer | 4 |

**69.** (US Aug '43) Do you think you might try to get one [a job] in the next year or so? Asked of a national cross-section of unemployed women, 20 to 35 years old. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33.2% | 59.0% | 7.8% |
| BY MARITAL STATUS | | | |
| Married | 27.7% | 64.7% | 7.6% |
| Single | 67.2 | 23.0 | 9.8 |

**70.** (US Oct '43) Allowing for a period of reconversion, do you believe reasonably full employment after the war can be maintained by private business? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Yes 73.7% No 22.4% Don't know 3.9%

**71.** (US Jan 4 '44) Should every person who now holds a job formerly filled by a man in the armed services be required to give it up when the serviceman returns? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 60% |
| No | 20 |
| Don't know | 11 |
| Qualified answers: | 9 |
| Depends on the qualifications of both men—the better qualified should have the job | 4 |
| Depends on the individual's need—serviceman shouldn't be given job if it would bring hardships on person he replaces | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Women should give up jobs formerly held by men | 2 |
| If serviceman was promised his job back | 1 |
| We should find jobs for all servicemen | 1 |

**72.** (US Feb '44) Which of these comes closest to expressing your ideas of what the government should do to avoid periods of unemployment after the war: (1) Let business and industry work out the problem without any government interference at all. (2) Depend mainly on business and industry to create enough employment normally, and just provide work at those times when industry cannot employ everyone. (3) Carry on continuously a program of public works, enlarging it during periods of unemployment and reducing it when there are plenty of jobs. (4) Carry on large government works all the time, even if business and industry find it hard to get enough workers in good times. (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 14.7% | 31.9% | 35.3% | 7.1% | 11.0% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Those who expect to vote Republican | 22.1% | 39.2% | 26.7% | 5.6% | 6.4% |
| Those who expect to vote Democrat | 9.1 | 28.2 | 44.4 | 9.0 | 9.3 |
| Those who do not know yet | 12.8 | 28.5 | 33.2 | 5.9 | 19.6 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| High | 22.5% | 45.0% | 24.3% | 2.3% | 5.9% |
| Upper middle | 19.2 | 43.7 | 30.4 | 2.2 | 4.5 |
| Lower middle | 14.6 | 32.5 | 37.8 | 6.4 | 8.7 |
| Low | 11.4 | 21.4 | 38.4 | 11.0 | 17.8 |
| BY RACE | | | | | |
| Negroes | 5.7% | 13.8% | 37.4% | 17.1% | 26.0% |

**73.** (US May '44) In some cities, business, labor unions, and city government have contributed to a fund to plan the maintenance of employment in connection with the change-over. Would you recommend that your company join in promoting, and contribute to, such a fund? Asked of a national cross-section of executives. (FOR)

Yes 28.8% No 57.1% Don't know 14.1%

**74.** (US May '44) Which of the following statements comes nearest to what you think should be your company's position regarding large-scale layoffs during the change-over period? Asked of a national cross-section of executives. (FOR)

BY TYPE OF OCCUPATION

| | *National total* % | *Manufacturing* % | *Finance* % | *Commerce* % | *Utilities* % | *Other* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| It is useless to try to avoid them | 7.8 | 8.3 | 7.5 | 6.2 | 6.1 | 8.8 |
| Each company should make its own provision to soften the blow | 58.5 | 62.6 | 56.0 | 51.2 | 50.8 | 54.9 |
| Industries should get together on policies to reduce layoffs | 19.5 | 16.5 | 21.1 | 25.1 | 26.4 | 21.1 |
| Each company or industry should make provision, but as some will not, Congress should work out some equitable plan to require it | 7.1 | 6.4 | 8.5 | 9.4 | 4.1 | 7.6 |
| Don't know | 7.1 | 6.2 | 6.9 | 8.1 | 12.6 | 7.6 |

**75.** (US May '44) Do you think it is a function of government today to see to it that substantially full employment is maintained? Asked of a national cross-section of executives. (FOR)

Yes 29.4% No 66.2% Don't know 4.4%

**76.** (US May 23 '44) Do you plan to keep on working after the war? Asked of a national cross-section of employees and employers who were working in war plants. (AIPO)

Yes 89% No 7% Don't know 4%

**77.** (US May 23 '44) Will your present job keep on after the war, or will you have to look for a new job? Asked of a national cross-section of employees and employers working in war plants, who planned to keep on working after the war. (AIPO)

Keep on 81% New job 8% Don't know 11%

**78.** (US May 23 '44) How hard do you think it will be to find a new job? Asked of a national cross-section of employees and employers working in war plants, who planned to keep on working after the war but felt they would have to look for a new job? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Fairly hard | 29% |
| Easy | 36 |
| Very hard | 20 |
| Don't know | 15 |

**79.** (US May 23 '44) Do you think you will get the same rate of pay as you are now getting, or will you probably have to take less? Asked of a national cross-section of employees and employers working in war plants, who planned to keep on working after the war. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Same | 45% |
| Less | 39 |
| More | 6 |
| No opinion | 10 |

**80.** (US July 28 '44) About ten million persons were unemployed in this country before the war. What is your best guess as to the number who will be unemployed two years after this war is over? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 million or less | 12% |
| 4–6 million | 31 |
| 7–10 million | 24 |
| 11–19 million | 11 |
| 20 million or more | 8 |
| No idea | 14 |

Median: 6,500,000

**81.** (US July 6 '44) Were you working or seeking work during the last depression? (AIPO)

Working 55% Seeking work 14% Neither 31%

**82.** (US July 6 '44) Were you, or was the working head of your family unemployed and not able to find a job at any time during the last depression? (AIPO)

Yes (respondent) 15% Head of family 11% Neither 74%

**83.** (US July 6 '44) Do you plan to work after the war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 70% |
| No | 26 |
| Don't know | 4 |
| Qualified answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

How certain are you that you will have a job after the war? Asked of 70% of the sample who planned to work after the war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Very certain | 40% |
| Fairly certain | 25 |
| Not at all certain | 35 |

**84.** (US Aug '44) Proposed: That leaders of organizations representing business—such as NAM, CED, C of C; and those representing labor—such as CIO, AFL, RR Brotherhoods; and those representing farmers—such as the Farm Bureau, the Grange, the Farmers Union—make an earnest effort, through intelligent and cooperative give-and-take to agree upon an overall program for both government and private action to bring about as full employment as is possible after the war. Will you please check as many of the following statements as express some definite conviction of yours on the above proposal? Asked of a national cross-section of executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Representatives of businessmen would be delinquent in their duty if they did not seek for some program acceptable to farm and labor groups | 64.8% |
| Since the public is tired of the demands of farm and labor leaders, businessmen ought to make up their own economic program and present that to the public without seeking a joint agreement | 22.4 |
| A joint program would be a good idea if business representatives could deal with the right people in the labor movement and among the farmers; but with the leaders now in these groups a sound program is not likely to be reached | 56.6 |
| Such an effort might come to grief because many of the present business representatives are diehards who don't know how to deal with other groups | 15.9 |
| Such an effort would set up a super-lobby, and so would endanger the normal process of government | 4.1 |
| It would be a waste of businessmen's time to try to agree with labor and farm leaders, since at the present time no fundamentally sound agreement is possible | 15.0 |
| Unless businessmen make some such effort to find an area of agreement with labor and farmers, the politicians will take over and make the rules to suit themselves | 62.7 |
| Business representatives who make such an effort would betray their own interests, for they would be publicly compromising the rights of all businessmen | 3.8 |
| Business representatives who want to set up programs like this are just playing politics to the detriment of industry | 3.7 |
| | 249.0%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**85.** (US Aug '44) If it could be worked out after the war so that everyone who wants to work has a job, do you think there would be a higher percentage of our population working than before the crash in '29, a lower percentage, or about the same percentage? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Higher | 52.5% |
| Same | 25.6 |
| Lower | 7.5 |
| Don't know | 14.4 |

**86.** (US Aug '44) Regardless of whether you approve of some of these things, which one do you think would do the most to help prevent unemployment after the war: Prevent married women whose husbands have jobs from working; shorten working hours; encourage the development of new products and build up the markets for all products; lower the age for social-security pensions to sixty? (FOR)

| | *Prevent married women* | *Shorten working hours* | *Encourage products* | *Lower pension age* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 35.8% | 11.0% | 44.3% | 6.6% | 7.9% | = 105.6%* |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 24.5% | 8.7% | 68.5% | .8% | 3.7% | = 106.2%* |
| Upper middle | 29.7 | 8.9 | 61.2 | 4.1 | 2.3 | = 106.2* |
| Lower middle | 40.9 | 11.1 | 43.4 | 6.5 | 4.5 | = 106.4* |
| Poor | 43.6 | 12.8 | 27.4 | 10.3 | 11.2 | = 105.3* |
| BY RACE | | | | | | |
| Negroes | 18.1% | 14.2% | 26.8% | 9.6% | 33.6% | = 102.3%* |
| BY EDUCATION | | | | | | |
| College | 22.5% | 8.9% | 68.5% | 3.6% | 1.4% | = 104.9%* |
| None | 33.6 | 9.1 | 10.9 | 10.9 | 36.4 | = 100.9* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**87.** (US Aug 16 '44) If there are not enough jobs in private industry to go around after the war, should the WPA be started up again to give work relief to the unemployed? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 44% |
| Yes, under more effective management | 4 |
| No | 45 |
| No opinion | 7 |

**88.** (US Oct 30 '44) Do you think the federal government should provide jobs for every one able and willing to work but who cannot get a job in private employment? (NYHT)

Should 67.7% Should not 25.2% Undecided 7.1%

**89.** (US Dec 27 '44) After the war, do you think that everyone who wants a job will be able to get one? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 25% | 68% | 7% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 28% | 66% | 6% |
| Women | 22 | 71 | 7 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 23% | 73% | 4% |
| 30–49 years | 25 | 68 | 7 |
| 50 years and over | 26 | 66 | 8 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Business and professional | 22% | 74% | 4% |
| White-collar | 25 | 67 | 8 |
| Farmers | 25 | 69 | 6 |
| Workers (skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled) | 26 | 65 | 8 |

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 26% | 68% | 6% |
| East central | 25 | 67 | 8 |
| West central | 27 | 65 | 8 |
| South | 24 | 67 | 9 |
| Mountain states and Pacific coast | 23 | 72 | 5 |

**90.** (US Jan 5 '45) After the war, what do you think should be done to give most people jobs at good wages? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No government in private business, encourage private enterprise, help private industry, take government out of business, more freedom to private business | 22% |
| Public works, state and federal government constructions, federal government program, have government provide more work, public constructions, public work projects, WPA | 10 |
| Shorter working hours, cut down number of hours, equalize hours of employment | 8 |
| Revert to consumer production, manufacture peacetime industry, more goods for civilian use | 8 |
| Government regulation, government provide work, government should pass laws | 5 |
| Housing projects, expand business buildings, building boom, new homes, building program | 3 |
| Give people more work, more work at good pay, whatever necessary for more work | 1 |
| Lower social security age limit, no child labor, minimum wage law, social legislation | 1 |
| Unionize people, according to trades and pay in accordance with skill, take labor from under national control and put under local or committee control | 1 |
| Increase foreign trade | 2 |
| Eliminate women (married) workers | 3 |
| Put workers on farm | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 8 |
| No answer, don't know, no opinion | 31 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**91.** (US Feb '45) Do you expect serious unemployment in your industrial community during reconversion? Asked of a national cross-section of executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Worse than 1937–40 | 33.6% |
| Not so serious as 1937–40 | 38.6 |
| No more than that due to shifts of jobs | 29.1 |
| | 101.3%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**92.** (US Feb '45) How, in your present judgment, will employment in your company after the war compare with wartime and with prewar employment? Asked of a national cross-section of executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Greater than wartime employment: | |
| By 10 per cent | 12.9% |
| By 20 per cent | 11.8 |
| By 30 per cent | 4.0 |
| By more than 40 per cent | 5.2 |
| Less than wartime employment: | |
| By 10 per cent | 7.0 |
| By 20 per cent | 6.9 |
| By 30 per cent | 6.0% |
| By more than 40 per cent | 6.8 |
| No answer | 39.4 |
| Greater than prewar employment: | |
| By 10 per cent | 23.2% |
| By 20 per cent | 15.1 |
| By 30 per cent | 6.4 |
| By more than 40 per cent | 3.5 |
| Less than prewar employment: | |
| By 10 per cent | 3.8 |
| By 20 per cent | .6 |
| By 30 per cent | .4 |
| By more than 40 per cent | .8 |
| No answer | 46.2 |

**93.** (US Mar '45) Do you think Congress should be making plans at the present time on how to get full employment after the war, or do you think plans should wait until after the war? (NORC)

Plan now 85% Wait 12% Don't know 3%

**94.** (US Mar '45) It has been suggested that Congress pass a law that would let the government take money out of taxes to pay for a public works program that would employ all those who can't get jobs after the war. Would you like to see this done or not? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Would | 58% |
| Would not | 23 |
| Would, if it doesn't increase taxes | 2 |
| Would, if properly managed, if politics is out of it, not another WPA, if set up like Civil Service | 2 |
| Would not, unless properly managed, unless politics is out of it, not another WPA, unless set up like Civil Service | 4 |
| Don't know | 11 |

What do you think ought to be done if there is quite a bit of unemployment after the war? Asked of 27% of the sample who would not want a law passed that would let the government take money out of taxes to pay for a public works program.

| | |
|---|---|
| Put people on dole, on relief, let the government take care of them, feed them until they can get jobs—all local and federal charity | 1% |
| Stretching processes; have shorter working week, shorter hours, lower wage rates | 1 |
| Let business, farms, industry, adjust itself—make government stop interfering with business, remove government restrictions on industry, stop subsidies | 5 |
| Assist, cooperate, encourage to cut taxes or make loans to business, industry, advisory boards | 3 |
| Put unemployed on farms, local garden plots, farm loans and projects | 1 |
| Have state or local work or projects—rehabilitation, but not under federal supervision, but under each state | 1 |
| Keep a larger standing army, keep men in army longer | * |
| Take women out of industry | 1 |
| Do nothing for anybody, work or starve, shift for themselves | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Don't know | 11 |
| | 28%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 27 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**95.** (US May 29 '45) Do you think you will be out of work anytime during the coming year? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 11% |
| No | 73 |
| No answer | 4 |
| Don't know | 12 |

**96.** (US June 12 '45) Should the government do anything about workers who lose their jobs and are unable to find work because there are not enough jobs? (AIPO)

Yes 76% No 15% No opinion 9%

**97.** (US July 13 '45) Do you think the government should give money to workers who are unemployed for a limited length of time until they can find another job? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 63% | 32% | 5% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Business and professional | 58% | 38% | 4% |
| White-collar | 56 | 40 | 4 |
| Farmers | 50 | 42 | 8 |
| Skilled and unskilled labor | 72 | 23 | 5 |

**98.** (US July 13 '45) If the government gives unemployed persons money [until they can find another job], how much per week should be given to an unemployed man with a wife and two children? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't say how much or against the idea; nothing | 15% |
| Less than $15 | 7 |
| $15 | 10 |
| More than $15 to less than $20 | 2 |
| $20 | 16 |
| More than $20 to less than $25 | 1 |
| $25 | 27 |
| More than $25 to $30 | 10 |
| More than $30 to $35 | 6 |
| More than $35 | 5 |
| Depends on section of country | * |
| Miscellaneous answers | 1 |

Median (including those opposed to giving anything): $20

* Less than 0.5%.

**99.** (US Aug '45) There is much talk about full employment in this country after the war—which means a job for everyone who is able and willing to work. With which of these statements about full employment do you come closest to agreeing: (1) Full employment is something we have got to have, even if it means government ownership of all business. (2) Full employment is something we should try to get, and it will require government action as well as planning by industry to get it. (3) Full employment is a good idea if it can be handled by industry alone, but it's not government's job to try to bring it about. (4) Full employment may sound good, but it is actually a bad situation because people then won't work hard in order to keep their jobs. (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 10.4% | 55.3% | 18.9% | 6.6% | 8.8% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Prosperous | .8% | 64.1% | 26.7% | 6.4% | 2.0% |
| Upper middle | 5.6 | 61.3 | 23.1 | 6.8 | 3.2 |
| Lower middle | 9.3 | 59.0 | 19.8 | 5.8 | 6.1 |
| Poor | 17.7 | 43.0 | 15.3 | 6.8 | 17.2 |
| BY RACE | | | | | |
| Negroes | 18.7% | 44.0% | 6.3% | 9.0% | 22.0% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | | | |
| Grade school | 14.7% | 43.4% | 17.4% | 5.7% | 18.8% |
| High school | 10.1 | 59.0 | 19.5 | 7.9 | 3.5 |
| College | 2.9 | 69.5 | 20.6 | 5.5 | 1.5 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | | | |
| Urban | 10.9% | 55.9% | 19.2% | 5.5% | 8.5% |
| Rural | 8.5 | 52.9 | 17.5 | 10.7 | 10.4 |

**100.** (US Aug 22 '45) Are you employed at a job that pays you regularly? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Employed, full-time | 40% |
| Employed, part-time | 7 |
| Employer, self-employed | 8 |
| Farmer | 9 |
| Full-time student | 1 |
| Housewife | 24 |
| Retired | 3 |
| Not employed | 8 |

Now that the war is over, do you plan to go on working or will you stop working? Asked of 55% of the sample of employees and employers.

Go on 50% Stop 2% Don't know 3%

Will your present job go on even if the war is over, or will you have to look for a new job? Asked of 50% of the sample of employers and employees who said they would go on working.

Go on 44% New job 2% Don't know 4%

How long do you think your present job will last? Asked of 2% of the sample of employers and employees who said they would have to look for a new job.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 week to 3 months | 1% |
| 5 months and over | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

Are you looking for a job or do you plan to look for one soon? Asked of 8% of the sample who were unemployed.

Yes 4% No 4%

At any time this year, did you work at a job that paid you regularly? Asked of 8% of the sample who were unemployed.

Yes 4% No 4%

**101.** (US Aug 22 '45) Were you unemployed and looking for work three months ago? (AIPO)

Yes 4% No 80% No answer 16%

**102.** (US Sept 15 '45) Do you think that business firms in this country will be able to provide enough jobs for nearly everyone during the next five years, or will the government have to step in and provide work like the WPA or PWA? (AIPO)

Business 42% Government 42% Don't know 16%

Do you think the government will have to provide work steadily during the next five years, or only part of the time? Asked of 42% of the sample who thought the government would have to help provide work.

Steadily 13% Part 25% Don't know 4%

**103.** (US Sept '45) How about five years after the war—do you expect enough jobs for everybody, some unemployment, or a lot of unemployment? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Enough jobs | 29% |
| Some unemployment | 39 |
| Lot of unemployment | 22 |
| Don't know | 8 |
| Qualified answer | 2 |

Do you expect times generally to be better or worse than they were during the last depression? Asked of a national cross-section of those who expected some or a lot of unemployment about five years after the war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 71% |
| Worse | 19 |
| Same | 2 |
| Don't know | 8 |

What do you think will be one of the main reasons there'll be (enough jobs for everybody) (some unemployment) (a lot of unemployment)? Asked of a national cross-section of those who thought there would be enough jobs or those who thought there would be some or a lot of unemployment after the war.

*Those who thought there would be enough jobs*

| | |
|---|---|
| There is a general trend back to normalcy | 5% |
| Reconversion will produce jobs; in getting back to peacetime living, people will need so much that it will increase production and make jobs | 16 |
| Reconversion means closing of war industries and throwing people out of work. After five years this process will be completed and employment will pick up again | 3 |
| The government plans for full employment | 2 |
| Certain types of employees will have left work and made room for men | 1 |
| Foreign markets will have opened up | 2 |
| Other reasons | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |

*Those who thought there would be some or a lot of unemployment*

| | |
|---|---|
| Consumer demands for peacetime goods will be satisfied | 15% |
| Because there are so many new inventions in machinery and techniques | 5 |
| Because of strikes, labor trouble | 6 |
| It takes more time to reconvert than five years, people won't be settled | 3 |
| It is a natural situation, there are more people than jobs | 16 |
| Soldiers who return will get their old jobs back, wartime emergency workers will not give up their jobs and therefore the returning soldiers will be out of work | 8 |
| Business won't invest in a declining market | 1 |
| Wartime needs of military goods will stop, natural situation after the war | 7 |
| Lack of purchasing power (not elsewhere classified) | 1 |
| Government plans are or will be sufficient | 1 |
| Government plans are not, will not be sufficient | 1 |
| Foreign demands will be satisfied by then | 1 |
| Other answers (not elsewhere classified) | 1 |
| Don't know | 3 |

**104.** (US Sept '45) Do you think it should or should not be up to the government to see to it that there are enough jobs in this country for everybody who wants to work? (NORC)

Should 79% Should not 18% Don't know 3%

Why do you think that [it should not be up to the government to see that there are jobs for all who want to work]? Asked of a national cross-section who thought it was not up to the government to provide jobs.

| | |
|---|---|
| It means loss of freedom, democracy, too much dictatorship, communism | 10% |
| It kills initiative of individual, don't want WPA, makes people lazy to depend on government | 30 |
| Employer knows his own business, business can provide more jobs if left alone, ir kills efforts of business | 20% |
| The government has enough to do, it is not the government's business, they should stick to politics | 25 |
| It won't be necessary, there won't be much unemployment, no more than usual unemployment | 5 |
| Other answers (not elsewhere classified) | 10 |
| Don't know | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**105.** (US Sept '45) During the last depression, do you think most of the people without jobs were unemployed because they didn't want to work, or because there weren't enough jobs to go around? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't want to work | 10% |
| Not enough jobs | 77 |
| 50–50 | 11 |
| Don't know | 2 |

**106.** (US Sept '45) Was anybody in your family unemployed for a month or longer during the last depression? (NORC)

Yes 46% No 54% Don't know Less than 0.5%

Was it the main earner or some other member of the family? Asked of 46% of the sample who said some member of their family was unemployed during the last depression.

Main earner 34% Other member 9%
Main earner and other 3%

**107.** (US Sept 6 '45) Is there more unemployment now or less than you had expected? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 20% |
| Less | 38 |
| What expected | 31 |
| No opinion | 11 |

**108.** (US Sept 6 '45) Do you think the unemployment situation will be better or worse a year from now? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 44% |
| Worse | 37 |
| Same | 11 |
| No opinion | 8 |

**109.** (US Feb '46) Which one of these comes closest to expressing your ideas of what the government should do to avoid periods of unemployment after the war? 8.8% of the total sample had given anti-Semitic answers to previous questions. (FOR)

| | *National total* | *Anti-Semites* |
|---|---|---|
| Let business and industry work out the problem without any government interference at all | 17.7% | 25.3% |
| Depend mainly on business and industry to create enough employment normally, and just provide work at those times when industry cannot employ everyone | 31.0 | 33.5 |
| Carry on continuously a program of public works, enlarging it during periods of unemployment, and reducing it when there are plenty of jobs | 27.8 | 28.5 |
| Carry on large government public works all the time, even if business and industry find it hard to get enough workers in good times | 10.3 | 8.6 |
| Don't know | 13.2 | 4.1 |

**110.** (US June 5 '46) During the next year, do you think there is any chance that you (your husband) will be unemployed? (AIPO)

| | *Great chance* | *Slight chance* | *No chance* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9% | 21% | 55% | 15% |
| Union members | 14 | 29 | 41 | 16 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Professional and business | 5% | 14% | 69% | 12% |
| White-collar | 9 | 21 | 58 | 12 |
| Farmers | 4 | 11 | 76 | 9 |
| Manual workers | 14 | 29 | 38 | 19 |

**111.** (US May 15 '46) During the next year, do you think there is any chance that you (your husband) will be without a job? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Now unemployed | 11% |
| Great chance | 7 |
| Slight chance | 17 |
| No chance | 54 |
| No answer | 1 |
| Don't know | 10 |

## UNIFORMS, MILITARY

**1.** (US Jan 29 '44) Which uniform worn by the women in the armed services do you like best—the WACS, WAVES, SPARS, or Marines? Asked of only those who say they have seen all types of women's uniforms. (AIPO)

| | *WACS* | *WAVES or SPARS* | *Marines* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 15% | 49% | 26% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 17% | 40% | 28% | 15% |
| Women | 13 | 57 | 24 | 6 |

**2.** (US Jan 29 '44) Which of these women's uniforms have you seen? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| WACS | 86% |
| WAVES | 80 |
| SPARS | 51 |
| Marines | 51 |
| None | 10 |
| | 278%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (Canada Feb 26 '44) Which uniform worn by women in the armed services do you like best—that worn by women in the army, the navy, or the air force? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Army | 35% |
| Air force | 28 |
| Navy | 25 |
| Undecided | 12 |

**4.** (US June 27 '45) If the army and navy are combined into one department, should the uniforms be the same? (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 56% No opinion 14%

**5.** (US Aug 18 '45) It has been suggested that the uniforms of sailors in the navy be changed. Do you think they should be changed? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 34% | 45% | 21% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 44% | 40% | 16% |
| 30–49 years | 34 | 47 | 19 |
| 50 years and over | 31 | 45 | 24 |

## UNITED NATIONS

**1.** (US Jan 9 '42) Have you heard or read anywhere the expression "United Nations"? (NORC)

Yes 55.4% No 41.5% Don't know 3.1%

What does it mean to you—that is, who are the United Nations? Asked of 55.4% of the sample who had heard of the United Nations.

| | |
|---|---|
| All nations fighting the Axis | 75.2% |
| Axis nations themselves | 3.1 |
| Nations in the western hemisphere | 1.4 |
| Other | 13.1 |
| Don't know | 7.2 |

**2.** (US May 6 '42) Have you heard of the United Nations? (NORC)

Yes 73% No 22% Don't know and no answer 5%

About how long ago would you say the United Nations joined together? Asked of 73% of the sample who had heard of the United Nations.

| | |
|---|---|
| Underestimates (one month, two or three months, just a few weeks ago, early spring, etc.) | 2% |
| Correct estimate (three to five months, when Churchill visited Washington, Jan. 1, etc.) | 13 |
| Nearly correct estimate (five or six months, last few months, after Pearl Harbor, when United States started relations with Australia, etc.) | 17 |
| Over estimate (seven months to one year, over a year but still in World War II, time of World War I | 19 |
| Not ascertainable | 22 |

Do you happen to know which of these countries belong to the United Nations? Asked of 73% of the sample who had heard of the United Nations.

| | |
|---|---|
| India | 19% |
| Russia | 53 |
| Argentina | 37 |
| China | 57 |
| England | 61 |
| Finland | 5 |
| Brazil | 34 |
| Mexico | 41 |
| Canada | 60 |
| Australia | 55 |
| Turkey | * |
| All | 2 |
| None | 5 |
| Don't know and no answer | 7 |
| | 436%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to considerably more than 100 since respondents were encouraged to name all the countries they thought belong to the United Nations.

**3.** (US June 17 '42) Have you heard the phrase United Nations? (OPOR)

Yes 70% No 16% Don't know and no answer 14%

Can you tell me what countries are members of the United Nations? Asked of 70% of the sample who had heard of the United Nations.

| | |
|---|---|
| Correctly named one | 2%* |
| Correctly named two | 9 |
| Correctly named three | 15 |
| Correctly named four | 21 |
| Correctly named five | 10 |
| Correctly named six | 6 |
| Correctly named seven | 2 |
| Correctly named eight | 2 |
| Correctly named nine | 1 |
| Correctly named ten or more | 1 |
| Named countries, but all wrong | 1 |

* These scores come from the number of correct countries named minus the number of incorrect countries named.

As far as you know, have the United Nations made any plans for cooperation with South America? Asked of 70% of the sample who had heard of the United Nations.

Yes 42% No 8% Don't know and no answer 20%

Do you think the plans of the United Nations are in any way connected with the plans of this country for cooperation with Central and South America? Asked of 42% of the sample familiar with the United Nations who thought it had made plans for cooperation with South America.

Yes 35% No 2% Don't know and no answer 4%

**4.** (US July 1 '42) Have you ever heard of the United Nations? (NORC)

Yes 74% No 23% Don't know 3%

Do you think the United Nations should stick together after the war as a sort of league of nations? Asked of 74% of the sample who had heard of the United Nations.

Yes 64% No 5% Don't know 5%

Do you think the United States should join some sort of organization of nations after the war? Asked of 36% of the sample unfamiliar with the United Nations who thought the United Nations should not stick together as sort of a league of nations, and those who had no opinion on the subject.

Yes 17% No 10% Don't know 9%

Do you happen to know which of these countries belong to the United Nations? Asked of 74% of the sample who had heard of the United Nations.

| | |
|---|---|
| India | 23% |
| Russia | 76 |
| Argentina | 19 |
| China | 78 |
| England | 84 |
| Finland | 7 |
| Brazil | 45 |
| Mexico | 68 |
| Canada | 81 |
| Australia | 79 |
| Turkey | 7 |
| All | 3 |
| None | * |
| Don't know | 11 |
| | 581%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to considerably more than 100 since respondents were encouraged to name all the countries they thought belonged to the United Nations.

Do you think other countries besides the United Nations should belong to this new organization of nations? Asked of 64% of the sample familiar with the United Nations who thought it should stick together as sort of a league of nations.

Yes 52% No 8% Don't know 4%

Should the Axis nations belong [to this new organization of nations]? Asked of 52% of the sample familiar with the United Nations who thought other countries besides the United Nations should belong.

Yes 31% No 17% Don't know 4%

If the United States does join some sort of organization of nations after the war, do you think it will mean a change of our way of life in this country? Asked of 81% of the sample familiar with the United Nations who thought the United States should join and that the whole organization should stick together as a sort of league of nations.

Yes 34% No 38% Don't know 9%

**5.** (US June 18 '43) Have you heard of the United Nations? (NORC)

Yes 84% No 15% Don't know 1%

Do you happen to know which of these countries belong to the United Nations? Asked of 84% of the sample who had heard of the United Nations.

| | |
|---|---|
| India | 34% |
| Russia | 71 |
| Argentina | 21 |
| China | 72 |
| England | 74 |
| Finland | 7 |
| Brazil | 50 |
| Mexico | 62 |
| Canada | 72 |
| Australia | 69 |
| Turkey | 7 |
| All | 2 |
| None | * |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 543%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to considerably more than 100 because respondents were encouraged to name all the countries they thought belonged to the United Nations.

**6.** (US Feb 14 '42) In general, do you approve or disapprove of the United States joining any sort of an organization of nations after the war? Asked of a national cross-section of people who were against the United States taking part in: maintaining a world police force to guarantee against future wars (8% of sample), guaranteeing freedom of speech all over the world (11%), guaranteeing freedom of religion all over the world (9%), guaranteeing that all nations get a fair share of raw materials (9%), helping to secure better working and living conditions for people all over the world (9%). (There is some duplication in percentages.) (NORC)

Approve 16% Disapprove 69% Depends 10%
Don't know 5%

**7.** (US July 5 '42, July 22 '45) Would you like to see the United States join a league of nations after the war is over? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 73% | 27% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 71% | 29% |
| East central | 72 | 28 |
| West central | 76 | 24 |
| South | 78 | 22 |
| Far West | 74 | 26 |

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| (Nov 17 '42) National total | 54% | 20% | 26% |

**8.** (US Aug 21 '42) In general, do you approve or disapprove of the idea of the United States joining an organization of nations after the war? (NORC)

Approve 63% Disapprove 19% Don't know 18%

Do you think other countries besides the United States and her allies should belong to this organization of nations? Asked of 63% of the sample who approved of the idea of the United States joining an organization of nations.

Yes 54% No 7% Don't know 2%

Should the Axis nations belong [to this organization of nations]? Asked of 54% of the sample who thought other countries besides the United States and her allies should belong.

Yes 37% No 14% Don't know 3%

**9.** (US Nov 27 '42) In general, do you approve or disapprove of the idea of the United States joining some sort of organization of nations after the war? (NORC)

Approve 62% Disapprove 23% Don't know 15%

Do you think other countries besides the United States and her allies should belong to this organization of nations? Asked of 62% of the sample who approved of the idea of the United States joining some sort of organization of nations.

Yes 53% No 7% Don't know 2%

Should the Axis nations belong [to this organization of nations]? Asked of 53% of the sample who thought other countries besides the United States and her allies should belong.

Yes 37% No 13% Don't know 3%

**10.** (US Jan '43) If a union of nations is formed after the war do you think it would be a good idea or a bad idea for the United States to join it? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good idea | 69.5% |
| Bad idea | 16.4 |
| If US is leader | 1.1 |
| Qualified | 3.6 |
| Don't know | 9.4 |

Now, I'd like to find out what other countries besides the United States you think ought to be in this union. Asked of 74.2% of the sample who thought it was a good idea or had qualified opinions about the United States joining a union of nations.

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Qualified* | *Don't know* | *Some* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sweden | 88.3% | 2.8% | 1.2% | 7.7% | — |
| France | 91.6 | 2.3 | 3.2 | 2.9 | — |
| Russia | 93.9 | 1.9 | 2.0 | 2.2 | — |
| Germany | 58.9 | 28.6 | 9.2 | 3.3 | — |
| Great Britain | 97.6 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 1.3 | — |
| Italy | 70.1 | 20.1 | 5.8 | 4.0 | — |
| Japan | 52.6 | 37.3 | 6.9 | 3.2 | — |
| Central and South American countries | 92.9 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 2.3 | 2.8% |
| Spain | 85.7 | 5.0 | 2.2 | 7.1 | — |

If the United States has only the same amount of power in the union as Great Britain (Russia), (Germany), would you be in favor of our joining it, or against our joining it? Asked of 83.6% of the sample who thought it was a good idea for the United States to join and those who had qualified or no opinion on the subject.

| | *Favor* | *Against* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Great Britain | 74.3% | 15.8% | 9.9% |
| Russia | 66.3 | 21.0 | 12.7 |
| Germany | 33.7 | 54.5 | 11.8 |

**11.** (US Jan 11 '43) In general, do you approve or disapprove of the idea of the United States joining an organization of nations after the war? (NORC)

Approve 72% Disapprove 12% Don't know 16%

Do you think other countries besides the United States and her allies should belong to this organization of nations? Asked of 72% of the sample who approved of the United States joining an organization of nations.

Yes 61% No 7% Don't know 4%

Should the Axis nations belong [to this organization of nations]? Asked of 61% of the sample who thought other countries besides the United States and her allies should belong.

Yes 44% No 14% Don't know 3%

**12.** (US Feb 6 '43) In general, do you approve or disapprove of the idea of the United States joining some sort of organization of nations after the war? (NORC)

Approve 63% Disapprove 18% Don't know 19%

Do you think other countries besides the United States and her allies should belong to this organization of nations? Asked of 63% of the sample who approved of the idea of the United States joining some sort of organization of nations.

Yes 54% No 6% Don't know 3%

Should the Axis nations belong [to the organization of nations]? Asked of 54% of the sample who thought other countries besides the United States and her allies should belong.

Yes 37% No 12% Don't know 5%

**13.** (US Apr 6 '43) Do you think the United States will join some sort of organization of nations after the war? (NORC)

Yes 73% No 9% Don't know 18%

**14.** (US June '43) If a union of nations is formed after the war, do you think it would be a good idea or a bad idea for the United States to join it? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good idea | 70% |
| Bad idea | 13 |
| Don't know | 13 |
| If US is leader | 1 |
| If all join | 1 |
| If Axis out | * |
| Depends | 2 |
| Other | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**15.** (US June 18 '43) In general, do you approve or disapprove of the idea of the United States joining some sort of organization of nations after the war? (NORC)

Approve 64% Disapprove 21% Don't know 15%

Do you think other countries besides the United States and her allies should belong to this organization of nations? Asked of 64% of the sample who approved of the idea of the United States joining some sort of organization of nations.

Yes 56% No 6% Don't know 2%

Should the Axis nations belong [to the organization of nations]? Asked of 56% of the sample who thought other countries besides the United States and her allies should belong.

Yes 42% No 11% Don't know 3%

**16.** (US Sept '43) If a union of nations is formed after the war, do you think it would be a good idea or a bad idea for the United States to join it? (NORC)

Good idea 81% Bad idea 11% Don't know 8%

Do you think that the best way to try to prevent wars would be for countries to get together in a union of nations or can

you think of a better way? Asked of 81% of the sample who thought it was a good idea for the United States to join a union of nations.

Union 76% Better way 3% Don't know 2%

**17.** (US Nov 15 '43) In general, do you approve or disapprove of the idea of the United States joining some sort of organization of nations after the war? (NORC)

Approve 68% Disapprove 12% Don't know 20%

**18.** (US Feb '44) If a union of nations is formed after the war do you think it would be a good idea or a bad idea for the United States to join it? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good idea | 71% |
| Bad idea | 13 |
| Don't know | 15 |
| If US is leader | * |
| If all in | * |
| Depends on type | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

Do you think the union of nations should be set up so that Italy (Germany), (Japan), can join it sometime? Asked of 72% of the sample who thought it was a good idea for the United States to join a union of nations and those who said it depends on type of union.

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *Not ascertainable* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Italy | 56% | 10% | 6% | * |
| Germany | 40 | 26 | 5 | 1% |
| Japan | 32 | 34 | 5 | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**19.** (US Apr 8 '45, July 2 '44) If a new council or union of nations is formed after the war to take the place of the old League of Nations, should this country join? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 72% | 13% | 15% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republicans | 70% | 15% | 15% |
| Democrats | 74 | 10 | 16 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Mid-West | 71% | 13% | 16% |

**20.** (US July '44) A national cross-section of college students was confronted with the following statement about international policies: At the conclusion of hostilities we must create an organization of nations in which the United States will actively participate. They were then asked if they approved or disapproved. (FOR)

Approve 94% Disapprove 2% Uncertain 4%

**21.** (US Sept '44) After the war, would you like to see the United States join some kind of world organization, or would you like to see us stay out? (NORC)

| | *Join* | *Stay out* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 64% | 26% | 10% |
| (Nov '44) | 71 | 21 | 8 |
| (Dec '44) | 62 | 26 | 12 |

(Dec '44) Do you think a world organization would need some kind of military force to fight any country, or don't you think a military force is necessary? Asked of 62% of the sample who would like to see the United States belong to a world organization.

Need military force 53% Military force unnecessary 7%
Don't know 2%

(Dec '44) When the world organization is deciding whether or not to fight any army invading a country, who should have the right to say if the United States will help fight the invaders? Should the American representative in the world organization decide? Those who said others should decide were asked: Well, who do you think should decide? Asked of 53% of the sample who thought a world organization would need a military force.

| | |
|---|---|
| Representative | 15% |
| Congress—or combination of President and Congress, representative and Congress | 30 |
| Our President, the President of the United States | 1 |
| Popular vote of American people, people of the United States | 2 |
| Court, council, war council, organization as whole, group or court of men from each country, not any one individual, some kind of collaboration, several ambassadors, representative acting as diplomat to tell nation and Congress | 1 |
| Don't know | 4 |
| Other answers, not elsewhere classified | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

(Mar '45) After the war, would you like to see the United States belong to some kind of a world organization, or would you like to see us stay out?

| | |
|---|---|
| Join | 64% |
| Stay out | 26 |
| Only if the United States is at head of it | * |
| Only if all nations are in it | * |
| Depends on type of organization, on membership | 1 |
| Don't know | 9 |

**22.** (US Mar 20 '45) Do you think the United States should join a world organization to maintain peace? (AIPO)

Yes 90% No 6% No opinion 4%

Do you think this organization should have police power? Asked of 90% of the sample who thought the United States should join a world organization to maintain peace.

Yes 80% No 6% No opinion 4%

**23.** (US Apr '45) Some people say that there will always be wars and that getting this country into some kind of world organization would only get us mixed up into somebody else's business. After the war, would you like to see the United States stay out of a world organization or belong to it? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Stay out | 18% |
| Belong | 74 |
| Belong if it's right kind | * |
| Don't know | 8 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**24.** (US July '45) Would you like to see the United States join the world organization set up at San Francisco, or would you like to see us stay out? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Join | 81% |
| Stay out | 8 |
| Depends on peace terms | * |
| Don't know | 11 |

* Less than 0.5%.

Why do you think we should stay out [of the world organization]? Asked of 8% of the sample who thought the United States should stay out of a world organization.

| | |
|---|---|
| It will only get us into war; it will only make trouble with other countries | 2% |
| It won't work; it was tried before; look at the League of Nations | 1 |

We should mind our own business, no entangling alliances; we don't need them ..... 4%
Other answers ..... *
Don't know ..... 1

* Less than 0.5%.

**25.** (US July '45) Would you like to see the United States join the world organization set up at San Francisco, or would you like to see us stay out? (NORC)

Join 79% Stay out 9% Don't know 12%

**26.** (US May 3 '45) Which one of these comes closest to expressing what you would like to have the United States do after the war? (NYHT)

Enter into no alliances and have as little as possible to do with other countries ..... 9.7%
Depend only on separate alliances with certain countries 4.9
Take an active part in an international organization .. 71.8
Don't know ..... 13.6

Which would you prefer: to get an international organization started right away even though it may not suit some Americans in the beginning, or to wait and try to get one almost every one will like before starting, even if this takes several years? Asked of 71.8% of the sample who voted for active American participation in an international organization.

Get an organization started right away .... 74.4%
Wait ..... 18.9
Don't know ..... 6.7

**27.** (US May 3 '45) Do you think an international organization could succeed if the rest of the United Nations are in it but the United States stays out of it, or if the rest of the United Nations are in it but Russia stays out of it? (NYHT)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| If the United States stays out | 7.2% | 78.0% | 14.8% |
| If Russia stays out ..... | 15.5 | 63.7 | 20.8 |

**28.** (US May 3 '45) What do you think is most likely to happen to this idea of an international organization? (NYHT)

That one is really going to get started ..... 54.6%
That there may be something that will be called an international organization, but it won't have any real power or effect ..... 15.8
That an international organization won't even get started ..... 5.5
Don't know ..... 24.1

**29.** (US July 29 '42) Some people think there should be a world court to try to settle international disputes when this war is over. Would you approve, or disapprove of such a court? (AIPO)

Approve 69% Disapprove 18% No opinion 13%

Would you like to see the United States become a member of this court? Asked of 69% of the sample who approved of a world court.

Yes 98% No 1% No opinion 1%

**30.** (US Dec 28 '42, Mar 24 '43, May 2 '43) Should the government take steps now, before the end of the war, to set up with our allies a world organization to maintain the future peace of the world? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total ..... | 64% | 24% | 12% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats ..... | 65% | 23% | 12% |
| Republicans ..... | 63 | 28 | 9 |

(Great Britain Mar 1 '43) (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total ..... | 75% | 16% | 9% |

**31.** (US Jan '43) People who think they've found out why the League of Nations failed are now preparing for a new union of nations, if we win the war. Nobody can say for sure whether a new union would end all wars or only lead to worse ones. In order to try out a union of nations as a possible way of preventing wars, would you yourself be willing or not willing to do the following? (NORC)

| | *Willing* | *Not willing* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| To stay on a rationing system in this country for about five years to help feed the starving people in other countries ..... | 81.6% | 14.3% | 4.1% |
| For part of the American army to remain overseas for several years after the war to help establish order ..... | 75.5 | 18.6 | 5.9 |
| To consider most of our lend-lease materials as aid to the Allies and not expect any payment for them ..... | 41.3 | 48.8 | 9.9 |
| To pay more taxes for a few years while the new union was being organized even if people in the other countries couldn't afford to pay much ..... | 63.5 | 28.0 | 8.5 |
| To give up our army, navy and air force, if all other nations would do the same ..... | 41.1 | 54.6 | 4.3 |
| To allow foreign goods to come into this country and compete with the things we grow or make here—even if the prices were lower ..... | 27.9 | 61.7 | 10.4 |
| To forget reparations—that is, not try to collect any money from Germany or Japan to pay for what the war has cost us and our Allies ..... | 27.9 | 64.5 | 7.6 |

**32.** (US July 10 '43) Here is a resolution which is now being considered in Congress: That the Congress hereby expresses itself as favoring the creation of appropriate international machinery with power adequate to establish and to maintain a just and lasting peace among the nations of the world, and as favoring participation by the United States therein. Do you want your Congressman to vote for or against this resolution? (AIPO)

| | *For* | *Against* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total ..... | 78% | 9% | 13% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats ..... | 82% | 18% | — |
| Republicans ..... | 77 | 23 | — |

**33.** (US Sept '43) After this war, if two countries have a disagreement, do you think it would be better if they tried to settle it themselves or do you think it would be better if some kind of organization of nations worked with them to try to settle the disagreements? (NORC)

Themselves ..... 26%
Organization ..... 69
Don't know ..... 5
Qualified answer ..... *

* Less than 0.5%.

**34.** (US Sept '43) In general, what chance do you think a union of nations will have to prevent wars—good, fair, or no chance at all? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good | 48% |
| Fair | 36 |
| No chance | 10 |
| Don't know | 6 |

**35.** (US May 19 '44) Should the government take steps now, before the end of the war, to try to set up with our allies a world organization to maintain the future peace of the world, or should we wait until after the war is won? (AIPO)

| | *Act now* | *Wait* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 58% | 30% | 12% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 55% | 34% | 11% |
| East central | 59 | 26 | 15 |
| West central | 62 | 30 | 8 |
| South | 54 | 33 | 13 |
| Far West | 62 | 28 | 10 |

**36.** (Great Britain Nov 20 '44) Should the United Nations adopt the principle of using force against aggressor nations when this war has ended? (BIPO)

Yes 77% No 10% Uncertain 13%

**37.** (US Apr 8 '45, Apr 11 '45) Do you think the United States should join a world organization with police power to maintain world peace? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 81% | 11% | 8% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Dewey voters | 83% | 11% | 6% |
| Roosevelt voters | 86 | 8 | 6 |

**38.** (US Apr 8 '45) How important do you think it is that we join such a world organization [with police power to maintain world peace]—very important, fairly important, or not too important? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Very important | 83% |
| Not too important | 3 |
| Fairly important | 11 |
| No opinion | 3 |

**39.** (US Mar 20 '45) What do you think would happen if we did not join a world organization? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Another war; peace wouldn't last; always fighting other nations | 49% |
| Trouble start up everywhere; other countries turn against us; differences | 13 |
| We would lose out, be left in the cold; wouldn't get any advantages | 10 |
| No teeth in the organization, handicap it; league wouldn't mean anything | 5 |
| We would lose the present war and what we are fighting for; lose the peace; a step backwards | 2 |
| Our economic destruction; we can't live alone economically | 1 |
| Others; God's will; we would be selfish, etc | 3 |
| Nothing, hard to tell, we won't have another war | 6 |
| Didn't say | 11 |

**40.** (US Apr '45) Some people say that future wars can be prevented if all nations will only get together in some kind of world organization with enough power to stop any invasion. After the war, would you like to see the United States belong to a world organization, or stay out of it? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Belong | 80% |
| Stay out | 12 |
| Belong if United States is head | * |
| Belong if all nations join | * |
| Belong if it's the right kind | 1 |
| Don't know | 7 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**41.** (US July '45) In general, what chance do you think the world organization set up at San Francisco will have to prevent wars—good, fair, or no chance at all? (NORC)

Good 39% Fair 44% No chance 10% Don't know 7%

**42.** (US July '45) In general, what chance do you think the world organization set up at San Francisco will have to prevent wars between big nations (between small nations)—good, fair, or no chance at all? (NORC)

| | *Good* | *Fair* | *No chance* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Between big nations | 36% | 43% | 11% | 10% |
| Between small nations | 57 | 25 | 8 | 10 |

**43.** (France Jan 16 '46) Do you have confidence in the United Nations organization to avoid war? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 50% | 17% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–34 years | 27% | 57% | 16% |
| 35–49 years | 32 | 53 | 15 |
| 50–64 years | 39 | 45 | 16 |
| 65 years and over | 40 | 38 | 22 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farmers | 43% | 35% | 22% |
| Private income and pensions | 39 | 43 | 18 |
| Housewives | 36 | 46 | 18 |
| Liberal professions | 28 | 58 | 14 |
| White collar | 24 | 62 | 14 |

(May 1 '46) Do you have confidence in the ability of the UN to avoid war?

Yes 39% No 43% No opinion 18%

**44.** (US Feb 27 '46) Do you think the United Nations organization will be able to prevent another world war during the next twenty-five years? (AIPO)

Yes 34% No 52% No opinion 14%

**45.** (Belgium Apr–June '46) Do you have confidence in the work of the UN for the maintenance of peace? (INSOC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National toral | 36% | 36% | 28% |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Urban | 39% | 37% | 24% |
| Rural | 31 | 34 | 35 |
| Industrial | 35 | 37 | 28 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 39% | 40% | 21% |
| Women | 32 | 30 | 38 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–34 years | 33% | 40% | 27% |
| 35–49 years | 39 | 34 | 27 |
| 50–64 years | 36 | 34 | 30 |
| 65 years and over | 38 | 27 | 35 |

**46.** (US Feb '42) Supposing that the Allies win the war, do you think Germany, Italy, and Japan should be in this union? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Depends* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Germany | 51% | 34% | 7% | 8% |
| Italy | 51 | 33 | 7 | 9 |
| Japan | 50 | 34 | 8 | 8 |

**47.** (US Feb '42) If Germany, Italy, and Japan are defeated, do you think the United States should try to form some kind of a union of the allied countries to help keep peace and order in the world? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 85% |
| No | 9 |
| Depends | 2 |
| No opinion | 3 |
| Don't understand question | 1 |

Do you think all the countries on the allied side should be in this union, or just some of them? Asked of 87% of the sample who thought the United States should try to form some kind of a union of the allied countries to help keep peace and order.

All 88% Some 6% Depends 1% Don't know 5%

**48.** (US Sept '43) After the war is over, do you think Germany, Iraly, and Japan should be members of the union? (NORC)

Yes 54% No 25% Qualified answer 14% Don't know 7%

**49.** (France Nov 16 '44) Italy has asked to be admitted to the United Nations. Should this wish be granred? Asked of a sample of Parisians. (FIPO)

Yes 22% No 71% No opinion 7%

**50.** (US Mar '45) If a world organization is set up after the war, would you like to see Germany become a member of it—right away, after she has proved that she can behave decently, or never? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Right away | 8.3% |
| After she has proved that she can behave decently | 64.9 |
| Never | 19.4 |
| Don't know | 7.4 |

**51.** (US Feb 14 '42) If there is some sort of an organization of nations after the war, which nations do you think ought to be in it? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| All nations everywhere, including the Axis | 51% |
| All nations except the Axis countries | 17 |
| The United Nations—those nations now at war with the Axis | 14 |
| Just the English-speaking nations | 4 |
| Only those nations in the Western Hemisphere | 2 |
| Others | 2 |
| Don't know | 10 |

**52.** (US Feb '42) Supposing that the Allies won the war, do you think all, some, or none of the countries in Central America and South America should be in this union? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| All | 80% |
| Some | 6 |
| Depends | 3 |
| None | 2 |
| Don't know | 9 |

**53.** (US July 1 '42) Do you think the Free French under General De Gaulle should be made one of our Allies and admitted as a member of the United Nations? Asked of a national cross-section of those who knew who the Free French were. 56% of the total sample is represented. (AIPO)

Yes 81% No 10% No opinion 9%

**54.** (US Sept '43) Do you think a union of nations would have the best chance of working if all countries were members, or if just some countries were members? (NORC)

All 83% Some 11% Don't know 6%

**55.** (US Mar '44) Here is a list of a few of the countries that might want to become members of an international organization along with the United Srates. Which ones on the list would you like to see members at the start? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| All | 20.8% |
| Great Britain | 71.9 |
| China | 67.4 |
| Russia | 65.4 |
| Australia | 55.1 |
| Sweden | 44.3 |
| Norway | 43.2 |
| France | 41.9 |
| Greece | 39.1 |
| Brazil | 37.3 |
| Italy | 19.9 |
| Argentina | 19.5 |
| Spain | 16.1 |
| Germany | 3.9 |
| Japan | 1.7 |
| Don't know | 4.3 |
| | 551.8%* |

* Since respondents were encouraged to name all the countries they would like to see members, percentages add to considerably more than 100.

**56.** (US Mar '44) Which of these countries [listed in preceding question] would you want to have the most to say [in the international organization]? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| United States | 85.4% |
| Great Britain | 85.4 |
| Russia | 71.7 |
| China | 63.4 |
| Australia | 18.9 |
| Remaining 10 countries | * |
| Don't know | 1.6 |
| | 326.4%** |

* Less than 10% each.

** Percentages add to considerably more than 100 since respondents were asked to say which countries they would like to have the most power.

**57.** (US Sept '43) Do you think countries should get together in a union of nations to decide how big an army, navy, and air force each country can have? (NORC)

Yes 77% No 17% Don't know 6%

(July '45) Do you think countries should get together in the world organization to decide how big an army, navy, and air force each country can have?

Yes 78% No 14% Don't know 8%

**58.** (US Sept '43) If the United States does join with other countries in a union of nations, would you be willing to have the union decide how big an army, navy, and air force the United States should have? (NORC)

Yes 70% No 24% Don't know 6%

(July '45) If the United States does join with other countries in the world organization, would you be willing to have the organization decide how big an army, navy, and air force the United States should have?

Yes 64% No 25% Don't know 11%

(Sept '43) Asked of the 29% who stated in Question 57 (US Sept '43) or Question 58 (US Sept '43) that a union of nations should not decide how large the armed forces of each country should be and would not be willing to have such a union decide about the armed forces of the United States. If the United States could not become a member of the union of nations unless we were willing to have the union decide how big our armed force could be, would you want to join or stay out?

Join 5% Stay out 18% Don't know 6%

**59.** (US July '45) As far as you know, does the world organization set up at San Francisco have the power to decide how big an army, navy, and air force each country can have, or doesn't it have this power? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Does have power | 24% |
| Doesn't have power | 23 |
| Don't know | 53 |

**60.** (US July 1 '42) Did you hear anything at all about United Nations Day? (NORC)

Yes 24% No 73% Don't know 3%

Were there any parades or speeches or anything like that around here to celebrate United Nations Day? Asked of 24% of the sample who had heard of United Nations Day.

Yes 10% No 7% Don't know 7%

Do you think celebrations like these make people take the war more seriously? Asked of 10% of the sample who said there were parades and speeches to celebrate United Nations Day.

Yes 7% No 2% Don't know 1%

**61.** (US Sept '43) As you know, Congress has the power to make laws about problems that may come up between states. Do you think a union of nations should have power to make laws about problems that may come up between countries in the union? (NORC)

Yes 76% No 13% Don't know 11%

Do you think a union of nations would need to have some kind of a military police force to make all countries obey these laws? Asked of 76% of the sample who thought the union of nations should have power to make laws about problems arising between countries in the union.

Yes 68% No 6% Don't know 2%

**62.** (US Sept '43) Would you like to see the United States Congress take a vote now to find out how Congressmen feel about the United States joining some kind of a union of nations? (NORC)

Yes 65% No 27% Don't know 8%

**63.** (US Sept '43) If Congress were to vote now on whether the United States should join a union of nations after the war, do you think it actually would vote to join or stay out? (NORC)

Join 47% Stay out 23% Don't know 30%

**64.** (US Mar 9 '47) Do you think it would be a good idea for countries to get together in a union of nations to decide how trade between countries should be handled, or do you think each country should handle trade any way it wants? (NORC)

Get together 65% Any way 29% Don't know 6%

**65.** (US Sept '43) If the United States could not become a member of the union of nations unless we were willing to trade according to ways decided upon by all members of the union, would you want to join or stay out? (NORC)

Join 57% Stay out 31% Don't know 12%

**66.** (US Mar '44) If we should take part in an international organization, which do you think would be better: to let certain countries have more say at the start than other countries, or to let all member countries have the same say? (FOR)

Certain countries 39.8% All countries 50.3%
Don't know 9.9%

**67.** (US Mar '44) If a general international organization should be set up, which of these things do you think it should and should not be organized to do? (FOR)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Prevent any member country from starting a war of its own | 79.0% | 7.0% | 14.0% |
| Decide which country is right if two members get into a dispute | 75.9 | 8.2 | 15.9 |
| Decide what taxes individual member nations must pay to support the organization | 69.7 | 8.9 | 21.4 |
| Decide what military strength each member nation can have | 69.0 | 13.6 | 17.4 |
| Regulate the rights of airplanes from one member nation to land on airfields in other member nations | 61.1 | 14.0 | 24.9 |
| Have a permanent military force of its own, stronger than any single nation | 54.0 | 23.3 | 22.7 |
| Decide what tariff rates should be charged by member nations | 44.8 | 23.3 | 31.9 |
| Decide which side is right if a civil war breaks out in a member nation, and support that side | 43.0 | 31.7 | 25.3 |
| Decide minimum standards for working conditions in member countries | 32.0 | 44.7 | 23.3 |

**68.** (Great Britain Aug '44) Should the Allies adopt for after the war the principle of using armed force against an aggressor? (BIPO)

Yes 77% No 10% Don't know 13%

**69.** (Great Britain Aug '44) Should Britain be absolutely free to decide for herself whether to use force or should she vote along with the other nations and accept the result of the voting? (BIPO)

Be free 23% Vote 63% Don't know 14%

**70.** (US Sept '44) If some kind of world organization is formed, which of the following would you like to see? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| The United States have the most to say about running it | 26% |
| Britain, Russia, and the United States together have the most to say about running it | 19 |
| All the countries in the organization have about the same amount to say about running it | 44 |
| Something else | * |
| England, Russia, United States, and China | 1 |
| Vote according to size, population, power, etc. | 3 |
| Russia and United States have the most to say about running it | * |
| Britain and the United States have the most to say about running it | * |
| Other answers | 1 |
| Don't know | 6 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**71.** (US Sept '44) Which one of these ways do you think a world organization is most likely to be run? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| United States will have the most to say | 12% |
| Britain, Russia, and the United States will have the most to say | 49 |
| All the countries will have the same amount to say | 17 |
| Something else | 1 |
| England will have the most to say | 1 |
| Russia will have the most to say | 1 |
| Britain and Russia will have the most to say | 1 |
| Russia, the United States, Britain, and China will have the most to say | 1 |
| Don't know | 15 |
| No answer | 2 |

**72.** (Canada Sept 9 '44) After this war, do you think some sort of league of nations would work, or do you think it is impossible for the nations of the world to work together to keep the peace? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| League would work | 55% |
| League would not work | 21 |
| Undecided | 16 |
| Qualified | 8 |

**73.** (Canada Dec 30 '42) After this war, which of these two steps do you think would do most to insure future peace: complete domination of Axis countries by the United Nations, including control of their industry, trade, and politics; or formation of a league of nations in which every country in the world, including Italy and Japan, would be represented and which would decide the differences between nations? (CIPO)

Domination 51% League 37% Don't know 12%

In your opinion, why was the League of Nations unable to prevent a second World War?

| | |
|---|---|
| Selfishness; lack of co-operation, etc. | 22% |
| Lack of power to enforce decisions | 21 |
| Too many nations not in | 11 |
| Failure of US to participate | 9 |
| Germany allowed to rearm | 5 |
| Non-enforcement of sanctions | 3 |
| Vested interests interfered | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 8 |
| No opinion | 20 |

**74.** (Canada Nov 27 '43) Do you think that, after this war is over, a new League of Nations will work if it includes the United States? (CIPO)

| | *Will work* | *Won't work* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dec '41 | 53% | 28% | 19% |
| Nov '43 | 62 | 20 | 18 |

**75.** (Canada Sept 9 '44) If such a league is formed, should any nation which wants to join be admitted, or should some nations be excluded? (CIPO)

Admit all 66% Exclude some 22% Undecided 12%

**76.** (Canada Sept 13 '44) Do you think that the British Empire should be given one vote in such a league—that is, vote as a single unit—or do you think each Dominion should have a separate vote? (CIPO)

| | *Separate votes* | *One vote for the Empire* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 84% | 8% | 8% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Ontario | 92% | 8% | — |
| Quebec | 90 | 10 | — |

**77.** (US Nov '44) In what large city in the world do you think a world organization should have its headquarters after the war? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Quebec | * |
| London | 6% |
| Vienna | * |
| Washington | 34 |
| Geneva | 9 |
| Moscow | * |
| The Hague | 1 |
| Paris | 3 |
| Other answers | 30 |
| Don't know | 17 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**78.** (US Dec '44) If there is a world organization, in which one of these cities do you think it should have its headquarters: (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Quebec | 2% |
| London | 3 |
| Vienna | 1 |
| Washington | 58 |
| Geneva | 11 |
| Moscow | 1 |
| The Hague | 2 |
| Paris | 4 |
| Other | 3 |
| Don't know | 15 |

**79.** (US Jan 3 '46) The headquarters of the United Nations Organization is to be located in the eastern part of the United States. Which of these areas do you favor for its headquarters? Each respondent was handed a card with the areas listed. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Boston | 12% |
| Philadelphia | 20 |
| New York City | 18 |
| Hyde Park, New York | 32 |
| No opinion | 18 |

**80.** (US Jan 9 '46) On the basis of the United Nations Organization decision to locate its permanent headquarters in the eastern part of the United States, in your opinion which of the following areas would seem to be most suitable: Boston, Hyde Park, Philadelphia, or New York? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Philadelphia | 34.1% |
| Hyde Park | 30.9 |
| Boston | 20.4 |
| New York | 14.6 |

**81.** (US Dec 4 '46) Should the permanent United Nations headquarters stay in the United States, or should it move to some other nation? (AIPO)

| | *Stay* | *Move* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 70% | 8% | 22% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 70% | 11% | 19% |
| East and West central | 67 | 8 | 25 |
| South | 74 | 3 | 23 |
| Mountain and Far West | 72 | 7 | 21 |

**82.** (US Dec 4 '46) If the United Nations headquarters stays in this country, in what state do you think it should be located? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| New York | 28% |
| Any state in United States | 9 |
| California | 9 |
| Washington, DC | 7 |
| Pennsylvania | 3 |
| Massachusetts | 2 |
| Washington | 1 |
| South Dakota | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Illinois | 2% |
| No answer | 28 |
| Other | 10 |

**83.** (Canada Nov 18 '44) Russia's army is driving the Germans out of a number of the smaller countries in eastern Europe. Do you think that Russia should decide what to do with these countries by herself, or should all the United Nations have something to say about it? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia decide | 11% |
| All nations have a voice | 83 |
| Undecided or qualified | 6 |

**84.** (Canada Nov 18 '44) British, United States, and Canadian troops are driving the Germans out of a number of the smaller countries in western Europe. Do you think that Britain, Canada, and the United States should, by themselves, decide what to do with these countries, or should Russia and the other United Nations have something to say about it? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Just Britain, Canada, and United States | 15% |
| All United Nations | 78 |
| Undecided and qualified | 7 |

**85.** (Great Britain Nov 20 '44) Do you think Britain should remain free to decide whether or not to use force against an "aggressor" nation, or should Britain agree to vote with the rest of the United Nations and accept the result? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Britain should be free to decide for herself | 23% |
| Britain should vote with other nations | 63 |
| Uncertain | 14 |

**86.** (Canada Jan 6 '45) If a world organization is formed after the war to try to keep the peace, do you think Canada should join? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 90% | 6% | 4% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Quebec | 79% | 14% | 7% |

(Canada Jan 6 '45) Do you think the men who represent Canada in such an organization should be appointed by the Government or by the direct vote of the Canadian people? Asked of 90% of the sample who thought Canada should join the world organization. (CIPO)

Direct vote 51% Other 2% Government appointment 33% Don't know 4%

**87.** (US Mar '45) As far as you know, has the United States already agreed to join a world organization, or hasn't this been decided yet? (NORC)

Already agreed 27% Not yet decided 40% Don't know 33%

**88.** (US Mar '45) When the United Nations get together in San Francisco next month, which of these things comes closest to what you would like to see the United States delegates pledge our country to do? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Agree to join a world organization, and promise that some American armed forces can be used with those of other United Nations if this is ever necessary to stop one country from attacking another | 50% |
| Agree to join a world organization, but do not promise that American armed forces can be used to stop one country from attacking another | 23 |
| Do not agree to join a world organization of any kind, and do not promise the use of American armed forces | 18 |
| Don't know | 9 |

**89.** (US Mar 7 '45) President Roosevelt named three Republican leaders to be members of the American delegation at the World Conference to be held in San Francisco in April. Do you approve of having Republicans serve on the committee? A comparable cross-section was asked the question in the following form: President Roosevelt named three Republican leaders to be members of the American delegation of eight at the World Conference to be held in San Francisco in April. Do you approve or disapprove of having Republicans serving on the committee? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Approve 83% Disapprove 4% No opinion 13%

**90.** (Sweden June '45) Do you think that Sweden should join a new League of Nations if one is formed? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 57% | 15% | 28% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 67% | 16% | 17% |
| Middle class | 58 | 16 | 26 |
| Workers | 56 | 14 | 30 |

**91.** (Sweden June '45) Do you think that such an organization [a new League of Nations] would secure the peace for at least fifty years? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 26% | 45% | 29% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 32% | 48% | 20% |
| Women | 21 | 41 | 38 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 20% | 56% | 24% |
| Middle class | 25 | 47 | 28 |
| Workers | 27 | 42 | 31 |

**92.** (Sweden June '45) Do you think that a new League of Nations should be formed and, if so, should it attempt to comprise all nations right from the start? (SGI)

| | *Form new league with all nations* | *Form new league with certain nations* | *Do not form new league* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 66% | 4% | 10% | 20% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 67% | 8% | 14% | 11% |
| Middle class | 68 | 3 | 10 | 9 |
| Workers | 65 | 5 | 9 | 21 |

Which countries should be excluded [from a new League of Nations]? Asked of a national cross-section of people who thought a new League of Nations which would exclude certain nations should be formed. Only 4% of the total sample is represented.

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany | 44% |
| Russia | 5 |
| Germany, Italy, Japan | 40 |
| Other | 13 |
| The small nations | 4 |
| Don't know | 15 |
| | 121%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**93.** (US July 22 '45) Should the United States approve the United Nations charter for a world organization as adopted at the San Francisco conference? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 66% | 3% | 31% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 64% | 3% | 33% |
| East and West central | 68 | 3 | 29 |
| South | 62 | 2 | 36 |
| Far West | 65 | 4 | 31 |

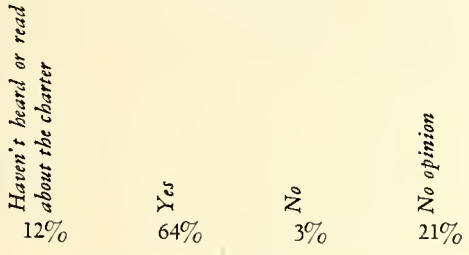
**94.** (US July '45) As you know, before the United States can join the world organization, two-thirds of the Senators have to approve it. Do you expect two-thirds of the Senators to vote to join, or not? (NORC)

Join 77% Not join 6% Don't know 17%

**95.** (US July '45) If the United States does agree to join the world organization, do you think we should try to do anything more to get countries to cooperate, or do you think that's enough to do? (NORC)

Do more 63% That's enough 29% Don't know 8%

**96.** (US July 12 '45) Should the United States Senate approve the United Nations charter for a world organization as adopted at the San Francisco conference? (AIPO)




**97.** (Sweden Aug '45) Do you think that Sweden should join a league with all other nations, binding ourselves (in common with other members) to place troops at the disposal of a joint military protection of future peace? (SGI)

| | Yes, with certain reservations | Yes | No | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 6% | 49% | 26% | 19% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 9% | 65% | 17% | 9% |
| Middle class | 7 | 47 | 27 | 19 |
| Workers | 5 | 48 | 27 | 20 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 5% | 52% | 26% | 17% |
| 30–49 years | 6 | 49 | 28 | 17 |
| 50–64 years | 7 | 46 | 26 | 21 |
| 65 years and over | 4 | 45 | 25 | 26 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Right party | 4% | 52% | 31% | 13% |
| Liberals | 9 | 43 | 29 | 19 |
| Agrarians | 7 | 39 | 29 | 25 |
| Social Democrats | 6 | 50 | 26 | 18 |
| Communists | 6 | 60 | 25 | 9 |

**98.** (US Aug '45) If a general international organization should be set up, which of these things do you think it should and should not be organized to do? (FOR)

| | Should | Should not | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| Prevent any member country from starting a war of its own against an outside country | 80.2% | 7.1% | 12.7% |
| Decide what military strength each member nation can have | 69.5 | 12.7 | 17.8 |
| Decide which side is right if a civil war breaks out in a member nation and support that side | 46.3 | 28.7 | 25.0 |
| Decide what tariff rates should be charged by member nations | 42.1 | 24.2 | 33.7 |
| Set up a different system of government in those countries where it looks as if their forms of government might lead to trouble | 52.3 | 26.3 | 21.4 |

**99.** (Canada Aug 11 '45) Do you happen to know what important event has just taken place at San Francisco? (CIPO)

Yes 82% No 18%

Do you feel that the United Nations plan for peace will be more successful than the old League of Nations, or not? Asked of 82% of the sample who knew about the meeting.

| | |
|---|---|
| More successful | 55% |
| Less successful | 3 |
| No difference | 9 |
| Undecided | 15 |

**100.** (US Dec '45) Most people agree that Japan is overpopulated. What do you think the United Nations should do about it? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Make some arrangements for eventually providing Japan with some extra land | 28.3% |
| Make Japan work it out with what land she has now | 58.3 |
| Don't know | 13.4 |

**101.** (France Feb 16 '46) Did you read the reports of the United Nations meeting in London? (FIPO)

| | Yes | No | No answer |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41% | 52% | 7% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 60% | 33% | 7% |
| Women | 22 | 70 | 8 |

On the whole, do you approve of what is being done there? Asked of 41% of the sample who had read the reports of the United Nations meeting in London.

| | Approve | Disapprove | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41% | 27% | 32% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 39% | 32% | 29% |
| Women | 43 | 22 | 35 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Private income and pensions | 48% | 28% | 24% |
| Farmers | 42 | 13 | 45 |
| Workers | 40 | 29 | 31 |
| White-collar | 41 | 32 | 27 |
| Merchants and manufacturers | 40 | 28 | 32 |
| Liberal professions | 38 | 46 | 16 |

**102.** (US Feb 27 '46) The letters USA, for example, stand for United States of America. Will you tell me what words these letters stand for: UNO? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct—United Nations Organization | 74% |
| Incorrect | 3 |
| Partly correct—League of Nations | 1 |
| No answer | 22 |

**103.** (US Feb 27 '46) If the United Nations Organization fails, which one nation, if any, do you think will be the most responsible for its failure? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, don't know | 12% |
| Russia | 61 |
| England | 13 |
| United States | 10 |
| Spain | * |
| Argentina | 1 |
| Japan | * |
| Germany | 1 |
| A group of nations | 1 |
| All of us | 2 |
| No one will; it won't fail; mustn't look for failures | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| | 104%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**104.** (Sweden Apr '46) Do you think that Sweden should join the United Nations so that we, like the other members, must place troops at the disposal of a mutual military defense system for safeguarding future peace? (SGI)

| | *Yes, with certain reservations* | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 5% | 46% | 21% | 28% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 8% | 58% | 21% | 13% |
| Middle class | 6 | 44 | 24 | 26 |
| Workers | 4 | 46 | 19 | 31 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Right party | 5% | 50% | 24% | 21% |
| Liberals | 8 | 49 | 24 | 19 |
| Agrarians | 4 | 44 | 21 | 31 |
| Social Democrats | 5 | 52 | 18 | 25 |
| Communists | 1 | 52 | 21 | 26 |

**105.** (US Apr 10 '46) Should France and China be given an equal say in the United Nations Organization with Russia, Britain, and the United States? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, both | 54% |
| France only | 2 |
| China only | 11 |
| No | 18 |
| No opinion | 15 |

**106.** (US May '46) As far as you know, is or is not our country a member of the United Nations Organization—sometimes called the UNO? (NORC)

Is 84% Is not 2% Don't know 14%

**107.** (US Aug 18 '46) Do you think the United Nations Organization should be strengthened to make it a world government with power to control the armed forces of all nations, including the United States? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 54% | 24% | 22% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 51% | 21% | 28% |
| East central and West central | 56 | 26 | 18 |
| South | 56 | 22 | 22 |
| Far West | 57 | 25 | 18 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 58% | 31% | 11% |
| High school | 53 | 28 | 19 |
| Grade school or no school | 53 | 20 | 27 |
| (Sept 14 '47) National total | 54% | 24% | 22% |

**108.** (US Nov 30 '46) The United States has as much national income as all of the other fifty nations in the UNO put together. In view of this, do you think the United States should pay one-half of all costs of the United Nations Organization? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 16% | 69% | 15% |
| World War II veterans | 18 | 75 | 7 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 19% | 67% | 14% |
| Republicans | 13 | 74 | 13 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 23% | 71% | 6% |
| High school | 17 | 71 | 12 |
| Elementary school or less | 14 | 67 | 19 |

**109.** (Great Britain Feb 16 '46) On the whole, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the work the organization of the United Nations has done so far? (BIPO)

| | *Satisfied* | *Dissatisfied* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 20% | 31% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 54% | 24% | 22% |
| Women | 43 | 16 | 41 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 42% | 25% | 33% |
| 30–49 years | 50 | 20 | 30 |
| 50 years and over | 49 | 18 | 33 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 59% | 28% | 13% |
| Middle | 59 | 20 | 21 |
| Lower | 44 | 19 | 37 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservative or National Liberal | 50% | 19% | 31% |
| Labor | 50 | 20 | 30 |
| Liberal | 56 | 21 | 23 |
| Other | 56 | 31 | 13 |
| Did not vote | 36 | 20 | 44 |
| No answer (as to politics) | 58 | 24 | 18 |

**110.** (US May 15 '46) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the progress that the United Nations has made to date? (AIPO)

| | *Satisfied* | *Dissatisfied* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 37% | 37% | 26% |
| Veterans | 37 | 45 | 18 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 41% | 32% | 27% |
| Republicans | 36 | 43 | 21 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 39% | 51% | 10% |
| High school | 35 | 43 | 22 |
| Grammar school or less | 39 | 29 | 32 |

| | *Satisfied* | *Dissatisfied* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| (July 24 '46) | | | |
| National total | 26% | 49% | 25% |
| Veterans | 27 | 60 | 13 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 23% | 69% | 8% |
| High school | 26 | 53 | 21 |
| Grade school or less | 26 | 42 | 32 |
| (Jan 5 '47) | | | |
| National total | 39% | 33% | 28% |
| Veterans | 41 | 38 | 21 |

**111.** (US May '46) Generally speaking, up to now do you think the United Nations Organization has done a good job, only a fair job, or a rather poor job? (NORC)

Good 25% Fair 45% Poor 18% Don't know 12%

**112.** (Australia May–June '46) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the progress to date of the United Nations? (APOP)

Satisfied 34% Dissatisfied 34% Undecided 32%

**113.** (Great Britain June '46) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the progress of UNO to date? (BIPO)

| | *Satisfied* | *Dissatisfied* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 39% | 34% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 32% | 47% | 21% |
| Women | 22 | 32 | 46 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 26% | 40% | 34% |
| 30–49 years | 27 | 43 | 30 |
| 50 years and over | 28 | 34 | 38 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 35% | 45% | 20% |
| Middle | 31 | 49 | 20 |
| Lower | 25 | 35 | 40 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Conservatives | 26% | 44% | 30% |
| Labor | 30 | 36 | 34 |
| Liberals | 34 | 42 | 24 |
| Other | 18 | 50 | 32 |
| Non-voters | 22 | 34 | 44 |

**114.** (Canada June 12 '46) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the progress made to date by the United Nations Organization? (CIPO)

| | *Satisfied* | *Dissatisfied* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 39% | 27% | 34% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 44% | 30% | 26% |
| Women | 34 | 23 | 43 |
| (US Jan 5 '47) (AIPO) | | | |
| National total | 27% | 43% | 30% |

**115.** (Canada July 24 '46) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the progress made so far by the United Nations Organization? (CIPO)

| | *Satisfied* | *Dissatisfied* | *Undecided* | *Indifferent* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 31% | 44% | 25% | — |
| (France July 24 '46 [released in Canada]). | 8 | 38 | 31 | 23% |

**116.** (US Aug 1 '46) If every other country in the world would elect representatives to a world congress and let all problems between countries be decided by this congress, with a strict provision that all countries have to abide by the decisions whether they like them or not, would you be willing to have the United States go along on this? (NYHT)

| | *Yes* | *No and Don't know* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 62.4% | 19.8% and 17.8% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 65.8% | 34.2% |
| Women | 59.3 | 40.7 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 21–34 years | 62.6% | 37.4% |
| 35–49 years | 65.3 | 34.7 |
| 50 years and over | 59.5 | 40.5 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Prosperous | 73.4% | 26.6% |
| Upper middle class | 68.2 | 31.8 |
| Lower middle class | 62.8 | 37.2 |
| Poor | 53.4 | 46.6 |
| BY VETERAN STATUS | | |
| No veteran in household | 62.0% | 38.0% |
| Veteran in household | 62.3 | 37.7 |
| Respondent a veteran | 66.8 | 33.2 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| Northeast | 64.2% | 35.8% |
| Mid-West | 66.3 | 33.7 |
| South | 55.4 | 44.6 |
| Far West | 64.9 | 35.1 |
| BY SIZE OF PLACE | | |
| 1,000,000 and over | 67.1% | 32.9% |
| 100,000–1,000,000 | 63.7 | 36.3 |
| 2,500–100,000 | 64.3 | 35.7 |
| Under 2,500 (non-farm) | 61.7 | 38.3 |
| Rural farm | 56.2 | 43.8 |

**117.** (Aug 1 '46) If every other country in the world would turn over to a world organization all their military information and secrets, and allow continuous inspection, would you be willing for the United States to go along on this? (NYHT)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 47.3% | 37.7% | 15.0% |
| BY VETERAN STATUS | | | |
| | *Yes* | *No and Don't know* | |
| No veteran in household | 45.9% | 54.1% | |
| Veteran in household | 48.4 | 51.6 | |
| Respondent a veteran | 53.0 | 47.0 | |

# UNITED STATES

## Appropriations and Expenditures

**1.** (US Oct 20 '35, Dec 27 '36, June 30 '37) Do you think expenditures by the government for relief and recovery are too little, too great, or about right? (AIPO)

| | *Too little* | *Too great* | *About right* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9% | 60% | 31% | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England | 6% | 75% | 19% | |
| East central | 9 | 62 | 29 | |
| Middle Atlantic | 13 | 61 | 26 | |
| South | 5 | 60 | 35 | |
| West central | 7 | 58 | 35 | |
| Pacific coast | 9 | 58 | 33 | |
| Mountain | 11 | 44 | 45 | |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Republican | 4% | 89% | 7% | |
| Democratic | 11 | 36 | 53 | |
| (Apr 11 '36) National total | 12 | 53 | 35 | 5% |

**2.** (US Oct 12 '35) Which policy should the government follow in handling relief: spend money for new buildings, roads, playgrounds and the like, to make work for persons on relief, or give direct cash relief? (AIPO)

Projects to make work 87% Cash 13%

**3.** (US Nov 30 '35) If all direct cash relief is assumed by local and state governments rather than by the federal government, do you think large savings will result? (AIPO)

Savings will result 57% Will not result 43% No opinion 9%

Do you think that the selection of persons who receive relief will be better, worse, or about the same?

Better selection 53% Worse selection 22% About same 25%

**4.** (US Sept 13 '36) Should the federal government reduce expenditures now? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 77% | 23% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Republican | 96% | 4% |
| Democratic | 61 | 39 |

77% of the people who thought the federal government should reduce expenditures were asked to check the division or divisions in which the greatest reduction should be made.

| | |
|---|---|
| Unemployment relief | 25% |
| Farm benefits | 15 |
| National defense | 7 |
| Veterans' pensions | 12 |
| Ordinary government expenditures | 41 |

**5.** (US Oct '36) Which do you believe is the better form of relief for the unemployed, direct cash payments or jobs created by the government? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Cash payments | 9.0% |
| Government-created jobs | 74.5 |
| Both | 4.4 |
| Neither | 7.6 |
| Don't know | 4.5 |

**6.** (US Nov 4 '36) Do you think that the United States will have to continue relief appropriations permanently? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 54% | 46% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 52% | 48% |
| Republicans | 56 | 44 |
| Persons on relief | 62 | 38 |
| (Apr 24 '38) | | |
| National total | 67 | 33 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 69% | 31% |
| Republicans | 63 | 37 |
| Persons on relief | 75 | 25 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | |
| City | 71% | 29% |
| Small town | 61 | 39 |
| Farmers | 60 | 40 |

**7.** (US Jan 3 '37) Do you approve the government's policy of reducing relief expenditures at this time? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 60% | 40% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 54% | 46% |
| Middle Atlantic | 55 | 45 |
| East central | 69 | 31 |
| West central | 56 | 44 |
| South | 65 | 35 |
| Mountain | 59 | 41 |
| Pacific coast | 53 | 47 |

**8.** (US Apr 18 '37, May 2 '37, June 20 '37) Do you believe the federal government should further reduce relief expenditures at this time? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 44% | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 56% | 44% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 59 | 41 | |
| East central | 59 | 41 | |
| West central | 54 | 46 | |
| South | 57 | 43 | |
| Rocky Mountain | 56 | 44 | |
| Pacific coast | 43 | 57 | |
| (Mar 29 '37) National total | 49 | 41 | 10% |

**9.** (US Dec 7 '36) Do you believe relief expenditures should be reduced in this community? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 53% | 47% | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 41% | 59% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 51 | 49 | |
| East central | 64 | 36 | |
| West central | 47 | 53 | |
| South | 54 | 46 | |
| Mountain | 56 | 44 | |
| Pacific coast | 46 | 54 | |
| (Mar 15 '37) | | | |
| National total | 51 | 49 | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 45% | 55% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 57 | 43 | |
| East central | 54 | 46 | |
| West central | 50 | 50 | |
| South | 48 | 52 | |
| Rocky Mountain | 49 | 51 | |
| Pacific coast | 40 | 60 | |
| (Mar 29 '37) National total | 40 | 46 | 14% |

**10.** (US Jan 24 '37) Should the federal government appropriate money to make a national census of the unemployed? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 51% | 49% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 64% | 36% |
| Middle Atlantic | 57 | 43 |
| East central | 43 | 57 |
| West central | 48 | 52 |
| South | 55 | 45 |
| Mountain | 41 | 59 |
| Pacific coast | 48 | 52 |

**11.** (US Jan 25 '37) If there is another depression, should the government follow the same spending policy as the Roosevelt administration has followed? (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 39% No opinion (14%)

**12.** (US Apr 5 '37) In your opinion, is the government spending too little, too much or about the right amount for relief and recovery? (AIPO)

Too little 12% Too much 47% About right 41%
No opinion (6%)

**13.** (US Apr 5 '37) Should Congress appropriate $20,000,000 for a national census of the unemployed? (AIPO)

Yes 24% No 76% No opinion (12%)

**14.** (US June 13 '37, June 20 '37, Jan 9 '38, Apr 5 '39) Should the government do away with the WPA and give only cash on direct relief? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 21% | 79% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 25% | 75% |
| Middle Atlantic | 22 | 78 |
| East central | 20 | 80 |
| West central | 18 | 82 |
| South | 21 | 79 |
| Rocky Mountain | 19 | 81 |
| Pacific coast | 20 | 80 |

**15.** (US Nov 7 '37) Do you think that government expenditures should be increased or decreased on unemployment relief? (AIPO)

| | *Increased* | *Decreased* | *Remain the same* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 24% | 49% | 27% | — |
| (Jan 7 '43) | 24 | 39 | 29 | 8% |

**16.** (US Nov 7 '37) Do you think government expenditures (spending) should be increased or decreased on the general government running expenses? (AIPO)

| | *Remain same* | *Increased* | *Decreased* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 25% | 5% | 70% | — |
| (Jan 7 '39) | 20 | 7 | 60 | 13% |

**17.** (US Dec 26 '37, Apr 1 '38, Apr 17 '38) Do you think the government should start spending again to help get business out of its present slump? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 38% | 62% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 39% | 61% |
| Mid-Atlantic | 46 | 54 |
| East central | 36 | 64 |
| West central | 30 | 70 |
| South | 41 | 59% |
| Mountain | 30 | 70 |
| Pacific coast | 34 | 66 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Better-than-average | 19% | 81% |
| Average | 30 | 70 |
| Below average | 47 | 53 |
| Poor | 47 | 53 |
| On relief | 69 | 31 |

**18.** (US Jan 18 '38) Do you think government spending should be increased to help get business out of its present slump? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 37% | 63% |
| (Mar 15 '38) | | |
| National total | 37 | 63 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic | 46% | 54% |
| Republican | 18 | 82 |
| (Apr 19 '38) | | |
| National total | 42 | 58 |
| Heard April 14 Fireside Chat | 49 | 51 |
| Did not hear April 14 Fireside Chat | 40 | 60 |
| (May 21 '38) | | |
| National total | 38 | 62 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper class | 23% | 77% |
| Middle class | 32 | 68 |
| Lower class | 57 | 43 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 52% | 48% |
| (May 26 '39) National total | 29 | 58 |

*No opinion*
13%

**19.** (US Mar 15 '38) Do you think we should try to revive business by increasing government spending? (AIPO)

Yes 32% No 68% No opinion (9%)

**20.** (US July 2 '38) Do you favor the federal government's spending program to help get business out of its present slump? (AIPO)

Yes 52% No 40% No opinion 8%

**21.** (Dec 13 '37) Do you think relief should be given as work relief (such as a WPA job) or as direct cash relief? (AIPO)

| | *Work* | *Cash* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 90% | 10% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 93% | 7% |
| Middle Atlantic | 88 | 12 |
| East central | 91 | 9 |
| West central | 90 | 10 |
| South | 89 | 11 |
| Rocky Mountain | 94 | 6 |
| Pacific coast | 84 | 16 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Republicans | 88% | 12% |
| Democrats | 90 | 10 |
| Other parties | 91 | 9 |

**22.** (US May 20 '38) Has the government paid you any money during the past four years for any of the following: Crop control, work relief (WPA, CCC, NYA), home or land loans,

soldiers' bonus or pensions, home relief? A comparable cross-section was asked: During the past four years, have you received money from the federal government for: (check those received)? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Crop control* | *Work relief* | *Home relief* | *Home or land loans* | *Pension or soldier bonus* | *None* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9% | 15% | 7% | 4% | 8% | 65% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | | |
| For Roosevelt | 68% | 80% | | 73% | 62% | 57% |
| For Landon | 32 | 20 | | 27 | 38 | 43 |

**23.** (US Dec 28 '37) If the government increases its spending to make jobs, do you think the most money should go for a larger navy, or for housing and public works? (AIPO)

Larger navy 22% Housing and public works 64% Both 4% No opinion 10%

**24.** (US Mar 23 '38) In your opinion, which will do more to get us out of the depression: increase government spending or reduce taxes on business? (AIPO)

No opinion 24% Increase government spending 14% Reduce taxes on business 61% Both 1% Neither *

* Less than 0.5%.

**25.** (US Mar 23 '38) In your opinion, which will do more to get us out of the depression: increase government spending or help business by reducing taxes? (AIPO)

Increase government spending 14% Reduce taxes 65% No opinion 21%

**26.** (US Apr 17 '38) In your opinion, which will do more to get us out of the depression: increase government spending for relief and public works, or help business by reducing taxes? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with the alternatives reversed. Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Increase spending* | *Reduce taxes* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 21% | 79% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 21% | 79% |
| Middle Atlantic | 23 | 77 |
| East central | 18 | 82 |
| West central | 20 | 80 |
| South | 24 | 76 |
| Rocky Mountain | 32 | 68 |
| Pacific coast | 22 | 78 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 31% | 69% |
| Republicans | 5 | 95 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | |
| City | 23% | 77% |
| Small town | 24 | 76 |
| Farm | 16 | 84 |
| Persons on relief | 47 | 53 |

**27.** (US Apr 19 '38) In your opinion, which will do more to get us out of the depression: increase government spending for relief and public works, or reduce taxes on business? (AIPO)

No opinion 11% Increase spending 26% Reduce taxes 62% No answer 1%

**28.** (US June 9 '38) Do you think the new government spending program will help business out of its present slump? (AIPO)

Yes 50% No 50% No opinion (13%)

**29.** (US Oct '38) Do you think the government's program for spending and lending five billion dollars is necessary for relief? For recovery? (FOR)

| | *Necessary for relief* | *Not necessary for relief* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 52.9% | 35.7% | 11.4% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Northeast | 46.6% | 44.6% | 8.8% |
| Northwest plains | 36.8 | 52.9 | 10.3 |
| Southwest | 68.2 | 18.2 | 13.6 |

| | *Necessary for recovery* | *Not necessary for recovery* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 47.8% | 38.3% | 13.9% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Northeast | 39.9% | 48.1% | 12.0% |
| Northwest plains | 33.4 | 54.9 | 11.7 |
| Southwest | 64.6 | 16.8 | 18.6 |

**30.** (US Nov 25 '38) In deciding where and how to spend federal money for relief and recovery, who should have the greater say, Congress or the President? (AIPO)

Congress 78% President 22%

**31.** (US Jan 6 '39) Do you think that the federal government is spending too much, too little, or about the right amount of money at this time? (AIPO)

| | *Too much* | *Too little* | *About right* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 61% | 10% | 29% | |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democrats | 46% | 13% | 41% | |
| Republicans | 89 | 3 | 8 | |
| (Jan 20 '39) | | | | |
| National total | 52% | 7% | 31% | 10% |

**32.** (US Jan 7 '39) If government spending were reduced one third, do you think this would help or hurt business recovery? (AIPO)

Help 33% Hurt 44% No opinion 23%

**33.** (US Jan 10 '39) Do you think the federal government is spending too much money for relief? (AIPO)

Yes 53% No 40% No opinion 7%

**34.** (US Jan 10 '39) Do you think the federal government is spending too much money for relief in this community? (AIPO)

Yes 34% No 54% No opinion 12%

**35.** (US Jan 20 '39) Should government spending for relief be increased, decreased, or remain about the same? (AIPO)

Increased 17% Decreased 38% About the same 39% No opinion 6%

**36.** (US Jan 10 '40) Do you think federal government spending for relief should be increased or decreased? (AIPO)

Increased 23% No change 27% Decreased 50% No opinion (12%)

**37.** (US Mar 8 '39) It has been suggested that the federal government cut all expenditures—including relief, farm aid, pensions, national defense and ordinary government running expenses—by 10%. Do you favor this idea? (AIPO)

Yes 42% No 48% No opinion 10%

**38.** (US Mar 8 '39) Would you favor cutting all these government expenditures [relief, farm aid, pensions, national defense and ordinary government running expenses] by 20%? (AIPO)

Yes 18% No 67% No opinion 15%

**39.** (US Apr 21 '39) Do you think federal government spending for relief should be reduced by 10%? (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 43%

**40.** (US Mar '39) Do you think that: (1) WPA should be continued by the federal government on the same scale as it is now. (2) WPA should be continued by the federal government, but on a smaller, more restricted scale. (3) All relief, including work relief, should be handled by the states only. or (4) All relief should again become the sole responsibility of private charity? (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *Other* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 21.5% | 36.8% | 23.4% | 6.2% | .6% | 11.5% |
| BY SELECTED GROUPS | | | | | | |
| Executives | 9.8% | 40.8% | 37.1% | 7.4% | .8% | 4.1% |
| Unemployed | 32.0 | 25.6 | 24.7 | 4.9 | .5 | 12.3 |
| Negroes | 44.7 | 24.9 | 13.4 | 4.3 | — | 12.7 |

**41.** (US May 26 '39) Which way do you think relief should be given—in the form of work relief (such as a WPA job) or as direct cash relief? (AIPO)

Work relief 89% Cash relief 11%

**42.** (US May 2 '39) Do you think that the government should do away with work relief (such as WPA) and give only home relief? (AIPO)

Yes 27% No 73%

**43.** (US May 26 '39) In its effort to aid business recovery do you think the Roosevelt administration should reduce emergency spending or continue spending as at present? (AIPO)

Reduce 54% Continue 33% No opinion 13%

**44.** (US Aug 27 '39) Do you think Congress was right in defeating President Roosevelt's three-billion dollar Lending Bill? (AIPO)

| | *Approve defeat* | *Disapprove defeat* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 68% | 32% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 51% | 49% |
| Republicans | 93 | 7 |

**45.** (US Aug 8 '39) President Roosevelt says business recovery will be slowed down because Congress failed to pass the Lending Bill. Do you agree with him? (AIPO)

Yes 44% No 56%

**46.** (US Nov '39) Do you think Congress was right or wrong in refusing to grant President Roosevelt's request to authorize the federal government to lend $2,800,000,000 for its recovery program? (FOR)

| | *Right* | *Wrong* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 55.1% | 25.4% | 19.5% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 80.8% | 11.9% | 7.3% |
| Poor | 39.9 | 31.8 | 28.3 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Executives | 74.9% | 19.4% | 5.7% |
| Factory labor | 39.8 | 37.9 | 22.3 |
| Unemployed | 33.6 | 43.1 | 23.3 |
| BY RACE | | | |
| Negroes | 26.3% | 44.3% | 29.4% |

**47.** (US Nov 24 '39) The government has tried out a food stamp plan which lets people on relief buy certain surplus farm products below their regular selling price. The government makes up the difference to the merchant. Do you approve or disapprove of this plan? (AIPO)

Approve 70% Disapprove 30%

**48.** (Nov 24 '39) Would you approve of extending this [food stamp] plan to families earning less than $20 a week as well as to persons on relief? (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 43% Don't know (13%)

**49.** (US Feb 18 '40) President Roosevelt proposes a 28% (about one-fourth) reduction in federal government spending for relief. Do you approve or disapprove of this cut? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 59% | 41% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 49% | 51% |
| Republicans | 73 | 27 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | |
| Farmers | 72% | 28% |
| Small towns | 61 | 39 |
| City | 55 | 45 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper income | 79% | 21% |
| Middle income | 67 | 33 |
| Lower income | 38 | 62 |

Would you favor a smaller reduction? Asked of those who disapproved of the President's proposal.

Yes 19% No 57% No answer 24%

Asked of 19% of the sample who said they would favor a smaller reduction: How much?

| | |
|---|---|
| 5% | 2% |
| 10% | 7 |
| 15% | 4 |
| 20% | 1 |
| Over 20% | 1 |
| No answer or indefinite answer | 4 |

The President proposes a 28% (about one-fourth) reduction in federal government spending for relief. Do you think this reduction is too large, about right, or too small? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who thought federal government spending for relief should be decreased. 50% of the sample represented.

Too large 7% About right 58% Too small 21%
No opinion 14%

**50.** (US Apr '40) Bearing in mind that our problem is to build the strongest nation possible in order to meet any situation, on which of these four groups of things do you think the government is warranted in spending the most money—increasing armaments, dealing with agricultural problems, reducing poverty and unemployment, or public construction? Which second? Third? Fourth? (FOR)

| | *Reducing poverty and unemployment* | *Increasing armaments* | *Dealing with agricultural problems* | *Public construction* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| First | 43.0% | 31.5% | 16.3% | 5.5% |
| Second | 26.0 | 20.3 | 31.7 | 12.7 |
| Third | 14.7 | 19.0 | 27.4 | 27.0 |
| Fourth | 8.4 | 18.4 | 13.9 | 42.7 |
| Unimportant | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.7 |
| Don't do at all | 0.9 | 1.4 | 1.2 | 1.1 |
| Don't know | 6.6 | 8.9 | 9.1 | 10.3 |

**51.** (US Apr '40) Of these things having to do with reducing poverty and unemployment—providing work relief, providing old-age pensions, clearing slums and providing better housing, and training skilled labor—which do you think is, or might be, the most important on which to spend money in order to build up a better and stronger nation? Which second in importance? Third? Fourth? (FOR)

| | *Old-age pensions* | *Slum clearance and better housing* | *Training skilled labor* | *Work relief* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| First | 24.4% | 20.2% | 24.9% | 27.3% |
| Second | 27.0 | 25.8 | 17.9 | 20.5 |
| Third | 23.2 | 27.1 | 18.4 | 17.3 |
| Fourth | 15.6 | 14.8 | 26.5 | 19.6 |
| Unimportant | 1.0 | 1.2 | 1.5 | 1.2 |
| Don't do at all | 3.6 | 3.3 | 2.9 | 7.8 |
| Don't know | 5.2 | 7.6 | 7.9 | 6.3 |

**52.** (US Apr '40) Of these things dealing with agricultural problems—removing poor farmland from cultivation, reforestation and preventing soil erosion, controlling pests that destroy farm crops, encouraging farmers to raise all they can by paying them a subsidy, keeping farmers from raising too much in order to keep prices from falling—which do you think is, or might be, the most important on which to spend money in order to build up a better and stronger nation? Which second in importance? Third? Fourth? Fifth? (FOR)

| | *Reforestation and soil conservation* | *Controlling pests* | *Removing poor farmland* | *Subsidizing farmers* | *Controlling farm production* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| First | 28.1% | 15.7% | 11.4% | 23.6% | 10.8% |
| Second | 23.3 | 31.0 | 15.4 | 7.6 | 4.6 |
| Third | 18.1 | 22.3 | 21.2 | 8.8 | 5.7 |
| Fourth | 8.7 | 11.1 | 20.1 | 11.7 | 8.3 |
| Fifth | 2.3 | 1.7 | 4.3 | 11.6 | 19.7 |
| Unimportant | 1.1 | 1.3 | 3.2 | 1.5 | 2.4 |
| Don't do at all | 1.3 | 1.8 | 5.9 | 18.0 | 29.2 |
| Don't know | 17.1 | 15.1 | 18.5 | 17.2 | 19.3 |
| BY SELECTED GROUPS | | | | | |
| Executives | 76% | 63% | 52% | 9% | 25% |
| Factory labor | 76 | 70 | 39 | 22 | 1 |
| Farm owners | 65 | 58 | 48 | 23 | 12 |
| Farm labor | 67 | 64 | 52 | 41 | 16 |

**53.** (US Apr '40) Which three of the seventeen individual things we have just been talking about do you think are, or might be, the ones justifying the expenditure of the most money and effort? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| The navy | 11%* |
| The air force | 11 |
| Providing work relief | 10 |
| Providing old-age pensions | 9 |
| Slum clearance and better housing | 8 |
| Training skilled labor | 7 |
| Reforestation and soil conservation | 7 |
| Flood control | 7 |
| The army | 6 |
| Subsidizing farmers | 5 |
| Big national highways | 3 |
| Training civilian pilots | 3 |
| Controlling farm crop pests | 3 |
| Airports | 3 |
| Removing poor farmland from cultivation | 3 |
| Controlling farm production | 2 |
| Federal power plants | 2 |

* Percentages are based on the total number of answers.

**54.** (US May 6 '41) Do you think federal government spending, except for defense, should be reduced at this time? (AIPO)

Yes 67% No 25% No opinion 8%

**55.** (May 6 '41) Do you think spending should be reduced on farm benefits; on public works not connected with defense; on WPA; on the CCC; on the National Youth Administration (NYA)? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Farm benefits | 36% | 50% | 14% |
| Public works | 66 | 27 | 7 |
| WPA | 62 | 32 | 6 |
| CCC | 40 | 51 | 9 |
| NYA | 37 | 47 | 16 |

**56.** (US Apr 18 '42) Should the NYA (National Youth Administration) be done away with until the end of the war? (AIPO)

Yes 38% No 43% No opinion 19%

**57.** (US Sept 3 '42) Do you approve or disapprove of the government's policy with respect to spending? (AIPO)

Approve 34% Disapprove 56% No opinion 10%

**58.** (US Sept 15 '42) Would you approve or disapprove of having a committee of impartial, qualified men to investigate and make a report on government spending? (AIPO)

Approve 73% Disapprove 14% No opinion 13%

**59.** (US Aug '44) About what percentage of its $16 billion war-plant investment do you judge the government can reasonably hope to recover in the long run? Asked of a national cross-section of executives. (FOR)

| *Somewhere between* | |
|---|---|
| 0% and 25% | 50.2% |
| 25% and 50% | 43.3 |
| 50% and 75% | 6.0 |
| 75% and 100% | 0.5 |

Average: 26.7%, i.e. 27 cents on the dollar

**60.** (US Feb 23 '45) Do you think the money-lending agency—the RFC (Reconstruction Finance Corporation)—should be kept under the direction of the Department of Commerce, or should it be separated? A comparable cross-section was asked: If Henry Wallace is appointed Secretary of Commerce, should the money-lending agency—the RFC (Reconstruction Finance Corporation)—be kept in that department or should it be separated? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Kept | 27% |
| Separated | 35 |
| Depends on who is head | 6 |
| No opinion | 32 |

## Army Air Forces

**1.** (US Aug 13 '41) At present the air force is a part of both the army and navy, and not a separate branch of our armed forces. Do you think the air force should be made a separate branch of the armed forces? (AIPO)

Yes 42% No 33% No opinion 25%

**2.** (US Aug 21 '42) An airplane expert says that if the Allies build enough airplanes, they can win the war with a strong air force alone. Do you agree, or disagree? (AIPO)

Agree 40% Disagree 49% No opinion 11%

**3.** (US Sept 5 '42) Have you heard or read about the idea of establishing a separate United States air force? (That would

mean that the air force would have the same standing and rating as the army and navy.) (AIPO)

Yes 44% No 56%

Would you approve or disapprove of a separate air force for the United States? Asked of 44% of the sample who had heard or read about the idea of establishing a separate United States air force.

Approve 57% Disapprove 27% No opinion 16%

(Aug 11 '43) Would you approve or disapprove of a separate air force for the United States?

Approve 59% Disapprove 41%

## Army Nurse Corps

**1.** (US Jan 17 '45) What is your opinion of the proposal now before Congress to draft nurses to serve with the army and navy? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve | 46% |
| Leave civilian supply | 2 |
| Approve if necessary | 24 |
| Lower requirements if not sufficient draft | 1 |
| Disapprove | 14 |
| No opinion | 13 |

**2.** (US Feb 2 '45) Do you approve or disapprove of this proposal to draft nurses to serve with the army and navy? (AIPO)

Approve 73% Disapprove 19% No opinion 8%

**3.** (US Feb 2 '45) Do you think there is a shortage of nurses in the armed forces now? (AIPO)

Yes 78% No 2% Don't know 20%

**4.** (US Feb 20 '45) Do you think that single graduate nurses, twenty to forty-five years of age, should be drafted for service with the armed forces? (AIPO)

Yes 65% No 28% No opinion 7%

## Army and Navy

**1.** (US July 10 '40) If the United States were attacked by some foreign country, which branch of the armed forces would you prefer to serve in? Asked of a national cross-section of men under forty-six years of age. (AIPO)

| | *Army* | *Air forces* | *Navy* | *All others* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 44% | 29% | 24% | 3% |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| Under 30 years | 34% | 34% | 29% | 3% |
| 30–45 years | 50 | 26 | 22 | 2 |

**2.** (US Dec 24 '41) Of our own armed forces, which do you think is best—our army, our navy, or our air force? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Army | 11% |
| Navy | 47 |
| Air force | 21 |
| All same | 8 |
| Don't know | 13 |

**3.** (US Aug 9 '42) Assuming that land, air, and sea power is each important in winning the war, which of these do you think will be the most important in winning the present war—land power, air power, or sea power? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Land power | 7% |
| Sea power | 14 |
| Air power | 69 |
| No opinion | 10 |

**4.** (US Jun 18 '43) Is there anything in particular about the navy or what the navy is doing that you would like to know more about? What? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Yes, would like to hear something about* | |
| What the navy is doing in general | 3% |
| Casualties, losses | 2 |
| Submarine warfare | 2 |
| Information about personnel and personnel problems | 2 |
| Location and distribution of the ships and size of the navy | 2 |
| Naval battles | 1 |
| Truthful, prompt information | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| *No, nothing I would want to hear more about* | |
| We hear enough—satisfied | 10 |
| Because it would aid the enemy | 9 |
| Because it's depressing | * |
| Nothing in particular, not ascertainable | 66 |
| | 102%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**5.** (US June '45) We were wondering what people think about the army and navy so far as certain things are concerned. From what you know or have heard, which do you think generally: (FOR)

| | *Army* | *Navy* | *Both same* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Is quickest to accept new ideas and new inventions | 22.9% | 28.9% | 19.9% | 28.3% |
| Is the most democratic in the relations between officers and enlisted men | 29.0 | 25.2 | 13.0 | 32.8 |
| Is fairest about promoting its men | 24.1 | 27.4 | 16.1 | 32.4 |
| Provides the best living conditions for its men | 11.0 | 62.4 | 11.5 | 15.1 |
| Offers the best career to a man who would like to make the service his life's work | 18.1 | 50.5 | 12.7 | 18.7 |

**6.** (US June 27 '45) Can you tell me what jobs the army service forces do? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, don't know | 28% |
| Never heard of them | 36 |
| Provide war material, material for armed forces, guns, etc | 3 |
| Provide food | 3 |
| Provide clothing | 1 |
| Transportation, trucks, etc | 4 |
| Provides all equipment, everything | 14 |
| Combat | 4 |
| Communications | 1 |
| Office work, clerical | 1 |
| Engineering, builds roads, etc | 4 |
| Service equipment | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| Quartermaster | 2 |
| Medical aid | 3 |
| Entertainment, recreation | 4 |
| Service planes, air forces | 1 |
| Police duty, MP | 1 |
| Unit of army, non-combarants | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Veteran's aid, rehabilitation | 1% |
| Each service force has different jobs | 1 |
| | 121%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**7.** (US June 27 '45) In general, would you rate the job that the army has done in the following matter (deciding which soldiers should be sent to fight Japan) as excellent, good, or poor? (AIPO)

Excellent 31% Good 41% Poor 7% Don't know 31%

**8.** (US June 27 '45) In general, would you rate the job that the army has done in the following matter (being fair to soldiers who have broken rules or committed crimes) as excellent, good, or poor? (AIPO)

Excellent 26% Good 46% Poor 8% Don't know 20%

**9.** (US June 27 '45) Some people say the army buys more things than it should. Do you think this is true, and how do you feel about it? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| True—too much waste of money and materials, no excuse for it | 24% |
| True—civilians suffer, sell back to civilians | 3 |
| True—poorly managed, too many heads for the job, badly distributed | 4 |
| True to untrue—can't be helped, better to be sure | 28 |
| True, partly true—human nature to buy too much | 1 |
| Partly true—doing better now | 1 |
| Untrue | 17 |
| Untrue—soldiers not getting enough now | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Government must decide that | 3 |
| Don't know | 13 |

**10.** (US June 27 '45) In general, do you have any criticism of the way the army has handled men and material? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No opinion, don't know | 4% |
| No, have done a good job | 72 |
| Waste, been extravagant | 2 |
| Waste a lot of material, wasted money | 6 |
| Waste of food | 3 |
| Too much red tape in ordnance | 1 |
| Injured men handled rough | 1 |
| Objecting to discipline, difference in treatment to overseas men vs. non-overseas men | 1 |
| Disposition of men criticized | 4 |
| Necessary waste, good job under circumstances | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**11.** (US July 25 '45) From what you know about the different branches of the armed service, which do you prefer—the army or the navy? (If respondent says air force, ask whether army or navy.) (AIPO)

Army 32% Navy 43% Marines 6% No opinion 19%

**12.** (US July 25 '45) From what you know about the different branches of the armed service, which do you think is preferred by most people—the army or the navy? (If respondent says air force, ask whether army or navy.) (AIPO)

Army 27% Navy 58% Marines 3% No opinion 12%

**13.** (US Jan '46) Everyone agrees that every branch of our service was essential and did a wonderful job in the war, but which do you think did most toward winning the war against Germany (Japan)? (FOR)

| | *Germany* | *Japan* |
|---|---|---|
| The army (not including air forces) | 28.0% | 4.4% |
| The army air forces | 39.4 | 16.6 |
| The navy (not including air forces) | 1.5 | 17.8 |
| The navy air force | 1.2 | 16.6 |
| The marines | 1.8 | 16.4 |
| All equal | 17.4 | 16.2 |
| Don't know | 10.7 | 12.0 |

## Army and Navy (Demobilization)

**1.** (US June 26 '43) Do you think they [men in the armed forces] should be released from the armed services after the war if they have no jobs, or should they be kept in the service until they can show they have jobs? (AIPO)

| | *Released* | *Kept in service* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 38% | 50% | 12% |
| Families with members in armed forces | 41 | 48 | 11 |

**2.** (US July '44) When the war is over, do you think the army should release all soldiers back to civilian life as soon as possible, or should it release them only when there are jobs for them? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Release them only when there are jobs for them | 45.7% |
| Release men as soon as possible whether there are jobs for them or not | 44.6 |
| Don't know | 9.7 |

**3.** (US July 18 '44) After the war is over in Europe, how long do you think it will be before all or nearly all of our troops will be returned to this country? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 6 months and under | 15% |
| Over 6 months and including 1½ years | 36 |
| Over 1½ years | 42 |
| Don't know | 7 |
| Indefinitely | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**4.** (US Feb 20 '45) There are about three million men in the United States Navy now. After Germany is defeated and we are still fighting the Japanese, do you think the navy could release any men? (AIPO)

Yes 24% No 63% No opinion 13%

How many do you think could be released? [Asked of the 24% of the sample who thought the navy could release some men after Germany was defeated.]

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 250,000 | 4% |
| 250,000 | 2 |
| 500,000 | 4 |
| 750,000 | 3 |
| 1,000,000 | 27 |
| Over 1,000,000 | 18 |
| Don't know | 42 |

Do you think the navy will release more or fewer men than that? Asked of the same 24%.

More 10% Fewer 30% That number 20% None 9% Don't know 31%

**5.** (US Feb 20 '45) There are about eight million men in the United States Army now. After Germany is defeated and we are still fighting the Japanese, do you think the Army could release any men? (AIPO)

Yes 52% No 37% No opinion 11%

How many do you think could be released? Asked of the 52% who thought the Army could release some men after Germany was defeated.

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 1,000,000 | 3% |
| 1,000,000 | 7 |
| 1,500,000 | 3 |
| 2,000,000 | 19 |
| 2,500,000 | 7 |
| 3,000,000–3,500,000 | 10 |
| 4,000,000–4,500,000 | 15 |
| 5,000,000 and over | 3 |
| Don't know | 33 |

Do you think the army will release more or fewer than that? Asked of 52% of the sample who thought the army could release some men after Germany was defeated.

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 11% |
| Fewer | 30 |
| That number | 27 |
| None | 5 |
| Don't know | 27 |

**6.** (US May 4 '45) After Germany is defeated, do you think American soldiers in Europe who are no longer needed there will be sent home to stay, or do you think most of them will be sent to fight against Japan? (AIPO)

Home to stay 15% Fight against Japan 74% No opinion 11%

**7.** (US June 23 '45) Do you think the point system for releasing men from the army is fair? (AIPO)

Yes 72% No 15% No opinion 13%

**8.** (US May 29 '45) What changes, if any, would you like to see made in the point system [for releasing men from the army]? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Credit for children should be higher; release men with families | 6% |
| Years of service overseas should give more points | 3 |
| Age should be given more weight | 3 |
| Men who have served longest should be released first | 4 |
| Men in combat longest should be released first | 3 |
| Requirements should be lowered; points are too high | 2 |
| Wounds should receive more points | 1 |
| Essential men with enough points should not be kept in | 1 |
| Navy, Marines, medical corps, etc. should be included | 2 |
| Combat men from Europe should not see further service | * |
| Other | 7 |
| No changes | 38 |
| Didn't say | 32 |
| | 102%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (US Sept 21 '45) Do you think that men in the army should be released faster than they are, or do you think they are being released fast enough? (AIPO)

| | *Should release faster* | *Fast enough* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 23% | 56% | 21% |
| People with a relative in the army | 29 | 55 | 16 |

| | *Should release faster* | *Fast enough* | *Too fast* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Jan 23 '46) | | | | |
| National total | 27% | 53% | 8% | 12% |

**10.** (US Sept 21 '45) Do you think that men in the navy should be released faster than they are, or do you think they are being released fast enough? (AIPO)

| | *Should release faster* | *Fast enough* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24% | 45% | 31% |
| People with a relative in the navy | 38 | 38 | 24 |

**11.** (US Nov 23 '45) Do you think the army system for releasing men is fair, or do you think it needs some changes? Asked of a national cross-section of people who had a relative in the army. (AIPO)

Fair 50% Changes 40% No opinion 10%

**12.** (US Nov 23 '45) Do you think the navy system for releasing is fair, or do you think it needs some changes? Asked of a national cross-section of people who had a relative in the navy. (AIPO)

Fair 35% Changes 38% No opinion 27%

**13.** (US Jan 23 '46) Have you heard or read about the complaints of men in the armed forces that they are not being let out fast enough? (AIPO)

Yes 92% No 8%

Do you think their [men in service] complaints are justified? Asked of 92% of the sample who had heard or read about the complaints of men in the armed forces that they were not being let out fast enough.

Yes 50% No 27% No opinion 15%

What is your opinion of this [complaints of men who think they are not being let out of the armed forces fast enough]? Asked of 92% of the sample who had heard or read about the complaints.

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, don't know | 6% |
| Complaints are unavoidable, a natural reaction | 6 |
| Some complaints are justified | 14 |
| They are coming home fast enough, government doing as well as it can | 32 |
| Officers know best | 3 |
| They should come home | 20 |
| Some troops are needed to keep order | 4 |
| Some investigation necessary | 1 |
| Replace them by new men | 3 |
| Brass hats want to keep their jobs | 1 |
| Complaints justified but troops are necessary | 1 |
| Married men should be let out first | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

## Army and Navy (Officers)

**1.** (US Nov '41) Do you see any signs that army and navy procurement officials are using their priority position to hoard —i.e., to accumulate stocks beyond their actual or probable requirements? Asked of a national cross-section of executives. (FOR)

Yes 21.3% No 11.9% Not in position to know 66.8%

**2.** (US Aug 29 '42) Do you think a person has to have pull or influence to become an officer in the American army? (NORC)

Yes 23% No 70% Don't know 7%

## Army and Navy (Pay, Allowances, Etc.)

**1.** (US Aug 29 '41) For the duration of the war, would you be in favor of the government paying an extra $30 a month to everybody in the army and navy who has been in active service for more than one year, not including officers? (AIPO)

Yes 70% No 22% No opinion 8%

**2.** (US Mar 28 '42) Do you think that a private soldier should be paid $42 a month instead of $21 when he enters the army? (AIPO)

Yes 73% No 18% No opinion 9%

**3.** (US Mar 28 '42) How much pay per month do you think a private should get when he enters the army? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| $21 a month or less | 9% |
| $22 to $30 | 21 |
| $31 to $40 | 17 |
| $41 to $50 | 22 |
| $51 to $60 | 3 |
| More than $60 | 3 |
| No opinion | 25 |

Mean: $38

**4.** (US Mar 10 '42) Do you happen to know how much a private gets now when he enters [the army]? (AIPO)

Named correct amount 79% Named incorrect amount 7%
Don't know 14%

**5.** (US June 17 '42) In your opinion how much money per month should the wife of an average private soldier without children receive to live on? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| None | 3% |
| Up to $29.99 | 15 |
| $30 to $39.99 | 18 |
| $40 to $49.99 | 21 |
| $50 to $59.99 | 23 |
| $60 and over | 20 |

Median: $40

**6.** (US June 17 '42) How much would you add to this for each child? (AIPIO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than $10 | 11% |
| $10 to $20 | 59 |
| Over $20 to $30 | 27 |
| Over $30 to $40 | 2 |
| Over $40 | 1 |

Median: $15

**7.** (US Apr 21 '44) It has been suggested that American servicemen who take part in actual fighting should have their pay raised so that they get half again as much as at present. Should Congress pass such a law? A comparable cross-section was asked: It has been suggested that American servicemen who take part in actual fighting should get a 50% increase in pay. Should Congress pass such a law? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 70% | 23% | 7% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 72% | 21% | 7% |
| East central | 71 | 22 | 7 |
| West central | 68 | 26 | 6 |
| South | 67 | 25 | 8 |
| Mountain and Far West | 67 | 25 | 8 |

**8.** (US Apr 21 '44) Would you yourself be willing to pay higher taxes to make this [a 50% increase for servicemen who take part in actual fighting] possible? (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 8% No opinion 9% Disapprove of plan 23%

**9.** (US Mar 29 '44) If men in either of these groups [38 to 45 years old and physically unfit] are drafted into the army for war work, should they receive regular army pay and allowances or should they receive the same pay as civilians doing war work? (AIPO)

Army pay 31% Civilian pay 53% No opinion 13%
Qualified 3%

**10.** (US Jan 3 '46) Suppose the base pay of the United States army privates were raised from about $55 a month to $100 a month. Do you think this would be too much or not enough? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too much | 29% |
| Not enough | 13 |
| About right | 52 |
| No answer | 1 |
| No opinion | 5 |

**11.** (US Jan 3 '46) To get more men to enlist it has been suggested that the base pay of United States army privates be raised from $55 a month to $100 a month. What is your opinion of this plan? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't approve, unnecessary, not good idea | 22% |
| $100 is too much | 7 |
| Too much in peacetime, good only during war | 2 |
| Would increase taxes too much, too expensive | 4 |
| Good, should be increased, $55 not enough | 41 |
| May be necessary, would encourage good men to enlist | 11 |
| They deserve it, soldiers should be equal to civilians | 5 |
| Would be necessary for men with dependents | 1 |
| No answer, don't know | 6 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |

**12.** (US Jan 3 '46) Do you think $100 a month for army privates is too much or not enough? (AIPO)

Too much 37% Not enough 6% About right 51%
No opinion 6%

**13.** (US Jan 23 '46) The pay today for a United States army private who is single is $50 per month. How much do you think they should get a month? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, don't know | 2% |
| Under $50 | 1 |
| $50 to under $60 | 43 |
| $60 to under $70 | 10 |
| $70 to under $75 | 2 |
| $75 to under $80 | 23 |
| $80 to under $90 | 4 |
| $90 to under $100 | 1 |
| $100 | 12 |
| Over $100 to under $150 | 1 |
| $150 and over | 1 |

Median: $65

**14.** (US Jan 23 '46) Do you think the scale of pay in the army should be higher, lower, or about the same as the scale of pay in civilian life? (AIPO)

Higher 18% Lower 14% Same 60% No opinion 8%

## Army and Navy (Recruiting, Enlistment, Etc.)

**1.** (US July '44) After the war do you think the United States could have an army large enough for the country's needs by taking volunteers only? (FOR)

Yes 42.0% No 42.3% Don't know 15.7%

**2.** (US Aug 9 '45) After the war do you think that the United States could have a military force large enough for the country's needs by taking volunteers only? (NYHT)

Yes 47.5% No 42.2% Undecided 10.2% No answer .1%

**3.** (US Jan 26 '47) If you had a son or brother eighteen, nineteen, or twenty years of age, would you advise him to volunteer for service in the army or navy for a year? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 53% | 40% | 7% |
| Those with son or brother that age | 50 | 45 | 5 |

**4.** (US Dec 31 '46) Do you happen to have a son or brother eighteen to twenty years of age? (AIPO)

Yes 23% No 76% No answer 1%

**5.** (US Jan 26 '47) If the army or navy changed their training program to include regular high school or college courses, would you then advise him to volunteer? (AIPO)

Yes 64% No 28% No opinion 8%

**6.** (US Jan 26 '47) Would you be in favor of giving these volunteers enough regular school work in the army or navy so that they could earn one year of high school or college credit for each year in the service? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 79% | 12% | 9% |
| Those with son or brother that age | 80 | 13 | 7 |

## Army and Navy (Supplies and Stores)

**1.** (US Aug 4 '43) Which country would you say supplies most of the food to our armed forces in the Southwest Pacific—the United States or Australia? (NORC)

United States 68% Australia 22% Don't know 10%

Do we pay for the food, or do they [Australia] give it to us under lend-lease? Asked of 22% of the sample who thought Australia supplied most of the food to our armed forces in the Southwest Pacific.

We pay for it 5% Given under lend-lease 14% Don't know 3%

**2.** (US Oct 22 '43) From what you know, are our armed forces abroad getting any food from our Allies? Asked of a national cross-section of women. (NORC)

Yes 45% No 16% Don't know 39%

A lot or only a little [food from our Allies]? Asked of 45% of the sample who thought our armed forces abroad were getting some food from our Allies.

Lot 10% Little 27% Don't know 8%

**3.** (US Jan 15 '44) From what you know, do our armed forces abroad get any food from our Allies? (NORC)

Yes 56% No 19% Don't know 25%

A lot or a little [food from our Allies]? Asked of 56% of the sample who thought our armed forces abroad had gotten food from our Allies.

Lot 18% Little 31% Don't know 7%

**4.** (US June 27 '45) In general, would you rate the job that the army has done in the following matter (disposing of material the army doesn't need) as excellent, good, or poor? (AIPO)

Excellent 8% Good 28% Poor 29% Don't know 35%

**5.** (US June 27 '45) In general, would you rate the job that the army has done in the following matter (ordering the right amount of food and war materials) as excellent, good, or poor? (AIPO)

Excellent 29% Good 49% Poor 13% Don't know 9%

**6.** (US June 27 '45) In general, would you rate the job that the army has done in the following matter (seeing men get the right food and clothing) as excellent, good, or poor? (AIPO)

Excellent 38% Good 51% Poor 5% Don't know 6%

**7.** (US Oct 18 '45) As you know, there is a lot of army equipment in Europe that could be used by civilians, much of it brand new. If our government should decide to sell this equipment to foreign governments, do you think we are likely to get back a good part or very little of the money we put into it? (NYHT)

| | *Good part* | *Very little* | *None* | *Depends* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9.0% | 69.0% | 7.0% | 4.4% | 10.6% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 4.7% | 73.5% | 8.8% | 7.1% | 5.9% |
| Upper middle | 8.2 | 74.9 | 6.8 | 4.7 | 5.4 |
| Lower middle | 9.2 | 69.5 | 7.5 | 4.3 | 9.5 |
| Poor | 8.6 | 62.1 | 6.8 | 3.8 | 18.7 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| Northeast | 7.5% | 68.6% | 7.5% | 4.7% | 11.7% |
| Middle West | 7.0 | 75.9 | 5.4 | 4.4 | 7.3 |
| South | 13.2 | 63.2 | 6.2 | 4.0 | 13.4 |
| Far West | 7.4 | 66.3 | 12.1 | 4.6 | 9.6 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | |
| Over 25,000 | 9.6% | 69.2% | 6.6% | 4.1% | 10.5% |
| Under 25,000 | 6.0 | 71.2 | 8.0 | 5.1 | 9.7 |
| Rural | 13.2 | 64.4 | 5.9 | 3.7 | 12.8 |

## Army and Navy (Unified Command)

**1.** (US Feb 23 '42) Do you think our army, navy, and air force should be placed under a single command for the duration of the war, or should each branch continue to operate under its own command? A comparable cross-section was asked the same question with the word "unified" substituted for "single" (command). Results were combined. (AIPO)

Single 45% Own 33% Undecided and no answer 22%

**2.** (US May 27 '42) Should the President, as commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the country, name a military leader to direct both the army and the navy? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41% | 41% | 18% |
| Civic and community leaders | 49 | 40 | 11 |
| (July 18 '42) National total | 48% | 36% | 16% |
| (Sept 3 '42) | 51 | 35 | 14 |

**3.** (US Sept 3 '42) Can you tell me what is meant by a unified command of the military services in this country? (AIPO)

Correct answer 55% Incorrect answer 3% Don't know 42%

Would you favor or oppose a unified command for the United States? Asked of 55% of the sample who knew what was meant by a unified command of the military services.

Favor 83% Oppose 12% No opinion 5%

**4.** (US May 9 '44) After the war is over would you like to see our army and navy combined and run as one military organization, or would you like them left as two organizations as at present? A comparable cross-section was asked: After the war is over would you like to see our War and Navy Departments combined and run as one department, or would you like them left as two departments as at present? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *One* | *Two* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 26% | 50% | 24% |
| (Apr 4 '45) | 23 | 54 | 23 |
| (June 27 '45) | 28 | 47 | 25 |

**5.** (US Dec 19 '45) Would you like to see our War and Navy Departments combined and run as one department, or would you like them left as two departments as at present? (AIPO)

One 40% Two 35% No opinion 25%

Would you like to see our War and Navy Departments combined and run as one department, or would you like them as two departments as at present?

One 37% Two 42% No opinion 21%

**6.** (US June 27 '45) General Eisenhower says that the army and navy should be combined in one department instead of two as at present. Do you approve or disapprove of this? (AIPO)

Approve 48% Disapprove 36% No opinion 16%

**7.** (US Oct 17 '45) Will you tell me what your understanding is of the term "unified command" for the armed forces of the United States? (AIPO)

Satisfactorily correct reply 52% Incorrect or don't know 48%

Do you approve or disapprove of a unified command for this country? Asked of 52% of the sample who gave a correct definition of the term "unified command."

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 64% | 23% | 13% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 73% | 17% | 10% |
| High school | 64 | 24 | 12 |
| Grade school or less | 57 | 27 | 16 |

(Oct 31 '45) Will you tell me what your understanding is of the term "unified command" for the armed forces of the United States?

| | |
|---|---|
| Armed forces under one head, one command, etc | 49% |
| Merging of armed forces | 7 |
| Cooperation of armed forces | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Don't know | 40 |

(Dec 5 '45) Will you tell me what your understanding is of the term "unified command" for the armed forces of the United States?

Correct reply 62% Incorrect or don't know 38%

Do you approve or disapprove of a unified command for the armed forces in this country? Asked of 62% of the sample who gave a correct definition of the term "unified command."

Approve 52% Disapprove 34% No opinion 14%

(Apr 10 '46) Will you tell me what your understanding is of the term "unified command" for the armed forces in this country?

Correct 60% Incorrect 6% Don't know 34%

Do you approve or disapprove of a unified command for the armed forces in this country? Asked of 60% of the sample who had an understanding of the term "unified command" for the armed forces of the United States.

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 59% | 28% | 13% |
| Veterans | 65 | 29 | 6 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 68% | 25% | 7% |
| High school | 62 | 27 | 11 |
| Grammar school or less | 51 | 30 | 19 |

**8.** (US Oct 31 '45) Do you approve or disapprove of a unified command for the armed forces of this country? (AIPO)

Approve 37% Disapprove 15% No opinion 48%

**9.** (US Oct 31 '45) Do you think we could have done better or not as well if we had had a unified command in the war just ended? (AIPO)

Better 27% Not as well 10% Same 12% No opinion 51%

**10.** (US Dec '45) There has been a lot of discussion about how our military services should be set up in the future. With which one of the three following statements do you come closest to agreeing: (1) The army, navy, and air forces should be combined under a single military command, (2) the army, navy, and air forces should be three separate military commands, (3) the army and navy should be two separate military commands, each with its own air force? (FOR)

| | *Single Command* | *Three Commands* | *Two Commands* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40.0% | 14.6% | 29.2% | 16.2% |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–34 years | 39.8% | 17.6% | 31.7% | 10.9% |
| 35–49 years | 41.7 | 12.7 | 29.6 | 16.0 |
| 50 years and over | 38.4 | 13.6 | 26.7 | 21.3 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 55.3% | 9.4% | 27.6% | 7.7% |
| Upper middle | 52.6 | 12.2 | 28.3 | 6.9 |
| Lower middle | 39.3 | 15.6 | 31.9 | 13.2 |
| Poor | 27.5 | 16.1 | 26.7 | 29.7 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | | |
| Grade school | 29.3% | 14.1% | 27.1% | 29.5% |
| High school | 39.3 | 17.3 | 34.0 | 9.4 |
| College | 59.1 | 10.0 | 24.1 | 6.8 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 40.0% | 12.1% | 31.4% | 16.5% |
| East north central | 41.1 | 17.1 | 30.5 | 11.3 |
| West north central | 46.1 | 14.4 | 31.2 | 8.3 |
| South Atlantic and East south central | 29.0 | 15.5 | 29.0 | 26.5 |
| West south central | 36.7 | 14.3 | 24.4 | 24.6 |
| Mountain and Pacific | 53.8 | 15.1 | 23.7 | 7.4 |

**11.** (US Dec 19 '45) Have you heard or read about the proposed plan for combining the War and Navy Departments into one department? (AIPO)

Yes 76% No 19% Not sure 5%

As far as you know, who is backing the plan to combine the two departments—the army, the navy, or neither of them? Asked of 76% of the sample who had heard about the plan for combining the War and Navy Departments.

| | |
|---|---|
| Army | 36% |
| Navy | 1 |
| Both | 4 |
| Neither | 14 |
| Don't know | 21 |

## Census

**1.** (US Mar 6 '40) In the census which the government is taking this spring, every adult in this country will be asked how much money he or she makes. Do you think people should object to giving the census taker this information about themselves? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes! | 19% |
| Yes | 13 |
| No! | 35 |
| No | 33 |
| No opinion | (6) |

**2.** (US Mar 7 '40) In the census which the government is taking this spring, every adult in this country will be asked how much money he or she makes. Will you have any objections to giving a census taker this information about yourself? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes! | 13% |
| Yes | 9 |
| No! | 45 |
| No | 33 |

**3.** (US Apr 23 '40) Has a government census taker called at your home this month and obtained the information for the government about you? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Called but didn't get information* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 80% | 15% | 2% | 3% |
| (May 3 '40) | 87 | 9 | 1 | 3 |
| (May 14 '40) | 90 | 6 | 1 | 3 |
| (June 9 '40) | 91 | 6 | 1 | 2 |
| (Sept 7 '40) | 98.6 | 1.4 | — | — |

## Congress

**1.** (US Aug 8 '37) Should Congress adjourn and go home at this time or should it stay in Washington to consider New Deal legislation on wages, housing, farm tenancy, and Supreme Court? (AIPO)

| | *Stay* | *Adjourn* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 63% | 37% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 77% | 23% |
| Republicans | 37 | 63 |

**2.** (US Sept 16 '37) Do you think Congress should meet in a special session this fall, or wait until the regular session in January to meet? (AIPO)

Special session 21% Regular session 52% No opinion 27%

**3.** (US Oct '37) Which is your attitude toward the present United States Congress as a whole? (1) It is about as good as a representative body as it is possible for a large nation to have. (2) It has become too much of a rubber stamp for the wishes of the President. (3) It has wasted many months this session doing nothing but talking. (4) Congressmen spend more time thinking of their own political futures than they do in passing wise legislation. (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43.6% | 12.8% | 13.1% | 15.5% | 15.0% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 33.8% | 27.8% | 13.1% | 17.7% | 7.6% |
| Poor | 46.1 | 7.7 | 13.1 | 12.5 | 20.6 |

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION*

| | *Statement 1* | *Statements 2, 3, and 4* |
|---|---|---|
| South | 62.6% | 37.4% |
| Southwest | 60.8 | 39.2 |
| Middle West | 56.9 | 43.1 |
| Pacific coast | 44.9 | 55.1 |
| Mountain states | 45.6 | 54.4 |
| Northwest | 42.7 | 57.3 |
| Northwest plains | 40.6 | 59.4 |

* Excluding those who don't know.

**4.** (US July '38) Would you like to see the next Congress work more closely with Roosevelt? Or would you rather have it assert its independence of him? (FOR)

| | *Work more closely* | *Assert independence* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 47.2% | 40.4% | 12.4% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 30.2% | 63.4% | 6.4% |
| Poor | 56.0 | 26.3 | 17.7 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Northwest plains | 35.1% | 54.6% | 10.3% |
| Southwest | 60.9 | 22.1 | 17.0 |

**5.** (US Aug 27 '39) In general, do you think the present Congress has done (is doing) a good job, or a poor job? (AIPO)

| | *Good job* | *Poor job* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 57% | 43% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 52% | 48% |
| Republicans | 64 | 36 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 62% | 38% |
| Middle Atlantic | 57 | 43 |
| East central | 56 | 44 |
| West central | 59 | 41 |
| South | 55 | 45 |
| West | 56 | 44 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | |
| Farmers | 62% | 38% |
| Urban | 56 | 44 |
| Small town | 58 | 42 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper income | 60% | 40% |
| Middle income | 61 | 39 |
| Lower income | 51 | 49 |
| Persons on relief or WPA | 45 | 55 |

| | *Good job* | *Fair job* | *Poor job* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Mar 10 '43) National total | 33% | 29% | 20% | 18% |
| (July 7 '43) | 34 | 30 | 22 | 14 |
| (Mar 1 '44) | 29 | 35 | 26 | 10 |
| (Oct 31 '45) | 20 | 35 | 21 | 24 |
| (Apr 10 '46) | 14 | 42 | 34 | 10 |
| (Aug 17 '46) National total | 23% | 40% | 37% | |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democrats | 27% | 39% | 34% | |
| Republicans | 20 | 40 | 40 | |
| BY EDUCATION | | | | |
| College | 15% | 38% | 47% | |
| High school | 21 | 42 | 37 | |
| Grade school or no school | 27 | 39 | 34 | |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Professional and business group | 14% | 40% | 46% | |
| Farmers | 23 | 48 | 29 | |
| White-collar | 24 | 38 | 38 | |
| Manual workers | 27 | 38 | 35 | |

**6.** (US Aug 8 '39) Which group do you think is more often right in its views on broad national issues—Congress or the people? (AIPO)

Congress 42% People 40% Don't know 18%

**7.** (US Sept 3 '39) If war breaks out in Europe between now and January, do you think President Roosevelt should call a special session of Congress? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 71% | 29% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 79% | 21% |
| Mid-Atlantic | 73 | 27 |
| East central | 62 | 38 |
| West central | 71 | 29 |
| South | 80 | 20 |
| West | 69 | 31 |

**8.** (US Feb '41) Do you think it would be a good idea or a bad idea to create a new and important government position (like a term in the Senate) to be filled by defeated candidates for President, starting now with Wendell Willkie? (FOR)

Good 19.7% Bad 57.1% Don't know 23.2%

**9.** (US May '42) Do you feel that Congress is doing a good job, only a fair job, or a poor job in helping the United States to win the war? (FOR)

| | *Good* | *Only fair* | *Poor* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33.8% | 40.6% | 15.3% | 10.3% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 19.1% | 50.3% | 26.9% | 3.7% |
| Poor | 40.0 | 37.4 | 8.1 | 14.5 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Executives | 19.0% | 51.0% | 27.6% | 2.4% |
| Farm labor | 54.6 | 24.2 | 5.2 | 16.0 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| Pacific coast | 33.4% | 47.8% | 13.6% | 5.2% |
| Mountain states | 17.5 | 45.8 | 32.5 | 4.2 |

**10.** (US July 14 '42) In your opinion, does Congress listen to leaders of business too much? (AIPO)

Yes 39% No 33% Don't know 28%

**11.** (US July 14 '42) Do they [Congress] listen to leaders of organized labor too much? (AIPO)

Yes 54% No 23% Don't know 23%

**12.** (US July 14 '42) Do they [Congress] listen to Roosevelt too much? (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 52% Don't know 17%

**13.** (US Sept 3 '42) Do you think Congress has done all it can toward furthering our war effort? Those who thought Congress was not doing all it could to further our war effort were asked: What more should it do? (AIPO)

Those who think Congress has done all it can toward furthering our war effort ..... 38%

Those who think Congress has not done all it could toward furthering our war effort, thought that Congress should:

- Quit playing politics, forget party lines, stress solidarity, forget the coming elections, stop putting off important legislation until after the election, stay in constant session ..... 12
- Stop arguing, agree and get things done, stop quibbling over unimportant issues, help the effort instead of delaying it ..... 15
- Control labor, and strikes for the duration, stop racketeering among labor leaders ..... 7
- Fix price and wage ceilings, stop inflation ..... 5
- Get behind the President, support their leader ..... 3
- Pass a tax bill to raise more money ..... 2
- Draft 18–19 year olds, lower draft age ..... 1
- Speed up production, put factories on a 24 hour basis, hire more defense workers ..... 1
- Other answers ..... 7
- No suggestion as to how Congress could do more .. 4

Those with no opinion on the subject ..... 13

108%*

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**14.** (US Sept 3 '42) Which party do you think is more to blame for Congress not doing more [to further our war effort] the Democrats, or the Republicans? Asked of 49% of the total sample who thought Congress was not doing enough to further our war effort. (AIPO)

Democrats ..... 14%
Republicans ..... 9
Other ..... 2
Both ..... 9
No opinion ..... 15

**15.** (US Feb 3 '43) Can you think of any problem which you feel a Congressional committee should investigate? (AIPO)

Yes 38% No 48% No opinion 14%

What [problem do you feel a Congressional committee should investigate]? Asked of 38% of the total sample who thought of some problem which should be investigated by a Congressional committee.

- Too many to mention, unlimited, the whole works .... 1
- Congressional committees themselves—too many and they waste too much time ..... 2
- Labor union, strikes, labor leaders, unions should be incorporated and taxed ..... 4
- Washington bureaucracy, inefficiency, and duplication, too many government employees ..... 3
- Expenditures, waste of public funds, cost of government is too high ..... 2
- Manpower situation, especially the necessity of getting people to work on farms, should draft labor ..... 5
- Rationing, unfairness in rationing oil and gas in certain states only, food rationing, rationing for the sake of rationing ..... 2
- Food situation, production and distribution of food, black market activities ..... 3
- Selective service setup, lack of coherent instructions to draft boards, draft evasion ..... 1
- Rubber situation, tire regulations, synthetic rubber production ..... 1
- Un-American activities ..... 1
- War production ..... 2
- Race discrimination ..... 1
- Price ceilings ..... 1
- Other problems ..... 11

40%*

* Percentages add to more than 38 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**16.** (US July 7 '43) What kind of a job do you think Congress has done recently? (AIPO)

Very good, excellent, fine job ..... 5%
Good, best they can ..... 14
Fairly good, pretty good, all right, OK ..... 19
Fair, both good and bad, could be better ..... 24

| | |
|---|---|
| Poor, unsatisfactory | 20% |
| Lousy, terrible | 7 |
| Don't know | 11 |

**17.** (US June '44) If a President from one party is elected next time, and the majority in Congress belongs to the other party, do you think the result would be continuous fighting between the President and Congress, or some sort of working arrangement would be made? (FOR)

Continuous fighting 35.0% Working arrangement 47.1% Don't know 17.9%

Would you regard that as a very bad situation, not too bad, or a good situation?

| | *Very bad situation* | *Not too bad* | *Good situation* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Those who predicted continuous fighting | 61.9% | 26.6% | 7.1% | 4.4% |
| Those who thought some working arrangement would be reached | 9.0 | 57.8 | 26.0 | 7.2 |

**18.** (US June '44) Do you feel the present Congress is doing a good job, only a fair job, or a poor job? (FOR)

Good 27.4% Fair 44.9% Poor 13.3% Don't know 14.4%

What is your main criticism of Congress? Asked of 58.2% of the sample who thought Congress was doing a fair or poor job. Is there anything about the present Congress you don't like so well? Asked of 27.4% of the sample who felt that Congress was doing a good job.

| | THOSE WHO THOUGHT CONGRESS WAS DOING A | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Fair or poor job* | *Good job* |
| Criticism of the way Congress goes about its business: too much arguing, politics, lack of leadership | 40.7% | 7.7% |
| Objections to President's or Democratic "domination" | 8.1 | 1.9 |
| Objections to specific acts or policies: handling of money affairs, of soldier vote, of labor, etc | 7.3 | 1.9 |
| Anti-administration | 4.1 | 1.2 |
| Personal criticism: "interested only in themselves," "don't know there's a war on," etc | 3.5 | .6 |
| No criticism | 1.8 | 16.5 |
| Other | 22.3 | 6.6 |
| Don't know | 28.6 | 66.0 |
| | 116.4%* | 102.4%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**19.** (US June '44) Are there any special groups you feel had too much influence over Congress in the past year or so? (FOR)

Yes 36.8% No 27.9% Don't know 35.3%

What groups? Asked of 36.8% of the sample who thought some groups had too much influence over Congress.

| | *National total* | *Proprietors and executives* | *Farm proprietors* | *Factory workers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Labor, Lewis, etc | 50.9% | 65.8% | 71.0% | 30.2% |
| Farmers, farm bloc | 13.0 | 21.5 | 4.1 | 10.1 |
| Big business, NAM, etc | 13.9 | 10.7 | 14.5 | 16.2 |
| President, his henchmen, etc | 11.9 | 17.0 | 2.8 | 13.0 |
| Republicans or Democrats | 3.0 | 1.3 | 2.8 | 6.0 |
| Generals | 7.4 | 8.6 | 1.4 | 6.0 |
| Other | 11.3 | 11.7 | 13.8 | 14.2 |
| Don't know | 15.2 | 5.2 | 11.0 | 22.2 |
| | 126.6%* | 141.8%* | 121.4%* | 117.9%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**20.** (US Oct 31 '45) Do you think Congress is giving enough consideration to President Truman's recommendations for things that need to be done in this country? (AIPO)

Yes 24% No 38% Don't know 38%

**21.** (US Nov 25 '45) Do you think President Truman should take a stronger stand in trying to get Congress to carry out his recommendations for things that need to be done in this country? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 52% | 21% | 27% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 55% | 16% | 29% |
| Republicans | 49 | 29 | 22 |

**22.** (US Feb 17 '46) Do you think that Congress should or should not do anything about the strike situation? (AIPO)

Should 74% Should not 14% No opinion 12%

What should Congress do [about the strike situation]? Asked of 74% of the sample who thought that Congress should do something about the strike situation.

| | |
|---|---|
| Favor action involving some sort of discipline of labor unions | 48% |
| Favor a general policy of granting union demands for higher wages | 5 |
| Think the government should define its labor policy and then enforce it | 9 |
| Offer miscellaneous suggestions or have no opinion | 12 |

**23.** (US July 24 '46) Some people say that the way Congress conducts its business and makes laws needs to be changed. Do you agree or disagree? (AIPO)

Agree 44% Disagree 28% No opinion 28%

**24.** (US Aug 8 '46) On the whole, how would you rate the job Congress has been doing since the war ended—as excellent, good, only fair, or poor? (NYHT)

| | *Excellent* % | *Good* % | *Only fair* % | *Poor* % | *Don't know* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 2.0 | 14.6 | 45.0 | 25.6 | 12.8 |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 21–34 years | 1.8 | 19.3 | 46.4 | 19.8 | 12.7 |
| 35–49 years | 1.9 | 11.2 | 47.5 | 28.9 | 10.5 |
| 50 years and over | 2.4 | 13.0 | 41.2 | 28.5 | 14.9 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 1.6 | 8.3 | 53.1 | 31.3 | 5.7 |
| Upper middle | 1.0 | 14.6 | 46.0 | 32.7 | 5.7 |
| Lower middle | 1.7 | 12.7 | 48.8 | 24.7 | 12.1 |
| Poor | 3.5 | 19.7 | 35.5 | 19.1 | 22.2 |

BY OCCUPATION

| | Excellent % | Good % | Only fair % | Poor % | Don't know % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Professional and executive | .9 | 10.6 | 44.0 | 42.2 | 2.3 |
| Farm (proprietor and wages) | 3.7 | 16.7 | 44.9 | 23.1 | 11.6 |
| Proprietor except farm | .6 | 9.7 | 45.7 | 38.8 | 5.2 |
| Housekeeper | 2.2 | 15.0 | 45.2 | 17.6 | 20.0 |
| Salaried—minor | .8 | 10.3 | 51.9 | 30.0 | 7.0 |
| Wages, except farm | 3.0 | 18.7 | 43.2 | 24.8 | 10.3 |
| Other | .6 | 15.2 | 42.1 | 36.5 | 5.6 |
| BY VETERAN STATUS | | | | | |
| Respondent a veteran | .9 | 12.8 | 47.3 | 32.9 | 6.1 |
| Veteran in household | 3.0 | 17.9 | 43.1 | 24.2 | 11.8 |
| No vereran in household | 1.7 | 13.4 | 45.7 | 25.0 | 14.2 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| Northwest | 1.2 | 14.2 | 42.3 | 31.2 | 11.1 |
| Mid-West | 1.6 | 11.9 | 48.9 | 26.6 | 11.0 |
| South | 3.6 | 17.6 | 41.1 | 20.6 | 17.1 |
| Far West | 1.1 | 15.8 | 51.2 | 20.8 | 11.1 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | | |
| 1,000,000 and over | 1.2 | 12.4 | 47.0 | 30.6 | 8.8 |
| 100,000 to 1,000,000 | 1.0 | 15.0 | 48.1 | 24.3 | 11.6 |
| 2,500 to 100,000 | 1.8 | 15.2 | 43.8 | 29.8 | 9.4 |
| Under 2,500 (non-farm) | 3.0 | 14.6 | 44.5 | 22.9 | 15.0 |
| Rural farm | 2.8 | 15.1 | 42.8 | 20.2 | 19.1 |

**25.** (US Aug 8 '46) When Congress doesn't seem to be working as smoothly as we would like, what do you think is most often the trouble: that the President isn't handling things well; or that the men serving in Congress aren't as good as they should be; or that the rules and procedures they have to follow hold them back; or do you think it is most often something else? (NYHT)

| | |
|---|---|
| President isn't handling things well | 14.8% |
| Men serving in Congress aren't as good as they should be | 24.1 |
| Rules and procedures they have to follow hold them back | 22.3 |
| Other answers: | |
| Too much politics and/or vote seeking | 9.1% |
| Too much disagreement within Congress | 3.9 |
| Too much influence by pressure groups | 2.7 |
| Lack of cooperation between President and Congress | 2.6 |
| Difficulties presented by current social and economic problems | 1.7 |
| Lack of interest shown by public | 1.4 |
| Dishonesty and/or greed of Congress | 1.1 |
| Lack of interest in doing a good job | .8 |
| Lack of adequate leadership | .5 |
| All other | 2.3 |
| Don't know | 21.7 |
| | 109.0%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**26.** (US Aug 15 '46) Now considering the Senate and the House of Representatives separately—first, would you say that most of the members now in the United States Senate are high-type men, or that most of them are a rather mediocre type? Would you say that most of the members now in the United States House of Representatives are high-type men, or that most of them are a rather mediocre type? (NYHT)

| | High type | Mediocre type | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| Senate | 42.7% | 35.6% | 21.7% |
| House | 30.7 | 44.8 | 24.5 |

**27.** (US Nov '46) Which group do you think tries to put the most pressure on Congress to get what it wants, labor unions, businessmen, or farmers? (FOR)

| | Labor unions % | Businessmen % | Farmers % | All equal* % | Don't know % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43.9 | 24.3 | 6.2 | 6.0 | 19.6 |
| Union members | 23.8 | 48.4 | 8.4 | 7.3 | 12.1 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Owners of businesses | 54.0 | 19.9 | 6.6 | 8.7 | 10.8 |
| Salaried executives | 45.8 | 15.0 | 9.2 | 19.6 | 10.4 |
| Farmers | 52.4 | 22.5 | 2.6 | 5.9 | 16.6 |

* Volunteered answer.

**28.** (US Nov '46) Which group do you think Congress pays most attention to: labor unions, businessmen, or farmers? (FOR)

| | Labor unions % | Businessmen % | Farmers % | All equal* % | Don't know % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 37.8 | 28.1 | 7.6 | 3.2 | 23.3 |
| Union members | 20.3 | 53.0 | 7.3 | 4.6 | 14.8 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Owners of businesses | 49.8 | 21.6 | 11.2 | 4.2 | 13.2 |
| Salaried executives | 44.4 | 22.2 | 15.7 | 6.5 | 11.2 |
| Farmers | 56.1 | 20.3 | 2.9 | .4 | 20.3 |

* Volunteered answer.

**29.** (US Nov '46) Which group do you think Congress should pay most attention to: labor unions, businessmen, or farmers? (FOR)

| | Labor unions % | Businessmen % | Farmers % | All equal* % | Don't know % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 14.7 | 10.3 | 22.1 | 36.8 | 16.1 |
| Union members | 34.0 | 4.3 | 12.6 | 40.9 | 8.2 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Owners of businesses | 11.6 | 16.6 | 19.9 | 44.8 | 7.1 |
| Salaried executives | 6.5 | 15.0 | 15.7 | 56.9 | 5.9 |
| Farmers | 5.2 | 6.3 | 41.7 | 32.1 | 14.7 |

* Volunteered answer.

## Congress (Elections, 1936)

**1.** (US Jan 11 '36) Which party candidate for the Senate in your state would you favor today? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Democrats | 51% |
| Republicans | 42 |
| Socialists | 2 |
| Third party | 5 |
| No politics | (8%) |

**2.** (US Nov 28 '37) Which party candidate would you vote for today as representative for Congress from your district? (AIPO)

| | *Democrats* | *Republicans* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 59% | 41%* |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 49% | 51% |
| Middle Atlantic | 57 | 43 |
| East central | 56 | 44 |
| West central | 54 | 46 |
| South | 73 | 27 |
| Rocky Mountain | 65 | 35 |
| Pacific coast | 58 | 42 |

* Minor parties excluded.

## Congress (Elections, 1938)

**1.** (US Sept 19 '37) Do you think the Republican party should hold a national convention next spring to strengthen the party for the congressional campaign of next year? Asked of a national cross-section of Republicans. (AIPO)

Yes 88% No 12%

**2.** (US Sept 26 '37) Do you believe the Roosevelt administration should try to defeat the re-election of Democratic congressmen who opposed the Supreme Court plan? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 20% | 80% |
| National Democratic total | 27 | 73 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION (DEMOCRATS) | | |
| New England | 27% | 73% |
| Middle Atlantic | 33 | 67 |
| East central | 34 | 66 |
| West central | 26 | 74 |
| South | 19 | 81 |
| Rocky Mountain | 25 | 75 |
| Pacific coast | 26 | 74 |

**3.** (US Nov 28 '37) What candidate for Congress from your district do you think you will vote for in the next congressional election—Democratic candidate, Republican candidate, or some other party candidate? (AIPO)

| | *Democrats* | *Republicans** |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 44% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 47% | 53% |
| Middle Atlantic | 52 | 48 |
| East central | 49 | 51 |
| West central | 54 | 46 |
| South | 82 | 18 |
| Rocky Mountain | 66 | 34 |
| Pacific coast | 62 | 38 |

* Minor parties excluded.

**4.** (US Mar 6 '38) If a congressional election were being held in this district today, do you think you would vote for the Republican candidate or Democratic candidate? (AIPO)

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | *Democrats* | *Republicans* |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 45% | 55% |
| Middle Atlantic | 47 | 53 |
| East central | 48 | 52 |
| West central | 51 | 49 |
| South | 77 | 23 |
| Rocky Mountain | 57 | 43 |
| Pacific coast | 62 | 38 |

**5.** (US May 8 '38) If you were voting for Congressman today would you be most likely to vote for the Republican, the Democratic, or Third Party candidate? (AIPO)

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | *Democrats* | *Republicans* |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 40.0% | 60.0% |
| Middle Atlantic | 46.5 | 53.5 |
| East central | 46.0 | 54.0 |
| West central | 51.5 | 48.5 |
| South | 77.0 | 23.0 |
| Rocky Mountain | 61.0 | 39.0 |
| Pacific coast | 57.0 | 43.0 |

**6.** (US June 17 '38) If you were voting for Congressman today, would you be most likely to vote for the Republican, the Democratic, or other party candidate? (AIPO)

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | *Democrats* | *Republicans* |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 45% | 55% |
| Middle Atlantic | 48 | 52 |
| East central | 48 | 52 |
| West central | 52 | 48 |
| South | 77 | 23 |
| Far West | 59 | 41 |

**7.** (US Sept 25 '38) If you were voting for Congressman today, would you be most likely to vote for the Republican, Democratic, or some other party candidate? (AIPO)

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | *Democrats* | *Republicans* |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 42% | 58% |
| Middle Atlantic | 48 | 52 |
| East central | 48 | 52 |
| West central | 50 | 50 |
| South | 79 | 21 |
| West | 59 | 41 |
| (Oct 30 '38) | | |
| National total | 53% | 47% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 42% | 58% |
| Middle Atlantic | 51 | 49 |
| East central | 50 | 50 |
| West central | 45 | 55 |
| South | 79 | 21 |
| West | 59 | 41 |

**8.** (US Nov 6 '38) If you were voting for Congressman today would you be most likely to vote for the Republican candidate, the Democratic candidate, or the candidate of some other party? (AIPO)

| | *Democrats* | *Republicans* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 54% | 46% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 39% | 61% |
| Middle Atlantic | 51 | 49 |
| East central | 49 | 51 |
| West central | 49 | 51 |
| South | 80 | 20 |
| Far West | 61 | 39 |

**9.** (US Mar 30 '38) In the congressional election next fall, which party do you think will get the most votes in this state? (AIPO)

| *Democrats* | *Republican* | *Third party* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 64% | 32% | 4% = 100% | 13% |
| 67* | 33* | — | — |

* Minor parties and no opinion excluded.

**10.** (US May 20 '38) If President Roosevelt endorses a candidate for Congress from this state would it influence you to vote for or against the candidate? (AIPO)

For 21% Against 19% No influence 50% No opinion 10%

**11.** (US Sept 7 '38) If the CIO endorses a candidate for Congress from this state would it influence you to vote for or against the candidate? (AIPO)

For 12% Against 55% No influence 33%

**12.** (US Sept 7 '38) If the AFL (American Federation of Labor) endorses a candidate for Congress from this state would it influence you to vote for or against the candidate? (AIPO)

For 22% Against 25% No influence 53%

**13.** (US July 1 '38) Do you think the Roosevelt administration should try to defeat in the primary election Democratic Senators who opposed the President's plan to enlarge the Supreme Court? (AIPO)

Yes 31% No 69%

**14.** (US June 9 '38) Do you think the Roosevelt Administration would try to defeat in the primary elections Democratic Senators who have opposed the New Deal policies? (AIPO)

Yes 18% No 59% No opinion 23%

**15.** (US Aug 10 '38) What is the best argument a Republican candidate for Congress could use to get votes for himself? Asked of a national cross-section of Republican voters. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Against Roosevelt and New Deal | 21% |
| Less government spending | 11 |
| Tax reduction | 5 |
| Less government interference with business | 5 |
| Restoration of prosperity | 4 |
| Balance of budget | 3 |
| Do away with relief | 3 |
| Reduction in cost of government | 3 |
| Honesty | 2 |
| Promise to support constitution | 2 |
| Others | 41 |
| | 100% |
| No opinion | 29% |

**16.** (US Aug 10 '38) What is the best argument a Democratic candidate for Congress could use to get votes for himself? Asked of a national cross-section of Democratic voters. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Favor Roosevelt and New Deal | 34% |
| Favor relief and more of it | 9 |
| Reduction of unemployment | 7 |
| Tax reduction | 6 |
| Appeal to poor and working class | 6 |
| Promise to do a good job | 4 |
| Honesty | 2 |
| Favor old age pensions | 2 |
| Restoration of prosperity | 2 |
| All others | 28 |
| | 100% |
| No opinion | 33% |

**17.** (US Sept 11 '38) Do you approve or disapprove of President Roosevelt's campaign to defeat Democrats who oppose his views? Asked of a national cross-section of Democrats. (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 39% | 61% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 33% | 67% |
| Mid-Atlantic | 45 | 55 |
| East central | 40 | 60 |
| West central | 38 | 62 |
| South | 34 | 66 |
| West | 39 | 61 |

**18.** (US Oct '38) On the whole, do you like or dislike President Roosevelt's attitude toward the present congressional elections (the "purge," a method now current). (FOR)

Like 32.5% Dislike 34.1% No knowledge 22.6%
Not sure 10.8%

**19.** (US Jan '39) Do you think it was a good or a bad thing that certain Senators, who were recently opposed by President Roosevelt in his so-called purge attempt, were renominated? (FOR)

| | *Good* | *Bad* | *Don't know or don't care* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46.4% | 11.3% | 42.3% |
| BY OPINION (ON ROOSEVELT) | | | |
| He or man like him essential | 21.8% | 27.8% | 50.4% |
| Good outweighs bad | 35.8 | 12.5 | 51.7 |
| Usefulness now over | 69.1 | 3.4 | 27.5 |
| Two more years of calamity | 80.5 | 1.9 | 17.6 |
| No opinion on Roosevelt | 22.4 | 6.3 | 71.3 |

Why? Asked of 46.4% of the sample who thought it was a good thing that the Senators opposed by Roosevelt were renominated.

| | |
|---|---|
| President has no right or business in state politics | 20.3% |
| Proves that the people of the United States will not tolerate dictatorships | 16.5 |
| Indicates that independent and free people think and choose for themselves | 14.4 |
| The President's power needs to be checked | 13.1 |
| Need opposition to the President to make for balance of power | 12.6 |
| The country needs these honest, capable, and experienced men | 5.4 |
| Indicates the New Deal is losing favor and power | 3.4 |
| Indicates restored confidence in our constitutional democracy | 2.4 |
| Indicates people don't wholly trust Roosevelt | 1.7 |
| I (the respondent) disapprove of New Deal policies and legislation | 1.0 |
| Other | 7.1 |
| Don't know | 2.1 |

Why? Asked of 11.3% of the sample who thought it was a bad thing that the Senators opposed by Roosevelt were renominated.

| | |
|---|---|
| Must have cooperation and harmony for success | 40.2% |
| They will oppose the President and his program | 23.2 |
| Roosevelt knows what is best | 9.3 |
| Senators were conservative or reactionary, not progressive | 5.4 |
| Party will not function smoothly when divided | 4.1 |
| Party principles should be upheld fully and without reserve | 1.3 |
| Need new life in the Senate | 1.0 |

Other..... 12.4%
Don't know..... 3.1

## Congress (Elections, 1940)

**1.** (US June 7 '39) If you were voting for Congressman today, would you be most likely to vote for the Republican or the Democratic candidate? (AIPO)

| | *Republican* | *Democratic* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 47% | 53% = 100% | 14% |
| (June 16 '39)..... | 50 | 50 = 100 | 19 |

**2.** (US June 29 '39) If you were voting for Congressman today, would you be most likely to vote for the Republican candidate, the Democratic candidate, or the candidate of some other party? (AIPO)

| *Republican* | *Democratic* | *No opinion* | *Other* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 46% | 54% = 100% | 17% | 1% |

| | *Republican* | *Democratic* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| (Oct 5 '40)..... | 47% | 53% = 100% | 17% |
| (Oct 9 '40)..... | 44 | 56 = 100 | 18 |

**3.** (US Mar 6 '40) Suppose there were two candidates for United States Senator in this state. One candidate promises to vote to reduce all federal government spending. The other promises to vote to spend more federal government money in this state. Other things being equal, which candidate would you vote for? A comparable cross-section was asked the same question with the order of the description reversed. Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Candidate who favors spending* | *Candidate who favors economy* |
|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 36% | 64% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper income..... | 19% | 81% |
| Middle income..... | 31 | 69 |
| Lower income..... | 51 | 49 |

## Congress (Elections, 1942)

**1.** (US May 20 '41) If you were voting for Congressman today, would you be most likely to vote for the Republican, the Democrat, or the candidate of some other party? (AIPO)

| | *Republican* | *Democrat* | *Other* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 43% | 57% = 100% | 3% | 25% |
| (May 29 '41).... | 40 | 60 | 4 | 24 |
| (June 9 '42).... | 44.5 | 55.5 | — | 24 |
| (June 30 '42).... | 44 | 56 | — | 22 |
| (July 14 '42).... | 44 | 56 | — | 25 |
| (July 29 '42).... | 45 | 55 | — | 25 |
| (Aug 13 '42).... | 43 | 57 | — | 22 |
| (Aug 25 '42).... | 48 | 52 | — | 22 |
| (Sept 15 '42).... | 45 | 55 | — | 18 |

**2.** (US July 29 '41) Which party do you want to see win a majority of seats in the next congressional elections—Republicans or Democrats? (AIPO)

| | *Republicans* | *Democrats* | *Undecided* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 46% | 54% = 100% | 23% | — |
| (Aug 19 '41)..... | 46 | 54 | 20 | — |
| (Aug 26 '41)..... | 43 | 57 | 20 | — |
| (Oct 1 '41)..... | 48 | 52 | 21 | 2% |

**3.** (US Oct 7 '41) If the congressional elections were being held today, which party would you like to see win a majority of seats—Republicans, or Democrats? (AIPO)

| | *Republicans* | *Democrats* | *Undecided* | *Other* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 44% | 56% = 100% | 18% | 1% | 2% |
| (Feb 10 '42)..... | 37 | 63 | 29 | — | — |
| (Feb 23 '42)..... | 33 | 67 | 24 | — | — |
| (Mar 10 '42)..... | 36 | 64 | 25 | — | — |

(Mar 10 '42) Toward which party are you leaning at the present time? Asked of 25% of the total sample who were undecided about which party they would vote for if the congressional election were held today.

Republicans 6% Democrats 10% No answer 9%

(Apr 15 '42) If the congressional elections were being held today, which party would you like to see win a majority of seats—the Republicans or Democrats?

Republicans 39% Democrats 61% = 100% Undecided 24%

(Apr 30 '42) Supplementing the previous question, a comparable cross-section was asked: If you were voting for Congressman today, would you be most likely to vote for the Republican, the Democrat, or the candidate of some other party? Results were combined.

Republicans 38% Democrats 62% = 100% Undecided 22%
Other 2%

Toward which party are you leaning at the present time? Asked of 22% of the total sample who were undecided as to which party they would vote for.

Republicans 5% Democrats 10% Other 2% No answer 5%

(May 21 '42) If the congressional elections were being held today, which party would you like to see win a majority of seats—the Republicans, or Democrats? A comparable cross-section was asked: If you were voting for Congressman today, would you be most likely to vote for the Republican, the Democrat, or the candidate of some other party? Results were combined.

Republicans 41% Democrats 59% = 100% Undecided 20%
Other 2%

Toward which party are you leaning at the present time? Asked of 20% of the total sample who were undecided or had no opinion as to which party they would vote for if the congressional election were held today.

Republicans 5% Democrats 8% Other 2% No answer 5%

**4.** (US Sept 3 '42) For Congressman from your district, do you favor the Democratic candidate, the Republican candidate, or the candidate of some other party? (AIPO)

Republican 48% Democratic 52% = 100% Undecided 27%

**5.** (Sept 29 '42) For United States Senator, do you favor the Republican candidate, or the Democratic candidate? (AIPO)

Republican 43% Democratic 37% Other 1% Undecided 19%

**6.** (US Oct 25 '42) If you were voting for Congressman today, would you be most likely to vote for the Democratic candidate, or the Republican candidate? (AIPO)

Democratic 52% Republican 48%

**7.** (US Aug 19 '41) If Lindbergh, Wheeler, Nye, and others start a "Keep Out of War" party and enter candidates in the next congressional elections, would you vote for the candidate of the "Keep Out of War" party, or the candidate [for which you showed preference in previous questions]? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| "Keep Out of War" | 16% |
| Democrat | 37 |
| Republican | 24 |
| Undecided | 20 |
| Both | 3 |

**8.** (Oct 7 '41) If the present administration suggested that all elections for Senators and Congressmen be postponed until after the war is over, would you favor or oppose the idea? (AIPO)

Favor 24% Oppose 67% No opinion 9%

**9.** (US Jan 23 '42) Do you think the outcome of the congressional elections next fall will make any differences in war production in 1943? (AIPO)

Yes 15% No 57% Don't know and no answer 28%

Which way do you think war production will go ahead faster—if the Republicans win a majority of seats in the congressional elections next fall, or if the Democrats win? Asked of 15% of the sample who thought that the outcome of the congressional election would make a difference in war production.

| | |
|---|---|
| Faster if Republicans win | 4% |
| Faster if Democrats win | 6 |
| No difference | 3 |
| No answer | 2 |

**10.** (US Mar 18 '42) Here are some arguments that probably will come up in the coming congressional campaigns. I would like to know how you feel about each one. (AIPO)

| | *Approve* % | *Disapprove* % | % | *No opinion* % | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Congress should pass laws regulating labor unions and strikes to a much greater extent | 84 | 11 | | 5 | = 100 |
| Congress should pass laws regulating business firms and profits to a much greater extent | 77 | 23 | = 100 | 11 | |
| The government should require every able-bodied person to take a definite part in the war effort, even if this means some persons will have to take different jobs in other parts of the country | 80 | 14 | | 6 | = 100 |

| | *Agree* % | *Disagree* % | % | *No opinion* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Congress should call for a great reduction in the money spent for farm benefits, relief, and all other expenses not directly connected with national defense | 64 | 28 | | 8 |
| The Roosevelt administration has done a poor job of organizing the country for war | 31 | 57 | | 12 |

**11.** (US Apr 15 '42) Are you interested in the coming congressional elections? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 62% | 38% | — |
| (Apr 30 '42) | 65 | 35 | — |
| (May 21 '42) | 67 | 28 | 5% |
| (June 9 '42) | 56 | 37 | 7 |
| (Aug 25 '42) | 60 | 40 | — |

**12.** (US May 21 '42) If you were voting for Congressman today, which of these candidates would you prefer—the Republican candidate, the Democratic candidate, or an Independent candidate running on a platform of more strict control of labor unions? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Republican | 21% |
| Democratic | 38 |
| Independent | 24 |
| Undecided | 16 |
| Other | 1 |

**13.** (US May 21 '42) If you were voting for Congressman today, which of these candidates would you prefer—the Republican candidate, the Democratic, or an Independent candidate running on a platform of more strict government economy in expenditures not connected with the war? (AIPO)

Republican 27% Democratic 37% Independent 20%
Undecided 16%

**14.** (US June 9 '42) Do you happen to know whether all United States Senators come up for re-election this fall? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, they do | 4% |
| No, only part of them | 46 |
| None | 3 |
| Don't know | 47 |

**15.** (US July 14 '42) If state elections for Governor, Senator, and Congressmen were being held tomorrow, do you think you would vote? (AIPO)

Yes 78% No 19% No opinion 3% Don't know 3%

**16.** (US July 14 '42) Are you interested in the coming state elections for Congressmen? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| | 66% | 34% |
| (July 29 '42) | 69 | 31 |
| (Aug 13 '42) | 68 | 32 |
| (Sept 3 '42) | 64 | 36 |
| (Sept 15 '42) | 66 | 34 |

**17.** (US Sept 16 '42) Are you interested in the coming state elections? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| | 74% | 26% |
| (Sept 29 '42) | 73 | 27 |

**18.** (US Aug 25 '42) Do you think it will make any difference in the war effort which man is elected as Congressman from your district? (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 48% Don't know 22%

**19.** (US Sept 15 '42) For the United States Senator do you favor the Republican candidate, or the Democratic candidate? (AIPO)

Republican 44% Democratic 35% Other 1%
Undecided 20%

**20.** (US Nov 10 '42) Many political writers are trying to understand why people voted Democratic or Republican in the election this November. Can you tell me why you voted Democratic or Republican in this election—whichever way you voted? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who voted on Tuesday, November 3. (AIPO)

| | *Those who voted Democratic* | *Those who voted Republican* |
|---|---|---|
| Always vote this party | 34% | 26% |
| Better man, vote for man rather than party | 22 | 25 |
| Better platform, like their policies better | 11 | 8 |
| Protest vote against New Deal, need a change, need men in Washington who will prosecute the war better than those now are doing | 2 | 31 |
| Vote for administration's candidate, keep things as they are, need Democrats in during war, a change of power at this time bad | 17 | — |
| Dislike other party's candidate | 3 | 2 |
| Other answers | 7 | 4 |
| No answer | 4 | 4 |

**21.** (US Dec 2 '42) In your opinion, why did the Republicans make such large gains in the November elections? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| People were generally dissatisfied with present administration. Democratic party acquiring too much power, need a change, people getting tired of Democratic party | 27% |
| Dissatisfaction with New Dealism, people dissatisfied with domestic policies of present administration | 16 |
| Impatience with politics as usual at this time; not handling war well at present. Congress not supporting Roosevelt well in war effort | 7 |
| Too much red tape | 2 |
| Normal reaction to an administration serving during war period, public always dissatisfied with wartime government | 1 |
| Democratic party split by controversy between Roosevelt and Farley | 1 |
| Democrats got us into the war | 1 |
| People had more trust in Republican leaders, better candidates | 2 |
| Question of turnout, more Republicans voted, Democrats stayed away from polls. Working class didn't bother to vote, young liberal Democrats in army | 6 |
| Because of 18–19 year old draft bill | 1 |
| Miscellaneous reasons | 6 |
| No opinion | 32 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**22.** (US Apr 4 '43) Did you vote for the Democratic or the Republican congressional candidate from your district? Asked of a national cross-section of people who voted in the last election. (AIPO)

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* |
|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 49% | 51% |
| Women | 47 | 53 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 21–29 years | 54% | 46% |
| 30–49 years | 50 | 50 |
| 50 years and over | 44 | 56 |

## Congress (Elections, 1944)

**1.** (US Oct 26 '43) If the election for Congressmen were being held today, how do you think you would vote—for the Republican or the Democratic candidate for Congressman in your district? (AIPO)

Republican 48% Democratic 52% No opinion (18%)

**2.** (US Oct 1 '44) As you feel today, would you be more likely to vote for the Democratic or the Republican candidate for Congress from your district? (AIPO)

| | *Republican* | *Democratic* | *Other* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 50.5% | 49.5% | — | — |
| (Mar 1 '44) | 43 | 41 | — | 16% |
| (Mar 15 '44) | 42 | 40 | — | 18 |
| (July 6 '44) | 44 | 41 | 1% | 14 |
| (July 18 '44) | 43 | 43 | * | 14 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**3.** (US July 18 '44) Which party do you want to see win the largest number of seats in Congress in the election this fall—the Republican or the Democratic? (AIPO)

Republican 45% Democratic 42% No opinion 13%

**4.** (US Oct 3 '44) As you feel today, would you be more likely to vote for the Democratic or for the Republican candidate for Congress from your district? (AIPO)

| | *Republican* | *Democratic* | *Other* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 43% | 41% | 1% | 15% |
| (Oct 6 '44) | 39 | 44 | 1 | 16 |

**5.** (US Oct '44) Do you think there will be more Democrats or more Republicans in the United States Congress the next four years? (NORC)

Democrats 22% Republicans 44% Equal number 8% Don't know 26%

## Congress (Elections, 1946)

**1.** (US June 27 '45) If you were voting for Congressman today, would you be most likely to vote for the Republican, the Democrat, or the candidate of some other party? (AIPO)

| | *Republican* | *Democrat* | *Other* | *Undecided* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 29% | 42% | 2% | 23% | 4% |
| (July 12 '45) | 30 | 37 | 3 | 30 | — |
| (Oct 14 '45) | 47 | 53 | — | — | — |
| (Nov 21 '45) | 34 | 39 | 2 | 24 | 1 |
| (Dec 19 '45) | 35 | 39 | 3 | 21 | 2 |
| (Jan 3 '46) | 32 | 38 | 2 | 22 | 6 |
| (Jan 23 '46) | 32 | 40 | 2 | 26 | — |

(Jan 23 '46) Which way are you leaning at the present time—toward the Democrats or toward the Republicans? Asked of 26% of the sample who were undecided as to whom they would vote for if there were an election for Congressmen today.

Republican 6% Democrat 9% Undecided 11%

(Feb 27 '46) If you were voting for Congressman today, would you be most likely to vote for the Republican, the Democrat, or the candidate of some other party?

| | *Republican* | *Democrat* | *Other* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 37% | 36% | 2% | 25% |
| (Apr 10 '46) National total | 32 | 36 | 3 | 29 |
| (Apr 24 '46) | 34 | 36 | 2 | 28 |
| (May 15 '46) | 34 | 35 | 4 | 27 |
| (May 29 '46) | 34 | 39 | 3 | 24 |
| (June 12 '46) | 34 | 37 | 3 | 26 |
| (June 26 '46) | 38 | 38 | 3 | 21 |
| (July 24 '46) | 40 | 40 | 1 | 19 |

| | *Republican* | *Democrat* | *Other* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Aug 14 '46) | 34% | 38% | 2% | 26% |
| (Aug 28 '46) | 36 | 41 | 2 | 21 |
| (Sept 11 '46) | | | | |
| National total | 57% | 43% | | |
| Independent vote | 59 | 41 | | |
| (Oct 10 '46) | | | | |
| National total | 56% | 44% | | |
| Veterans | 55 | 45 | | |
| Union members | 49 | 51 | | |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 51% | 49% | | |
| 30–49 years | 61 | 39 | | |
| 50 years and over | 64 | 36 | | |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 61% | 39% | | |
| Women | 59 | 48 | | |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Professional and business | 70% | 30% | | |
| White-collar | 65 | 35 | | |
| Farmers | 67 | 33 | | |
| Manual workers | 53 | 47 | | |
| (Oct 26 '46) | | | | |
| National total | 58% | 42% | | |
| Independent vote | 59 | 41 | | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England | 60% | 40% | | |
| Middle Atlantic | 55 | 45 | | |
| East central | 62 | 38 | | |
| West central | 63 | 37 | | |
| South | 27 | 73 | | |
| Far West | 52 | 48 | | |

**2.** (US Nov 21 '45) Regardless of how you yourself feel, which party do you think will win the congressional election next year? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Democratic | 42% |
| Republican | 29 |
| Undecided | 27 |
| Other | * |
| No answer | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**3.** (US June 26 '46) Regardless of how you yourself plan to vote, which party do you think will win control of the House in the congressional elections this fall—the Democratic or the Republican? (AIPO)

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 35% | 44% | 21% |
| (July 24 '46) | | | |
| National total | 42% | 58% = 100% | 16% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republicans | 79% | 21% | — |
| Democrats | 36 | 64 | — |
| (Sept 25 '46) | | | |
| National total | 37% | 63% | — |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republicans | 16% | 84% | — |
| Democrats | 64 | 36 | — |
| (Oct 10 '46) National total | 26% | 52% | 22% |

**4.** (US Aug 28 '46) Which political party do you think will win the most seats in Congress in the elections this fall—the Democratic or the Republican? (AIPO)

Democratic 34% Republican 44% Undecided 22%

**5.** (US June '44) Of course, no one can tell for sure as yet, but which party's candidate for United States Senator (or Congressman) do you think you will vote for in the coming election? (FOR)

| | *Republican* | *Democratic* | *Other* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *For Senator* | | | | |
| National total | 32.1% | 33.8% | 0.3% | 33.8% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| South | 8.3% | 61.9% | — | 29.8% |
| Rest of country | 40.5 | 23.8 | 0.4% | 35.3 |
| *For Congressman* | | | | |
| National total | 30.8% | 35.1% | 0.4% | 33.7% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| South | 6.7% | 63.2% | 0.2% | 29.9% |
| Rest of country | 40.9 | 23.3 | 0.6 | 35.2 |
| BREAKDOWNS OF REGIONS INCLUDED IN "REST OF COUNTRY" | | | | |
| New England | 45.0% | 16.4% | 1.5% | 37.1% |
| Middle Atlantic | 45.7 | 25.4 | 0.7 | 28.2 |
| East north central | 42.2 | 19.6 | 0.4 | 37.8 |
| West north central | 42.2 | 23.8 | | 34.0 |
| Mountain and Pacific | 25.1 | 30.1 | 0.1 | 44.7 |

**6.** (US Dec 19 '45) Which party do you think will do a better job of handling this problem [which do you regard as the most important issue that should be discussed in the coming election campaign]—the Democratic or the Republican? (AIPO)

| | *Democratic* | *Republican* | *Other* | *Undecided* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 32% | 28% | 3% | 25% | 12% |
| (Sept 11 '46) | 40 | 60 | — | — | — |

**7.** (US Jan 3 '46) Will a national election be held in 1946? (AIPO)

Yes 34% No 37% Don't know 29%

What election [will be held in 1946, if any]? Asked of 34% of the sample who said an election would be held in 1946.

Congressional 27% Other 3% No answer 4%

**8.** (US May 29 '46) If the CIO or the Political Action Committee (PAC) supported a candidate for office in the coming elections this fall, would this fact be more likely to get you to vote for or against him? (AIPO)

For 14% Against 56% No difference 18% No opinion 12%

**9.** (US May 29 '46) If the CIO union supported a candidate, would you be more likely to vote for that candidate, or against him? (AIPO)

For 15% Against 62% No difference 12% No opinion 11%

**10.** (US May 29 '46) Which party would you like to see win in the national elections for Congress this fall—the Republican or the Democratic? (AIPO)

Republican 40% Democratic 40% Other 2% Undecided 18%

**11.** (US June 12 '46) Are you interested in the coming elections in this state for Congressmen? (AIPO)

Yes 65% No 35%

**12.** (US Sept 11 '46) What do you personally regard as the most important issue which should be discussed in the coming November election campaigns? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Foreign policy, relations with Russia | 16% |
| Lowering the cost of living, effective OPA, inflation | 15 |
| Strikes, labor troubles | 13 |
| Peace, success of UN | 10 |
| Housing | 4 |
| Food problems | 3 |
| Veterans' welfare, veterans' housing | 3 |
| National economy, balancing budget | 2 |
| Government streamlining | 2 |
| Change of administration | 2 |
| Cut out OPA | 2 |
| Get production going | 2 |
| Lowering taxes | 1 |
| Atomic energy | 1 |
| Jobs | 1 |
| Black market | * |
| Miscellaneous | 11 |
| Don't know, no answer | 18 |
| | 106%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**13.** (US Sept 11 '46) Have you paid any attention to the coming elections this fall? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| | 46% | 54% |
| (Sept 25 '46) | 44 | 56 |

## Constitution (Amendments)

**1.** (US Mar 1 '37) Should the Constitution be made easier to amend? (AIPO)

Yes 31% No 69% = 100% No opinion 13%

**2.** (US Mar 1 '37) Whenever Congress has voted to amend the Constitution, should the amendment then be put up to the state legislatures or directly to the people of each state for approval? (AIPO)

| | *To state legislatures* | *To people* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 19% | 81% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 16% | 84% |
| Middle Atlantic | 18 | 82 |
| East central | 17 | 83 |
| West central | 26 | 74 |
| South | 19 | 81 |
| Mountain | 20 | 80 |
| Pacific coast | 24 | 76 |

**3.** (US Dec 28 '37) Do you think that each amendment to the Constitution should be approved by a direct vote of the people instead of by state legislatures? (AIPO)

Yes 53% No 33% No opinion 14%

**4.** (US Feb 14 '38) Do you think that each amendment to the Constitution should be approved by direct vote of the people instead of by state legislatures or constitutional conventions? (AIPO)

Yes 56% No 29% No opinion 15%

**5.** (US Feb 14 '38) Do you think an amendment should be adopted when two-thirds of the states vote in favor, instead of three-fourths of the states as at present? (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 45% No opinion 25%

**6.** (US Nov '43) Do you think the Constitution of the United States should ever be changed in any way? (NORC)

Yes 34% No 54% Don't know 12%
Qualified answer Less than 0.5%

## Defenses

**1.** (US Oct 26 '35) Should the United States build a larger army and navy? (AIPO)

Yes 75% No 25% = 100% No opinion 11%

**2.** (US Nov 9 '35) Should the United States build a larger navy? Increase the strength of its army? Enlarge its air force? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Build a larger navy | 72% | 28% |
| Increase the strength of its army | 70 | 30 |
| Enlarge its air force | 84 | 16 |

**3.** (US Dec 28 '37) Should the United States enlarge its air force? (AIPO)

Yes 80% No 20%

**4.** (US Nov 22 '38) Do you think the United States should increase the size of its air force? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 90% | 10% |
| (Sept 22 '39) | | |
| National total | 91% | 9% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 94% | 6% |
| Middle Atlantic | 95 | 5 |
| East central | 89 | 11 |
| West central | 84 | 16 |
| South | 96 | 4 |
| West | 91 | 9 |

**5.** (US Dec 28 '37) Should the United States build a larger navy? (AIPO)

Yes 74% No 26%

**6.** (US Sept 23 '38) Do you think the size of the United States navy should be further increased? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 65% | 35% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 71% | 29% |
| Middle Atlantic | 77 | 23 |
| East central | 68 | 32 |
| West central | 58 | 42 |
| South | 75 | 25 |
| Far West | 72 | 28 |

**7.** (US Nov 22 '38) Do you think the United States should increase the size of its navy? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 86% | 14% |
| (Sept 22 '39) | | |
| National total | 88% | 12% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 95% | 5% |
| Middle Atlantic | 92 | 8 |
| East central | 88 | 12 |
| West central | 79 | 21 |
| South | 92 | 8 |
| West | 85 | 15 |

**8.** (US Dec 28 '37) Should the United States increase the strength of its army? (AIPO)

Yes 69% No 31%

**9.** (US Sept 23 '38) Do you think the size of the United States army should be further increased? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 65% | 35% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 67% | 33% |
| Middle Atlantic | 70 | 30 |
| East central | 63 | 37 |
| West central | 56 | 44 |
| South | 71 | 29 |
| Far West | 66 | 34 |

**10.** (US Nov 22 '38) Do you think the United States should increase the size of its army? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 82% | 18% |
| (Sept 22 '39) | | |
| National total | 86% | 14% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 91% | 9% |
| Middle Atlantic | 88 | 12 |
| East central | 84 | 16 |
| West central | 79 | 21 |
| South | 92 | 8 |
| West | 84 | 16 |

**11.** (US Nov 30 '35) In my opinion, military and naval appropriations by Congress [for the army, navy, air force] should be greater [or smaller, or same]. (AIPO)

| | *Greater* | *Smaller* | *Same* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ARMY | | | |
| National total | 48% | 11% | 41% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 51% | 9% | 40% |
| Republicans | 44 | 14 | 42 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 53% | 8% | 39% |
| Mid-Atlantic | 55 | 11 | 34 |
| East central | 44 | 11 | 45 |
| West central | 30 | 18 | 52 |
| South | 49 | 11 | 40 |
| Mountain | 45 | 11 | 44 |
| Pacific coast | 50 | 11 | 39 |
| NAVY | | | |
| National total | 54% | 11% | 35% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 59% | 8% | 33% |
| Republicans | 52 | 13 | 35 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 60% | 8% | 32% |
| Mid-Atlantic | 63 | 10 | 27 |
| East central | 51 | 11 | 38 |
| West central | 30 | 20 | 50 |
| South | 57 | 10 | 33 |
| Mountain | 43 | 10 | 47 |
| Pacific coast | 59 | 9 | 32 |
| AIR FORCE | | | |
| National total | 74% | 7% | 19% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 75% | 5% | 20% |
| Republicans | 72 | 9 | 19 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 79% | 5% | 16% |
| Mid-Atlantic | 80 | 6 | 14 |
| East central | 71 | 7 | 22 |
| West central | 62 | 11 | 27 |
| South | 73 | 7 | 20 |
| Mountain | 73 | 7 | 20 |
| Pacific coast | 83 | 4 | 13 |

**12.** (US May 10 '37) Do you think the amount of money we are now spending on the army and navy is too much, too little, or about right? (AIPO)

Too much 22% Too little 28% About right 50% = 100%
No opinion 9%

**13.** (US Oct '37) The government is spending more than ever before on building warships and airplanes. Which is your attitude on this? (1) We should have a strong army and navy so that no one will dare attack us. (2) It is a bad policy because preparing for war is likely to lead to it. (3) It is a waste of money that should be spent for better things. (4) We should have an adequate defense, but at less cost. (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 77.4% | 9.9% | 11.8% | .2% | .7% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 81.1% | 8.0% | 10.1% | .3% | .5% |
| Women | 73.6 | 11.8 | 13.6 | .1 | .9 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 77.8% | 11.3% | 10.3% | .4% | .2% |
| Poor | 75.7 | 10.6 | 12.3 | .1 | 1.3 |

**14.** (US Oct 18 '37) Do you think government expenditures should be increased or decreased on the army and navy? (AIPO)

Increased 46% Decreased 21% Remain the same 33%

**15.** (US Feb 14 '38) Do you think a larger navy, as now proposed by President Roosevelt, will be more likely to get us into war or keep us out of war? (AIPO)

| | *Get us in* | *Keep us out* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 73% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 23% | 77% |
| Republicans | 32 | 68 |

**16.** (US Feb 26 '38) Should America have the biggest navy in the world? (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 32% No opinion 7%

**17.** (US July '38) On the whole, do you approve or disapprove of President Roosevelt's rearmament policy? (FOR)

| | *Like* | *Dislike* | *Undecided* | *Uninformed* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 63.6% | 13.2% | 8.5% | 14.7% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION* | | | | |
| Mountain states | 91.4% | 8.6% | | |
| Southwest | 91.1 | 8.9 | | |
| Southeast | 90.3 | 9.7 | | |
| Pacific coast | 84.8 | 15.2 | | |
| Northeast | 81.5 | 18.5 | | |
| Middle west | 78.0 | 22.0 | | |
| Northwest plains | 72.5 | 27.5 | | |

BY ECONOMIC STATUS*

| | Like | Dislike | Undecided | Uninformed |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Poor | 86.3% | 13.7% | | |
| Lower middle class | 83.8 | 16.2 | | |
| Prosperous | 80.1 | 19.9 | | |
| Upper middle class | 80.0 | 20.0 | | |

BY RACE*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Negroes | 85.2% | 14.8% |

BY OCCUPATION*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Farm labor | 92.9% | 7.1% |
| Factory labor | 89.5 | 10.5 |
| Proprietors | 87.4 | 12.6 |
| Other labor | 86.3 | 13.7 |
| Unemployed | 85.7 | 14.3 |
| White-collar | 83.7 | 16.3 |
| Farmers | 80.9 | 19.1 |
| Housekeeper | 80.7 | 19.3 |
| Retired | 80.5 | 19.5 |
| Executives | 79.4 | 20.6 |
| Students | 77.3 | 22.7 |
| Professional | 76.7 | 23.3 |

* Those who were undecided or uninformed were excluded from these breakdowns.

**18.** (US Sept 23 '38) Would you be willing to pay more taxes for a large army? (AIPO)

Yes 53% No 47% = 100% No opinion 9%

**19.** (US Oct 10 '39) Would you be willing to pay more money in taxes to support a larger army? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 64% | 36% |

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 65% | 35% |
| Middle Atlantic | 65 | 35 |
| East central | 62 | 38 |
| West central | 57 | 43 |
| South | 71 | 29 |
| West | 52 | 48 |

| | Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| (Apr 17 '40) National total | 61% | 39% = 100% | 7% |

**20.** (US Sept 23 '38) Would you be willing to pay more taxes for a large navy? (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 43% = 100% No opinion 10%

**21.** (US Oct 10 '39) Would you be willing to pay more money in taxes to support a larger navy? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 67% | 33% |

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 67% | 33% |
| Middle Atlantic | 68 | 32 |
| East central | 65 | 35 |
| West central | 60 | 40 |
| South | 73 | 27 |
| West | 67 | 33 |

| | Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| (Apr 17 '40) National total | 66% | 34% = 100% | 7% |

**22.** (US Nov 22 '38) Would you favor a sales tax, or increased income taxes, to pay for this arms program? (AIPO)

Sales tax 30% Increased income taxes 49% Both 21%

**23.** (US Jan 7 '39) Do you think government spending should be increased or decreased on national defense? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Increased | 67% |
| Decreased | 8 |
| Remain same | 16 |
| No opinion | 9 |

**24.** (US Jan 20 '39) Should government spending for national defense be increased, decreased, or remain about the same? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Increased | 62% |
| Decreased | 8 |
| Remain about the same | 23 |
| No opinion | 7 |

**25.** (US Jan 10 '40) Do you think federal government spending for national defense should be increased or decreased? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Increased | 65% |
| Decreased | 15 |
| No change | 20 |
| No opinion | (9) |

President Roosevelt proposes an increase of 28% (about one-fourth) in federal government spending for national defense. Do you think this increase is too large, about right or too small? Asked of 65% of the sample who thought federal government spending for national defense should be increased.

| | |
|---|---|
| Too large | 10% |
| About right | 68 |
| Too small | 8 |
| No opinion | 14 |

**26.** (US Apr 21 '39) Do you think federal government spending for the army and navy should be reduced by 10%? (AIPO)

Yes 19% No 81%

**27.** (US Apr '39) If you were a member of Congress would you vote yes or no on a bill to provide for a large army and a navy capable of protecting this continent? (FOR)

Yes 81.6% No 11.0% Don't know 7.4%

**28.** (US June '39) Do you think our government should or should not provide an army and a navy? (FOR)

Should 96.1% Should not 2.1% Don't know or depends 1.8%

**29.** (US Nov 12 '39) Would you be willing to pay more money in taxes to support a larger air force? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 70% | 30% |

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 70% | 30% |
| Middle Atlantic | 70 | 30 |
| East central | 69 | 31 |
| West central | 68 | 32 |
| South | 75 | 25 |
| West | 71 | 29 |

| | Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| (Apr 17 '40) National total | 71% | 29% = 100% | 6% |

**30.** (US Feb 18 '40) The President proposes an increase of 28% (about one-fourth) in spending for national defense. Do you approve or disapprove of this increase? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 79% | 21% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 85% | 15% |
| Republicans | 72 | 28 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | |
| Farmers | 77% | 23% |
| Small towns | 80 | 20 |
| City | 80 | 20 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper income | 75% | 25% |
| Middle income | 78 | 22 |
| Lower income | 83 | 17 |

Would you favor a smaller increase [in spending for national defense]? Asked of the sample who either disapproved or had no opinion as to the President's proposal of an increase of 28% in spending for national defense.

Yes 28% No 37% No answer 35%

How much? Asked of 28% of the sample who said they would favor a smaller increase [in spending for national defense]?

| | |
|---|---|
| 5% | 1% |
| 10% | 12 |
| 13% | 1 |
| 14% | 1 |
| 15% | 5 |
| 20% | 1 |
| No answer and indefinite answer | 7 |

**31.** (US Apr '40) Of these things having to do with armaments —the army, the navy, the air force, training civilian pilots— which do you think is, or might be, the most important on which to spend money in order to build up a better and stronger nation? Which second, third, fourth? (FOR)

| | *The navy* | *The air force* | *The army* | *Training civilian pilots* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| First | 34.5% | 32.9% | 17.1% | 11.5% |
| Second | 25.0 | 27.2 | 13.5 | 15.1 |
| Third | 20.0 | 20.1 | 26.6 | 16.8 |
| Fourth | 6.5 | 6.0 | 28.2 | 40.8 |
| Unimportant | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.8 | 1.1 |
| Don't do at all | 1.3 | 1.4 | 1.3 | 1.8 |
| Don't know | 12.0 | 11.7 | 12.5 | 12.9 |

**32.** (US May 14 '40) Should the United States do the following at this time: increase our army further, even if it means more taxes? A comparable cross-section was asked the same question with the phrase "even if you have to pay a special tax" substituted for "even if it means more taxes." Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 83% No 12% No opinion 5%

**33.** (US May 14 '40) Should the United States do the following at this time: increase our navy further, even if you have to pay a special tax? A comparable cross-section was asked the same question with the phrase "even if it means more taxes" substituted for "even if you have to pay a special tax." Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 81% No 13% No opinion 6%

**34.** (US May 14 '40) Should the United States do the following at this time: increase our air forces further, even if you have to pay a special tax for this purpose? A comparable cross-section was asked the same question with the phrase "even if it means more taxes" substituted for "even if you have to pay a special tax for the purpose." Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 88% No 8% No opinion 4%

**35.** (US May 14 '40) Should the United States do the following at this time: set up a government board, including business men and members of Congress, to investigate our national defense needs? (AIPO)

Yes 65% No 22% No opinion 13%

**36.** (US June 2 '40) Do you think our country's army, navy, and air forces are strong enough so that the United States is safe today from attack by any foreign powers? (AIPO)

Yes 15% No 85% = 100% Don't know 10%

**37.** (US May 26 '40) Congress has set aside two billion dollars for the army, navy, and air forces for the next twelve months. President Roosevelt has now asked Congress to increase this by another one billion dollars. Do you approve or disapprove of this increase? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 86% | 14% = 100% | 5% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republicans | 75% | 25% | |
| Democrats | 93 | 7 | |

Would you be willing to pay a special tax to cover this increased expenditure [of one billion dollars for the army, navy, and air forces]?

| | *Willing* | *Not willing* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 76% | 24% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper income | 80% | 20% |
| Middle income | 76 | 24 |
| Lower income | 74 | 26 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 83% | 17% |
| Republicans | 68 | 32 |

**38.** (US May 16 '40) President Roosevelt has asked Congress to increase spending on the army, navy, and air force during the next twelve months by about one-half more. Would you favor or oppose this increase? (AIPO)

Favor 92% Oppose 8% = 100% No opinion 5%

Would you be willing to pay a special tax to cover this increased expenditure [for the army, navy, and air force]?

Yes 81% No 19% = 100% No opinion 8%

**39.** (US May 29 '40) Should the United States delay enlarging our air force in order to send England and France right now all the airplanes we can make? (AIPO)

Yes 35% No 59% No opinion 6%

**40.** (US Aug 18 '40) Are you satisfied with the progress that the present administration is making in re-arming our country? A comparable cross-section was asked the same question with the word "government" substituted for "present administration." Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 23% No opinion 16%

**41.** (US Aug '40) If Germany and Italy should win the war, which one of these two things comes closer to what you think the United States should do: arm to the teeth at any expense to be prepared for any trouble, or stop spending so much for armaments and try to get along peacefully with them? (FOR)

Arm at any expense 88.3 % Stop spending 7.8%
Don't know 3.9%

**42.** (US Oct '40) If from your observations efforts for preparedness seem less adequate than they should be, how would

you rank each of the following factors as contributory to the situation? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Serious* | *May become serious* | *Unimportant* | *Don't know or no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Inadequate interest on the part of* | | | | |
| Public officials | 36.5% | 15.9% | 5.9% | 41.7% |
| Industrialists | 7.1 | 12.2 | 14.5 | 66.2 |
| Labor | 21.3 | 22.5 | 6.2 | 50.0 |
| The general public | 19.8 | 15.8 | 10.6 | 53.8 |
| *Legislative obstacles relating to* | | | | |
| Tax amortization | 57.8 | 13.6 | 1.9 | 26.7 |
| Financing | 17.7 | 16.3 | 11.7 | 54.3 |
| Labor | 29.6 | 22.6 | 3.0 | 44.8 |
| *Slowness due to* | | | | |
| Government delays in contract placing | 44.2 | 19.5 | 2.7 | 33.6 |
| Shortage of specialized labor | 28.5 | 30.2 | 3.3 | 38.0 |
| Interference of labor organizations | 22.7 | 32.8 | 4.8 | 39.7 |
| Bottlenecks in production of tools and machine tools | 33.1 | 25.0 | 2.8 | 39.1 |
| Shortage of essential materials | 4.6 | 25.4 | 14.7 | 55.3 |

**43.** (US Oct '40) Do you feel that our efforts for national preparedness, as they now stand and are now projected, are, on the whole as effective as it is reasonable to expect, moderately effective or comparatively ineffective? Asked of a national cross-section of executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| As effective as it is reasonable to expect | 24.2% |
| Only moderately effective | 51.9 |
| Comparatively ineffective | 21.6 |
| Don't know or no answer | 2.3 |

**44.** (US Nov '40) Which do you think would do a better job of rearming this country—Roosevelt or Willkie? (FOR)

| | *Roosevelt* | *Willkie* | *Both* | *Neither* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total (Sept) | 51.2% | 20.5% | 10.4% | 0.8% | 17.1% |
| National total (Oct) | 51.0 | 28.2 | 6.4 | 1.1 | 13.3 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Roosevelt voters | 87.8% | 0.9% | 4.5% | 0.4% | 6.4% |
| Willkie voters | 8.0 | 67.9 | 9.5 | 1.1 | 13.5 |

**45.** (US Mar 12 '41) Do you think that, if Germany wins the war, we will have to keep up and pay for such a strong national defense that people in this country will be poorer than they are now? (OPOR)

Yes 70% No 22% No opinion 8%

**46.** (US May '41) Which of the following statements comes nearest to your opinion? (1) The armament program must go forward with all possible speed and at any cost, taking precedence over "business as usual." (2) Armament must be pressed vigorously forward, but it can and should be done with a minimum of disruption of our ordinary domestic economy. (3) There is an exaggerated emphasis upon building more arms than we are ever likely to need to protect our interests. Asked of a national cross-section of executives. (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40.3% | 50.3% | 9.0% | 0.4% |
| BY OPINION (ON CONSEQUENCE OF A GERMAN VICTORY) | | | | |
| German Europe and resumption of trade | 6.6% | 55.8% | 37.3% | 0.3% |
| No armaments but barter trade for United States | 10.6 | 58.2 | 29.7 | 1.5 |
| Barter trade plus armaments | 38.6 | 56.7 | 4.5 | 0.2 |
| All-out United States arming for eventual war | 58.6 | 39.8 | 1.5 | 0.1 |
| World conflict and economic chaos | 54.3 | 41.8 | 3.2 | 0.7 |
| No answer | 31.0 | 45.0 | 22.8 | 1.2 |

**47.** (US July 9 '41) In general, do you approve, or disapprove, of the way Roosevelt is handling rearmament? (AIPO)

Approve 70% Disapprove 19% No opinion 11%

**48.** (US Sept 17 '41) In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way Roosevelt is handling the defense program? (AIPO)

Approve 69% Disapprove 24% No opinion and no answer 7%

**49.** (US Nov '41) The war in the rest of the world is not likely to affect the United States, and there is no need for such a large defense program. Do you agree or disagree? (NORC)

Agree 12.4% Disagree 79.6% Don't know 8.0%

**50.** (US Nov 19 '41) Do you think that at the present time our navy is strong enough to defeat the Japanese navy? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 79% |
| No | 3 |
| Don't know | 16 |
| Qualified answer | 2 |

**51.** (US Jan 6 '42) If you were a member of Congress, which of these do you think you would be more in favor of spending money for—airplanes, or battleships? (AIPO)

Airplanes 80% Battleships 10% Both 1% No opinion 9%

**52.** (US Mar 26 '42) As you know, a lot of new government offices have been set up in Washington especially to deal with national defense and war problems. From what you have heard, do you think most of these offices are doing a good job, or a poor one? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good job | 25% |
| Doing their best | 25 |
| Poor job | 19 |
| Fair job | 17 |
| No opinion | 13 |
| Qualified answer | 1 |

**53.** (US June 22 '41) From what you have read, which of our armed services needs strengthening most at the present time—our air force, army or navy? (AIPO)

Air force 73% Army 11% Navy 16% = 100%
No opinion 9%

**54.** (US Oct 21 '42) Granting that both of these things are important, which one is most important for us to do right now—increase the size of our armed forces, or increase the number of workers in war jobs? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Increase size of armed forces | 22% |
| Increase number of workers | 40 |
| Both equally important | 25 |
| Don't know | 13 |

**55.** (US Oct 21 '42) About how many men do you think there are in our army right now? Just your best guess. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 2 million | 5% |
| 2 million to less than 3 million | 5 |
| 3 million to less than 4 million | 11 |
| 4 million to less than 4¼ million | 12 |
| 4¼ million | 1 |
| Over 4¼ million to less than 5 million | 8 |
| 5 million to less than 6 million | 9 |
| 6 million to 9 million | 7 |
| 10 million and over | 1 |
| Don't know | 41 |

**56.** (US Oct 21 '42) From what you have heard, about how large an army would you say we are now planning to build by the end of 1943? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 5 million | 5% |
| 5 million to less than 6 million | 3 |
| 6 million to less than 7 million | 3 |
| 7 million to less than 7½ million | 13 |
| 7½ million | 12 |
| Over 7½ million to less than 8 million | * |
| 8 million to less than 9 million | 5 |
| 9 million to less than 10 million | 3 |
| 10 million to 13 million | 16 |
| Over 13 million | 3 |
| Don't know | 37 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**57.** (US Mar 17 '43) There is an argument in Washington as to whether this country should build up our armed forces to 11,000,000 men this year. Do you think we should or should not increase our armed forces to 11,000,000 men this year? (AIPO)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 33% | 24% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Farmers | 29% | 43% | 28% |
| Towns under 10,000 | 39 | 36 | 25 |
| 10,000 to 100,000 | 43 | 31 | 26 |
| Over 100,000 | 52 | 27 | 21 |
| BY MARITAL STATUS | | | |
| Married men | 36% | 42% | 22% |
| Single men | 50 | 36 | 14 |

**58.** (US June 18 '43) After this war, do you think our navy should be kept as big as it is now? (NORC)

Yes 64% No 30% Don't know 6%

Should it [our navy] be larger than it was before we got into the war, about the same size, or smaller? Asked of 30% of the sample who thought our navy should not be as large after the war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Larger | 20% |
| About same size | 6 |
| Smaller | 3 |
| Don't know | 1 |

**59.** (US June 18 '43) Which do you think it will be more important for us to have after this war—a large navy or a large air force? (NORC)

Navy 18% Air force 64% Don't know 18%

**60.** (US Sept '43) After this war, do you think it will be necessary for the United States to keep a larger army, navy, and air force than we had before the war? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 87% |
| No | 8 |
| Qualified answer | 3 |
| Don't know | 2 |

**61.** (US June 13 '45) There are about three million men in the United States navy now. About how many men do you think we should have in our peace time navy after the war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 1,000,000 | 18% |
| 1,000,000 | 29 |
| 1,500,000 | 13 |
| 2,000,000 | 4 |
| Over 2,000,000 | 4 |
| No opinion or no specific answer | 32 |

Median: 1,000,000

**62.** (US June 13 '45) There are about eight million men in the United States army now. About how many should there be in our peacetime army after the war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 1,000,000 | 7% |
| 1,000,000 | 15 |
| 1,500,000 | 2 |
| 2,000,000 | 17 |
| 2,500,000 | 4 |
| 3,000,000 | 8 |
| 3,500,000 | 1 |
| 4,000,000 | 12 |
| Over 4,000,000 | 3 |
| No opinion or no specific answer | 31 |

Median: 2,000,000

**63.** (US Jan 31 '45) About how many men are there in the United States navy at present? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 1,000,000 | 7% |
| 1,000,000 | 8 |
| 1,500,000 | 4 |
| 2,000,000 | 12 |
| 2,500,000 | 4 |
| 3,000,000* | 13 |
| 3,500,000 | 3 |
| 4,000,000** | 7 |
| 4,500,000 | 1 |
| 5,000,000 | 4 |
| Over 5,000,000 | 4 |
| Don't know | 33 |

* Navy alone: 3,200,000.
** Navy, Marines, Coast Guard: 3,800,000.

**64.** (US Jan 31 '45) About how many are there in the United States army at present? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 2,000,000 or under | 7% |
| 2,500,000–3,500,000 | 4 |
| 4,000,000–4,500,000 | 3 |
| 5,000,000–5,500,000 | 6 |
| 6,000,000–6,500,000 | 7 |
| 7,000,000 | 8 |
| 7,500,000 | 2 |
| 8,000,000* | 13 |
| 8,500,000 | 2 |
| 9,000,000–9,500,000 | 6 |
| 10,000,000 | 7 |
| Over 10,000,000 | 7 |
| Don't know | 28 |

* Army: 8,100,000.

**65.** (US June '45) In the Pacific (Atlantic) area, which of these three possible strengths do you think it would be best for us to have? (FOR)

| | *Pacific* | *Atlantic* |
|---|---|---|
| Be strong enough ourselves to stop any disturbances there | 58.9% | 47.7% |
| Be strong enough to join in with other nations to stop disturbances, but not strong enough to do it alone | 32.2 | 42.1 |
| Keep only a small force and wait to build it up until a disturbance does threaten us | 4.1 | 4.8 |
| Don't know | 4.8 | 5.4 |

**66.** (US June '45) In order for the United States to continue as a great power, which branch of our service do you think we should spend the most money on after the war—our army, our navy, or our air forces? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Army | 8.4% |
| Navy | 22.1 |
| Air services | 43.6 |
| Same (answer volunteered) | 15.6 |
| Don't know | 10.3 |

Which air services do you think we should spend most on—the army or the navy? Asked of 43.6% of the sample who thought we should spend the most money on our air services.

| | |
|---|---|
| Army air services | 10.2% |
| Navy air services | 17.2 |
| Same | 13.2 |
| Don't know | 3.0 |

**67.** (US June 27 '45) There are about eight million men in our army today counting those in this country, those still in Europe, and those already in the Pacific. Should we increase the total number of men we have in the army now, or do you think this number can be reduced now? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Increased | 9% |
| Reduced | 33 |
| Left same | 39 |
| Let military authorities decide | 3 |
| Army could be reduced if navy enlarged | * |
| Whatever they need | * |
| No opinion | 16 |

* Less than 0.5%.

What is your guess as to how many men we should have [in the army]? Asked of 42% of the sample who thought the army should be increased or reduced.

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 million and under | 4% |
| 3½ to 4 million | 7 |
| 4½ to 5 million | 9 |
| 5½ to 6 million | 7 |
| 6½ to 7½ million | 2 |
| 8½ to 9½ million | 1 |
| 10 million | 3 |
| Over 10 million | 2 |
| As many as they need to whip the Japs | 1 |
| Leave it to those who know | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 5 |

Median: 4½ million to 5 million

* Less than 0.5%.

**68.** (US June 27 '45) Do you think our present army of eight million men is bigger than we need for the job of beating the Japs? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 18% |
| No | 19 |
| About right | 46 |
| Other | * |
| Don't know | 17 |

* Less than 0.5%.

What is your guess as to how many men we should have in the army to beat the Japs? Asked of 37% of the sample who thought the army was too big or too small for the job of beating the Japs.

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 million and under | 2% |
| 3½ to 4 million | 4 |
| 4½ to 5 million | 7 |
| 5½ to 6 million | 2 |
| 6½ to 7½ million | 1 |
| 8½ to 9½ million | 1% |
| 10 million | 5 |
| Over 10 million | 3 |
| As many as they need to whip the Japs | 1 |
| Leave it to those who know | * |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Don't know | 9 |

Median: 4½ to 5 million

* Less than 0.5%.

**69.** (US July 25 '45) Which of these plans do you favor for the size of the United States navy after the war: Keep a navy big enough to defeat by itself any possible group of forces that might attack it; keep a navy that is not big enough by itself, but big enough when joined by our allies to defeat any possible group of forces; keep only a small navy, and wait to build it up at a time when an enemy threatens us; strong enough to defend the United States. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Keep a big navy | 60% |
| Keep a navy big enough when joined by allies | 27 |
| Keep a navy strong enough to defend the United States | 5 |
| Keep a small navy | 5 |
| All others | 1 |
| No opinion | 2 |

**70.** (US July 25 '45) Before the war, the regular army of the United States had about 190,000 men. Now, during wartime, it has about 8,000,000 men. Just making your best guess, about how many men do you think our army should have after this war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 190,000 | 2% |
| 190,000 | 5 |
| Over 190,000 to 250,000 | 4 |
| Over 250,000 to 500,000 | 10 |
| Over 500,000 to 1,000,000 | 21 |
| 1,500,000–2,000,000 | 19 |
| 2,500,000–3,500,000 | 10 |
| 4,000,000 | 10 |
| 4,500,000–5,500,000 | 6 |
| 6,000,000–7,500,000 | 1 |
| 8,000,000 | 1 |
| Over 8,000,000 | 1 |
| Don't know | 10 |

Median: 1,500,000 to 2,000,000

**71.** (US July 25 '45) Before the war, the regular navy of the United States had about 140,000 men. Now, during wartime, it has over 3,000,000 men. After the war, about how many men do you think our navy should have? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 140,000 | 1% |
| 140,000 | 5 |
| Over 140,000 to 500,000 | 16 |
| Over 500,000 to 750,000 | 3 |
| Over 750,000 to 1,000,000 | 26 |
| Over 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 | 18 |
| Over 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 | 11 |
| Over 2,000,000 to 2,500,000 | 2 |
| Over 2,500,000 to 3,000,000 | 4 |
| Over 3,000,000; all of them | 1 |
| As many as needed, enough for protection | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know | 10 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**72.** (US Dec 2 '45) Before the war the regular army of the United States had about 190,000 men. During the war it had about 8,000,000 men. Just making your best guess, about how many men should we have in our peacetime army about five years from now? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 190,000 | 2% |
| 190,000 | 6 |
| 200,000–400,000 | 12 |
| 400,000 to under 500,000 | 2 |
| 500,000 | 10 |
| Over 500,000 to under 1 million | 4 |
| 1 million | 19 |
| Over 1 million to 2 million | 18 |
| Over 2 million to 3 million | 8 |
| Over 3 million to 5 million | 9 |
| Over 5 million | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Don't know | 5 |

Median: 1 million

**73.** (US Dec 2 '45) Before the war, the regular navy of the United States had about 140,000 men. During the war it had over 3,000,000 men. Just making your best guess, about how many men should we have in our peacetime navy about five years from now? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 140,000 | 3% |
| 140,000 | 8 |
| Over 140,000 to 200,000 | 10 |
| Over 200,000 to under 500,000 | 15 |
| 500,000 | 14 |
| Over 500,000 to under 1,000,000 | 5 |
| 1 million | 19 |
| 1½ million | 9 |
| 2 million | 4 |
| 2½ to 3 million | 2 |
| Over 3 million | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Don't know | 7 |

Median: 500,000

**74.** (US Feb 13 '46) With which branch of military forces do you think a foreign country could do the United States the most harm if they attacked us—a particularly strong army, strong navy, or strong air force? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Army | 3% |
| Navy | 6 |
| Air force | 85 |
| No answer | 1 |
| No opinion | 5 |

**75.** (US July 31 '47) In order to have the United States accomplish what you think it should accomplish during the next twenty years or so, do you think we have enough military strength now, or that we should have more? (NYHT)

Have enough now 38.3% Should have more 52.2%
No opinion 9.5%

**76.** (US Sept 27 '46) Before the war, the regular army of the United States had about 190,000 men. During the war it had about 8,000,000 men. Just making your best guess, about how many men should we have in our peacetime army about five years from now? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, don't know | 8% |
| Under 190,000 | 2 |
| 190,000 | 5 |
| 200,000 to under 400,000 | 12 |
| 400,000 to under 500,000 | 1 |
| 500,000 | 9 |
| Over 500,000 to under 1 million | 3 |
| 1 million | 17 |
| Over 1 million to 2 million | 17 |
| Over 2 million to 3 million | 8 |
| Over 3 million to 5 million | 12% |
| Over 5 million | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |

Median: 1,000,000

Would you be willing to have a son of yours go into the service for a year and a half to make up an army of this size?

Yes 80% No 11% No opinion 9%

**77.** (US Sept 27 '46) Before the war, the regular navy of the United States had about 140,000 men. During the war it had over 3,000,000 men. Just making your best guess, about how many men should we have in our peacetime navy about five years from now? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, don't know | 6% |
| Under 140,000 | 2 |
| 140,000 | 6 |
| Over 140,000 to 200,000 | 8 |
| Over 200,000 to under 500,000 | 12 |
| 500,000 | 13 |
| Over 500,000 to under 1 million | 5 |
| 1 million | 20 |
| 1½ million | 11 |
| 2 million | 9 |
| 2½ million to 3 million | 6 |
| Over 3 million | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |

Median: 1,000,000

Would you be willing to have a son of yours go into the service for a year and a half to make up a navy of this size?

Yes 80% No 12% No opinion 8%

**78.** (Italy Apr '47) After the victory over Japan, the United States was the strongest military power of all time. Since then they have become weaker owing to release of millions and reconversion. Do you think this weakening is good or bad for the world and particularly for Italy? (DOXA)

| | *Very good* | *Good* | *Indifferent* | *Bad* | *Very bad* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 8.4% | 16.7% | 18.5% | 43.8% | 12.6% |
| BY POLITICS (NEWSPAPERS READ) | | | | | |
| Christian democrats | 3.2% | 10.0% | 14.1% | 52.7% | 20.0% |
| Socialists | 13.8 | 25.0 | 27.7 | 27.6 | 5.9 |
| Communists | 26.7 | 40.4 | 25.2 | 6.2 | 1.5 |
| Other | 5.2 | 14.5 | 15.9 | 46.4 | 18.0 |
| Independents | 5.5 | 13.7 | 16.4 | 50.4 | 14.0 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| North Italy | 10.8% | 19.4% | 21.0% | 38.8% | 10.0% |
| Central Italy | 6.7 | 18.0 | 14.9 | 43.9 | 16.5 |
| South Italy | 7.3 | 14.7 | 15.0 | 49.6 | 13.4 |
| Islands | 3.7 | 9.3 | 20.8 | 50.8 | 15.4 |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 7.9% | 17.7% | 17.4% | 43.5% | 13.5% |
| Women | 9.1 | 15.2 | 20.1 | 44.5 | 11.1 |

| BY AGE | *Very good and good* | *Indifferent* | *Bad and Very bad* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 18–25 years | 21.4% | 20.9% | 57.7% |
| 26–35 years | 28.0 | 18.1 | 53.9 |
| 36–45 years | 28.2 | 17.6 | 54.2 |
| 46–55 years | 24.8 | 18.3 | 56.9 |
| 56–65 years | 18.1 | 17.2 | 64.7 |
| Over 65 years | 10.9 | 22.3 | 66.8 |

**79.** (US Dec 27 '46) About half the cost of our government today goes to support the army and navy. Which of these do

you think should be done: Reduce taxes by cutting down on army and navy, or keep our army and navy as they are for another two or three years? (AIPO)

| | *Reduce taxes* | *Keep same* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 20% | 70% | 10% |
| Veterans | 19 | 75 | 6 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 19% | 71% | 10% |
| Republicans | 20 | 71 | 9 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 19% | 76% | 5% |
| High school | 20 | 74 | 6 |
| Grade school or less | 21 | 66 | 13 |

## Foreign Population

**1.** (US Dec 28 '36) Do you think aliens on relief should be returned to their own countries? (AIPO)

Yes 72% No 28% No opinion (9%)

**2.** (US Dec 16 '38) Do you think that people on relief, who are not citizens of the United States, or haven't already applied for citizenship, should be sent out of the country? (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 29% No opinion and no answer 10%

**3.** (US Jan 10 '39) Do you think relief should be given to needy foreigners living in this country who have not applied for citizenship? (AIPO)

Yes 29% No 67% No opinion 4%

**4.** (US Jan 10 '39) Do you think relief should be given to needy people living in this country who are not citizens and have not applied for citizenship? (AIPO)

Yes 28% No 69% No opinion 3%

**5.** (US Jan 26 '39) Do you think all persons living in this country who are not citizens should be fingerprinted and registered with the federal government? (AIPO)

Yes 84% No 16%

**6.** (US Nov '39) Of the people now in the United States who were born in foreign countries, which nationality would you say had made the worst citizens? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Italians | 22.5% |
| Jews | 6.0 |
| Germans | 4.1 |
| Japanese | 2.5 |
| Mexicans | 1.8 |
| Russians | 1.5 |
| Greeks | 1.4 |
| Poles | 1.1 |
| Chinese | 1.0 |
| Other | 4.0 |
| None | 0.9 |
| Don't know | 55.4 |
| | 102.0%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**7.** (US June 9 '40) Should all people who are not United States citizens be required to register with the government? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 95% | 5% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 93% | 7% |
| East central | 95 | 5 |
| West central | 94 | 6 |
| South | 98 | 2 |
| West | 97 | 3 |

**8.** (US Dec 24 '41) Which of these figures would you guess represents the per cent of aliens in the whole United States—that is, the people who are not citizens? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| 25 per cent | 15% |
| 10 per cent | 33 |
| 3 per cent | 24 |
| 1 per cent | 7 |
| Less than 1 per cent | 3 |
| Don't know | 18 |

**9.** (US Dec 24 '41) What do you think we ought to do about the aliens in this country who are not citizens, and who came here from the Axis countries—Japan, Germany and Italy? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Deport them | 34% |
| Intern them | 31 |
| Keep close watch | 27 |
| Leave alone unless troublesome | 14 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**10.** (US Dec 24 '41) Would you say there are any aliens around here who are not loyal to the United States? (NORC)

Yes 38% No 37% Don't know 25%

Are there very many or only a few [aliens not loyal to the United States]? Asked of 38% of the sample who thought there were some aliens not loyal to the country?

Many 25% Few 71% Don't know 4%

What nationalities are they [aliens who are not loyal to the United States]? Asked of 38% of the sample who said some aliens around here were not loyal to the United States.

| | |
|---|---|
| Japanese | 24% |
| Germans | 82 |
| Italians | 29 |
| Russians | 21 |
| Poles | 6 |
| Mexicans | 7 |
| French | 5 |
| Finns | 5 |
| Czechs | 5 |
| British | 4 |
| Hungarians | 4 |
| Don't know | 4 |
| | 196%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**11.** (US Mar 28 '42) Which of these alien groups in the United States do you think is most dangerous: the Japanese, Germans, or Italians? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Japanese | 35% |
| Germans | 46 |
| Italians | 2 |
| All the same | 12 |
| Don't know | 5 |

(July 18 '42)

| | |
|---|---|
| Japanese | 26% |
| Germans | 51 |
| Italians | 1 |
| All the same | 15 |
| Don't know | 7 |

**12.** (US July 18 '42) Do you think Italians in this country who are not citizens should be treated the same as German

and Japanese aliens, or should Italian aliens be treated differently? (NORC)

| | *Same* | *Differently* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 74% | 18% | 8% |
| (Nov 3 '42) | 66 | 28 | 6 |

(Nov 3 '42) Should the Italian aliens be treated more strictly than the Germans, or less strictly? Asked of 28% of the sample who thought Italian aliens in this country should be treated differently and 6% of the sample who had no opinion on the subject.

| | *More strictly* | *About the same* | *Less strictly* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aliens should be treated differently (28%) | * | 2% | 25% | 1% |
| No opinion (6%) | * | 2 | 1 | 3 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**13.** (US Nov 3 '42) Is it your impression that German and Italian aliens are being treated the same, or do you think one group is being treated better than the other? (NORC)

Both same 37% One better 40% Don't know 23%

Which group [Italian or German aliens] is being treated better? Asked of 40% of the sample who thought that one of the groups was being treated better than the other.

Germans better 1% Italians better 39%

## Foreign Relations

**1.** (US Oct '35) What foreign country do you feel least friendly toward? What foreign country do you feel most friendly toward? (FOR)

| | *Least friendly* | | *Most friendly* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Germany | 17.3% | | 4.4% | |
| Japan | 11.2 | | 0.1 | |
| Italy | 6.7 | | 1.2 | |
| Russia | 5.8 | | 0.8 | |
| France | 4.5 | | 4.7 | |
| England | 1.2 | | 28.6 | |
| China | 0.7 | | 0.5 | |
| Finland | 0.1 | | 2.3 | |
| All others | 0.9 | | 6.8 | |
| All | 2.3 | | 22.7 | |
| None | 39.5 | 51.6% | 17.0 | 50.6% |
| Don't know | 9.8 | | 10.9 | |

(Feb '39) Toward which one of these foreign peoples (governments) do you feel most friendly and least friendly?

MOST FRIENDLY

| | *Government* | *People* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Great Britain | 45.3% | 40.3% | British |
| Sweden | 10.0 | 8.5 | Swedes |
| Finland | 9.7 | 3.4 | Finns |
| France | 8.6 | 8.2 | French |
| Germany | 1.9 | 6.9 | Germans |
| USSR | 1.3 | 0.9 | Russians |
| Italy | 1.0 | 2.3 | Italians |
| Japan | 0.2 | 0.3 | Japanese |
| All | 4.8 | 13.9 | All |
| None | 5.1 | 4.0 | None |
| Don't know | 12.1 | 11.3 | Don't know |

LEAST FRIENDLY

| | *Government* | *People* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Germany | 56.2% | 28.8% | Germans |
| Japan | 11.9 | 19.3 | Japanese |
| Italy | 5.7 | 7.0 | Italians |
| USSR | 4.3% | 3.4% | Russians |
| Great Britain | 1.1 | 1.0 | British |
| France | 0.9 | 1.1 | French |
| Sweden | 0.2 | 0.2 | Swedes |
| Finland | 0.1 | 0.3 | Finns |
| All | 0.9 | 0.9 | All |
| None | 8.6 | 24.2 | None |
| Don't know | 10.1 | 13.8 | Don't know |

**2.** (US June 20 '37) Which of the European countries (European country) do you like best? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| England | 55% |
| France | 11 |
| Germany | 8 |
| Finland | 4 |
| Ireland | 4 |
| Italy | 3 |
| Switzerland | 3 |
| Belgium | 2 |
| Norway | 2 |
| Sweden | 2 |
| Denmark | 1 |
| Greece | 1 |
| Holland | 1 |
| USSR (Russia) | 1 |
| All others | 2 |

(Jan 11 '39)

| | |
|---|---|
| England | 48% |
| France | 12 |
| Switzerland | 6 |
| Finland | 5 |
| Sweden | 5 |
| Germany | 4 |
| Ireland | 4 |
| Italy | 3 |
| Russia | 2 |
| Netherlands | 2 |
| All others | 9 |

(Jul 31 '39)

| | |
|---|---|
| England | 43% |
| France | 11 |
| Finland | 4 |
| Switzerland | 4 |
| Sweden | 4 |
| Ireland | 3 |
| Germany | 3 |
| Italy | 2 |
| Norway | 2 |
| Russia | 1 |
| All others | 7 |
| No answer | 16 |

**3.** (US Jan 11 '37) Which foreign country do you like best? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| England | 54% |
| France | 10 |
| Germany | 5 |
| Canada | 4 |
| Ireland | 4 |
| Italy | 3 |
| Sweden | 3 |
| Finland | 3 |
| Switzerland | 3 |
| Holland | 1 |
| Scotland | 1 |
| Norway | 1 |
| South America | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia | 1% |
| Denmark | 1 |
| Belgium | 1 |
| All others* | 4 |
| No opinion | (22) |

* All other countries received individually less than 1%.

**4.** (US Oct '37) Do you have definite feelings of like or dislike for the following countries: (Germany, Russia, France, Italy, Japan)? (FOR)

| | *Like* | *Dislike* | *Dislike mainly government* | *Neutral* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| France | 16.4% | 11.9% | 0.0% | 71.7% |
| Italy | 6.3 | 33.1 | 0.3 | 60.3 |
| Germany | 6.7 | 31.1 | 0.3 | 61.9 |
| Japan | 5.2 | 30.8 | 0.2 | 63.8 |
| Russia | 5.2 | 30.4 | 0.2 | 64.2 |

**5.** (US July '38) On the whole, do you approve or disapprove of President Roosevelt's international policy? (FOR)

| | *Like* | *Dislike* | *Undecided* | *Uninformed* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 50.0% | 15.0% | 11.9% | 23.1% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION* | | | | |
| Pacific coast | 89.9% | 10.1% | | |
| Southwest | 87.3 | 12.7 | | |
| Southeast | 87.1 | 12.9 | | |
| Mountain states | 71.5 | 28.5 | | |
| Northwest plains | 71.3 | 28.7 | | |
| Middle West | 70.0 | 30.0 | | |
| Northeast | 70.0 | 30.0 | | |
| BY RACE* | | | | |
| Negroes | 82.4% | 17.6% | | |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS* | | | | |
| Poor | 79.8% | 20.2% | | |
| Lower middle class | 77.0 | 23.0 | | |
| Upper middle class | 75.6 | 24.4 | | |
| Prosperous | 70.7 | 29.3 | | |
| BY OCCUPATION* | | | | |
| Factory labor | 82.2% | 17.8% | | |
| Farm labor | 81.3 | 18.7 | | |
| Other labor | 80.2 | 19.8 | | |
| Professional | 78.9 | 21.1 | | |
| Housekeeper | 78.4 | 21.6 | | |
| White-collar | 78.1 | 21.9 | | |
| Students | 75.8 | 24.2 | | |
| Unemployed | 73.8 | 26.2 | | |
| Proprietors | 73.2 | 26.8 | | |
| Farmers | 73.0 | 27.0 | | |
| Executives | 70.1 | 29.9 | | |
| Retired | 61.9 | 38.1 | | |

* Those who were undecided or uninformed were excluded from these breakdowns.

**6.** (US Apr 19 '39) Do you think President Roosevelt's foreign policy toward Europe will tend to keep war from breaking out there? (AIPO)

Yes 29% No 57% No opinion 14%

**7.** (US Apr 19 '39) What do you think of President Roosevelt's foreign policy toward countries in Europe? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Approve* | |
| Approve his policies in general | 23% |
| Emphatically approve | 2 |
| So far I approve, but would not approve any more interference | 2 |
| His policy is to keep us out of war and that is the will of the people | 1% |
| Doing all he can to prevent war | 2 |
| *Disapprove* | |
| I disapprove of his policies in general | 10 |
| Emphatically disapprove | 2 |
| We should mind our own business—not meddle in others' affairs | 11 |
| Too forward in meddling in their affairs—interferes too much | 3 |
| He has been a little too easy with them | 1 |
| Undecided | 1 |
| All others | 7 |
| No answer | 35 |

**8.** (US Apr 19 '39) In general, do you approve or disapprove of President Roosevelt's foreign policy toward European countries? (AIPO)

Approve 47% Disapprove 32% No opinion 21%

**9.** (US Apr 19 '39) Do you think that President Roosevelt is preventing a war from breaking out in Europe or is making a European war more likely? (AIPO)

Preventing 38% More likely 20% No difference 30%
No opinion 12%

**10.** (US July 21 '39) Which European country do you like least? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany and Italy | 70% |
| Germany | 58% |
| Italy | 12 |
| Russia | 8 |
| England | 3 |
| France | 1 |
| Spain | 1 |
| All others | 2 |
| No answer | 15 |

**11.** (US Sept '39) Do you think there are any international questions affecting the United States so important to us in the long run that our government should take a stand on them now, even at the risk of our getting into war? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 19.6% |
| No | 54.8 |
| Don't know or depends | 25.6 |

**12.** (US Aug '39 to Mar '40) On the whole, do you approve or disapprove of Roosevelt's international policy? (FOR)

| | *Approve* | *Partly approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* | *Uninformed* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Aug '39) | 48.5% | — | 18.5% | 14.4% | 18.6% |

(Sept '39) Do you approve or disapprove of (President) Roosevelt's policies with regard to the European situation up to now?

| | *Approve* | *Partly approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 69.2% | 11.7% | 5.8% | 13.3% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 69.1% | 13.6% | 7.5% | 9.8% |
| Women | 69.2 | 9.8 | 4.1 | 16.9 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| Under 40 years | 70.0% | 11.2% | 5.6% | 13.2% |
| Over 40 years | 68.4 | 12.2 | 6.0 | 13.4 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 63.9% | 18.0% | 9.3% | 8.8% |
| Upper middle class | 67.8 | 16.0 | 6.8 | 9.4 |
| Lower middle class | 70.2 | 11.9 | 5.8 | 12.1 |
| Poor | 68.7 | 7.2 | 5.5 | 18.6 |

BY RACE

| | *Approve* | *Partly approve* | *Dis-approve* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Negroes | 72.8% | 6.8% | 1.8% | 18.6% |

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mountain and Pacific | 54.3% | 20.5% | 7.5% | 17.7% |
| Southeast | 79.8 | 7.7 | 3.2 | 9.3 |
| Northwest plains | 60.8 | 10.6 | 6.1 | 22.5 |
| Middle West | 67.3 | 10.7 | 10.2 | 11.8 |
| (Nov '39) | | | | |
| National total | 56.2% | 18.5% | 13.9% | 11.4% |
| (Mar '40) | 68.6 | 12.1 | 6.4 | 12.9 |

**13.** (US May 26 '40) Please look at this list of names and tell me which of these Presidential candidates you think would handle this country's foreign affairs the best: Taft, Wheeler, Vandenberg, Roosevelt, Hoover, Farley, Dewey, Hull, Gannett, McNutt, Bridges, Garner. A comparable cross-section was asked: Which of these presidential candidates do you think would handle this country's foreign affairs the best? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| National total | Roosevelt | 40% |
| | Hull | 23 |
| | Hoover | 11 |
| | Dewey | 10 |
| | All others | 16 |

BY POLITICS

| *Republicans* | | *Democrats* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hoover | 22% | Roosevelt | 62% |
| Dewey | 21 | Hull | 24 |
| Hull | 21 | Garner | 3 |
| Vandenberg | 10 | Hoover | 3 |
| Roosevelt | 10 | All others | 8 |
| Taft | 9 | | |
| All others | 7 | | |

**14.** (US Sept '40) Whatever you may think of Roosevelt's domestic policies, are you one of the businessmen reported to feel that he has shown better judgment in foreign affairs than any of his critics, or do you think Mr. Willkie could handle our foreign relations better than Mr. Roosevelt? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Willkie better* | *Roosevelt better* | *Either adequate* | *Neither adequate* | *Don't know* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 64.4% | 12.3% | 11.3% | 2.2% | 8.2% | 1.6% |

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Midwest | 68.0% | 10.4% | 9.2% | 2.4% | 8.3% | 1.7% |
| South | 56.2 | 17.0 | 15.1 | 2.7 | 7.1 | 1.9 |

**15.** (US Feb '41) So far as our dealings with other nations are concerned, do you think our chances of taking care of ourselves successfully are better, worse, or about the same as a year ago? (AIPO)

| | *Better* | *Same* | *Worse* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 55.2% | 22.1% | 10.2% | 12.5% |

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Prosperous | 61.8% | 19.4% | 12.7% | 6.1% |
| Poor | 52.2 | 22.7 | 9.7 | 15.4 |

BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Executives | 68.9% | 17.0% | 12.1% | 2.0% |
| Farm labor | 45.4 | 26.9 | 7.9 | 19.8 |

BY POLITICS

| | *Better* | *Same* | *Worse* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Roosevelt voters | 64.2% | 20.2% | 5.8% | 9.8% |
| Willkie voters | 47.7 | 24.9 | 17.6 | 9.8 |
| Didn't vote | 51.6 | 20.9 | 7.2 | 20.3 |

**16.** (US Mar 19 '41) Which of these statements comes closest to your opinion about what our country's national and foreign policy should be during the next twenty or thirty years: Concentrate on home problems, get along with other nations, or take world lead in improvement effort? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Concentrate on home problems | 24% |
| Get along with other nations | 19 |
| Take world lead in improvement effort | 48 |
| Don't know | 9 |

**17.** (US May '41) How do you regard what the following men have recently had to say about United States foreign policy (regardless of what you think of them as individuals)? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *With approval* | *Qualified approval* | *With disapproval* | *Don't know his position* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 34.2% | 37.7% | 17.0% | 2.5% | 8.6% |
| Willkie | 52.6 | 29.3 | 11.6 | 0.9 | 5.6 |
| Lindbergh | 13.8 | 17.6 | 55.4 | 1.1 | 12.1 |
| Wheeler | 11.8 | 14.8 | 55.4 | 2.9 | 15.1 |
| Hoover | 11.6 | 31.5 | 31.2 | 9.5 | 16.2 |
| Landon | 8.9 | 18.2 | 42.3 | 13.1 | 17.5 |
| Bullitt | 10.0 | 19.7 | 24.6 | 26.8 | 18.9 |
| Norman Thomas | 2.5 | 8.8 | 42.0 | 28.5 | 18.2 |

**18.** (US Nov 5 '41) In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way President Roosevelt is handling foreign policy? (AIPO)

Approve 67% Disapprove 23% No opinion 10%

**19.** (US Nov 5 '41) In general, do you approve or disapprove of Roosevelt's foreign policy? (AIPO)

Approve 67% Disapprove 22% No opinion 11%

**20.** (US Feb '43) Which of these countries do you feel friendliest toward? Asked of a national cross-section of factory labor. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| England | 43.2% |
| China | 28.4 |
| Russia | 14.0 |
| Don't know | 16.6 |
| | 102.2%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**21.** (US Apr 6 '43) Which country is more likely to try to boss us, Britain or Russia? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Britain | 33% |
| Russia | 35 |
| Neither | 18 |
| Don't know | 14 |

What makes you feel this way? Asked of 33% of the sample who thought Britain more likely to try to boss us than Russia:

| | |
|---|---|
| Britain has always tried to be boss | 11% |
| Britain has more opportunity to boss us—Russia is more remote | 7 |
| The British are domineering and aggressive | 6 |
| Britain is ambitious | 3 |
| The British have a superior attitude | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Britain used to own us | 2% |
| Britain feels she has a moral right to boss us | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 2 |
| | 36%* |

* Percentages add to more than 33% as some respondents gave more than one answer.

What makes you feel this way? Asked of 35% of the sample who thought Russia more likely to try to boss us than Britain:

| | |
|---|---|
| Answers implying fear of Communism | 10% |
| Russia will feel she has a moral right to boss us | 7 |
| Russia is domineering, aggressive, and demanding | 6 |
| Russia is treacherous and untrustworthy | 4 |
| Russia is independent, uncooperative, and self-centered | 3 |
| Russia is the stronger of the two | 2 |
| Russia is less like us, has less in common with us | 1 |
| Any criticism of Stalin | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 3 |
| | 38%* |

* Percentages add to more than 35% as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**22.** (US June 11 '43) Which country do you think we can get along with better after the war—Germany or Japan? (AIPO)

| | *Germany* | *Japan* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 67% | 8% | 25% |
| BY RACE | | | |
| Negro | 30% | 22% | 48% |
| White | 70 | 7 | 23 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 65% | 7% | 28% |
| East central | 70 | 6 | 24 |
| West central | 78 | 6 | 16 |
| South | 59 | 13 | 28 |
| Far West | 70 | 9 | 21 |
| (Feb 1 '44) | | | |
| National total | 74% | 4% | 22% |

**23.** (US July 11 '43) Do you approve or disapprove of the way Roosevelt is handling our foreign policy—that is, our relations with other nations? (AIPO)

Approve 73% Disapprove 14% No opinion 13%

**24.** (US Apr 12 '44) Have you heard or read about Secretary Hull's talk on this country's foreign policy? (AIPO)

Yes 43% No 57%

Do you approve or disapprove of our present foreign policy, as outlined by Secretary Hull? Asked of 43% of the sample who had heard or read about his talk on this country's foreign policy.

Approve 20% Disapprove 8% No opinion 15%

**25.** (US Apr 12 '44) Secretary Hull recently suggested that a committee made up of Republicans as well as Democrats work with him in shaping our country's foreign policy. Do you think this is a good suggestion? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 83% | 6% | 11% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republicans | 86% | 6% | 8% |
| Democrats | 81 | 7 | 12 |

If you were a member of Congress and were appointed to this committee, would you accept in full the present foreign policy of this country?

Yes 31% No 34% No opinion 35%

What would you like to change [in the present foreign policy of this country]? Asked of 69% of the sample who would not fully accept the present foreign policy of the United States or who had no opinion on the subject.

| | |
|---|---|
| Other | 1% |
| Would keep out of European affairs | 8 |
| Would change attitude toward other countries generally —be wary of Russia, different stand with South America, etc | 8 |
| Would have a more definite foreign policy | 11 |
| Would put more emphasis on postwar planning | 2 |
| Would reduce lend-lease—make other countries contribute more to lend-lease | 5 |
| Would take a more leading position | 2 |
| Would change some of our economic policies—tariffs, immigration, etc | 3 |
| Would change some of our present war policies | 3 |
| Didn't say | 60 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**26.** (France June 1 '45) Do you think that Roosevelt's death will bring about important changes in United States foreign policy? (FIPO)

Yes 15% No 54% Don't know 31%

What changes [will Roosevelt's death bring about in United States foreign policy]? Asked of 15% of the sample who thought there would be such changes.

| | |
|---|---|
| Isolationism | 3% |
| More difficult international relations | 3 |
| Hostility toward Russia | 1 |
| Relations with Germany | 1 |
| Organization of the peace | 1 |
| Political conspiracy at San Francisco | 1 |
| Vague answers | 5 |
| Other answers | 4 |
| No comment | 81 |
| | 100% |

**27.** (US May 29 '46) Do you approve or disapprove of the way the Truman administration is handling our affairs with other countries? (AIPO)

Yes 36% No 45% No opinion 19%

**28.** (US Sept 13 '46) James F. Byrnes has been Secretary of State a little over a year. In dealing with foreign nations would you say he has been doing an excellent, good, fair or poor job? (AIPO)

| | *Excellent* | *Good* | *Fair* | *Poor* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 16% | 41% | 17% | 10% | 16% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| | *Excellent and Good* | | | | |
| Democrats | 61% | | 15% | 8% | 16% |
| Republicans | 54 | | 20 | 11 | 15 |

In what way? Asked of 27% of the sample who thought James F. Byrnes was doing a fair or poor job as Secretary of State.

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 7% |
| Too lenient, should be more aggressive | 2 |
| Too weak, allows other countries to dictate, favors other countries | 4 |
| Can't get along with Russia | 2 |
| Can't bring about understanding | 1 |
| No settled policies, confused | 2 |
| Can't handle international affairs | 2 |
| Fairly favorable comments | 4 |
| Not accomplishing anything | 2 |
| Antagonizes | * |
| Talks too much | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**29.** (US Oct 10 '46) In general, do you approve or disapprove of the foreign policy the United States government is now following? (AIPO)

Approve 33% Disapprove 36% No opinion 31%

**30.** (US Nov 27 '46) In your opinion, who do you think would handle the following problems better—Truman or Dewey? (AIPO)

Dealing with foreign nations?

Truman 28% Dewey 42% Don't know 30%

**31.** (US Nov 27 '46) In your opinion who do you think would handle the following problems better—Truman or Stassen? (AIPO)

Dealing with foreign nations?

Truman 22% Stassen 37% Don't know 41%

## Foreign Relations (Australia)

**1.** (US Apr '42) Which of these four statements comes closest to expressing what you would like to see the United States do as regards Australia? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Let her come into our union and give her full states' rights | 5.5% |
| Do not admit her as a state, but consider her as a favorite nation with both sides agreeing to fight for each other in case either is threatened | 13.8 |
| Continue to consider her a part of the British Empire and deal with her in the same manner as we deal with the British Empire as a whole | 34.1 |
| Treat her just as we do any other nation | 28.5 |
| Don't know | 18.1 |

## Foreign Relations (Brazil)

**1.** (Brazil Mar '47) What do you like best about the Americans? (IBOPE)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nothing | 10% | Gaiety | 2% |
| Work | 9 | Intelligence | 2 |
| Spirit of progress | 7 | Dynamic quality | 2 |
| Spirit of liberty | 5 | Frankness | 1 |
| Democracy | 5 | Personal initiative | 1 |
| Organization | 5 | Way of living | 1 |
| Practical way of living | 4 | Propaganda | 1 |
| Organization of industry | 4 | Other | 23 |
| All qualities | 3 | No opinion | 12 |
| Simplicity | 3 | | |

**2.** (Brazil Mar '47) What don't you like about the Americans? (IBOPE)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nothing | 25% | Immorality | 1% |
| Divorces | 4 | Political superiority | 1 |
| Egoism | 3 | Alcoholism | 1 |
| Feeling of superiority | 2 | Organization of trusts | 1 |
| Race prejudices | 2% | Childishness | 1% |
| Political policies | 2 | Liberty of women | 1 |
| Imperialism | 2 | Frivolity | 1 |
| Propaganda | 2 | Finances | 1 |
| Haughtiness | 2 | Don't know | 27 |
| Self consciousness | 2 | No answer | 19 |

## Foreign Relations (Canada)

**1.** (US July 3 '40) If England is defeated in the next few weeks, should we invite Canada to become a part of the United States? (AIPO)

Yes 58% No 26% Undecided 16%

**2.** (US Apr '42) Which of these four statements comes closest to expressing what you would like to see the United States do as regards Canada? (FOR)

| | BY SELECTED GROUPS | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *National total* | *Business leaders* | *Intellectual leaders* |
| Let her come into our union and give her full states' rights | 24.4% | 28.0% | 15.3% |
| Do not admit her as a state, but consider her as a favorite nation with both sides agreeing to fight for each other in case either is threatened | 28.2 | 39.0 | 41.2 |
| Continue to consider her as part of the British Empire and deal with her in the same manner as we deal with British Empire as a whole | 22.1 | 17.8 | 17.3 |
| Treat her just as we do any other nation | 15.8 | 9.4 | 17.5 |
| Don't know | 9.5 | 5.8 | 8.7 |

**3.** (US June '42) Which of these statements comes closest to expressing what you would like to see Canada do as regards the United States after the war? Asked of a national cross-section of Canadians. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Form one united nation with one government, one army, one navy, etc. | 23.3% |
| Do not unite in government but consider the United States as a favorite nation, with both sides agreeing to fight for each other in case either is threatened | 62.7 |
| Treat her just as we do any other nation | 10.3 |
| Don't know | 3.7 |

**4.** (US July 1 '42) Some people say it would be a good idea for Canada and the United States to join together and form one large country. Would you approve or disapprove of this? The results of questioning two comparable cross-sections were combined. The second question differed only in the last sentence: Do you think this would be a good idea? (AIPO)

Approve 47% Disapprove 38% No opinion 15%

**5.** (US Apr 6 '43) Have you known any Canadian people personally? (NORC)

Yes 46% No 52% No answer 2%

## Foreign Relations (China)

**1.** (US Oct 8 '43) After the war should the United States make a permanent military alliance with China, that is, agree to come to each other's defense immediately if the other is attacked at any future time? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 23% | 21% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republican | 55% | 28% | 17% |
| Democratic | 60 | 18 | 22 |

**2.** (US Apr 25 '44) Would you approve of the same kind of military alliance [an agreement to come to each other's defense immediately if one is attacked after the war] between the United States and China? (AIPO)

Yes 42% No 38% Don't know 19% Qualified answer 1%

**3.** (US Aug 28 '46) Have you heard or read about the dispute between the two opposing groups in China? (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 42% No answer 1%

What do you think the United States should do about the situation in China? Asked of 57% of the sample who had read or heard about the dispute between the two opposing groups in China.

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 7% |
| Nothing, stay out, leave them alone | 25 |
| Help bring about a compromise, offer advice | 5 |
| Help Chiang Kai-shek, against the Communists | 6 |
| Stop sending arms, recall troops—keep diplomatic representation | 6 |
| Put it up before UN | 1 |
| Keep Russia out | 1 |
| Do something, China needs help | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |

## Foreign Relations (France)

**1.** (US July 1 '42) When our government wants to deal with the French do you happen to know whether we deal with the Free French headed by De Gaulle or with the Vichy government headed by Laval? Asked of a national cross-section of those who knew who the Free French were. 56% of the total sample represented. (AIPO)

Free French 32% Vichy 48% Don't know 18% Both 2%

**2.** (US July 1 '42) Do you think we should deal with the Vichy government or should we recognize the Free French government instead? Asked of a national cross-section of those who knew who the Free French were. 56% of the total sample is represented. (AIPO)

Vichy 13% Free French 74% No opinion 12% Both 1%

**3.** (US June 7 '44) Will you tell me who De Gaulle is? (AIPO)

Correct 64% Vague 9% Incorrect 1% Don't know 26%

**4.** (US June 7 '44) Do you know whether or not this country has recognized the De Gaulle Committee as the temporary government of France? (AIPO)

Yes, has 16% No, hasn't 36%
Don't know (and didn't know De Gaulle) 48%

**5.** (US June 7 '44) What do you think about the United States recognizing the De Gaulle Committee? (AIPO)

Approve 35% Disapprove 13%
Don't know (and didn't know De Gaulle) 50%
Let people decide 2%

**6.** (US June 28 '44) Should the United States recognize the De Gaulle Committee? Asked of a national cross-section of persons familiar with the controversy on the recognition of this Committee as the temporary government of France who had opinions about it. (AIPO)

Yes 66% No 34%

**7.** (France Dec 1 '44) Do you consider the present United States attitude toward France satisfactory? (FIPO)

Yes 33% No 53% No opinion 14%

**8.** (France Mar 1 '45) Are you satisfied with the present United States attitude toward France? (FIPO)

Yes 30% No 56% No opinion 14%

**9.** (France Dec 16 '44) Do you think President Roosevelt's reelection will have favorable results for France? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 84% | 3% | 13% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Workers | 81% | 5% | 14% |
| Professionals | 90 | 2 | 8 |

**10.** (France June 1 '45) Do you think President Roosevelt's death will affect Franco-American relations? (FIPO)

Yes 25% No 48% Don't know 27%

**11.** (US May 15 '46) Do you think it is important to the United States that France be strong in a military way during the next twenty-five years? (AIPO)

Yes 49% No 27% No opinion 24%

**12.** (US May 15 '46) Do you think it is important to the United States that France be strong in a financial way during the next twenty-five years? (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 13% No opinion 26%

**13.** (US Dec '46) Did you like the French civilians better or worse the more you saw of them? Asked of a national cross-section of World War II veterans. (FOR)

Better 23.1% Worse 46.9% No change 21.0%
Don't know 9.0%

**14.** (US Dec '46) What did you like most about the French? Asked of a national cross-section of World War II veterans who had expressed a preference for the French over the English, Germans, or Italians. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Friendliness and hospitality | 49.2% |
| Courage, ability to take it | 9.4 |
| Resemblance to ourselves | 3.6 |
| Cleanliness | 0.8 |
| Industry and enterprise | 3.1 |
| Similarity of language | — |
| Other good qualities | 29.1 |
| Don't know | 20.3 |
| | 115.5%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some liked more than one trait.

**15.** (US Dec '46) What did you dislike most about the French? Asked of a national cross-section of World War II veterans who said they disliked the French more than the English, Germans, or Italians. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Arrogance or superior attitude | 1.7% |
| Filthy appearance or living conditions | 31.4 |
| Mercenary attitude, greed | 28.6 |
| Laziness, lack of enterprise | 19.0 |
| Deceitful, "two-faced" behavior | 7.0 |
| Hostility, lack of cooperation | 9.0 |
| Low moral standard | 16.8 |
| Backwardness, low standard of living | 3.3 |
| Responsibility for the war | — |

| | |
|---|---|
| Other bad qualities | 16.1% |
| Don't know | 3.3 |
| | 136.2%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some disliked more than one trait.

**16.** (US Dec 11 '46) Are your feelings toward France more friendly or less friendly than they were six months ago? (AIPO)

More 10% Same 60% Less 13% No opinion 17%

## Foreign Relations (Germany)

**1.** (US Apr '41) Three comparable cross-sections were used in the following questions. The second and third groups were confronted with interventionist and non-interventionist bias in the questions. (FOR)

Do you think that Hitler would be harder, about the same, or easier for us to deal with than England has been in the past?

Harder 81.1% About the same 9.0% Easier 2.0% Don't know 7.9%

All of Hitler's past actions show that if he comes to dominate the world, he will be much harder to deal with than England ever was.

Agree 85.6% Disagree 6.2% Don't know 8.2%

In the past we've had plenty of trouble with England when she was dominating the world and there's no reason to think we'd have any more trouble in a world dominated by Germany.

Disagree 71.4% Agree 14.0% Don't know 14.6%

**2.** (US May 30 '42) Do you personally hate the German people? (AIPO)

Yes 18% No 82%

**3.** (US June 30 '42) If it were possible, would you personally like to go to Europe and kill some German soldiers? Asked of a national cross-section of men. (AIPO)

Yes 55% No 36% Don't know 9%

**4.** (Germany Nov 5 '45) Has the attitude of the American soldiers toward the Germans changed since the first days of the occupation? (OMGUS)

Yes 29% No 45% No opinion 26%

To what extent? Asked of 29% of the sample who thought the attitude of American soldiers toward the Germans had changed:

| | |
|---|---|
| Have become more friendly | 19% |
| Have become more gentlemanly | 2 |
| Show more respect for property | 1 |
| Less severe | 1 |
| Mention of lifting of fraternization ban | 3 |
| Other | 3 |

If not, how would you describe this attitude? Asked of 45% of the sample who thought the attitude of American soldiers had not changed:

| | |
|---|---|
| Decent, respectable, etc. | 23% |
| Friendly | 7 |
| Good or satisfactory | 6 |
| No change | 1 |
| Other | 4 |
| No answer | 2 |
| No opinion | 2 |

**5.** (Germany Nov 5 '45) Do you think in the last few weeks the Americans have become more or less liked by the Germans? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| More liked | 37% |
| Less liked | 11 |
| No opinion | 33 |
| The same | — |
| Other | 19 |

**6.** (Germany Sept 3 '46) Do you happen to know any Americans with the occupation troops in Germany well or fairly well? (OMGUS)

Well 6% Fair 8% None 86%

If "NO": Have you ever had an occasion to talk with an American since the start of the occupation? Asked of 86% of the sample who did not know any Americans with the occupation forces well or fairly well:

Yes 25% No 74% No answer 1%

**7.** (Germany Sept 3 '46) As far as you have observed would you say that the Americans in Germany are generally friendly or unfriendly toward Germans? (OMGUS)

Friendly 76% Unfriendly 7% Partly friendly 2% No opinion 15%

**8.** (Germany Sept 3 '46) Have you noticed any change during the past year in the attitude of the Americans toward the Germans? (OMGUS)

Yes 14% No 70% No opinion 16%

**9.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) Have you spoken with many Americans in the past year? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 1% |
| Yes, to many | 10 |
| No, to a few | 29 |
| To none | 60 |

**10.** (Germany Nov 5 '46) Some months ago the rules against fraternization were relaxed. Do you think non-fraternization should be reinstituted? (OMGUS)

Yes 6% No 83% No opinion 9% No answer 2%

Has it led to friendly relations?

Yes 57% No 6% No opinion 21% No answer 14% Other 2%

**11.** (US Dec '46) Did you like the German civilians better or worse the more you saw of them? Asked of a national cross-section of World War II veterans. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 35.5% |
| Worse | 27.6 |
| No change | 23.0 |
| Don't know | 13.9 |

**12.** (US Dec '46) What did you dislike most about the Germans? Asked of a national cross-section of World War II veterans who said they disliked the Germans more than the French, English, or Italians. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Arrogance or superior attitude | 24.1% |
| Filthy appearance or living conditions | — |
| Mercenary attitude, greed | 1.4 |
| Laziness, lack of enterprise | — |
| Deceitful, "two-faced" behavior | 13.3 |
| Hostility, lack of cooperation | 8.0 |
| Low moral standard | 1.8 |
| Backwardness, low standard of living | 2.8 |
| Responsibility for the war | 7.1 |
| Other bad qualities | 30.3 |
| Don't know | 18.7 |
| | 107.5%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some disliked more than one trait.

**13.** (US Dec '46) What did you like most about the Germans? Asked of a national cross-section of World War II veterans who expressed a preference for Germans over the English, French, or Italians. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Friendliness and hospitality | 29.3% |
| Courage, "ability to take it" | 3.0 |
| Resemblance to ourselves | 10.8 |
| Cleanliness | 38.0 |
| Industry and enterprise | 22.5 |
| Similarity of language | 1.5 |
| Other good qualities | 39.7 |
| Don't know | 5.6 |
| | 150.4%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some liked more than one trait.

**14.** (US Feb 7 '47) At the present time, do you feel friendly or unfriendly toward the people of Germany as a whole? (AIPO)

Friendly 45% Unfriendly 28% No opinion 27%

## Foreign Relations (Great Britain)

**1.** (US Feb 14 '38) Should the United States and Great Britain make an agreement to use their armies and navies together to maintain world peace? (AIPO)

Yes 39% No 50% No opinion 11%

**2.** (US Jan '40) Which of these statements comes closest to your own idea of Great Britain? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Great Britain has no greater claim upon our sympathy than any other nation, because she has grown great by employing practically all of the means of aggression, oppression, and secret diplomacy that we criticize in such other nations as Germany | 9.8% |
| Britain is probably as decent as any nation is likely to be, but our national interests call for going it alone and being on guard against British propaganda | 25.5 |
| The British probably are no angels, but as a practical matter our vital interests are tied up in the maintenance of the Empire, because her navy is an additional protector of our trade and commercial interests the world over | 16.2 |
| The British do have a special claim on our sympathies because they are closest to ourselves by ties of blood and language, and because they too are defenders of democracy | 38.3 |
| Don't know | 10.2 |

**3.** (Great Britain Mar '41) How do you feel towards the United States? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Very friendly | 39% |
| Friendly | 49 |
| Unfriendly | 2 |
| Not interested | 6 |
| Don't know | 4 |

**4.** (US Feb 3 '42) Some people say that the British are largely to blame for our being in this war. Do you agree, or disagree? (AIPO)

Agree 24% Disagree 60% Qualified answer 2%
No opinion 14%

**5.** (US Feb 3 '42) Do you think the English will try to get us to do most of the fighting for them in this war, or do you think they will do their fair share of the fighting? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Will try to get us to do their fighting | 32% |
| Will do their fair share of fighting | 58 |
| Qualified answer | 1 |
| No opinion | 9 |

(Feb 23 '42)

| | |
|---|---|
| Will try to get us to do their fighting | 29% |
| Will do their fair share of the fighting | 53 |
| Qualified answer | 7 |
| No opinion | 11 |

(May 21 '42)

| | |
|---|---|
| Will get us to do it | 36% |
| Will do their share | 57 |
| Qualified answer | 1 |
| No opinion | 6 |

**6.** (US June '42) Which one of these statements comes closest to expressing what you would like to see the United States do as regards the British Empire as a whole after the war? (For Canadians the question was put in reverse—what the Empire should do as regards the United States—and the last choice was, of course, omitted.) Asked of a national cross-section of the population of the United States and Canada. (FOR)

| | NATIONAL TOTAL | | BY SELECTED US GROUPS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *US* | *Canadian* | *Business leaders* | *Intellectual leaders* |
| Form one united nation with one government, one army, one navy | 6.5% | 14.6% | 3.8% | 8.1% |
| Do not unite in government but consider it as a favorite nation with both sides agreeing to fight for each other in case either is threatened | 36.5 | 60.7 | 45.8 | 47.3 |
| Treat her just as we do any other nation | 35.5 | 13.6 | 28.7 | 33.3 |
| See that Britain gives us some of her colonies | 11.4 | — | 11.9 | 3.6 |
| Don't know | 10.1 | 11.1 | 9.8 | 7.7 |

**7.** (US June '42) If the United States and Britain should ever unite in some way into one nation, which kind of money do you think should be used—the dollar, or the pound, or wouldn't it make any difference? Asked in the United States and in Canada. (FOR)

| | NATIONAL TOTAL | |
|---|---|---|
| | *US* | *Canadian* |
| Dollar | 67.0% | 72.6% |
| Pound | 0.6 | 1.3 |
| No difference | 24.5 | 23.4 |
| Don't know | 7.9 | 2.7 |

**8.** (US June '42) Do you feel that the capital of such a nation [a union of Britain and the United States] should be in Washington, London, New York, Montreal, or where? Asked in Canada and in the United States. (FOR)

| | NATIONAL TOTAL | |
|---|---|---|
| | *US* | *Canadian* |
| Washington | 65.6% | 22.0% |
| Montreal or Ottawa | 2.5 | 14.5 |
| New York, or somewhere in the US or in North America | 7.7 | 12.6 |
| London | 0.8 | 23.3 |
| Don't know and other | 23.4 | 27.6 |

**9.** (US June '42) Do you believe that the commander of such a united navy [from a union of Great Britain and the United States] should always come from the British Empire, or always from the United States, or from whichever seemed better at the time? Asked in the United States and in Canada. (FOR)

NATIONAL TOTAL

| | *US* | *Canadian* |
|---|---|---|
| United States | 29.9% | 4.2% |
| British Empire | 0.6 | 13.5 |
| Whichever seemed better | 58.5 | 77.8 |
| Don't know | 11.0 | 4.5 |

**10.** (US June '42) Which do you feel would, on the whole, gain most by uniting: the British Empire or the United States? Asked of a national cross-section of Canadians. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| British Empire | 24.6% |
| United States | 27.3 |
| Both about equally | 38.9 |
| Don't know | 9.2 |

**11.** (US June 3 '42) Some people say that the British are largely to blame for getting us into the last war. Do you agree, or disagree? (OPOR)

Agree 39% Disagree 43% No opinion 18%

Why? Asked of 39% of the sample who thought the British were largely to blame for getting us into the last war.

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 5% |
| Others | 2 |
| British victory depends on our help | 5 |
| British have to let others do their fighting because of their dominions | 5 |
| British want to have other nations do their fighting | 8 |
| We were most logical allies | 2 |
| Diplomats and propagandists got us in | 6 |
| Bankers and munitions manufacturers got us in | 4 |
| Our boats on the oceans got us in | 1 |
| It was British who sank Lusitania | 2 |
| Instinctively believe they did | 2 |
| | 42%* |

* Percentages add to more than 39 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

Why? Asked of 43% of the sample who didn't think the British were to blame for getting us into the last war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Naval warfare got us in | 4% |
| German imperialism got us in | 9 |
| We got in on our own although England did want us | 5 |
| Our financiers and politicians got us in. Munitions makers | 4 |
| Neutrals were in tough position | 1 |
| Nobody could have forced us in | 2 |
| No proof that British got us in | 2 |
| Close ideological link with Britain necessitated entry | 1 |
| Had to help others to help ourselves | 4 |
| Our greed got us in | 1 |
| French had to be helped | 1 |
| Had to come, took an incident | 4 |
| Atrocities | 1 |
| No answer | 5 |
| Went in to preserve American way of life | 1 |
| Instinctively believe | 1 |
| Others | 2 |
| | 48%* |

* Percentages add to more than 43 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**12.** (US June 3 '42) Some people in this country have a definite grudge against the British. What do you think is the cause of this feeling? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| British don't keep their word | 1% |
| Teachings in our schools | 3 |
| Axis propaganda | 5 |
| Non-payment of war debts | 9 |
| British arrogance, manners, aloofness, bull-headedness, class distinctions | 14% |
| America had to fight British battles | 5 |
| British conservativeness | 1 |
| Lack of appreciation for US help | 5 |
| Slowness, appeasement | 3 |
| Selfishness | 7 |
| Slowly are getting better now | 1 |
| They have always fought us, or wanted to do so | 1 |
| Jealousy | 4 |
| Due to the Irish | 13 |
| The British are rich parasites | 2 |
| Treatment of the colonies | 5 |
| Their feeling of superiority | 10 |
| Historical prejudice, ignorance | 14 |
| The American Revolution | 6 |
| Don't know, no answer | 17 |
| | 126%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**13.** (US June 3 '42) Do you think most Americans still feel bitter against the British because of the Revolutionary War? (OPOR)

Yes 11% No 81% Don't know and no answer 8%

Why? Asked of 11% of the sample who thought most Americans still felt bitter against the British because of the Revolutionary war.

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 4% |
| Some have inherited dislike, and not yet forgotten dislike | 5 |
| British still feel superior and tax on tea | 1 |
| History books | 1 |

Why? Asked of 81% of the sample who thought most Americans did not feel bitter against the British because of the Revolutionary war.

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 16% |
| Revolution is mostly forgotten already | 49 |
| Britain and US have many common ties since then | 4 |
| We are too magnanimous and democratic for that | 5 |
| We never hated the British people during the Revolution | — |
| We won the Revolution | 3 |
| We aren't all bitter, but careful | 1 |
| We fought against the government and not the people | 1 |
| Britain is different now and US too | 2 |

**14.** (US June 3 '42) What do you think the English think of Americans? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| They think Americans unable to accomplish anything | 2% |
| They think we are all right | 24 |
| They think we are impulsive | 2 |
| They think we are uncultured | 10 |
| They think we are saps—don't think we are the outdoor type | 3 |
| They think we are determined | 1 |
| They think we are slow and deliberate | 1 |
| The love they affect for us (through Churchill) may be fake | 4 |
| The upper classes like us better | 1 |
| They feel superior to us | 12 |
| They think we are gangsters | 1 |
| We are suckers | 8 |
| We are alike | 6 |
| They like and respect us because we help them | 17 |
| We are no good | 2 |
| They think we are successful business men and/or playboys | 6 |

| | |
|---|---|
| They dislike us | 4% |
| They think we are cocky and smart | 1 |
| They admire our efficiency | 4 |
| No answer, don't know | 12 |
| Other answers | 2 |
| | 123%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

Why do you think they [the English] feel this way [about Americans]?

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, don't know | 16% |
| They feel that Americans accomplished nothing in last war and slow in this one | 4 |
| They feel that we are doing all right in this war and are OK | 22 |
| They meet only a certain type American, always helping them | 3 |
| They are still mad that we beat them in Revolution | 3 |
| They have a superiority complex | 13 |
| They are jealous of us | 4 |
| They are similar to us, and we to them | 6 |
| They consider us part of the mother country | 3 |
| They are influenced by headlines | 1 |
| Lack of understanding and appreciation | 5 |
| We are uncultured, also Americans abroad | 6 |
| We get easily gypped | 5 |
| Commercial contacts favorable for both nations | 6 |
| We are openminded | 1 |
| We did well in last war | 1 |
| They are selfish | 1 |
| From reading | 5 |
| Upper classes like us better | 1 |
| They like their own crown and aristocracy best | 1 |
| Admire aggressiveness and capability | 1 |
| From talking to British and from experience | 3 |
| Because we admire them | 1 |
| English are insincere | 1 |
| | 113%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**15.** (US June 3 '42) Have you ever known any English people well? (OPOR)

Yes 68% No 32%

Did you get along well with them? Asked of 68% of the sample who had known English people well.

Yes 55% No 6% Qualified answers 6% No answer 1%

Why not? Asked of 6% of the sample who did not get along well with the English people they knew.

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 2% |
| Hate their guts | 1 |
| They are snobbish | * |
| I don't like them | 1 |
| One has to get to know them first | * |
| They don't let anybody else have an opinion | 1 |

* Totals 1%.

**16.** (US June 3 '42) What do you like most about the English people? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| They are friendly, pleasant | 10% |
| They are kind to those in need, helpful | 2 |
| They are honest, straightforward, fair and loyal | 21 |
| They are very close to us | 8 |
| Their manners and language | 13 |
| They are jovial, good-natured | 2 |
| Their stability, thoroughness, and dependability | 11% |
| Their dignity, good sportsmanship | 3 |
| Their diplomacy and statesmanship | 1 |
| Their intelligence | 3 |
| Their thrift | 2 |
| Their love of their country | 3 |
| Their tenacity and courage | 16 |
| Ideals, tolerance of religion | 6 |
| Traveled, interesting | 2 |
| Self-esteem | 1 |
| No answer, don't know | 24 |
| | 128%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**17.** (US June 3 '42) What do you dislike most about them [the English]? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Their very strong characters and views, stubborn | 8% |
| Government | 1 |
| Their superior attitude, stuck-up, particularly upper class | 31 |
| Want to wreck this country | 1 |
| Their class system | 3 |
| Their coldness and complacency | 5 |
| Their conservatism | 3 |
| Their treatment of Ireland | 1 |
| They don't like becoming Americanized | 1 |
| Don't dislike anything | 21 |
| They are selfish | 6 |
| They don't work, also dishonest and greedy | 1 |
| They have had use of colonies | 3 |
| Smart and stingy | 1 |
| Slowness | 3 |
| Domineering, intolerant, cocky | 5 |
| Non-payment of war debts, don't appreciate our help | 1 |
| Oppression of labor | 2 |
| No answer, don't know | 12 |
| Other answers | 1 |
| | 110%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**18.** (US June 3 '42) Where do you get most of your ideas about Great Britain and the English people? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| History | 22% |
| Radio | 14 |
| Newspapers and magazines, reading | 66 |
| Books | 10 |
| Movies | 5 |
| People, friends | 45 |
| Trips to England, traveling in general | 4 |
| Kontacts in last war | 3 |
| Relatives from England | 3 |
| Observation | 4 |
| School—studying, lectures | 6 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 183%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**19.** (US June 3 '42) Can you think of the names of any books, stories, or movies which gave you your ideas about English life? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Classical | 6% |
| Last century (romanticism) | 15 |
| Modern novelists | 9 |
| History books | 6 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Popular mysteries | 3% |
| Movies—historical | 4 |
| Movies—adventure | 2 |
| Movies—romantic | 3 |
| Movies—modern English life | 18 |
| Magazines | 3 |
| No answer | 57 |
| | 126%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**20.** (Great Britain July '42) Do you know any Americans personally? (BIPO)

Yes 35% No 65%

**21.** (Great Britain July '42) Do you feel that as a result of taking part in the war the United States will or will not want: (BIPO)

| | *Will* | *Will not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| More than their fair share of credit for helping to win the war | 36% | 44% | 20% |
| More than their fair share of world markets after the war | 26 | 45 | 29 |
| More than their share in settling the peace terms | 28 | 49 | 23 |
| More than their fair share of power and influence in the postwar world | 29 | 46 | 25 |

**22.** (Great Britain July '42) Here are some statements which have been made about the Americans. Do you agree or disagree with them? (BIPO)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| They take a superior attitude towards the British and they have no grounds for this attitude | 37% | 44% | 19% |
| They are more democratic people than we are | 52 | 33 | 15 |
| The Americans are too willing to let other people fight for them | 28 | 55 | 17 |
| We would be better off if we were more like the Americans in many respects | 41 | 39 | 20 |

**23.** (US Apr 6 '43) What are some of the things you like about the British people? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Spirit, fighting qualities, sportsmanship | 26% |
| Similarity to United States | 13 |
| Sincerity, reliability, and frankness | 11 |
| Generosity and friendliness | 10 |
| Democracy, progressiveness, broadmindedness and love of freedom | 8 |
| Conservatism and solidity: | |
| Thriftiness and industriousness | 3 |
| Other solid conservative characteristics | 8 |
| Culture and intelligence | 6 |
| Patriotism and loyalty (proud of country) | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 6 |
| Don't know of anything | 10 |
| Not ascertainable | 21 |
| | 126%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**24.** (US Apr 6 '43) What are some of the things you don't like about the British people? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Superiority and over-confidence | 28% |
| Conservatism and class distinctions | 10 |
| Want all the credit without fighting responsibility | 9 |
| World policies | 5 |
| Stubbornness and narrowness | 4 |
| Default on last war debt | 2 |
| Lack of sense of humor | 2 |
| Reticence and lack of warmth | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| Nothing in particular | 25 |
| Not ascertainable | 21 |
| | 111%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**25.** (US Apr 6 '43) Will Britain try to boss the United States after the war? (NORC)

Yes 33% No 55% Don't know 12%

**26.** (US Apr 6 '43) Will the United States try to boss Britain after the war? (NORC)

Yes 16% No 76% Don't know 8%

**27.** (US Apr 6 '43) Have you ever come across British criticisms of America? (NORC)

Yes 28% No 72% No answer *

* Less than 0.5%.

Have they annoyed you? Asked of 28% of the sample who had come across British criticisms of America.

Yes 15% No 13% No answer *

* Less than 0.5%.

What were they? Asked of 28% of the sample who had come across British criticisms of America.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Criticisms to do with war or fighting:* | |
| Too much credit for winning the last war | 2% |
| Tardiness in getting into the war | 1 |
| Insufficient assistance | 2 |
| Criticism of actual fighting or bravery | 2 |
| *Other criticisms:* | |
| Vulgar and uncouth | 6 |
| Too interested in money | 3 |
| Stupid and unintelligent | 1 |
| Criticisms of speech | 1 |
| Criticisms of our form of rule | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| Criticisms of British attitudes | 4 |
| Not ascertainable | 5 |
| | 32%* |

* Percentages add to more than 28 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**28.** (US Apr 6 '43) What would you say is the main thing that might cause trouble between the United States and Britain after the war? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Territorial settlements | 19% |
| Lend-lease repayment | 17 |
| Unspecified difficulties with peace settlement: | |
| Both will want more power | 8 |
| Britain will want more power | 6 |
| British may suspect the United States | 1 |
| Trade agreements or monetary system | 9 |
| Control of sea and air traffic | 5 |
| Differences in democratic standards | 1 |
| World police system | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Miscellaneous | 5% |
| No trouble | 13 |
| Not ascertainable | 23 |
| | 108%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**29.** (US Apr 6 '43) Have you known any English people personally? (NORC)

Yes 53% No 46% No answer 1%

**30.** (US Sept 8 '43) After the war, should the United States and Great Britain make a permanent military alliance, that is, agree to come to each other's defense immediately if the other is attacked at any future time? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 61% | 25% | 14% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republicans | 57% | 29% | 14% |
| Democrats | 67 | 19 | 14 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 60% | 27% | 13% |
| East central | 58 | 27 | 15 |
| West central | 60 | 26 | 14 |
| South | 72 | 11 | 17 |
| Far West | 59 | 27 | 14 |
| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
| (Mar 20 '45) National total | 54% | 35% | 11% |

**31.** (US Sept 28 '43) (1) Should the United States and Great Britain make a permanent military alliance, that is, agree to come to each other's defense immediately if the other is attacked after the war? A comparable cross-section was asked the same question about Russia. The Russian question was followed by: (2) Would you approve of the same kind of military alliance between the United States and Great Britain? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| First cross-section | 65% | 24% | 11% | |
| Second cross-section | 70 | 19 | 11 | |
| | | | | *Qualified* |
| (Apr 25 '44) | | | | |
| (1) National total | 49% | 37% | 13% | 1% |

**32.** (Australia Oct '43) After the war, would you favor or oppose a permanent military alliance between the British Empire and America? (APOP)

Favor 82% Oppose 7% No opinion 11%

**33.** (US Jan '45) Thinking back for a moment to our relations with England a few years before the war, do you think we shall get along better with England in the future than we did in the past, not so well, or about the same? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Get along better | 31.1% |
| Not so well | 19.4 |
| About the same | 43.1 |
| Don't know | 6.4 |

**34.** (US Mar 20 '45) What do you think the United States has most to gain from England after the war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Trade | 16% |
| Cooperation | 4 |
| Good will; friendship; gratitude | 11 |
| Money—payment of debt | 2 |
| Bases for defense; air bases | 4% |
| Peace | 1 |
| Security; military support | 2 |
| Stabilizing influence; balance world power | 1 |
| Ideas; sense of loyalty; their management of their empire | 1 |
| Culture | 1 |
| Others | 2 |
| Nothing; not much | 33 |
| Didn't say | 24 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**35.** (US Mar 20 '45) What do you think the United States has most to fear from England after the war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Imperialism; jealousy of our power; desire for power; domination of Europe | 13% |
| Trade competition; airways competition | 12 |
| Won't pay debts; we'll have to lend them money | 9 |
| War; might fight us | 5 |
| Alliance between England and Russia; ganging up against us | 1 |
| Lack of good will; unfriendly | 2 |
| Indebtedness to feed them | 1 |
| Mix up on peace treaty | 2 |
| Others: Churchill, lack of tolerance, etc. | 2 |
| Nothing, very little | 31 |
| Didn't say | 17 |
| Selfishness—they take and don't give | 4 |
| Will depend on us for everything | 1 |

**36.** (Canada Sept 1 '45) Do you think the election of a labor government in Britain will make it easier or harder for her to get along with the United States? Asked of the 83% of sample who had followed the election. (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Easier | 24% |
| Harder | 22 |
| No difference | 19 |
| Undecided | 18 |

**37.** (Great Britain Sept 29 '45) Are your feelings towards the United States more friendly or less friendly than they were a year ago? (BIPO)

| | *More* | *Same* | *Less* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9% | 46% | 35% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 9% | 47% | 37% | 7% |
| Women | 10 | 45 | 33 | 12 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 11% | 44% | 34% | 11% |
| 30–49 years | 10 | 45 | 36 | 9 |
| 50 years and over | 8 | 49 | 33 | 10 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 8% | 61% | 29% | 2% |
| Middle | 8 | 47 | 39 | 6 |
| Lower | 10 | 45 | 34 | 11 |
| BY FEELING TOWARD RUSSIA | | | | |
| More friendly | 42% | 34% | 18% | 6% |
| Same | 11 | 71 | 13 | 5 |
| Less | 18 | 46 | 29 | 7 |
| Don't know | 9 | 20 | 11 | 60 |

(Great Britain June '46) (BIPO)

| | *More friendly* | *Same* | *Less friendly* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 11% | 51% | 32% | 6% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 11% | 53% | 32% | 4% |
| Women | 11 | 50 | 31 | 8 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 12% | 53% | 31% | 4% |
| 30–49 years | 10 | 50 | 35 | 5 |
| 50 years and over | 11 | 53 | 29 | 7 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher income | 16% | 62% | 20% | 2% |
| Middle income | 12 | 50 | 35 | 3 |
| Lower income | 10 | 51 | 32 | 7 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Conservatives | 13% | 55% | 29% | 3% |
| Labor | 10 | 49 | 35 | 6 |
| Liberals | 9 | 53 | 32 | 6 |
| Others | 3 | 42 | 52 | 3 |
| Non-voters | 11 | 53 | 28 | 8 |

(US Dec 11 '46) Are your feelings towards England more friendly or less friendly than they were six months ago? (AIPO)

More 7% Same 64% Less 22% No opinion 7%

**38.** (Great Britain Mar '46) Have you read about or heard about Mr. Churchill's speech in the States? (BIPO)

Yes 89% No 11%

On the whole, do you approve or disapprove of the statements and proposals he made? Asked of 89% of the sample who had heard about or read about Churchill's speech in the United States.

Approve 34% Disapprove 39% Don't know 16%

**39.** (US Mar 13 '46) Churchill says the United States and Great Britain should make a permanent military alliance—that is, agree to come to each other's defense immediately if the other is attacked. Do you approve or disapprove of this policy? (AIPO)

Yes 31% No 61% No opinion 8%

**40.** (US Mar 31 '46) Did you hear or read about Churchill's speech in which he suggested a continuation of the present military cooperation between the United States and Great Britain as a check on Russia's present moves? (AIPO)

Yes 68% No 32%

What is your opinion on his suggestion? Asked of 68% of the sample who had heard or read about Churchill's speech in which he suggested a continuation of the present military cooperation between United States and Great Britain as a check on Russia's present moves.

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer; don't know | 6% |
| He is right; good idea; we should continue | 18 |
| Approve with modification; stick together but no military alliance | 4 |
| Disapprove | 40 |

**41.** (Australia Apr–May '46) Would you favor or oppose a permanent military alliance between the British Empire and the United States? (APOP)

In favor of 83% Against 10% No opinion 7%

**42.** (US Sept 28 '46) Are your feelings toward Britain more friendly or less friendly than they were a year ago? (AIPO)

More 8% Less 30% About same 53% No opinion 9%

**43.** (US Dec '46) Did you like the English civilians better or worse the more you saw of them? Asked of a national cross-section of World War II veterans. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 47.3% |
| Worse | 27.3 |
| No change | 19.2 |
| Don't know | 6.2 |

**44.** (US Dec '46) What did you dislike most about the English? Asked of a national cross-section of World War II veterans who said they disliked the English more than the French, Germans, or Italians. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Arrogance or superior attitude | 36.9% |
| Filthy appearance or living conditions | — |
| Mercenary attitude, greed | 1.4 |
| Laziness, lack of enterprise | 2.7 |
| Deceitful, "two-faced" behavior | 5.4 |
| Hostility, lack of cooperation | 13.1 |
| Low moral standard | — |
| Backwardness, low standard of living | 0.9 |
| Responsibility for the war | — |
| Other bad qualities | 31.2 |
| Don't know | 14.9 |
| | 106.5%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some disliked more than one trait.

**45.** (US Dec '46) What did you like most about the English? Asked of a national cross-section of World War II veterans who expressed a preference for the English over the French, Germans, or Italians. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Friendliness and hospitality | 36.7% |
| Courage, "ability to take it" | 24.4 |
| Resemblance to ourselves | 15.1 |
| Cleanliness | 1.5 |
| Industry and enterprise | 0.7 |
| Similarity of language | 13.3 |
| Other good qualities | 25.0 |
| Don't know | 6.6 |
| | 123.3%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some liked more than one trait.

## Foreign Relations (Italy)

**1.** (US Dec '46) Did you like the Italian civilians better or worse the more you saw of them? Asked of a national cross-section of World War II veterans. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 23.7% |
| Worse | 44.9 |
| No change | 16.2 |
| Don't know | 15.2 |

**2.** (US Dec '46) What did you like most about the Italians? Asked of a national cross-section of World War II veterans who expressed a preference for Italians over the English, French, or Germans.* (FOR)

* Since only a handful of the men interviewed like Italians best, these figures are not very reliable. Nevertheless they give some indication of the characteristics that made the most favorable impression on US troops.

| | |
|---|---|
| Friendliness and hospitality | 65.8% |
| Courage, "ability to take it" | 7.9 |
| Resemblance to ourselves | — |
| Cleanliness | — |
| Industry and enterprise | 5.3 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Similarity of language | — |
| Other good qualities | 15.8% |
| Don't know | 15.8 |
| | 110.6%** |

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some liked more than one trait.

**3.** (US Dec '46) What did you dislike most about the Italians? Asked of a national cross-section of World War II veterans who said they disliked the Italians more than the English, French, or Germans. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Arrogance or superior attitude | 0.6% |
| Filthy appearance or living conditions | 35.9 |
| Mercenary attitude, greed | 6.5 |
| Laziness, lack of enterprise | 15.3 |
| Deceitful, "two-faced" behavior | 15.3 |
| Hostility, lack of cooperation | 2.4 |
| Low moral standard | 7.1 |
| Backwardness, low standard of living | 8.8 |
| Responsibility for the war | — |
| Other bad qualities | 28.2 |
| Don't know | 18.2 |
| | 138.3%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some disliked more than one trait.

**4.** (US Dec 11 '46) Are your feelings towards Italy more friendly or less friendly than they were six months ago? (AIPO)

More 11% Same 58% Less 14% No opinion 17%

## Foreign Relations (Japan)

**1.** (US Sept '40) Which of the following considerations do you think should have most to do with our relations with Japan? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| The importance of keeping Japanese ambitions within bounds | 56.2% |
| The importance of the Orient as a market for our goods | 21.8 |
| The safeguarding of our supply lines for raw rubber and tin | 18.5 |
| Don't know or no answer | 3.5 |

**2.** (US Sept '40) In dealing with Japan do you think we should appease them, let nature take its course, or attack them? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Appease them | 40.1% |
| Let nature take its course | 35.0 |
| Attack them | 19.1 |
| Don't know, or no answer | 5.8 |

By which of these methods? Asked of 40.1% of the sample of business executives who thought the United States should appease Japan.

| | |
|---|---|
| With a new trade treaty | 50.6% |
| With recognition of their sphere of influence | 40.8 |
| Both | 5.0 |
| Don't know, or no answer | 3.6 |

By which of these methods? Asked of 19.1% of the sample of executives who thought the United States should attack Japan.

| | |
|---|---|
| With an embargo | 71.6% |
| With meaningful threats of force | 20.9 |
| Both | 4.6 |
| No answer | 2.9 |

**3.** (US Oct '41) Which one of these statements comes closest to expressing your feelings about Japan? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Japan has proved her right to grow and we should not interfere with her | 3.5% |
| While Japan may be a threat in the future, we should not get excited about her until she attacks some of our territory or interferes with our supplies | 43.0 |
| Japan has already gone far enough and we should place our fleet across her path and tell her another step means war | 33.8 |
| Japan has already gone too far and we should immediately declare war on her | 3.4 |
| Don't know | 16.3 |

**4.** (US May 30 '42) Do you personally hate the Japanese people? (AIPO)

Yes 28% No 72%

## Foreign Relations (Russia)

**1.** (US Oct '41) Regardless of how you feel toward Russia, which of these policies do you think we should pursue toward her now? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Leave Russia strictly alone and give her no help or encouragement of any kind | 13.5% |
| Work along with Russia and give her some aid if we think it will help beat Hitler | 51.4 |
| Accept Russia as a full partner along with England in the fight against Hitler | 21.9 |
| Don't know | 13.2 |

**2.** (US Feb '42) Regardless of how you feel toward Russia, which of these policies do you think we should pursue toward her now? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Stop helping Russia in any way | 4.4% |
| Work along with Russia and give her some aid if we think it will help her beat the Axis | 43.2 |
| Treat Russia as a full partner along with Britain in the fight against the Axis nations | 41.1 |
| Don't know | 11.3 |

**3.** (US Oct 8 '43) After the war, should the United States and Russia make a permanent military alliance, that is, agree to come to each other's defense immediately if the other is attacked at any future time? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 39% | 37% | 24% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republicans | 36% | 43% | 21% |
| Democrats | 45 | 31 | 24 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 39% | 38% | 23% |
| East central | 37 | 39 | 24 |
| West central | 37 | 42 | 21 |
| South | 47 | 22 | 31 |
| Far West | 40 | 39 | 21 |
| (Apr 18 '45) National total | 49% | 36% | 15% |

**4.** (US Sept 28 '43) Should the United States and Russia make a permanent military alliance, that is, agree to come to each other's defense immediately if the other is attacked after the war? (AIPO)

Yes 52% No 27% Don't know 18% Qualified 3%

A comparable cross-section was asked the same question about Great Britain. The British question was followed by:

Would you approve of the same kind of military alliance between the United States and Russia?

Yes 41% No 39% Don't know 17% Qualified 3%

**5.** (US Apr 25 '44) Would you approve of the same kind of [permanent] military alliance between the United States and Russia? (AIPO)

Yes 35% No 46% Don't know 18% Qualified answer 1%

**6.** (US Jan '45) Thinking back for a moment to our relations with Russia a few years before the war, do you think that we shall get along better with Russia in the future than we did in the past, not so well, or about the same? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Get along better | 48.3% |
| Not so well | 22.0 |
| About the same | 20.1 |
| Don't know | 9.6 |

**7.** (US Mar 20 '45) What do you think the United States has most to gain from Russia after the war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Trade, commerce, a market | 33% |
| Friendship; good will | 15 |
| Military help in keeping down aggressors; politically | 4 |
| Ideas; feeling for common man; technical advances | 3 |
| Peace | 4 |
| Get money back that we lent her | 1 |
| Don't trust Russia | 1 |
| Nothing to gain, very little, it's about even | 21 |
| Didn't say | 21 |
| Other | 1 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**8.** (US Mar 20 '45) What do you think the United States has most to fear from Russia after this war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Political ideas—Communism, Socialism, form of government | 19% |
| Imperialism; domination of Europe; greed for power, supremacy | 12 |
| Military power; might start a war, might fight us | 14 |
| Don't trust them—may doublecross us | 4 |
| Lack of good will; treachery; unfriendly; lack of cooperation | 3 |
| Trade and economic competition | 3 |
| Debts, lend lease—won't repay us | 1 |
| Settlement of workable peace | 1 |
| Others | 1 |
| Nothing to fear; they will cooperate | 29 |
| Didn't say | 14 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (US Sept '45) With which one of these four statements do you come closest to agreeing? (1) It is going to be very important to keep on friendly terms with Russia after the war, and we should make every possible effort to do so. (2) It is important for the United States to be on friendly terms with Russia after the war, but not so important that we should make too many concessions to her. (3) If Russia wants to keep on friendly terms with us after the war, we shouldn't discourage her, but there is no reason why we should make any special effort to be friendly. (4) We shall be better off if we have just as little as possible to do with Russia after the war. (FOR)

| | *State-ment 1* | *State-ment 2* | *State-ment 3* | *State-ment 4* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 22.7% | 49.2% | 11.3% | 9.3% | 7.5% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 26.4% | 63.0% | 6.9% | 2.9% | 0.8% |
| Upper Middle | 23.7 | 61.9 | 9.0 | 3.5 | 1.9 |
| Lower Middle | 24.0 | 50.0 | 12.4 | 8.8 | 4.8 |
| Poor | 18.6 | 36.5 | 14.1 | 15.7 | 15.1 |
| (July '46) | | | | | |
| National total | 15.4% | 52.3% | 15.1% | 10.9% | 6.3% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | | | |
| Grade school | 16.1% | 35.1% | 15.8% | 18.5% | 14.5% |
| High school | 14.6 | 57.9 | 15.9 | 9.2 | 2.4 |
| College | 15.7 | 67.0 | 12.8 | 3.2 | 1.3 |

**10.** (US Sept '45) Do you feel that most of the common people in Russia are now pretty friendly toward the United States, or not so friendly, or that most of them don't have any feeling one way or the other? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Friendly toward US | 52.7% |
| Not so friendly | 7.0 |
| Not one way or other | 22.0 |
| Don't know | 18.3 |

**11.** (US Sept 28 '46) Are your feelings toward Russia more friendly or less friendly than they were a year ago? (AIPO)

More 2% Less 62% About same 28% No opinion 8%

**12.** (US Dec 11 '46) Are your feelings towards Russia more friendly or less friendly than they were six months ago? (AIPO)

More 13% Same 48% Less 32% No opinion 7%

**13.** (US Sept '46) If the people as a whole in either Russia or the United States had the final decision to make, do you think the people would ever decide to start a war against each other? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, the people in Russia | 7% |
| Yes, the people in the United States | 1 |
| No | 87 |
| Both | 1 |
| Don't know | 4 |

**14.** (US Sept 27 '45) *Fortune* survey asked a cross-section of civilians in the United States to compare Russia and the United States on four significant points. (NYHT)

| | *Russia* | *United States* | *About Same* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Which country do you think gives its people as a whole a better chance to get ahead? | 2.3% | 86.1% | 4.3% | 7.3% |
| Which country do you think gives its people as a whole a better sense of economic security? | 11.1 | 70.3 | 5.4 | 13.2 |
| Which country do you think has the better setup for encouraging good new inventions? | 3.0 | 75.4 | 5.6 | 16.0 |
| Which country do you think in twenty-five years will be more important in world affairs? | 6.3 | 65.5 | 11.5 | 16.7 |

**15.** (US Mar 13 '46) Do you think the State Department has been doing a good or a poor job in handling our relations with Russia? (AIPO)

Good 20% Fair 23% Poor 36% No opinion 21%

**16.** (US Mar 13 '46) Do you think the United States is being too soft or too tough in its policy toward Russia? (AIPO)

Too soft 60% Too tough 3% All right 21%
No opinion 16%

**17.** (US July 24 '46) If Russia continues her present course, what should we do, if anything? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Nothing; let her go; stay out | 10% |
| Be firm; lay down the law; no appeasement; call her bluff | 28 |
| Prepare to fight; keep buying arms; continue draft | 28 |
| Don't send money or food; end lend-lease; try economic blockade | 4 |
| Get together and work things out | 6 |
| Go before UNO—left up to UNO | 4 |
| Try to appease | 1 |
| Should sever relations with her | 1 |
| Miscellaneous and no opinion | 22 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**18.** (US Mar 31 '46) If Russia continues to follow her present course, what should we do, if anything? (AIPO)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Be firm; make her stick to agreements; no appeasements | 44% | |
| Don't send money or materials; cut off lend-lease | 5 | 50% |
| Sever relations with her | 1 | |
| Go before the UNO | 8% | |
| Get together and work things out | 7 | 16 |
| Try to appease Russia | 1 | |
| Do nothing; let her go; avoid trouble | | 12 |
| Miscellaneous and no opinion | | 22 |

**19.** (US Mar 27 '46) Do you think that the United States under the capitalistic system and Russia under the Communistic system can get along together in the future? (AIPO)

Yes 48% No 38% No opinion 14%

**20.** (France Sept '46) If a conflict were to break out between the USSR and the United States, on which side would your sympathies be? (FIPO)

United States 40% USSR 21% Neither 33%
Don't know 6%

**21.** (France Sept '46) Would you want France to remain apart from this conflict [possible clash between the United States and Russia]? (FIPO)

Yes 82% No 13% No opinion 5%

**22.** (US Sept '46) Do you think our government is telling us enough about what is going on between Russia and the United States, or should it tell us more? (NORC)

Enough 29% Should tell more 60% Don't know 11%

**23.** (US Apr 6 '43) What would you say is the main thing that might cause trouble between the United States and Russia after the war? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Communism or form of government: | |
| Differences in forms of government (unqualified) | 26% |
| Communists have no religion or church | 2 |
| Differences in forms of government (qualified) | 2 |
| Russia's territorial demands | 13 |
| Unspecified difficulties with peace settlement: | |
| Both countries will try to dominate (or unspecified) | 3 |
| Russia will want more power | 8 |
| Russia may suspect the United States | 1 |
| Lend-lease repayment | 4 |
| Dissatisfaction with our assistance | 4% |
| Change of allegiance—pro-Japanese | 3 |
| Trade agreements and economic matters | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| No trouble | 10 |
| Not ascertainable | 24 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**24.** (US Sept '46) What do you think are some of the main disagreements at the present time between Russia and the United States? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Neither country mentioned, blamed, or responsible* | |
| The atomic bomb | 9% |
| Land; boundaries; imperialism not specified | 8 |
| Spheres of influence; small countries | 6 |
| Strategic bases; strategic materials; waterways | 4 |
| Policies; occupation; policing; dividing of Germany, Italy and Japan | 5 |
| Power; control; superior position; troops in countries | 3 |
| Control of Europe | 1 |
| Loans; lend-lease; food; money; UNRRA | 1 |
| International cooperative negotiations; commitments | 2 |
| Difference in government | 8 |
| Lack of understanding | 1 |
| Greed; wanting more; wanting too much | * |
| Jealousy; lack of cooperation | * |
| Other abstract causes | 2 |
| *Russia responsible* | |
| Russia wants the bomb | 2% |
| Russia imperialistic | 8 |
| Russia controlling small countries, increasing sphere of influence | 6 |
| Russia's control of strategic bases or material, oil | 3 |
| Russia is dissatisfied with policies; occupation, policing, dividing of Germany, Italy and Japan | 3 |
| Russia wants world power; superior position; balance of power | 8 |
| Russia wants to control Europe | 2 |
| Russia dissatisfied with loans, UNRRA | 1 |
| Russia dissatisfied over committments; conferences; United Nations Organization | 2 |
| Russia spreading Communism | 4 |
| Russia secretive; has closed press | 2 |
| Russia can't understand democracy; distrusts our policies | 4 |
| Russia wants too much | 7 |
| Russia won't cooperate | 4 |
| Other answers pertaining to Russia and not elsewhere classifiable | 2 |
| *Both countries responsible* | |
| Both want their government in other countries | 1% |
| Both imperialistic | 1 |
| Both want control of small countries | 1 |
| Both want strategic materials; places | * |
| Clashing over Germany; occupation; governing policies | 1 |
| Both want to be greatest world power | 3 |
| Both want control of Europe | * |
| Both want to control UNRRA | * |
| Both making mistakes in peace negotiations | 1 |
| Don't trust or understand each other | 4 |
| Both want more than their share; both want too much | * |
| They don't try to get along | 2 |
| Other disagreements; both responsible | * |

*United States responsible*

| | |
|---|---|
| United States blamed for policy; imperialism; dictator; favoritism; exploitation | 4% |
| Don't know | 22% |
| | 148%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**25.** (US Sept '46) Do you think the present disagreements between Russia and the United States are serious enough to consider going to war about, or aren't they that serious? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Go to war | 17% |
| Not that serious | 68 |
| Not that serious yet, could be soon | 6 |
| Don't know | 9 |

**26.** (US Sept '46) In the disagreements between Russia and the United States, do you think one of the countries is entirely to blame, or do you think both countries have something to do with the misunderstanding? (NORC)

One country 17% Both countries 74% Don't know 9%

**27.** (US Sept 11 '46) Do you think the United States should do anything to get along better with Russia? (AIPO)

Yes 41% No 44% No answer 15%

What should be done? Asked of 41% of the sample who thought the United States should do something to get along better with Russia.

| | |
|---|---|
| Miscellaneous | 5% |
| No answer | 8 |
| We should be more stern, get tougher | 8 |
| Set a definite policy and stick to it, change our state department | 4 |
| Try to understand each other, develop a friendly attitude, exchange students | 14 |
| Stop newspaper talk and comments against Russia | 2 |
| Anything within reason | 1 |
| | 42%* |

* Percentages add to more than 41 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**28.** (US Sept 11 '46) Do you think the United States should declare war on Russia now? (AIPO)

Yes 4% No 87% No opinion 6% Yes, qualified 3%

**29.** (US Sept 25 '46) Have you followed the arguments about Byrnes' ideas and Wallace's ideas for dealing with Russia? (AIPO)

Yes 42% No 58%

In general, what do you understand Byrnes' ideas to be regarding Russia? Asked of 42% of the sample who had followed the arguments about Byrnes' ideas and Wallace's ideas for dealing with Russia.

| | |
|---|---|
| Byrnes wants to be firm with Russia, fair but firm, tell them just where they stand | 76% |
| Wants to cooperate with Russia | 7 |
| Miscellaneous and don't know | 17 |

In general, what do you understand Wallace's ideas to be regarding Russia? Asked of 42% of the sample who had followed the arguments about Byrnes' ideas and Wallace's ideas for dealing with Russia?

| | |
|---|---|
| Wallace wants to be easy with Russia, lenient; wants to appease her | 50% |
| Try to see Russia's viewpoint, side with her a little more | 16 |
| Pro-Russian, a Communist | 17% |
| Miscellaneous and don't know | 17 |

Whose policy do you think we should follow—Byrnes' or Wallace's? Asked of 42% of the sample who had followed the arguments about Byrnes' ideas and Wallace's ideas for dealing with Russia.

Byrnes' 78% Wallace's 16% No opinion 6%

Do you think President Truman was right or wrong in ousting Henry Wallace? Asked of 42% of the sample who had followed the arguments about Byrnes' ideas and Wallace's ideas for dealing with Russia.

Right 70% Wrong 22% Don't know 8%

**30.** (US Sept 25 '46) Do you think that the road to future peace of the United States lies in being firm with Russia or in being generous with Russia? (AIPO)

Firm 75% Generous 15% No opinion 10%

**31.** (US Sept 25 '46) Do you think the road to future peace of the United States lies in being firm with Russia or in being easy with Russia? (AIPO)

Firm 80% Easy 10% No opinion 10%

## Foreign Relations (Spain)

**1.** (US Apr 24 '46) Will you tell me what the arguments are in favor of breaking off our diplomatic relations with Spain? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 56% |
| None | 5 |
| Franco's government is fascist, to get rid of fascism | 11 |
| Franco's government is dictatorial, undemocratic | 4 |
| Harboring Nazis and German scientists | 11 |
| Help Axis during war | 9 |
| She is menace to world peace | 7 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| | 105%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (US Apr '46) Will you tell me what the arguments are against breaking off our diplomatic relations with Spain? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 62% |
| None | 8 |
| Spain not endangering peace or giving cause for breaking relations | 3 |
| Russia would have her way again | 2 |
| Might cause another war | 6 |
| Would lose their exports and imports, world trade | 3 |
| Our desire for a United World, should maintain friendly relations | 8 |
| We wouldn't know what goes on in Spain | 2 |
| Might cause civil war in Spain | 1 |
| We shouldn't interfere | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (US May 25 '46) Do you think we should or should not break off diplomatic relations with Spain? (AIPO)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 43% | 14% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 49% | 35% | 16% |
| Republicans | 36 | 52 | 12 |

## Foreign Relations (Sweden)

**1.** (Sweden June '43) Have you any relatives in the United States? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 51% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| North Sweden | 48% | 52% |
| Malar province | 40 | 60 |
| East Gotland | 44 | 56 |
| Skåne | 57 | 43 |
| West Gotland | 58 | 42 |

Have you heard from them [yout relatives in the United States] during the last ten years? Asked of 49% of the sample who said they had relatives in the United States.

| | *Only letter or cables since outbreak of war* | *Gift packages* | *Letters from 1933 to outbreak of war* | *No letters for ten years* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 20% | 11% | 21% | 48% |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | | |
| Town | 17% | 13% | 22% | 48% |
| Country | 21 | 10 | 20 | 49 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 19% | 21% | 16% | 44% |
| Middle class | 21 | 10 | 22 | 47 |
| Workers | 18 | 12 | 20 | 50 |

**2.** (Sweden June '43) What is the closest relative you have in the United States? (SGI)

| | *Sisters, brothers, parents, children* | *Grandfather, uncle, etc.* | *Other relatives* | *Don't know* | *No relatives* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 11% | 27% | 8% | 3% | 51% |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 4% | 32% | 7% | 2% | 55% |
| 30–49 years | 11 | 27 | 8 | 3 | 51 |
| 50 years and over | 18 | 22 | 8 | 3 | 49 |

## Foreign Relations (Vatican)

**1.** (US Jan 10 '40) Do you think the United States should send an ambassador to the court of Pope Pius in Rome, as it does to foreign countries? (AIPO)

Yes 37% No 43% No opinion 20%

## Foreign Relations (Yugoslavia)

**1.** (Great Britain Feb '44) Should the Allies now recognize the government set up by Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia? (BIPO)

Yes 48% No 12% Don't know 40%

**2.** (France Oct 1 '46) Do you know about the incident which has recently brought the United States into conflict with Yugoslavia? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *Know a little* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 37% | 36% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 40% | 39% | 21% |
| Women | 14 | 36 | 50 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Communists | 28% | 52% | 20% |
| Socialists | 28 | 43 | 29 |
| Radical-socialists | 30 | 42 | 28 |
| MRP | 31 | 36 | 33 |
| PRL | 32 | 37 | 31 |

Can you tell me what has been happening? Asked of 64% of the sample who knew something about the incident which had recently brought the United States into conflict with Yugoslavia.

| *Very wrong answers* | *Wrong answers* | *Vague answers* | *Gave an interpretation of the incident* | *Correct answers* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 31% | 10% | 4% | 8% | 3% | 8% |

| BY POLITICS | *Incorrect or vague answers* | *Interpreted answers* | *Correct answers* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Communists | 79% | 19% | 2% |
| Socialists | 86 | 10 | 4 |
| Radical-socialists | 88 | 8 | 4 |
| MRP | 91 | 5 | 4 |
| PRL | 88 | 7 | 5 |

Do you approve or disapprove of the attitude of the United States in this incident? Asked of 64% of the sample who knew something about the incident which had recently caused friction between the United States and Yugoslavia.

| *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|
| 28% | 18% | 18% |

| BY POLITICS | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Communists | 5% | 55% | 40% |
| Socialists | 29 | 20 | 51 |
| Radical-socialists | 42 | 9 | 49 |
| MRP | 46 | 6 | 48 |
| PRL | 47 | 6 | 47 |

## Insular Possessions

**1.** (US Aug 23 '37) Should the Philippine Islands be given their complete independence now? (AIPO)

Yes 34% No 40% No opinion 26%

**2.** (US Feb 23 '38) In view of conditions in the Orient, do you think the United States should give the Philippines their independence now? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 24% | 76% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 25% | 75% |
| Republicans | 21 | 79 |

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| (Mar 21 '38) National total | 17% | 64% | 19% |

**3.** (US Mar 21 '38) Do you think the United States should give the Philippines their independence now or in 1946 as provided by law? (AIPO)

Now 16% 1946 58% No opinion 26%

**4.** (US Sept '39) Should we get out of the Philippines and stay out, even if Japan seizes them? (FOR)

Yes 24.1% No 50.1% Don't know or depends 25.8%

## Merchant Marine

**1.** (US Dec 12 '37) Should the government appropriate money to build a new United States merchant fleet? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 52% | 48% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 62% | 38% |
| Middle Atlantic | 62 | 38 |
| East central | 50 | 50 |
| West central | 41 | 59 |
| Southern | 45 | 55 |
| Rocky Mountain | 40 | 60 |
| Pacific coast | 50 | 50 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 58% | 42% |
| Republicans | 41 | 59 |

**2.** (US July 7 '45) Are all men in the merchant marine members of the armed forces? (AIPO)

Yes 28% No 45% Don't know 27%

## Neutrality

**1.** (US Apr 4 '36) Do you think the United States will be drawn into the next European war? (AIPO)

Yes 44% No 56%

**2.** (US Feb 14 '37) If another war like the World War develops in Europe, should America take part again? (AIPO)

Yes 5% No 95%

**3.** (US Aug 20 '39) If there is another general European war, do you believe the United States can stay out? (AIPO)

Yes 62% No 38%

**4.** (Great Britain Jan '38) If there is another world war do you think the United States will/can stay out? (BIPO)

Yes 16% No 84% = 100% No opinion 34%

**5.** (US July 27 '38) If England and France have a war with Germany and Italy, do you think the United States can stay out? A comparable cross-section was asked: If England and France have a war with Germany and Italy, do you think the United States will stay out? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 54% No 46%

**6.** (US Aug 20 '39) If England and France go to war against Germany, do you think the United States can stay out? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 57% | 43% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 46% | 54% |
| Middle Atlantic | 61 | 39 |
| East central | 60 | 40 |
| West central | 57 | 43 |
| South | 60 | 40 |
| West | 51 | 49 |

**7.** (US Apr 9 '39) If England and France go to war against Germany, do you think this country should declare war on Germany? (AIPO)

Yes 5% No 95%

**8.** (US Sept 23 '38) If England and France have a war against Germany and Italy, do you think the United States will be drawn in? (AIPO)

Yes 68% No 32% = 100% No opinion 11%

**9.** (US Jan 29 '39) If there is such a war [between any of the big European countries this year] do you think the United States will be drawn in? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 57% | 43% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 57% | 43% |
| Middle Atlantic | 56 | 44 |
| East central | 55 | 45 |
| West central | 55 | 45 |
| South | 61 | 39 |
| West | 57 | 43 |

**10.** (US Apr 16 '39) If there is a [European] war [this year] do you think the United States will be drawn into it? (AIPO)

Yes 58% No 42%

**11.** (US Sept 3 '39) If England and France have a war against Germany and Italy, do you think the United States will be drawn in? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 76% | 24% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 69% | 31% |
| Middle Atlantic | 74 | 26 |
| East central | 78 | 22 |
| West central | 78 | 22 |
| South | 75 | 25 |
| West | 75 | 25 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 76% | 24% |
| Republicans | 78 | 22 |
| Others | 71 | 29 |

**12.** (US Aug 30 '39) Do you think the United States will be drawn into this war? (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 40% = 100% Don't know 14%

**13.** (US Jan 18 '37) Should Congress or the President be mainly responsible for America's neutrality policy? (AIPO)

Congress 69% President 31% = 100% No opinion 26%

**14.** (US Oct 2 '38) Which plan for keeping out of war do you put more faith in—having Congress pass stricter neutrality laws, or leaving the job up to the President? (AIPO)

| | *Stricter laws* | *President's discretion* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 69% | 31% = 100% | 5% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 72% | 28% | |
| Middle Atlantic | 68 | 32 | |
| East central | 75 | 25 | |
| West centtral | 67 | 33 | |
| South | 63 | 37 | |
| Rocky Mountain | 71 | 29 | |
| Pacific coast | 72 | 28 | |
| (Mar 23 '38) | | | |
| National total | 56% | 27% | 17% = 100% |
| (Sept 23 '38) | 73 | 27 = 100% | 11 |

**15.** (US Mar 23 '38) Do you think the present Neutrality Law has placed the United States at a disadvantage in dealing with other nations? (AIPO)

Yes 23% No 40% No opinion 37%

**16.** (US Mar 23 '38) Would you favor the repeal of the Neutrality Law in order to give the President a freer hand in dealing with foreign nations? (AIPO)

Yes 18% No 54% No opinion 28%

**17.** (US Oct 10 '39) Have you followed the debate in Congress about changing the Neutrality Act? (AIPO)

Yes 47% No 52% No answer 1%

Has the debate changed your mind about the Neutrality Act? Asked of 47% of the sample who had followed the debate in Congress about changing the Neutrality Act.

Yes 5% No 41% No answer 1%

**18.** (US Oct 18 '39) If the repeal of the arms embargo would help England and France, but not Germany, would you favor such repeal? (AIPO)

Yes 58% No 34% Don't know 8%

**19.** (US Oct 18 '39) If the repeal of the arms embargo would help Germany, but not England and France, would you favor such repeal? (AIPO)

Yes 4% No 91% Don't know 5%

**20.** (US Mar 10 '37) Which of these foreign policies should our government follow: do everything possible to prevent war between foreign countries, even if it means threatening to fight countries which start wars, or do everything possible to keep us out of foreign wars? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Prevent war between foreign countries | 6% |
| Keep us out of foreign wars | 94 |
| No opinion | (2) |

**21.** (US July '37) Do you believe there is likely to be a major European or Asiatic war in the next two or three years? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46.9% | 29.2% | 23.9% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Pacific coast | 40.6% | 32.2% | 27.2% |
| Southwest | 59.2 | 23.2 | 17.6 |

Do you think the United States is likely to be drawn in? Asked of 46.9% of the sample who thought there might be a major European or Asiatic war in the next two or three years.

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46.6% | 36.6% | 16.8% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Pacific coast | 34.8% | 43.5% | 21.7% |
| Southwest | 50.0 | 33.7 | 16.3 |

**22.** (US Feb 22 '39) If Germany and Italy go to war against England and France, do you think we should do everything possible to help England and France win, except go to war ourselves? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 69% | 31% = 100% | 6% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 71% | 29% | |
| Republicans | 69 | 31 | |
| Other parties | 65 | 35 | |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 73% | 27% | |
| Middle income | 70 | 30 | |
| Lower income | 66 | 34 | |

**23.** (US Apr 19 '39) If Germany and Italy go to war against England and France, do you think we should do everything possible to help England and France win, except go to war ourselves? (AIPO)

Yes 65% No 30% No opinion 5%

**24.** (US Oct 3 '39) Do you think the United States should do everything possible to help England and France win the war, except go to war ourselves? (AIPO)

Yes 62% No 38%

**25.** (US Feb 16 '39) If Germany and Italy go to war against England and France, would it be better for the United States to help England and France or not help either side? (AIPO)

Help England and France 30% Help neither 66%
No opinion 4%

**26.** (US Feb 16 '39) If Germany and Italy go to war against England and France, should the United States help England and France or not help either side? (AIPO)

Help England and France 32% Help neither 63%
No opinion 5%

**27.** (US Mar 12 '39) In case such a war [Germany & Italy vs. England and France] breaks out, how far should we go in helping England and France—should we send our army and navy abroad to fight the enemies of England and France? Asked of a comparable cross-section: In case such a war breaks out, should we send our army and navy abroad to help England and France? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 17% No 83%

**28.** (US May 3 '39) In case Germany and Italy go to war against England and France, how far should we go in helping England and France? Should we send our army and navy abroad to fight Germany and Italy? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 16% | 84% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 18% | 82% |
| Republicans | 12 | 88 |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 17% | 83% |
| Women | 15 | 85 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 18% | 82% |
| Middle Atlantic | 16 | 84 |
| East central | 12 | 88 |
| West central | 13 | 87 |
| South | 24 | 76 |
| West | 17 | 83 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper income | 18% | 82% |
| Middle income | 14 | 86 |
| Lower income | 19 | 81 |

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| (July 8 '39) National total | 12% | 88% | (6%) |

**29.** (US Apr 19 '39) If Germany and Italy go to war against England and France, do you think we should do everything possible to help England and France win, even at the risk of getting into the war ourselves? (AIPO)

Yes 28% No 65% No opinion 7%

**30.** (US Oct 22 '39) Do you think the United States should do everything possible to help England and France win the war, even at the risk of getting into the war ourselves? (AIPO)

Yes 34% No 66%

**31.** (US Sept 22 '39) Do you think the United States will go into the war before it is over? (AIPO)

Yes 56% No 44% = 100% Don't know 26%

**32.** (US Mar 8 '40) Do you think the United States will go into war in Europe sometime before it is over, or do you think we will stay out of the war? (OPOR)

| | *Go in* % | *Go in only if long* % | *Go in only if Germany winning* % | *Other* % | *Stay out* % | *No opinion* % | *Undecided* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 12 4 | 15 6 | 10.0 | 1.6 | 45.9 | 14.5 | |
| (May 14 '40) (AIPO).. | 33.0 | 15.0 | 14.0 | | 38.0 | | (15.0) |
| (June 11 '40) (AIPO)... | 65.0 | | | | 35.0 | | |
| (July 20 '40) (OPOR)... | 23.0 | 11.0 | 5.0 | 7.0 | 48.0 | | 6.0 |
| (Sept 17 '40) (AIPO)... | 67.0 | | | | 33.0 | | |
| (Sept 30 '40) (AIPO)... | 67.0 | | | | 33.0 | | |
| (Oct 24 '40) (AIPO)... | 59.0 | | | | 41.0 | | |
| (Dec 11 '40) (OPOR)... | 33.0 | 13.0 | 16.0 | 2.0 | 29.0 | | 7.0 |
| (Jan 9 '41) (AIPO)... | 72.0 | | | | 28.0 | | |
| (Jan 28 '41) (OPOR)... | 74.0 | | | | 26.0 | | |
| (Mar 29 '41) (OPOR)... | 80.0 | | | | 20.0 | | |

About how soon do you think we will be in the war? Asked of 80% of the Mar 29 '41 sample who thought the United States would go into the war before it was over.

| | |
|---|---|
| From 1–12 months | 38.7% |
| From 2–5 years | 2.7 |
| Sometime within next year | 14.8 |
| In a few years, soon, etc. | 7.1 |
| Other | 0.4 |
| Don't know and no answer | 36.3 |

(Apr 8 '41) Do you think the United States will go into war in Europe sometime before it is over, or do you think we will stay out of the war? (AIPO)

Go in 82% Stay out 18%

About how soon do you think we will be in the war? Asked of 82% of the sample who thought the United States would go into the war in Europe.

| | |
|---|---|
| 2 months or less | 12% |
| 3 months | 8 |
| 4–6 months | 22 |
| Later estimates | 31 |
| No answer | 27 |

Do you think we will be in the war within two months? Asked of 82% of the sample who thought the United States would go into the war in Europe.

Yes 26% No 48% Don't know 26%

(Apr 25 '41) Do you think the United States will go into the war in Europe sometime before it is over, or do you think we will stay out of the war? (AIPO)

| | *Go in* | *Stay out* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 85% | 15% | — |
| (May 29 '41) (AIPO)..... | 83 | 17 | — |
| (Aug 19 '41) (AIPO)..... | 72.6 | 21.6 | 5.8% |
| (Sept 17 '41) (AIPO)..... | 77 | 15 | 8.0 |
| (Oct 22 '41) (AIPO)..... | 85 | 15 | — |

**33.** (US July 26 '39) If England and France go to war against Germany and Italy, what do you think our country will do—send troops to Europe to help England and France; send them war materials but no troops; or remain neutral? (AIPO)

Send troops 25% Send war materials, no troops 49%
Neutral 35%

**34.** (US Aug 30 '39) Do you think the United States should declare war on Germany at once and send our army and navy abroad to help England, France, and Poland? (AIPO)

Yes 8% No 90% Don't know 2%

**35.** (US Oct 24 '39) Do you think the United States should declare war on Germany and raise an army to send abroad to light? (AIPO)

Yes 3.5% No 96.5%

**36.** (US Aug 30 '39) In the present war, how far should we go in helping England, France and Poland—should we send our army and navy abroad to fight against Germany? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 16% | 84% = 100% | 6% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 19% | 81% | |
| Women | 12 | 88 | |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 12% | 88% | |
| Middle income | 15 | 85 | |
| Lower income (including persons on relief) | 20 | 80 | |
| Reliefers only | 21 | 79 | |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 18% | 82% | |
| Republicans | 13 | 87 | |

**37.** (US Aug 30 '39) If it looks within the next few months as if England and France might be defeared, should the United States declare war on Germany and send our troops abroad? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 44% | 56% = 100% | 10% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 46% | 54% | |
| Republicans | 42 | 58 | |
| (Sept 11 '39) National total | 24% | 76% = 100% | 6% |

**38.** (US Oct 3 '39) If it appears that Germany is defeating England and France, should the United States declare war on Germany and send our army and navy to Europe to fight? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 29% | 71% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 33% | 67% |
| Middle Atlantic | 27 | 73 |
| East central | 25 | 75 |
| West central | 26 | 74 |
| South | 47 | 53 |
| West | 28 | 72 |
| (Jan 30 '40) National total | 23% | 77% |

**39.** (US Sept '39) If England and France go to war against the dictator nations, should we send our army and navy abroad to help them immediately, or only if it is clear they are losing, or not at all? (FOR)

Immediately 3.1% Only if losing 24.5% Not at all 65.6%
Don't know 6.8%

**40.** (US Sept 11 '39) What should be the policy of the United States in the present European war—should we declare war and send our army and navy abroad to fight Germany? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 6% | 94% |
| (Sept 19 '39) | 5% | 95% |
| (Sept 22 '39) | 5% | 95% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper income | 3% | 97% |
| Lower income | 7 | 93 |
| (Oct 18 '39) National total | 3.5% | 96.5% |

**41.** (US Sept 22 '39) Do you think the United States will succeed in staying out of the war? (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 40% = 100% Don't know 26%

**42.** (US Oct '39) Which of these courses of action comes closest to describing what you think the United States should do [about the present European War]: (1) Enter the war at once on the side of England, France, and Poland, and send an army to Europe. (2) Enter the war at once, but send only our navy and air force to help England, France, and Poland. (3) Enter the war on the side of England, France, and Poland only if it looks as though they were losing, and in the meantime help that side with food and materials. (4) Do not enter the war, but supply England, France, and Poland with materials and food, and refuse to ship anything to Germany. (5) Take no sides, and offer to sell to anyone, but on cash-and-carry basis. (6) Refuse any aid of any kind to either side, and refuse to sell anything at all to either side. (7) Find some way of supporting Germany. (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *Statement 5* | *Statement 6* | *Statement 7* | *Other* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| National total | 2.3 | 1.0 | 13.5 | 19.9 | 29.3 | 24.7 | 0.1 | 3.4 | 5.8 |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | | | |
| Men | 2.9 | 1.5 | 13.8 | 20.4 | 34.1 | 20.1 | 0.1 | 3.5 | 3.6 |
| Women | 1.6 | 0.5 | 13.2 | 19.4 | 24.3 | 29.6 | 0.1 | 3.2 | 8.1 |
| BY AGE | | | | | | | | | |
| Under 40 years | 2.2 | 0.8 | 13.2 | 19.8 | 32.0 | 23.2 | 0.1 | 3.3 | 5.4 |
| Over 40 years | 2.4 | 1.2 | 13.7 | 20.0 | 26.8 | 26.1 | 0.1 | 3.5 | 6.2 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 1.1 | 2.7 | 11.9 | 20.0 | 36.2 | 21.7 | — | 5.3 | 1.1 |
| Upper middle class | 2.0 | 1.5 | 12.3 | 19.4 | 33.7 | 23.9 | — | 3.4 | 3.8 |
| Lower middle class | 2.3 | 0.6 | 12.6 | 20.5 | 29.9 | 25.1 | 0.1 | 3.3 | 5.6 |
| Poor | 1.9 | 0.8 | 13.8 | 21.0 | 25.7 | 26.2 | 0.2 | 3.3 | 7.1 |
| BY RACE | | | | | | | | | |
| Negroes | 4.2 | 1.1 | 20.1 | 16.4 | 20.1 | 24.0 | 0.3 | 2.3 | 11.5 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | *Other and don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Northeast | 1.9 | 1.1 | 9.6 | 19.1 | 30.5 | 28.3 | 9.5 |
| Middlewest | 0.6 | 0.8 | 9.9 | 25.5 | 28.7 | 26.9 | 7.6 |
| West plains | 0.6 | — | 4.5 | 16.2 | 35.8 | 32.3 | 10.6 |
| Southeast | 4.9 | 1.9 | 23.0 | 17.9 | 27.4 | 16.5 | 8.4 |
| Southwest | 3.6 | 1.0 | 24.1 | 19.5 | 22.8 | 19.1 | 9.9 |
| Mountain and Pacific states | 1.2 | 0.4 | 9.8 | 18.8 | 32.1 | 25.5 | 12.2 |

**43.** (US Nov '39) Which of these courses of action comes closest to describing what you think the United States should do [about the present European war]? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Enter the war at once on the side of England and France and send an army to Europe | 1.7% |
| Enter on the side of England and France only if it looks as though they were losing, and in the meantime help that side with food and materials | 10.1 |
| Do not enter the war, but supply England and France with materials and food, and refuse to ship anything to Germany | 12.2 |
| Take no sides and offer to sell anything to anybody, but make them pay cash and take it away in their own ships | 36.9 |
| Refuse to sell actual war munitions, but sell the raw materials that go into the making of war supplies to anyone | 6.4 |
| Refuse aid of any kind to either side, and refuse to sell anything at all to either side | 23.7 |
| Find some way of supporting Germany | 0.1 |
| Other | 3.0 |
| Don't know | 5.9 |

**44.** (US Oct 10 '39) Do you think the United States will go into the war in Europe or do you think we will stay out of the war? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with the alternatives in reverse order. Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Will go in* | *Will stay out* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 46% | 54% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 50% | 50% |
| Middle Atlantic | 41 | 59 |
| East central | 45 | 55 |
| West central | 49 | 51 |
| South | 50 | 50 |
| Far West | 51 | 49 |

| | *Will go in* | *Will stay out* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| (Oct 18 '39) National total | 32% | 54% | 14% |
| (Jan 30 '40) | 32% | 68% | |

(May 3 '40) Do you think the United States will go into the war in Europe or do you think we will stay out of the war? A comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think that before the war in Europe is over, the United States will get into it? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Will go in 51% Will stay out 49%

How soon? [Do you think the United States will go into the war in Europe?] Asked of a national cross-section of those who thought the United States would go into the war in Europe.

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than one year | 34% |
| After the 1940 election | 3 |
| One year | 19 |
| One and one-half to two years | 15 |
| More than two years | 4 |
| Miscellaneous indefinite answers | 3 |
| Don't know how soon | 22 |

(Jan 28 '41) Do you think the United States will go into the war in Europe, or do you think we will stay out of the war? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Go in | 44.6% |
| Go in only if it is a long war | 7.3 |
| Go in only if Germany and Italy are winning | 10.6 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Stay out | 26.4% |
| Other | 1.4 |
| Undecided | 9.7 |

**45.** (US Nov 15 '39) Do you think the United States will go into the war in Europe if it lasts another year, or do you think we will stay out of the war? (AIPO)

Go in 26% Stay out 62% Don't know 11% No answer 1%

**46.** (US Nov 15 '39) Do you think the United States will go in or stay out if the war lasts two years? (AIPO)

Go in 42% Stay out 38% Don't know 16% No answer 4%

**47.** (US Nov 15 '39) Do you think the United States will go into the war in Europe if it lasts three years, or stay out of the war? (AIPO)

Go in 46% Stay out 39% Don't know 14% No answer 1%

**48.** (US Nov 15 '39) Do you think the United States will go in or stay out if the war lasts three years? (AIPO)

Go in 55% Stay out 25% Don't know 16% No answer 4%

**49.** (US Dec '39) Which of these courses of action comes closest to describing what you think America should do about the present European war? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Enter the war at once on the side of England and France | 2.5% |
| Stay out now and for as long as we can but go into the war on the side of England and France if they are in real danger of losing, and in the meantime help that side with food and materials | 14.7 |
| Do not enter the war but supply England and France with materials and food, and refuse to ship anything to Germany | 8.9 |
| Take no sides and stay out entirely, but offer to sell to anyone on a cash-and-carry basis | 37.5 |
| Find some way of supporting Germany | 0.2 |
| Have nothing to do with any warring country—don't even trade with them on a cash-and-carry basis | 29.9 |
| Other | 2.4 |
| Don't know | 3.9 |

If it should turn out in practice that only England and France got the supplies would you still say this? Asked of 37.5% of the sample who favored neutrality but who were willing to supply any country on a cash-and-carry basis.

Yes 87.3% No 10.2% Don't know 2.5%

If it should turn out in practice that Germany got a lot of these supplies through Italy or some other nation, would you still say this? Asked of 37.5% of the sample who favored neutrality but who were willing to supply any country on a cash-and-carry basis.

Yes 65.6% No 28.4% Don't know 6.0%

**50.** (US Jan '40) Regardless of what you hope, what do you think the chances are that the United States will be drawn into this war? (FOR)

| | *Sure* | *Probable* | *Fifty-fifty* | *Unlikely* | *Impossible* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9.9% | 29.2% | 22.8% | 22.2% | 4.0% | 11.9% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | | |
| Executives | 7.6% | 25.8% | 23.2% | 35.9% | 3.5% | 4.0% |
| Factory workers | 19.1 | 26.6 | 24.7 | 17.9 | 3.1 | 8.6 |

How soon do you think we shall get into it? Asked of 61.9% of the sample who thought it sure, probable, or fifty-fifty that the United States would be drawn into the war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Under six months | 9.4% |
| Six months to a year | 20.4 |
| One year | 19.2 |
| One to two years | 9.4 |
| Two years or more | 13.0 |
| Don't know | 28.6 |

Those respondents who thought it impossible or didn't know whether the United States would be drawn into the war were excluded from the following question. It was asked of the remaining 84.1% of the sample. If we are drawn in, do you think it will be because:

| | |
|---|---|
| Hitler will have done so many things that feeling will be aroused against him | 34.5% |
| Business interests will have engineered it for their own profit | 21.9 |
| The government will have worked us into a position where we can't help it | 16.1 |
| British and French propaganda will have stirred us up | 14.0 |
| The majority of people think it is necessary for our own good | 10.9 |
| We must defend ourselves or our rights | 3.3 |
| We must help democracies | 1.2 |
| Other | 2.2 |
| Don't know | 6.7 |
| | 110.8%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Nov '40) Regardless of what you hope, what do you think the chances are that the United States will get into this war?

| | *Sure* | *Probable* | *Fifty-fifty* | *Unlikely* | *Impossible* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 14.7% | 33.3% | 22.0% | 19.3% | 1.4% | 9.3% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | | |
| Executives | 13.2% | 34.5% | 23.6% | 19.6% | 3.2% | 5.9% |

**51.** (US Feb 20 '40) Do you think the United States should declare war on Russia and send our army and navy abroad to fight? (AIPO)

Yes 3% No 97% = 100% Don't know 4%

**52.** (US Feb 20 '40) Do you think the United States should declare war on Russia and send our army and navy abroad to help Finland? (AIPO)

Yes 5% No 95% = 100% Don't know 3%

**53.** (US Mar '40) If Germany and Russia form an active military alliance, which one of these statements comes closest to describing what you think the United States should do? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Enter the war at once against them | 4.3% |
| Do not enter the war, but extend all the help we can to the Allies and Finland | 38.7 |
| Do not enter the war, but extend all the help we can to Finland but not to the Allies | 5.6 |
| Continue doing business with any warring nation able to trade with us under our present laws, but extend no further help | 28.9 |
| Trade with no one who is at war | 12.8 |
| Other | 0.6 |
| Don't know | 9.1 |

**54.** (US Mar 8 '40) Do you think the United States should declare war on Germany (at this time) and send our army and navy abroad to fight? (OPOR)

| | Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 2.4% | 96.4% | 1.2% |
| (Apr 17 '40) (AIPO) | 5.0 | 93.0 | 2.0 |
| (May 16 '44) (AIPO) | | | |
| National total | 7.0 | 93.0 | |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 8% | 92% | |
| Republicans | 6 | 94 | |
| (June 11 '40) (AIPO) | | | |
| National total | 9 | 91 = 100% | 4% |
| (Sept 30) (AIPO) | 6 | 94 = 100 | 6 |

**55.** (US Mar 8 '40) If Germany appears to be defeating England and France, which of the following should the United States do? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Declare war on Germany and send troops abroad | 8.7% |
| Do everything possible to help England and France without actually going to war | 52.1 |
| Do what we are now doing | 25.8 |
| Do less than we are now doing | 6.0 |
| Undecided between first and second alternatives | 3.6 |
| No opinion | 3.8 |

**56.** (US Mar 8 '40) If Russia joins Germany in her fight against the Allies, what should the United States do? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Declare war on Germany and Russia and send our army and navy abroad to fight | 9.8% |
| Do everything possible to help England and France without actually going to war | 51.1 |
| Do what we are now doing | 24.2 |
| Do less than we are now doing | 5.4 |
| Undecided between first and second alternatives | 4.5 |
| No opinion | 5.0 |

**57.** (US Mar 24 '40) If it appears that Germany is defeating England and France, how far do you think the United States should go in helping England and France? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Give England and France no help—stop selling them airplanes and war supplies | 19% |
| Keep on selling them war supplies and other goods for cash | 57 |
| Let them buy goods here on credit supplied by our government | 14 |
| Declare war on Germany and send our army and navy abroad to fight | 10 |
| No opinion | (4%) |

(Mar 26 '40) Should we declare war on Germany and send our army and navy abroad to fight?

Yes 7% No 93% = 100% No opinion 9%

**58.** (US May 14 '40) At the present time, which of the following should the United States do about helping England and France: (1) Do less than we are doing now; (2) do no more or no less than we are now; (3) do everything possible to help England and France except go to war; (4) declare war on Germany and send our army and navy to Europe? (AIPO)

| | Statement 1 | Statement 2 | Statement 3 | Statement 4 | Other | No opinion | Undecided | No answer |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 6% | 19% | 67% | 4% | | 4% | | |
| (May 23 '40) (AIPO) | 6 | 21 | 65 | 4 | * | 4 | | |
| (June 11 '40) (AIPO) | 5 | 12 | 73 | 5 | 1% | 4 | | |
| (June 25 '40) (AIPO) | 8 | 15 | 67 | 5 | 1 | 4 | | |
| (July 20 '40) (OPOR) | 6 | 72 | 14 | 3 | 1 | | 3% | 1% |
| (Sept 17 '40) (AIPO) | 5 | 11 | 76 | 5 | 1 | | 2 | |

| | Statement 1 | Statement 2 | Statement 3 | Statement 4 | No opinion | Undecided between 1 & 2 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Apr 17 '40) (AIPO) | 9% | 52% | 27% | 5% | 3% | 4% |

**59.** (US Dec 11 '40) At the present time which of the following should the United States do about helping England: (1) Do nothing or less than we are doing now; (2) do no more or no less than we are now; (3) do everything possible to help England except go to war; (4) declare war on Germany and Italy and send our army and navy to Europe. (OPOR)

| | Statement 1 | Statement 2 | Statement 3 | Statement 4 | Other | Undecided |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 5% | 12% | 78% | 3% | 1% | 1% |
| (Mar 29 '41) | 5 | 12 | 73 | 7 | 1 | 2 |
| (Apr 25 '41) | 6 | 14 | 67 | 9 | 1 | 3 |

**60.** (US May 29 '40) If the question of the United States going to war against Germany came up for a national vote within the next two or three weeks, would you vote to go to war (go into the war or stay out of the war)? (AIPO)

Yes 16% No 84%

(June 11 '40) Go in 19% Stay out 81%

(June 25 '40) If the question of the United States going to war against Germany and Italy came up for a national vote within the next two or three weeks, would you vote to go into the war or to stay out of the war? A comparable cross-section was asked about a national vote within the next week. Results were combined.

| | Go in | Stay out | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 14% | 86% = 100% | 8% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 14% | 86% | |
| East central | 10 | 90 | |
| West central | 11 | 89 | |
| South | 23 | 77 | |
| West | 16 | 84 | |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 10% | 90% | |
| Middle income | 14 | 86 | |
| Lower income | 16 | 84 | |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 19% | 81% | |
| Republicans | 9 | 91 | |

(July 3 '40) If the question of the United States going to war against Germany and Italy came up for a national vote within the next two or three weeks, would you vote to go into the war or to stay out of the war? A comparable cross-section was asked about a vote of the people. Results were combined.

Go in 15% Stay out 85%

**61.** (US Sept 26 '40) If you were asked to vote today on the question of the United States entering the war against Germany and Italy, how would you vote—to go into the war, or to stay out of the war? (AIPO)

| | Go in | Stay out |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 17% | 83% |

BY POLITICS

| | *Go in* | *Stay out* |
|---|---|---|
| Democrats | 19% | 81% |
| Republicans | 15 | 85 |

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England | 18% | 82% |
| Middle Atlantic | 20 | 80 |
| East central | 12 | 88 |
| West central | 14 | 86 |
| South | 24 | 76 |
| West | 20 | 80 |

(Nov 30 '40) (AIPO)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 12% | 88% |

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 13% | 87% |
| East central | 10 | 90 |
| West central | 9 | 91 |
| South | 17 | 83 |
| Far West | 14 | 86 |

| | *Go in* | *Stay out* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| (Dec 31 '40) (AIPO) | | | |
| National total | 15% | 85% = 100% | 9% |

BY AGE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 21–29 years | 10% | 90% |
| 30–49 years | 15 | 85 |
| 50 years and over | 20 | 80 |

| | *Go in* | *Stay out* |
|---|---|---|
| (Jan 28 '41) (OPOR) | | |
| National total | 14% | 86% |

BY SEX

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Men | 19% | 81% |
| Women | 10 | 90 |

BY AGE AND SEX

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Men* | | |
| 21–29 years | 13% | 87% |
| 30–49 years | 20 | 80 |
| 50 years and over | 22 | 78 |
| *Women* | | |
| 21–29 years | 10 | 90 |
| 30–49 years | 11 | 89 |
| 50 years and over | 10 | 80 |

BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION (ABOUT EUROPEAN AFFAIRS*)

| | *Go in* | *Stay out* | *Undecided or qualified* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Well-informed | 17% | 78% | 5% |
| Fairly well-informed | 13 | 81 | 6 |
| Uninformed | 12 | 78 | 10 |

* Groups were formed by gauging a series of questions about European affairs and geography.

| | *Go in* | *Stay out* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| (Feb 27 '41) (AIPO) National total | 7% | 83% | |
| (Feb 28 '41) (AIPO) | 14 | 86 | (6%) |
| (Apr 8 '41) (AIPO) | 19 | 81 | |
| (Apr 25 '41) (AIPO) National total | 21% | 79% | |

BY STATE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wisconsin | 14% | 86% |
| Minnesota | 15 | 85 |
| Iowa | 15% | 85% |
| Indiana | 15 | 85 |
| Ohio | 15 | 85 |
| Massachusetts | 17 | 83 |
| New Hampshire | 17 | 83 |
| Illinois | 17 | 83 |
| Michigan | 18 | 82 |
| Nebraska | 18 | 82 |
| South Dakota | 18 | 82 |
| Connecticut | 19 | 81 |
| Kansas | 20 | 80 |
| North Dakota | 21 | 79 |
| Maine | 21 | 79 |
| Rhode Island | 22 | 78 |
| Pennsylvania | 22 | 78 |
| Washington | 22 | 78 |
| Vermont | 23 | 77 |
| New Jersey | 23 | 77 |
| Missouri | 23 | 77 |
| South Carolina | 23 | 77 |
| California | 23 | 77 |
| New York | 24 | 76 |
| New Mexico | 24 | 76 |
| Nevada | 24 | 76 |
| Delaware | 25 | 75 |
| Oklahoma | 25 | 75 |
| Louisiana | 26 | 74 |
| Tennessee | 26 | 74 |
| Montana | 26 | 74 |
| Utah | 26 | 74 |
| Maryland | 27 | 73 |
| West Virginia | 27 | 73 |
| Kentucky | 27 | 73 |
| Idaho | 27 | 73 |
| Oregon | 27 | 73 |
| Georgia | 28 | 72 |
| Arkansas | 28 | 72 |
| Virginia | 28 | 72 |
| Mississippi | 28 | 72 |
| Colorado | 28 | 72 |
| North Carolina | 29 | 71 |
| Alabama | 29 | 71 |
| Texas | 29 | 71 |
| Arizona | 33 | 67 |
| Florida | 35 | 65 |
| Special groups* | 22 | 78 |
| All others | 20 | 80 |

* Families of men now in service, men who would expect to go into service if army is greatly increased, and families of the latter.

If it appeared certain that there was no other way of defeating Germany and Italy, except for the United States to go to war against them, would you be in favor of the United States going into war? Asked of 79% of the total sample who thought the United States should stay out of the war. (AIPO)

Yes 72% No 28% = 100% No opinion 8%

(June 7 '41) If you were asked to vote today on the question of the United States entering the war now against Germany and Italy, how would you vote—to go into the war now, or to stay out of the war? (AIPO)

| | *Go in* | *Stay out* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 24% | 76% | — |
| (June 24 '41) (AIPO) | 21 | 79 | — |
| (July 9 '41) (AIPO) | 26 | 67 | 7% |

Would you say we should not go into the war under any conditions, unless we are invaded or do you think there are

conditions under which we should go to war before invasion? Asked of 74% of the sample who thought the United States should stay out or had no opinion about going to war. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should fight only if invaded | 28% |
| Sometimes should fight before invaded | 38 |
| Undecided or no answer | 8 |

(July 22 '41) If you were asked to vote today on the question of the United States entering the war now against Germany and Italy, how would you vote—to go into the war now, or to stay out of the war? (AIPO)

| | *Go in* | *Stay out* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 19% | 76% | 5% |
| (July 29 '41) (AIPO) | 20 | 75 | 5 |
| (Aug 5 '41) (AIPO) | 20 | 75 | 5 |
| (Aug 19 '41) (AIPO) | 74 | 20 | 6 |
| (Aug 27 '41) (AIPO) | 21 | 74 | 5 |
| (Sept 9 '41) (AIPO) | 26 | 69 | 5 |

**62.** (May 29 '41) If you were asked to vote today on the question of the United States entering the war now against Germany, Italy, and Japan, how would you vote—to go into the war now, or to stay out of the war? (AIPO)

| | *Go in* | *Stay out* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 27% | 68% | 5% |
| (June 7 '41) | 20 | 76 | 4 |

**63.** (July 1 '40) Which of these comes closest to expressing what you think the United States should do now—(1) Enter the war at once on the side of the Allies, (2) help the Allies and go to war only if the Allies seem sure to lose; (3) help the Allies but never enter the war; (4) take no sides; (5) help Germany. (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *Statement 5* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 7.7% | 19.2% | 40.6% | 26.0% | 0.2% | 6.3% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | | |
| | | | | | *Statement 5 and Don't know* | |
| New England | 4.7% | 15.5% | 60.1% | 14.9% | 4.8% | |
| Middle West | 3.3 | 14.3 | 35.4 | 41.8 | 5.2 | |
| Southwest | 12.2 | 23.5 | 43.5 | 17.3 | 3.5 | |

**64.** (US July 3 '40) Do you think we are giving enough help to England or do you think ways should be found to give England more help than we are at present, but short of going to war? (AIPO)

| | *More help* | *Enough help now* | *Less help* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 53% | 41% | 6% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 56% | 38% | 6% |
| Republicans | 50 | 44 | 6 |

**65.** (US Aug '40) Do you think we should do more than we are now doing to help England against Germany? (FOR)

Yes 34.2% No 57.4% Don't know 8.4%

Which of these things do you think we should do to help? Asked of 34.2% of the sample who thought we should do more to help England.

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Furnish materials and supplies | 98.2% | 0.3% | 1.5% |
| Encourage Americans to volunteer to fight for England | 26.9 | 66.9 | 6.2 |
| Send our air force | 21.2 | 71.8 | 7.0 |
| Send our navy | 20.4 | 73.5 | 6.1 |
| Send our army | 14.7 | 79.0 | 6.3 |

**66.** (US Aug '40) As things look now, do you think the United States will actually get into the war? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 37.0% |
| Yes, if England holds on | 2.5 |
| Yes, if England collapses | 4.3 |
| No | 44.8 |
| Don't know | 11.4 |

**67.** (US May 23 '40) Which of these two things do you think is the more important for the United States to try to do—keep out of war ourselves, or to help England and France win, even at the risk of getting into the war? A comparable cross-section was asked with the alternatives reversed. Results were combined. (AIPO)

Keep out 64% Help England 36%

**68.** (US June 25 '40) Which of these two things do you think is the more important for the United States to try to do—to keep out of war ourselves, or to help England win, even at the risk of getting into the war? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with the alternatives reversed. Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Keep out* | *Help England* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 64% | 36% |
| (July 20 '40) (OPOR) | 61 | 39 |
| (Aug 22 '40) (AIPO) | 53 | 47 |
| (Sept 30 '40) (AIPO) | | |
| National total | 48% | 52% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 48% | 52% |
| East central | 52 | 48 |
| West central | 57 | 43 |
| South | 30 | 70 |
| West | 46 | 54 |
| (Oct 22 '40) (AIPO) National total | 50% | 50% |

| | *Keep out* | *Help England* | *No choice* |
|---|---|---|---|
| (Nov 19 '40) (AIPO) | | | |
| National total | 40% | 60% = 100% | 2% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 38% | 62% | |
| East central | 46 | 54 | |
| West central | 46 | 54 | |
| South | 25 | 75 | |
| West | 35 | 65 | |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Willkie voters | 40% | 60% | |
| Roosevelt voters | 38 | 62 | |

Would you be in favor of the United States going to war against Germany if you were sure we could win? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who thought the important thing for the United States to do was to keep out of war rather than help England. (AIPO)

Yes 17% No 71% Undecided 12%

(Dec 11 '40) Which of these two things do you think is the more important for the United States to do? (OPOR)

| | *Keep out* | *Help England* | *No choice* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 38% | 58% | 4% |
| (Dec 11 '40) (OPOR) | 37 | 60 | 3 |

(Jan 29 '41) Which of these two things do you think is the more important for the United States to try to do—to keep out of war ourselves; to help England win, even at the risk of getting into the war? A comparable cross-section was asked: Which of these two things do you think is more important—that this country keep out of war, or that Germany be defeated, even at the risk of our getting into the war? Results were combined. (OPOR)

| | *Keep out* | *Help England* | *No choice* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 35% | 60% | 5% |
| BY DEGREES OF INFORMATION (ABOUT EUROPEAN AFFAIRS*) | | | |
| Well-informed | 30% | 66% | 4% |
| Fairly well-informed | 35 | 62 | 3 |
| Uninformed | 43 | 47 | 10 |

* Groups were formed by gauging a series of questions about European affairs and geography.

(Mar 12 '41) Which of these two things do you think is more important for the United States to try to do—to keep out of war ourselves, or to help England win, even at the risk of getting into the war? (OPOR)

| | *Keep out* | *Help England* | *No choice* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 33% | 67% | — |
| (Mar 29 '41) (OPOR) | 27 | 70 | 3% |
| (Mar 29 '41) (OPOR) | 26 | 71 | 3 |

(Dec 31 '40) Which of these two things do you think is the more important for the United States to try to do—to keep out of war ourselves, or to help England win, even at the risk of getting into the war? A comparable cross-section was asked: Which of these two things do you think is the more important—that this country keep out of war, or that Germany be defeated, even at the risk of getting ourselves into the war? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Keep out* | *Help England* | *No choice* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 32% | 68% | |
| (Apr 25 '41) (AIPO) | | | |
| National total | 38% | 62% | |
| Special group* | 38 | 62 | |
| All others | 39 | 61 | |

| | *Keep out* | *Help England* | *No choice* |
|---|---|---|---|
| (May 6 '41) (AIPO) National total | 41% | 54% | 5% |
| (May 29 '41) (AIPO) | 39 | 58 | 3 |
| (July 10 '41) (OPOR) | 33 | 61 | 6 |

* Families of men now in service, men who would expect to go into service if army is greatly increased, and families of the latter.

(Sept 17 '41) Which of these two things do you think is the more important—that this country keep out of war, or that Germany be defeated? A comparable cross-section was asked: Which of these two things do you think is more important for the United States to try to do—to keep out of war ourselves, or to help Britain even at the risk of getting into the war? Results were combined. (OPOR)

| | *That Germany be defeated* | *That United States stay out* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 70% | 30% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 77% | 23% |
| Republicans | 64 | 36 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 70% | 30% |
| East central | 63 | 37 |
| West central | 64 | 36 |
| South | 88 | 12 |
| West | 69 | 31 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper income | 76% | 24% |
| Middle income | 74 | 26 |
| Lower income | 65 | 35 |

**69.** (US Mar 12 '41) Which one of these three statements best expresses how strongly you feel—that it is more important to try to [keep out of war than to help England]; [help England than to keep out of war]? Each respondent was handed a card with the following statements: (1) I am not at all strongly convinced on this matter; (2) I guess it is the best thing to do; (3) I am absolutely convinced that this is what ought to be done. (OPOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Help England | 7.5% | 28.3% | 64.2% |
| Keep out | 20.2 | 32.4 | 47.4 |

What is your chief reason for thinking it is more important to try to [keep out of war than to help England]; [help England than to keep out of war]?

*Keep out*

| | |
|---|---|
| Reasons concerned with the character of the war aims | 3.4% |
| Appeals to economic self-interest | 13.2 |
| Military disadvantages attendant upon our involvement | 5.8 |
| Economic, social, and cultural consequences of involvement | 4.0 |
| General isolationist point of view | 16.2 |
| Pacifist appeals | 31.1 |
| Specific personal reasons | 3.5 |
| Other reasons | 22.8 |

*Help England*

| | |
|---|---|
| Economic advantages to the United States of an English victory | 5.2 |
| Military advantages of a "Help England" policy | 53.6 |
| Ideological stakes in an English victory | 16.5 |
| Other reasons | 24.7 |

**70.** (US Dec 10 '40) Which of these two things do you think is the more important—that this country keep out of war, or that Germany be defeated? (OPOR)

| | *Keep out of war* | *Germany be defeated* | *No choice* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 38% | 57% | 5% |
| (Dec 11 '40) | 41 | 55 | 4 |
| (Dec 16 '40) | 40 | 60 | |
| (July 10 '41) | 31 | 62 | 7 |
| (Nov 5 '41) | 32 | 68 | |
| (Nov 19 '41) | 28 | 67 | 5 |

What is your chief reason for thinking it is more important that Germany be defeated? Asked of 67% of the sample who thought it more important that Germany be defeated than that this country keep out of war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Economic threat and dislocations | 4% |
| Ideological emphasis | 21 |
| Protection of our way of life | 12 |
| Military advantages to us | 18 |
| Other | 10 |
| No answer | * |
| Don't know | 2 |
| Question misunderstood | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

What is your chief reason for thinking it is more important that this country keep out of war? Asked of 28% of the sample who thought it more important that this country keep out of war than that Germany be defeated.

| | |
|---|---|
| Reasons concerned with the character of war aims | * |
| Appeals to economic self-interest | 2% |
| Military disadvantages attendant upon our involvement | 2 |
| Economic, social and cultural consequences of involvement | 1 |
| General isolationist point of view | 5 |
| Pacifist appeals | 11 |
| Specific personal problems | 1 |
| Other reasons | 4 |
| No answer | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

If you were asked to vote today on the question of the United States entering the war now against Germany and Italy, how would you vote—to go into the war now or to stay out of the war? Asked of 72% of the sample who thought it more important that Germany be defeated than that this country keep out of war, or who had no choice.

Go in 30% Stay out 34% No opinion 8%

**71.** (US Mar 19 '41) Do you think the United States should send part of our army to Europe to help the English? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 17% | 79% | 4% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 15% | 81% | 4% |
| East central | 16 | 80 | 4 |
| West central | 13 | 82 | 5 |
| South | 25 | 68 | 7 |
| West | 19 | 78 | 3 |

**72.** (US Jan 9 '41) Does it seem to you that the United States is already in the European War? (AIPO)

Yes 48% No 42% Undecided 10%

**73.** (US Jan 22 '41) If you and some of your friends were discussing the question of whether or not we will get into the war, and someone said we were actually in the war already, would you agree or disagree with him? (AIPO)

Agree 38% Disagree 54% Don't know 8%

**74.** (US June '41) Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Even though we are not actually fighting, we are now so much involved in the war that we are in it for all practical purposes. (FOR)

Agree 79.5% Disagree 10.9% Don't know 9.6%

**75.** (US Sept 17 '41) Some people say that the United States is already in the war. In general, do you agree, or disagree? (AIPO)

Agree 56% Disagree 33% Qualified answer 5%
No opinion 6%

**76.** (US July 9 '41) Which of these two things do you think is the more important—that this country keep out of war, or that Germany be defeated, even at the risk of our getting into the war? A comparable cross-section was asked: Which of these two things do you think is more important for the United States to try to do? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Keep out of war* | *Defeat Germany* | *No choice* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 38% | 57% | 5% |
| (Oct 7 '41) | | | |
| National total | 68% | 32% | |
| Union members | 66 | 34 | |

**77.** (US May 6 '41) Would you rather see Britain surrender to Germany than have the United States go into the war? A comparable cross-section was asked: Would you prefer to have the United States go into the war, rather than see Britain surrender to Germany? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Britain surrender 26% United States go to war 62%
No opinion 12%

**78.** (US Nov '41) Which of these two things do you think is more important for the United States to try to do—(1) to stay out of the war, even at the risk of having Germany win; (2) to do everything we can to help defeat Germany even if this means getting into the war ourselves? (NORC)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *No choice* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 17.7% | 68.0% | 14.3% |
| (Nov 13 '41) | 20 | 70 | 10 |

**79.** (US Feb 27 '41) If you were asked to vote on the question of the United States going to war against Japan, how would you vote—to go to war, or not to go to war? (AIPO)

Go to war 14% Qualified answer 9% Not go to war 66%
Don't know 11%

**80.** (US Feb 28 '41) If you were asked to vote today on the question of the United States going to war and sending men to fight Japan, how would you vote—to go to war, or not to go to war? (AIPO)

Go to war 11% Qualified answer 4% Not go to war 76%
Don't know 9%

**81.** (US May 29 '41) If our going into the war now meant going to war against Japan, in addition to Germany and Italy, how would you vote—to go in now, or to stay out? (AIPO)

Go in 22% Stay out 73% No opinion 5%

**82.** (US May 29 '41) If Japan does not enter the war, how would you vote—to go into the war against Germany and Italy now, or to stay out of the war? (AIPO)

Go in 30% Stay out 65% No opinion 5%

**83.** (US Aug 5 '41) If you were asked to vote today on the question of the United States going to war now against Japan, how would you vote—to go to war now against Japan, or to stay out of the war with Japan? (AIPO)

Go in 24% Stay out 76% No opinion (8%)

**84.** (US Aug 5 '41) Should the United States go to war now against Japan? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 22% | 78% | = 100% | 11% |
| (Oct 22 '41) | 13 | 74 | | 13 |

**85.** (US Nov 25 '41) Do you think the United States will go to war against Japan some time in the near future? (AIPO)

Yes 52% No 27% Undecided 21%

**86.** (US Apr '41) Regardless of what you hope, what do you think the chances are that we will send an air force to Europe? a navy? an army? (FOR)

| | *Air force* | *Navy* | *Army* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sure | 11.5% | 10.5% | 7.0% |
| Probable | 31.4 | 31.4 | 17.9 |
| Fifty-fifty | 17.8 | 17.2 | 12.5 |
| Unlikely | 24.0 | 25.3 | 43.1 |
| Impossible | 1.5 | 1.7 | 4.7 |
| Don't know | 13.8 | 13.9 | 14.8 |

**87.** (US Apr '41) Would you be in favor of sending an air force to Europe? A navy? An army? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Air force | 35.5% | 57.5% | 7.0% |
| Navy | 33.5 | 59.4 | 7.1 |
| Army | 21.5 | 71.2 | 7.3 |

| | *Yes* | *No and don't know* |
|---|---|---|
| (June '41) | | |
| Air force | 36.5% | 63.5% |
| Navy | 37.6 | 62.4 |
| Army | 24.7 | 75.3 |

**88.** (US June '41) Regardless of what you hope, what do you think the chances are that we will send a navy to Europe? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sure | 17.9% |
| Probable | 37.1 |
| Fifty-fifty | 15.8 |
| Unlikely | 16.3 |
| Impossible | 1.4 |
| Don't know | 11.5 |

**89.** (US Apr 8 '41) If it appeared certain that there was no other way to defeat Germany and Italy except for the United States to go to war against them, would you be in favor of the United States going into the war? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 68% | 24% | 8% |

| | *Yes* | *No and no opinion* |
|---|---|---|
| Special group* | 68% | 32% |
| All others | 66 | 34 |

* Families of men now in service, men who would expect to go into service if army is greatly increased, and families of the latter.

**90.** (US May 20 '41) If Roosevelt and our leading military experts say that Britain will be defeated unless we go into the war in the near future, would you favor, or oppose, going into the war within a few days? (AIPO)

Favor 49% Oppose 43% Don't know 8%

**91.** (US May 20 '41) If President Roosevelt says that military information in his possession makes him feel cerrain that Britain will be defeated unless the United States goes into the war immediately, would you favor, or oppose, going into the war now? (AIPO)

Favor 54% Oppose 40% Don't know 6%

**92.** (US Nov 19 '41) If our present leaders and military advisors say that the only way to defeat Germany is for this country to go into the war, would you be in favor of this country's going into the war against Germany? (OPOR)

Yes 70% No 24% No opinion 6%

**93.** (US May 6 '41) Some people say that if the United States goes on helping England, Germany may starr a war against our country. Do you think we should continue to help England, even if we run this risk? (AIPO)

Yes 76% No 21% No opinion 3%

**94.** (US May 6 '41) Please tell me which of these policies you think the United States should follow at the present time: (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Go to war at once against Germany and Italy | 6% |
| Supply Britain with all war materials we can and also use our navy to convoy ships carrying these materials to Britain | 36 |
| Supply Britain with all war materials we can, but do *not* use our navy to convoy rhese materials | 46 |
| Stop all further aid to Britain | 7 |
| Others | 1 |
| No opinion | 4 |

**95.** (Great Britain June '41) Do you think that America will come into the war? (BIPO)

Yes 72% No 14% Don't know 14%

**96.** (Great Britain Aug 30 '41) Do you think America will come fully into the war? (BIPO)

Yes 57% No 23% Don't know 20%

When [do you think America will come into the war]? Asked of 57% of the sample who thought she would.

Next year 35% Next summer 43% By end of next year 22%

**97.** (US June 24 '41) Should the United States enter the war now? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 18% | 77% | 5% |
| (July 9 '41) | 14 | 79 | 7 |

Would you say we should not go into the war under any conditions, unless we are invaded, or do you think there are conditions under which we should go to war before invasion? Asked of 86% of the sample who thought the United States should not enter the war, or had no opinion on the subject.

| | |
|---|---|
| Should fight only if invaded | 31% |
| Sometimes should fight before invaded | 44 |
| Undecided or no answer | 11 |

(July 29 '41) Should the United States enter the war now?

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 20% | 80% | — |
| (Aug 5 '41) | 15 | 78 | 7% |
| (Aug 19 '41) | 15 | 80 | 5 |
| (Aug 26 '41) | 15 | 80 | 5 |
| (Sept 17 '41) | 21 | 79 | — |
| (Oct 22 '41) | 24 | 68.5 | 7.5 |

**98.** (US Sept 17 '41) Should the United States go into the war now and send an army to Europe to fight? (AIPO)

Yes 9% No 87% No opinion 4%

**99.** (US July 10 '41) Some people say that since Germany is now fighting Russia, as well as Britain, it is not as necessary for this country to help Britain. Do you agree or disagree with this? (OPOR)

Agree 20% Disagree 72% No opinion 8%

**100.** (US July 10 '41) Some people say that since Germany will probably defeat Russia within a few weeks and rhen turn her full strength against Britain, it is more important than ever that we help Britain. Do you agree or disagree with this? (OPOR)

Agree 71% Disagree 19% No opinion 10%

**101.** (US July 22 '41) In your opinion, it seems more important for the United States to help Britain even at the risk of our getting into the war, than to keep out of war ourselves. What, then, is the main reason why you said the United States

should not enter the war now? Asked of a national cross-section of people who were against entering the war, but thought it important to help Britain. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| United States not prepared | 20.1% |
| Wait and watch for new developments | 18.7 |
| We furnish the tools, they do the fighting | 24.3 |
| We can be more effective if we stay out | 6.7 |
| Self-interest | 4.4 |
| We are in no danger | 1.1 |
| Fear of German aggression | 5.7 |
| Sympathy for Britain's principles | 0.6 |
| Keep our men at home | 9.5 |
| Others | 5.4 |
| No comment | 3.5 |

**102.** (US Aug '41) What do you think are England's chances of winning if we don't get any further into the war than we are now? If we use our navy to make sure that supplies get over there? If we go into the war with all of our military forces? (FOR)

| | *If we go no further* | *If we use our navy* | *If we use all military forces* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sure | 4.9% | 21.7% | 63.2% |
| Probable | 12.6 | 36.3 | 19.8 |
| Fifty-fifty | 26.3 | 21.5 | 4.1 |
| Poor | 25.4 | 4.2 | 1.1 |
| Hopeless | 15.2 | 1.1 | 0.5 |
| Don't know | 15.6 | 15.2 | 11.3 |

**103.** (US Sept 9 '41) Some people say this is our war. Do you agree or disagree? (AIPO)

Agree 39% Disagree 51% No opinion 10%

**104.** (US Sept 9 '41) Some people say this is not our war. Do you agree, or disagree? (AIPO)

Agree 43% Disagree 51% No opinion 6%

**105.** (US Sept 9 '41) Please tell me which of these statements comes closest to the way you feel about our country staying out of the war now. Asked of a national cross-section of those who said they would vote against the United States entering the war. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| We should not fight unless we are attacked | 44% |
| I am sure we should not go into the war now, but I might change my mind later | 31 |
| We should not go into the war now, but we should later when we are better prepared | 16 |
| No opinion and no answer | 8 |
| Other | 1 |

**106.** (US Sept 9 '41) Please tell me which of these statements comes closest to the way you feel about our country going into the war now. Asked of a national cross-section of people who said they would vote for the United States to enter the war. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| We should go into the war right now and send all possible aid abroad including part of our army, our navy, and our air force | 37% |
| We should go into the war now but not send an army abroad at present | 56 |
| No opinion | 5 |
| Other | 2 |

**107.** (US Oct 7 '41) What persons or groups do you think are most active in trying to keep us out of the war? (AIPO)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| America First | 23% | Lindbergh | 21% |
| Pacifists | 10 | Wheeler | 14 |
| Churches | 5 | Nye | 5 |
| Foreigners | 7% | Other | 21% |
| Administration | 13 | No answer | 19 |
| Public Opinion | 7 | | |

**108.** (US Oct 7 '41) What persons or groups do you think are most active in trying to get us into the war? (AIPO)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Administration | 19% | Big business | 17% |
| Cabinet | 5 | No one | 9 |
| Foreigners | 13 | Other | 33 |
| Jews | 6 | No answer | 25 |

**109.** (US Oct 22 '41) Do you think the United States should at this time send part of our army to Europe to help Britain? (AIPO)

Yes 13% No 82% No opinion 5%

**110.** (US Oct 22 '41) Should the United States declare war on Germany now? (AIPO)

Yes 17% No 74% No opinion 9%

**111.** (US Nov '41) Which one of the following statements concerning the United States and the war in Europe comes closest to representing your attitude? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| The government may have brought us closer to the war in Europe than is necessary, but now that it has gone as far as it has, the best thing is to support the government's program | 24.0% |
| The government has not been active enough regarding the war. The United States should have been of more help to those countries in fighting Germany | 10.4 |
| The government has brought us much closer to the war in Europe than is necessary. The best thing now is to stop doing anything that might bring us closer to the war | 11.0 |
| The government has correctly recognized that Hitler is a threat to the United States, and in general it has followed the best course in doing all it can to defeat Hitler | 44.2 |
| Don't know | 10.4 |

In what way could the United States have been of more help to those countries fighting Germany? Asked of 10.4% of the sample who thought the government had not been active enough regarding the war.

Answers concerning aid and defense program:

| | |
|---|---|
| (a) Should have sent more aid quicker to countries fighting Hitler | 36% |
| (b) Should be getting more aid to countries fighting Hitler | 21 |
| (c) Defense program should have been started sooner | 12 |
| Should actively enter war with manpower | 25 |
| Other reasons | 10 |
| Don't know | 4 |
| | 108%** |

* One out of ten in these groups referred to labor strikes as a cause for preventing action.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**112.** (US Nov '41) Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? At the present time the United States should send its (navy, air force, army) any place where it could best help to defeat Hitler. (NORC)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Navy | 58.7% | 32.3% | 9.0% |
| Air force | 53.6 | 36.2 | 10.2 |
| Army | 41.5 | 48.0 | 10.5 |

**113.** (US Nov '41) Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? If it appeared certain that Hitler would win

the war in Europe, would you agree or disagree that the United States should send its (navy, air force, army) any place where it could best help to defeat Hitler? (NORC)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Navy | 52.8% | 32.2% | 15.0% |
| Air force | 53.2 | 31.8 | 15.0 |
| Army | 53.6 | 33.0 | 13.4 |

**114.** (US Nov 5 '41) If, in trying to defeat Germany, it becomes necessary to send a large American army to Europe, would you favor this step? (AIPO)

Yes 47% No 46% No opinion 7%

**115.** (US Nov 5 '41) Would you personally like to have Wendell Willkie take the lead in trying to get Congress to do away with the Neutrality Act? (AIPO)

Yes 24% No 48% No opinion 16% Not familiar 10% No answer 2%

**116.** (US Dec 10 '41) Do you approve or disapprove of Congress declaring war against Japan? (AIPO)

Approve 96% Disapprove 2% No opinion 2%

**117.** (US June 17 '42) Before the Japs attacked us at Pearl Harbor, a lot of people thought we should try to keep out of war rather than run the risk of getting in by sending supplies to England and Russia. Were you in favor of risking war by sending supplies to England or were you in favor of trying to keep out of war? (OPOR)

Favored running risk 63% Favored trying to keep out 33% No opinion 4%

**118.** (US Feb 1 '44) Do you think that in years to come people will say the United States should have avoided getting into this war? (AIPO)

Yes 31% No 54% Don't know 15%

**119.** (US Feb 1 '44) Do you think people will say we could have avoided it [getting into this war]? (AIPO)

Yes 37% No 50% Don't know 13%

**120.** (US Feb 2 '44) Do you think that in years to come people will say it was a mistake for us to have entered this war? (AIPO)

Yes 26% No 60% Don't know 14%

**121.** (US Feb 2 '44) Do you think you, yourself, will feel it was a mistake for us to have entered this war? (AIPO)

Yes 14% No 77% Don't know 9%

**122.** (US Apr 12 '44) Twenty years from now do you think that many people will look upon our going into the war against Germany as a mistake? (AIPO)

Yes 23% No 59% Don't know 18%

Do you think that this will be your opinion? Asked of 23% of the sample who thought many people would look upon our going into the war against Germany as a mistake.

Yes 65% No 22% No opinion 13%

**123.** (US Apr '45) Do you think this war is as much America's war as it is England's, or do you think it is more England's war than ours? (NORC)

As much ours 51% More England's 41% Don't know 8%

**124.** (US Apr '45) Each respondent was handed a card with the statements of intensity of feeling listed below before the interviewer made the statement: When I read the following statement, look at that card and tell me how much you agree or disagree with what I say. This war is more England's war than it is ours. (NORC)

I agree very much 27%
I tend to agree 17
I don't think I know 14
I tend to disagree 22
I disagree very much 20

**125.** (US Apr 10 '46) Do you think it was a mistake for the United States to enter World War II? (AIPO)

Yes 15% No 77% No opinion 8%

## Politics and Government

**1.** (US Nov 24 '35) Do you approve of the acts and policies of Roosevelt's first two years? (AIPO)

Yes 44% No 56%

**2.** (US Jan '36) Do you believe that any of the following abuse their power? Bankers, press, radio, pulpit, veterans. (FOR)

| | *Press* % | *Bankers* % | *Pulpit* % | *Veterans* % | *Radio* % | *Don't know* % | *None of them* % | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41.8 | 38.3 | 26.0 | 23.4 | 21.8 | 7.0 | 27.8 | = 186.1* |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 42.4 | 40.3 | 26.5 | 29.8 | 26.1 | 3.8 | 27.6 | = 196.5* |
| Upper middle | 48.5 | 42.0 | 30.4 | 28.4 | 27.2 | 5.3 | 25.7 | = 207.5* |
| Lower middle | 43.0 | 39.6 | 24.8 | 21.6 | 20.8 | 6.5 | 24.0 | = 180.3* |
| Poor | 34.8 | 33.4 | 20.8 | 14.5 | 16.2 | 8.9 | 30.9 | = 159.5* |
| BY RACE | | | | | | | | |
| Negroes | 24.6 | 20.7 | 27.6 | 12.5 | 12.1 | 9.1 | — | = 106.6* |
| (Aug '38) National total | 24.5 | 22.3 | 9.6 | 7.3 | 5.1 | 11.7 | 19.5 | = 100.0 |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents mentioned more than one group.

**3.** (US Jan 25 '36) Are you in favor of the New Deal? (AIPO)

Yes 50% No 46% No opinion 4%

**4.** (US Jan 10 '37) Should President Roosevelt's second administration be more liberal, more conservative, or about the same as his first? (AIPO)

| | *More liberal* | *About same* | *More conservative* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 15% | 35% | 50% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 19% | 50% | 31% |
| Republicans | 4 | 8 | 88 |
| Socialists | 53 | 7 | 40 |
| Lemke party | 50 | 20 | 30 |

**5.** (US Oct '37) Do you think the federal government has been efficient or inefficient in the present labor crisis? (FOR)

| | *Efficient* | *Inefficient* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 34.1% | 44.7% | 21.2% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Executives | 20.9% | 70.3% | 8.8% |
| Salaried workers | 37.6 | 47.0 | 15.4 |
| Factory labor | 33.9 | 42.5 | 23.6 |
| Farm labor | 41.6 | 33.7 | 24.7 |
| Unemployed | 47.3 | 29.1 | 23.6 |

**6.** (US Nov 12 '37) Do you think the policies of the Roosevelt administration are too liberal, too conservative, or about right? Asked of a national cross-section of Democrats. (AIPO)

Too liberal 23% Too conservative 3% About right 74%

**7.** (US Nov 12 '37) What do you like most about the Roosevelt administration? Asked of a national cross-section of independents. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt's attempt to raise living standards of the masses —the poor and underprivileged | 16% |
| He always tries to do the right thing | 6 |
| The attempt to redistribute the wealth of the country | 2 |
| The Civilian Conservation Corps | 4 |
| Stabilization of banks—banking laws | 2 |
| Its helpful attitude toward labor | 2 |
| Its efforts to help the unemployed | 4 |
| Work Projects Administration | 4 |
| Trying to help country | 2 |
| Nothing | 7 |
| All others | 37 |
| No answer | 14 |

**8.** (US Nov 12 '36) What do you like least about it [Roosevelt's administration]? Asked of a national cross-section of independents. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Its extravagance—spending policies | 10% |
| Its grasping for dictatorial powers | 4 |
| Its relief policies and administration of relief | 6 |
| Supreme Court proposal | 4 |
| Crop crontrol | 3 |
| Failure to balance budget | 2 |
| Too many taxes | 3 |
| Interference with business | 3 |
| The members of the administration group | 2 |
| All others | 36 |
| No answer | 27 |

**9.** (US June 29 '38) During the next two years would you like to see the Roosevelt administration be more liberal or more conservative? (AIPO)

| | *More liberal* | *More conservative* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 28% | 72% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 41% | 59% |
| Republicans | 7 | 93 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper income | 10% | 90% |
| Middle income | 22 | 78 |
| Lower income | 48 | 52 |

**10.** (US July '38) Do you think that President Roosevelt has concentrated too much power in his own hands? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 45.3% | 44.4% | 10.3% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 66.9% | 28.9% | 4.2% |
| Upper middle class | 53.6 | 38.4 | 8.0 |
| Lower middle class | 46.5 | 43.9 | 9.6 |
| Poor | 33.7 | 53.8 | 12.5 |
| BY RACE | | | |
| Negroes | 19.5% | 59.2% | 21.3% |

**11.** (US Aug 28 '38) During the next two years would you like to see the Roosevelt administration continue along its present lines or become more conservative? (AIPO)

As is 34% More conservative 66%

**12.** (US Sept 23 '38) During the next two years would you like to see the Roosevelt administration become more conservative or continue along present lines? (AIPO)

More conservative 65% Present lines 35% = 100%
No opinion 9%

**13.** (US Feb '39) Do you think that the government would be better run if there were people like duPont, Owen D. Young, and Sloan in charge of it? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 21.9% | 49.7% | 28.4% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 36.9% | 43.3% | 19.8% |
| Upper middle class | 25.9 | 51.6 | 22.5 |
| Lower middle class | 18.2 | 55.4 | 26.4 |
| Poor | 15.5 | 49.0 | 35.5 |
| BY RACE | | | |
| Negroes | 22.1% | 31.1% | 46.8% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Executives | 37.0% | 49.1% | 13.9% |
| Factory labor | 10.4 | 61.0 | 28.6 |
| Farm labor | 32.4 | 30.1 | 37.5 |
| BY OPINION (TOWARD ROOSEVELT) | | | |
| Approving Roosevelt | 20.6% | 79.4% | |
| Disapproving Roosevelt | 46.2 | 53.8 | |

**14.** (US March '39) The Roosevelt administration has tried many experiments, enacted many reforms. What do you think it should try to do from now until 1940: (1) Continue with more reforms along the lines already laid out. (2) Just make any necessary improvements on laws already passed but try nothing new. (3) Let more conservative elements in the party try to undo the damage already done? (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 18.8% | 40.5% | 26.9% | 13.8% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 10.4% | 37.2% | 46.2% | 6.2% |
| Poor | 23.3 | 40.8 | 18.8 | 17.1 |
| BY RACE | | | | |
| Negroes | 32.9% | 31.1% | 11.1% | 24.9% |

**15.** (US May 10 '39) What do you think is the greatest accomplishment of the Roosevelt administration during the six years it has been in office? (AIPO)

| | | BY POLITICS | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *National total* | *Republicans* | *Democrats* |
| Relief and WPA | 28% | 12% | 35% |
| Banking reforms | 21 | 34 | 9 |
| Civilian Conservation Corps | 11 | 13 | 8 |
| Social Security | 5 | 10 | 6 |
| Farm program | 5 | — | 6 |
| Foreign peace policy | 3 | 4 | — |
| Old age pensions | 2 | | |
| Labor reforms | 4 | | |
| Repeal of prohibition | 3 | | |
| PWA | 2 | | |
| NRA | 1 | | |
| No answer | (16) | | |
| All others | 15 | 27 | 26 |

**16.** (US June 4 '39) What do you think is the worst thing the Roosevelt administration has done in the past six years? (AIPO)

BY POLITICS

| | *National total* | *Republicans* | *Democrats* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Relief and WPA | 23% | 22% | 20% |
| Spending policy | 16 | 24 | 12 |
| Farm program | 12 | 7 | 16 |
| Labor policy | 6 | 8 | 7 |
| Business interference | 5 | 9 | — |
| Reorganization of Supreme Court | 5 | — | 7 |
| Foreign policy (meddling) | 6 | | |
| NRA | 4 | | |
| Repeal of prohibition | 3 | | |
| Raising taxes | 2 | | |
| Trend toward dictatorship | 2 | | |
| Foreign trade policy | 2 | | |
| No answer | (32) | | |
| All others | 14 | 30 | 38 |

**17.** (US May 18 '39) Do you think the federal government will have more power or less power ten years from now, than it has today? (AIPO)

More 48% Less 19% Same 16% Don't know 17%

**18.** (US June '39) Do you think our government should or should not provide for all people who have no other means of subsistence? Be responsible for seeing to it that everyone who wants to work has a job? (FOR)

| | PROVIDE SUBSISTENCE | | | PROVIDE JOBS | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know or depends* | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know or depends* |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 50.0% | 41.6% | 8.4% | 39.2% | 54.6% | 6.2% |
| Upper middle class | 59.6 | 31.4 | 9.0 | 50.0 | 43.7 | 6.3 |
| Lower middle class | 69.4 | 22.3 | 8.3 | 60.4 | 31.7 | 7.9 |
| Poor | 77.1 | 15.0 | 7.9 | 71.4 | 22.7 | 5.9 |
| BY RACE | | | | | | |
| Negroes | 85.0% | 7.9% | 7.1% | 83.4% | 12.9% | 3.7% |

**19.** (US Nov '39) Which of the following statements most nearly represents your idea of the New Deal: (1) The New Deal has been the kind of government best suited to our times, and it should be continued without modification (whether under Mr. Roosevelt or someone else). (2) Although the New Deal has not worked perfectly in many ways, it has done a lot of good and should be continued with some modifications and improvements. (3) The New Deal may have done some good, but it has done so many bad things that now we need a different administration. (4) The New Deal had a bad influence upon the nation, and it will take years of good government by others to clean up the mistakes? (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 10.3% | 44.9% | 20.9% | 16.2% | 7.7% |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| Under 40 years | 10.3% | 50.2% | 20.2% | 11.5% | 7.8% |
| Over 40 years | 10.2 | 40.2 | 21.5 | 20.5 | 7.6 |

**20.** (US Nov '39) Considering Mr. Roosevelt's six and a half years in office, on the whole do you approve or disapprove of: (FOR)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* | *No knowledge of* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| The Civilian Conservation Corps | 83.7% | 7.8% | 4.1% | 4.4% |
| His personality, as distinguished from his policies | 82.1 | 11.7 | 6.2 | — |
| His banking legislation | 49.4 | 12.9 | 10.1 | 27.6 |
| His stock-exchange legislation | 28.6 | 10.9 | 14.5 | 46.0 |
| The way he has guided United States foreign policy | 48.5 | 18.5 | 14.4 | 18.6 |
| The means by which his administration has tried to aid the farmer | 50.6 | 32.9 | 7.3 | 9.2 |
| His relief program | 52.3 | 37.4 | 7.9 | 2.4 |
| His attitude toward labor and labor unions | 40.1 | 32.0 | 12.1 | 15.8 |
| His attitude toward business and businessmen | 35.1 | 37.3 | 12.5 | 15.1 |
| His advisers | 27.8 | 32.5 | 18.3 | 21.4 |
| The way he has dealt with political opposition | 27.4 | 34.9 | 14.5 | 23.2 |
| His theory of government borrowing, spending and lending for recovery | 33.7 | 46.3 | 11.0 | 9.0 |

**21.** (US Dec 13 '39) In general, do you approve or disapprove of the Roosevelt administration today? (AIPO)

Approve 59% Disapprove 41% No opinion (18%)

**22.** (US Mar '40) Which one of the following most nearly represents your opinion of the American form of government: (1) Our form of government, based on the Constitution, is as near perfect as it can be, and no important changes should be made in it. (2) The Constitution has served its purpose well, but it has not kept up with the times and should be thoroughly revised to make it fit present-day needs. (3) The systems of private capitalism and democracy are breaking down, and we might as well accept the fact that sooner or later we shall have to have a new form of government. (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 64.2% | 19.2% | 5.2% | 11.4% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 79.9% | 14.2% | 2.4% | 3.5% |
| Upper middle class | 71.4 | 19.8 | 3.7 | 5.1 |
| Lower middle class | 64.1 | 20.5 | 5.2 | 10.2 |
| Poor | 58.4 | 18.6 | 7.6 | 15.4 |
| BY RACE | | | | |
| Negroes | 49.6% | 16.7% | 5.6% | 28.1% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| Northeast | 71.2% | 18.2% | 3.3% | 7.3% |
| Pacific coast | 55.3 | 26.6 | 11.5 | 6.6 |

**23.** (US Mar '40) Do you think the government should provide for all people who have no other means of obtaining a living? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 65.1% | 27.8% | 7.1% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 48.2% | 45.3% | 6.5% |
| Upper middle class | 55.7 | 37.7 | 6.6 |
| Lower middle class | 64.5 | 28.7 | 6.8 |
| Poor | 73.9 | 18.4 | 7.7 |

BY RACE

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Negroes | 82.8% | 9.1% | 8.1% |

65.1% of the total sample who thought the government should provide for all people who had no other means of living, were asked: Would you still be in favor of this if it meant:

| | *No* | *Yes* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Higher taxes for business | 37.0% | 51.5% | 11.5% |
| Higher taxes for yourself | 41.5 | 47.5 | 11.0 |
| Higher prices for the things you buy | 41.8 | 47.8 | 10.4 |
| More government competition with industry | 50.5 | 28.5 | 21.0 |
| That labor would be deprived of the right to strike | 52.6 | 27.5 | 19.9 |
| End of the capitalistic system | 63.1 | 13.0 | 23.9 |
| That government tells you what you must work at—assigns you to your job | 72.8 | 12.7 | 14.5 |

(Nov 21 '46) Do you think the government should provide for all people who have no other means of obtaining a living? (NYHT)

Yes 72% No 19% Don't know 9%

**24.** (US May '40) What would you like to see the next administration do about the New Deal? (FOR)

| | *Go further with the New Deal* | *Keep it as it is* | *Modify it* | *Repeal most of it* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 10.0% | 14.4% | 39.4% | 20.6% | 15.6% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 3.3% | 6.9% | 53.2% | 30.0% | 6.6% |
| Upper middle class | 6.8 | 8.9 | 48.1 | 26.5 | 9.7 |
| Lower middle class | 10.1 | 15.2 | 40.1 | 18.4 | 16.2 |
| Poor | 13.7 | 20.3 | 25.9 | 16.4 | 23.7 |
| BY RACE | | | | | |
| Negroes | 25.5% | 22.7% | 25.5% | 12.7% | 13.6% |

**25.** (US May '40) Which of these things do you think the next administration should do and which shouldn't it do? (FOR)

| | *Should* | *Shouldn't* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *National total* | | | |
| Keep us out of war, unless we are attacked, no matter what happens abroad | 85.6% | 9.1% | 5.3% |
| Balance the budget | 76.2 | 9.0 | 14.8 |
| Have the government regulate labor unions | 58.9 | 20.8 | 20.3 |
| Continue making reciprocal trade agreements | 55.6 | 12.4 | 32.0 |
| Work toward government ownership of public utilities | 27.3 | 50.5 | 22.2 |
| Turn TVA over to private operation | 25.1 | 36.4 | 38.5 |
| Raise the tariff | 21.1 | 34.4 | 44.5 |
| Lower the tariff | 20.7 | 35.9 | 43.4 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| *Prosperous* | | | |
| Balance the budget | 87.7% | 5.7% | 6.6% |
| Reciprocal trade agreements | 61.0 | 15.6 | 23.4 |
| Regulate labor unions | 61.9 | 24.8 | 13.3 |
| *Poor* | | | |
| Balance the budget | 70.5 | 8.7 | 20.8 |
| Reciprocal trade agreements | 48.3 | 11.7 | 40.0 |
| Regulate labor unions | 57.9 | 19.4 | 22.7 |

BY OCCUPATION

| | *Should* | *Shouldn't* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Executives* | | | |
| Balance the budget | 94.2% | 4.8% | 1.0% |
| Reciprocal trade agreements | 68.9 | 16.5 | 14.6 |
| Regulate labor unions | 62.3 | 29.9 | 7.8 |
| *Factory labor* | | | |
| Balance the budget | 75.4 | 11.9 | 12.7 |
| Reciprocal trade agreements | 62.9 | 8.3 | 28.8 |
| Regulate labor unions | 66.7 | 25.0 | 8.3 |

**26.** (US May '40) Of the things you think the next administration should do, which do you think is the most important? Second most important? (FOR)

*Most important*

| | |
|---|---|
| Keep us out of war | 56.9% |
| Balance the budget | 17.8 |
| Modify the New Deal | 4.2 |
| Regulate labor unions | 4.2 |
| Repeal most of the New Deal | 2.7 |
| Reciprocal trade agreements | 2.5 |
| Keep the New Deal as it is | 1.6 |
| Go further with the New Deal | 1.5 |
| Public ownership of utilities | 1.4 |
| Other (TVA and tariff changes) | 1.2 |
| Don't know | 6.0 |

*Second most important*

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance the budget | 30.7% |
| Keep us out of war | 16.0 |
| Regulate labor unions | 13.1 |
| Reciprocal trade agreements | 7.4 |
| Modify the New Deal | 7.2 |
| Repeal the New Deal | 4.3 |
| Public ownership of utilities | 3.9 |
| Keep New Deal as it is | 3.7 |
| Go further with New Deal | 2.6 |
| Other (TVA and tariff changes) | 5.0 |
| Don't know | 6.1 |

**27.** (US July '40) In view of the present international situation, which of the following do you think our government should and should not do now? (FOR)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Spend whatever is necessary to build up as quickly as possible our army, navy, and air force | 93.6% | 3.1% | 3.3% |
| Set up a non-political board of leading men in industry with power to control industrial production in case we get into the war | 68.5 | 9.1 | 22.4 |
| Exempt all industries producing military necessities from the forty-hour week law in order to speed up production | 57.1 | 26.0 | 16.9 |
| Start compulsory military training for all young men between eighteen and twenty | 52.6 | 37.9 | 9.5 |
| Form a new cabinet made up of both Democrats and Republicans | 41.9 | 29.1 | 29.0 |

**28.** (US Oct '40) Which of these things would you like to see the next administration do? (FOR)

| | *Would like* | *Would not like* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Let any South American country that wants to establish a pro-Hitler government | 10.1% | 73.9% | 16.0% |
| Help England, even to the extent of selling her naval vessels, but send no soldiers or sailors | 70.2 | 19.6 | 10.2 |
| Begin compulsory military training for all young men | 70.2 | 22.8 | 7.0 |
| Serve notice on Japan that any interference with our tin and rubber supply from the Dutch East Indies means war | 30.3 | 39.5 | 30.2 |

Which of these things do you think Roosevelt will favor, and which do you think Willkie will favor?

| | *Will favor* | *Will not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Selling naval vessels to Britain* | | | |
| Roosevelt | 82.0% | 3.7% | 14.3% |
| Willkie | 42.3 | 11.7 | 46.0 |
| *Beginning compulsory military training* | | | |
| Roosevelt | 91.2 | 1.4 | 7.4 |
| Willkie | 47.1 | 9.1 | 43.8 |
| *Not letting any South American country establish a pro-Hitler government* | | | |
| Roosevelt | 83.9 | 4.3 | 11.8 |
| Willkie | 65.2 | 3.7 | 31.1 |

**29.** (US Oct '40) Which of these things concerning domestic policy would you like to see the next administration do? (FOR)

| | *Would like* | *Would not like* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Put all able-bodied unemployed to work in the war industries | 82.9% | 9.0% | 8.1% |
| Give more aid to the farmers so as to increase their buying power | 60.0 | 26.2 | 13.8 |
| Continue most of the New Deal measures | 51.4 | 30.3 | 18.3 |
| Establish government supervision of labor unions | 48.4 | 25.0 | 26.6 |
| Abolish WPA | 38.9 | 48.1 | 13.0 |
| Take over and operate all public utilities | 21.8 | 55.3 | 22.9 |

Which of these things do you think Roosevelt will favor, and which do you think Willkie will favor?

| | *Will favor* | *Will not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Place unemployed in war industries* | | | |
| Roosevelt | 76.2% | 6.5% | 17.3% |
| Willkie | 54.2 | 5.4 | 40.4 |
| *Increase farm incomes* | | | |
| Roosevelt | 81.6 | 7.0 | 11.4 |
| Willkie | 46.1 | 12.6 | 41.3 |
| *Continue New Deal measures* | | | |
| Roosevelt | 96.7 | 0.8 | 2.5 |
| Willkie | 23.7 | 43.7 | 32.6 |
| *Establish regulation of labor unions* | | | |
| Roosevelt | 56.1 | 19.3 | 24.6 |
| Willkie | 37.0 | 15.5 | 47.5 |

**30.** (US Dec '40) Do you believe that until private industry makes work for the unemployed, the federal government must take care of them on relief? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| More generously than now | 0.8% |
| Just about as generously as now | 2.9 |
| Yes, but the relief rolls should be examined much more closely to make sure that relief is limited only to cases of absolute need | 45.6% |
| No, the relief problem should be turned back to the state and local governments | 50.7 |

**31.** (US Dec '40) Do you believe that some or all of these New Deal measures are playing an important part in preventing recovery now? 94.1% of the sample who said yes were asked: Which ones? The questions were asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Wagner Labor Act | 74.5% |
| Taxation policies | 66.8 |
| Wages and Hours Act | 48.5 |
| Pump priming | 44.3 |
| WPA | 42.6 |
| Drive to enforce anti-trust laws | 40.0 |
| Silver subsidies | 39.1 |
| Gold devaluation and President's gold powers | 38.5 |
| Agricultural Adjustment Act | 29.3 |
| Guffey Coal Act | 27.6 |
| PWA | 26.5 |
| Low money rates | 25.2 |
| Hull reciprocal trade treaties | 14.6 |
| Export subsidies | 14.5 |
| Housing and Home Loan Acts | 11.5 |

**32.** (US Dec '40) More specifically, will you tell us, from the recovery angle, which of these New Deal plans you think should (a) be continued or revived; (b) which you think were good once but have outlived their usefulness; (c) which you think were always bad for recovery; (d) which you think are still good ideas badly handled? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Always bad* | *Obsolete but all right once* | *Good idea badly handled* | *Continue or revive* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Silver subsidies | 90.2% | 4.5% | 3.0% | 2.3% |
| Guffey Coal Act | 75.3 | 2.3 | 15.9 | 6.5 |
| Gold devaluation and President's gold powers | 69.6 | 14.5 | 6.4 | 9.5 |
| Taxation policies | 67.7 | 2.8 | 22.0 | 7.5 |
| Pump priming | 61.7 | 20.2 | 16.3 | 1.8 |
| NRA | 57.4 | 12.5 | 23.2 | 6.9 |
| AAA | 53.6 | 6.3 | 33.7 | 6.4 |
| Wagner Labor Act | 48.2 | 0.6 | 47.5 | 3.7 |
| Export subsidies | 42.5 | 10.7 | 18.5 | 28.3 |
| WPA | 39.3 | 10.9 | 43.2 | 6.6 |
| Low money rates | 32.7 | 19.4 | 16.3 | 31.6 |
| PWA | 30.2 | 14.0 | 47.4 | 8.4 |
| Wages and Hours Act | 29.2 | 1.9 | 47.7 | 21.2 |
| Hull reciprocal trade treaties | 22.4 | 10.4 | 14.0 | 53.2 |
| Drive to enforce anti-trust laws | 20.2 | 7.3 | 49.4 | 23.1 |
| Housing and Home Loan Acts | 16.5 | 12.6 | 31.7 | 39.2 |

**33.** (US Apr '41) Three comparable cross-sections were asked if they agreed or disagreed with the following statements, one unloaded statement, one with an interventionist bias, and the third with a non-interventionist bias: (FOR)

Do you think we would be able to keep our democratic form of government if Hitler dominated the rest of the world?

Yes 43.5% No 40.2% Don't know 16.3%

If Hitler wins, we won't be able to keep our democratic form of government long because we will be one nation against the rest of the world.

Agree 47.3% Disagree 37.1% Don't know 15.6%

This country was built up mainly by people who came here to get freedom, and we will keep our democratic form of government even if Hitler does dominate the rest of the world.

Agree 60.2% Disagree 26.5% Don't know 13.3%

**34.** (US Apr '41) Do you think there is too much power in the hands of the government in Washington? (AIPO)

Yes 32% No 56% No opinion 12%

**35.** (US Sept 9 '41) Some people say that our country is in real danger from organized groups which are trying to change our form of government. Do you think our country is in any real danger from any of these groups? (AIPO)

Yes 45% No 44% No opinion 11%

What organized groups do you feel are the most dangerous to our country? Asked of 45% of the sample who said that our country was in real danger from organized groups which were trying to change our form of government.

| | |
|---|---|
| America First, Lindbergh | 4% |
| Administration, Roosevelt | 2 |
| Labor unions | 10 |
| Communists | 16 |
| Nazi | 14 |
| Fascists | 2 |
| Fifth Column | 3 |
| Foreign groups | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| No answer | 4 |
| | 60%* |

* Percentages add to more than 45 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**36.** (US Sept 17 '41) Some people say that if the United States is to be a free and democratic country, the Nazi government in Germany must be destroyed. Do you agree or disagree? A comparable cross-section was asked: President Roosevelt says that if the United States is to be a free and democratic country, the Nazi government in Germany must be destroyed. Do you agree or disagree? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Agree 71% Disagree 22% No opinion 7%

**37.** (US Nov '41) Which of the following statements most nearly corresponds with your idea of the present status of the more radical social and economic aims of the New Deal? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Whenever possible the administration is using the national emergency as a pretext for pushing still further the more radical social and economic aims of the New Deal | 75.6% |
| The demands of the defense effort have forced the administration in most instances to give up temporarily the further advancement of these aims | 17.2 |
| The members of the administration—except for a few extremists—have largely completed their program of economic and social reform, and business can henceforth expect to operate within the present structure. | 7.2 |

**38.** (US Nov 19 '41) As far as you personally are concerned do you think the United States has gone too far in opposing Germany, or not far enough? (OPOR)

Too far 15% About right 44% Not far enough 31%
Don't know 10%

**39.** (US July '42) After the war, do you feel our form of government will be about the same, changed only in a few minor ways, or quite different? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| About the same | 40.9% |
| Changed in minor ways | 29.8 |
| Quite different | 21.2 |
| Don't know | 8.1 |

Do you think these changes will be in the direction of Socialism, Fascism, Communism, or something else? Asked of 51.9% of the sample who thought that after the war the form of government of the United States would be changed in minor ways or quite different.

| | |
|---|---|
| Socialism | 19.2% |
| A bigger and better democracy | 6.3 |
| Fascism, Communism, dictatorship | 3.6 |
| Other | 3.7 |
| Don't know what direction | 18.2 |

**40.** (US Sept 3 '42) What do you like least about the present government in Washington? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Its indecision, the red tape and slowness, the incompetence of the leaders, the poor handling of production, the many superfluous bureaus | 21% |
| Its extravagance, its spending of too much money foolishly, graft | 7 |
| Its playing politics, its refusal to act on important legislation until after elections | 10 |
| Its handling of inflation, its failure to control wages and farm prices | 4 |
| Its handling of labor, its failure to prevent strikes in war industries | 5 |
| Its handling of the rationing program, its inefficiency in the conservation and distribution of fuel oil, gasoline, rubber, etc. | 3 |
| Its inconsistency, the conflicting statements it makes, its failure to be honest with the people | 1 |
| The President | 3 |
| Its increasing of taxation | 1 |
| Other answers | 12 |
| Those who have no fault to find, who feel that the government is doing well on all scores | 17 |
| Those with no opinion | 19 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**41.** (US Sept 3 '42) What do you like best about the present government in Washington? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt and his policies | 12% |
| Its handling of the war, its foreign policy | 11 |
| Its handling of inflation, the measures it has taken and is taking toward control of prices and wages | 6 |
| Its efficiency, the good job that various bureaus are turning in, the cooperation among its leaders | 5 |
| Its handling of labor | 4 |
| Handling of the farm situation, AAA | 2 |
| Government for the people, democracy policy | 2 |
| Handling of draft | 1 |
| Its handling of internal affairs, its domestic policy | 1 |
| Other answers | 10 |
| Those who like nothing best, but like everything the government does | 16 |
| Those who don't like anything about the present government in Washington | 7 |
| Those with no opinion | 23 |

**42.** (US Nov '42) Which one of the following most nearly represents your opinion of the American form of government? Asked of a national cross-section of high-school students. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Our form of government is as near perfect as it can be and no important changes should be made in it | 54.0% |
| Our form of government worked well in the past, but it needs to be thoroughly revised to make it fit present-day needs | 39.6 |
| Democracy is no longer working well, and sooner or later we shall have to get an entirely new form of government | 4.1 |
| Don't know | 2.3 |

**43.** (US Nov '42) Which of these groups—factory workers, labor leaders, soldiers and sailors, farmers, businessmen, people now important in Washington—would you like to see have less power after the war is over than they now have? More power than they now have? Asked of a national cross-section of high-school students. (FOR)

| | *More* | *Less* |
|---|---|---|
| Labor leaders | 2.8% | 48.4% |
| People now important in Washington | 3.7 | 27.6 |
| Businessmen | 13.6 | 12.9 |
| Factory workers | 20.4 | 1.7 |
| Farmers | 36.9 | 0.8 |
| Soldiers and sailors | 20.2 | 0.5 |
| Don't know | 11.4 | 11.6 |
| | 109.0%* | 103.5%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some students mentioned more than one group.

**44.** (US Nov 10 '42) Is there anything that you dislike about the way the present administration is conducting the war effort? (AIPO)

Yes 31% No 58% No opinion 11%

What [do you dislike about the way the present administration is conducting the war effort]? Asked of 31% of the sample who disliked something about the way the present administration was conducting the war effort.

| | |
|---|---|
| Incompetence, red tape and duplication, too much talking and too little action | 17% |
| Too much politics | 5 |
| Handling of war news—failure to acquaint public promptly with the news and failure to tell us the truth | 4 |
| Coddling of labor by administration—not tough enough with unions | 5 |
| Extravagance—spending money foolishly | 5 |
| Handling of manpower—failure to distribute | 3 |
| Other answers | 7 |
| | 46%* |

* Percentages add to more than 31 because some respondents gave more than one criticism.

**45.** (US Dec 15 '42) In looking back over the first year of the war, what do you wish the government had done differently? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Rationing should have started earlier, rationed without warning public | 10% |
| Should have been foresighted enough so that we would not have to be rationed so severely, shortages could have been prevented | 3 |
| Should have tackled manpower question earlier, drafted labor, made certain that there was adequate farm labor | 3 |
| Handled draft differently, should not have taken 18-year-olds, should have deferred farm boys, shouldn't have taken married men | 9 |
| Eliminated governmental inefficiency and red tape, appointed more capable leaders, delegated authority so things could be handled more swiftly, checked trend toward dictatorship | 10 |
| Conducted war differently, concentrated on winning Pacific war, given China more aid, started second front sooner, had unified command from the first | 6% |
| Controlled wages and prices, should have kept a closer rein on prices, rents, wages, farm prices, etc., all should have been equalized | 4 |
| Shown less indulgence toward labor, outlawed strikes, cut out time-and-a-half pay | 5 |
| Given more information to the public, been more frank, kept the public better informed and prepared them for hardships, should not have held back war news | 2 |
| Gotten down to real production sooner, government should have taken over war industries, forced them to turn out larger amount of war materials | 2 |
| Other criticisms | 1 |
| Criticisms referring to acts or omissions prior to our entrance into the war: | |
| Should have been better prepared, started arming ten years ago, protected Pearl Harbor better, had a standing army and strong defenses, should not have sold scrap to Japan | 8 |
| Should not have entered the war, should have stayed at home and wouldn't have been drawn into war | 1 |
| We should have entered the war sooner | 1 |
| Practiced economy instead of just throwing money away, spend more money on army and navy, less on Washington | 2 |
| No criticism, everything satisfactory | 23 |
| No opinion | 16 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**46.** (US Feb 19 '43) Which of these groups do you think has received the best treatment from our government—farmers, labor, or business? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

Farmers 10% Labor 72% Business 7% No opinion 11%

**47.** (US Feb '43) On the whole, which of these groups do you feel President Roosevelt has given the biggest break to—farmers, labor, or industrialists? Asked of a national cross-section of semi-skilled and personal service workers. (FOR)

| | *Labor* | *Farmers* | *Industrialists* | *No special group* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Mine workers | 44.9% | 7.5% | 8.2% | 39.4% |
| Factory workers | 33.4 | 17.3 | 15.9 | 33.4 |
| Personal service | 31.4 | 16.6 | 12.9 | 39.1 |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | | |
| Well-informed | 45.5% | 13.9% | 13.3% | 27.3% |
| Uninformed | 28.4 | 16.2 | 14.1 | 41.3 |

**48.** (US Feb '43) Which one of the following most nearly represents your opinion of the American form of government: (1) Our form of government works well and only a few changes, if any, should be made in it. (2) Our form of government worked well in the past, but it needs to be thoroughly revised to meet present-day conditions. (3) Democracy is no longer working well, and sooner or later we will have to get an entirely new form of government. Asked of a national cross-section of labor. (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Factory workers | 68.2% | 23.7% | 3.5% | 4.6% |
| Northern Negro workers | 54.6 | 31.5 | 9.3 | 4.6 |

(Apr '43) Asked of a national cross-section of farmers.

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 57.8% | 24.0% | 5.8% | 12.4% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher income | 61.3% | 28.8% | 5.4% | 4.5% |
| Lower income | 58.1 | 18.0 | 6.8 | 17.1 |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | | |
| Good | 64.3% | 28.8% | 4.2% | 2.7% |
| Poor | 51.3 | 16.0 | 6.6 | 26.1 |

**49.** (US Apr '43) On the whole, did you approve or disapprove of the New Deal before the war? (NORC)

Approve 49% Disapprove 30% Qualified answer 4% Don't know 17%

**50.** (US Apr 6 '43) Which do you think have more to say about the way their government is run, the British people or the American people? (NORC)

British 9% Americans 66% About the same 11% Don't know 14%

What makes you feel this way? Asked of 9% of the sample who thought the British people have more to say about the way their government was run than the Americans.

| | |
|---|---|
| More responsive turnover of government | 3% |
| Representatives more responsive to people's wishes | 2 |
| Ordinary people are in the government | 1 |
| Not so much politics as division of opinion in England | 1 |
| They take more interest in their government | 1 |
| General statements that government is better | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 11%* |

* Percentages add to more than 9 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

What makes you feel this way? Asked of 66% of the sample who thought the American people had more to say about the way their government was run than the British.

| | |
|---|---|
| Voting privileges | 30% |
| Class rule in England | 19 |
| Freedom of speech | 9 |
| Freedom and opportunity in general | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 6 |
| | 69%* |

* Percentages add to more than 66 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**51.** (US June '43) After the war do you think the aims and programs of the New Deal will be entirely done away with, partly done away with, continued along the same lines, or made stronger than ever? Those respondents with opinions were asked: Do you think this will be a good thing or a bad thing? (FOR)

| | *National total* | *Good thing* | *Bad thing* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Entirely done away with | 8.2% | 83.7% | 8.7% | 7.6% |
| Partly done away with | 41.6 | 87.1 | 5.6 | 7.3 |
| Continued along same lines | 17.8 | 80.6 | 10.0 | 9.4 |
| Made stronger than ever | 14.1 | 76.3 | 16.2 | 7.5 |
| Don't know | 18.3 | | | |

**52.** (US July 28 '43) Most people believe the government should not be controlled by any one group. However, if you had to choose, which would you prefer to have control of the government—big business or labor unions? (AIPO)

| | *Big business* | *Labor unions* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 45% | 26% | 29% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republicans | 58% | 17% | 25% |
| Democrats | 35 | 34 | 31 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 72% | 9% | 19% |
| Middle income | 55 | 19 | 26 |
| Lower income | 33 | 34 | 33 |

**53.** (US Oct 1 '43) After the war would you like to see many changes or reforms made in the United States, or would you rather have the country remain pretty much the way it was before the war? (AIPO)

| | *Changes* | *Way it was before* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 32% | 58% | 10% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 35% | 55% | 10% |
| 30–49 years | 32 | 58 | 10 |
| 50 years and over | 30 | 60 | 10 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 41% | 50% | 9% |
| Middle income | 33 | 58 | 9 |
| Lower income | 30 | 59 | 11 |

**54.** (US Oct 26 '43) Do you think there is any group of people in America which does not have enough to say regarding the country's policies at home and abroad? (AIPO)

Yes 37% No 42% Don't know 21%

Which group [does not have enough to say regarding the country's policies at home and abroad]? Asked of 37% of the sample who thought some groups did not have enough to say about policies at home and abroad.

| | |
|---|---|
| Negroes | 6% |
| The general public—people as a whole—the majority—the common people | 3 |
| The middle class—the small businessman | 4 |
| The poor people—the lower class, workers, labor | 8 |
| The farmers | 2 |
| Others: includes Congress, group ignorant of rights, Chinese, unorganized, and Communists | 14 |

**55.** (US Oct 26 '43) It has been suggested that labor should have more to say about the government's financial, domestic and international policies. Do you agree or disagree? (AIPO)

Agree 45% Disagree 38% Undecided 17%

**56.** (US Oct 26 '43) Should farmers have more to say about these policies [government's financial, domestic, and international policies]? (AIPO)

Yes 62.5% No 23.5% Undecided 14.0%

**57.** (US Oct 26 '43) Should business men [have more to say about the government's financial, domestic, and international policies]? (AIPO)

Yes 58% No 26% Undecided 16%

**58.** (US Dec 26 '43) What do you like least today about the way the Roosevelt administration is handling things? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Government extravagance, muddled finances | 20% |
| Incompetent and dictatorial management of home affairs, red-tape, especially in connection with farm program | 15 |
| Coddling of labor, wartime strikes | 13 |
| Government farm program not effective, farm prices too low in relation to costs, farmer not getting square deal | 11 |
| Bad job of rationing, OPA inefficiency | 6 |
| Failure to keep prices down on things farmers have to buy, wages out of line, high cost of living | 2 |
| Miscellaneous, including too much playing politics, squabbles with Congress, too much farm labor drafted, too much secrecy about war news | 13 |
| No complaints—nothing | 14 |
| Everything | 3 |
| Don't know | 11 |
| | 108%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**59.** (US Feb 16 '44) Most people believe that no one group should have too much influence on the government. However, if you had to choose, which would you prefer to have influence the government more strongly—big business or labor unions? (AIPO)

Big business 43% Labor unions 31% No opinion 26%

**60.** (US May 9 '44) Do you think the government has treated organized labor and business corporations with equal fairness, or has the government been partial to either one? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Equal fairness | 38% |
| Partial to business | 6 |
| Partial to labor | 37 |
| No opinion | 19 |

**61.** (US Jan '45) Do you think the government program during the past few years for (the measures listed below) goes too far, not far enough, or is just about right? (FOR)

| | *Too far* | *Not far enough* | *Just right* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Providing pensions under social security | 5.7% | 41.4% | 37.5% | 15.4% |
| Providing low-cost housing | 14.4 | 32.7 | 36.0 | 16.9 |
| Preventing too low wages | 14.0 | 28.1 | 45.6 | 12.3 |
| Trying to help the farmer make a decent living | 14.1 | 31.8 | 39.8 | 14.3 |
| Regulating things so that the sale of stocks and bonds is done honestly | 4.4 | 13.2 | 35.4 | 47.0 |

**62.** (US Apr 21 '45) After the war, would you like to see many changes or reforms made in the United States, or would you rather have the country remain pretty much the way it was before the war? (AIPO)

| | *Want to see reforms* | *Want things as they were* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 39% | 52% | 9% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 58% | 37% | 5% |
| High school | 43 | 50 | 7 |
| Grade school or less | 32 | 57 | 11 |

What changes would you like to see after the war? Asked of 39% of the sample who would like to see changes.

| | |
|---|---|
| Want to see jobs for all; improvement in wages, working conditions | 9% |
| Want to end racial and religious discrimination | 3 |
| Want to liberalize social security provisions, increase pensions, provide national health insurance | 3 |
| Want better educational opportunities | 3% |
| Want better housing and slum clearance | 2 |
| Want to get back to Constitution; do away with government controls | 7 |
| Want better administration of labor unions, settlement of labor disputes without strikes | 3 |
| Want prices kept high | 1 |
| Want lower wages | 1 |
| Miscellaneous suggestions | 9 |
| Did not say | 3 |
| | 44%* |

* Percentages add to more than 39 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**63.** (US Aug 8 '45) Which of these three policies would you like to have President Truman (the government) follow? Each respondent was handed a card with the following statements on it: (1) Go more to the left by following more of the views of labor and other liberal groups; (2) go more to the right by following more of the views of business and conservative groups; (3) follow a policy half way between the two? (AIPO)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 16% | 18% | 55% | 11% |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 19% | 9% | 60% | 12% |
| 30–49 years | 17 | 17 | 56 | 10 |
| 50 years and over | 14 | 25 | 49 | 12 |
| (Dec 19 '45) | | | | |
| National total | 18% | 21% | 52% | 9% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democrats | 27% | 10% | 52% | 11% |
| Republicans | 6 | 36 | 51 | 7 |
| (Apr 24 '46) | | | | |
| National total | 34% | 47% | * | 19% |

* Statement 3 excluded from questionnaire.

**64.** (US Feb 3 '46) Which of these policies do you think President Truman has been following? [More to left, more to right, half way between] (AIPO)

More to left 10% More to right 17% Half way between 54%
No opinion 19%

**65.** (US Sept '45) Are there any groups of people or organizations that you think have more to say about running this country than they should have? (NORC)

Yes 42% No 58%

What are some of the groups of people or organizations you think have more to say than they should? Asked of 42% of the sample who thought there were such groups or organizations.

| | |
|---|---|
| Catholics | 1% |
| Jews | 4 |
| Protestants—include here all non-Catholics, whether specified or nor | * |
| Whites | 1 |
| Negroes | * |
| Labor unions, labor leaders, labor | 23 |
| Big business, rich people, moneyed people | 4 |
| Farmers | * |
| The government, specific or non-specified answers | 6 |
| Isolationists | * |
| Foreigners, any nationality groups except Russians | * |
| Communists, Russians | 2 |
| Veterans, American Legion, the army | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Wouldn't want to say, won't say | 1% |
| Other groups | 2 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 47%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 42 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**66.** (US Nov 21 '45) Would you like to see many changes or reforms made in the United States, or would you rather have the country remain pretty much the way it was before the war? Asked of a national cross-section of World War II veterans. (AIPO)

Changes 47% Way it was 40% Undecided 13%

What changes would you like to see? Asked of 47% of the veterans of World War II who would like to see reforms in the United States.

| | |
|---|---|
| Corrupt politics taken out | 2% |
| Enough jobs, employment | 7 |
| Better housing | 4 |
| Higher wages, stabilize wages | 5 |
| Racial problems solved | 2 |
| Control labor unions | 6 |
| Reorganization of executive department | 5 |
| Health insurance, free medical care | 4 |
| Better labor conditions, relations | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 28 |
| No answer, don't know | 2 |
| | 67%* |

* Percentages add to more than 47 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**67.** (US Feb 3 '46) Which of these policies do you think our government is now following? (AIPO)

| | *More to left* | *More to right* | *Middle of road* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total... | 44% | 13% | 27% | 16% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democrats | 30% | 15% | 35% | 20% |
| Republicans | 63 | 9 | 16 | 12 |

**68.** (US Jan '46) We have here a list of different situations and we'd like to know for each whether you have any criticisms about it, because of course criticism is often worth more than praise. For instance, are you well satisfied, or not so well satisfied with: (FOR)

| | *Well satisfied* | *Not satisfied* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| The way our occupation of Japan is going | 71.6% | 15.0% | 13.4% |
| The way our occupation of Germany is going | 60.7 | 24.3 | 15.0 |
| The steps being taken to keep this country at peace | 60.6 | 20.3 | 19.1 |
| What is being done about controlling prices | 58.4 | 29.8 | 11.8 |
| What is being done about full employment | 47.1 | 31.3 | 21.6 |
| Our relations with our wartime allies | 37.5 | 45.5 | 17.0 |
| The present policies of labor unions | 20.1 | 61.3 | 18.6 |

**69.** (US Aug 28 '46) What would you say is the greatest advantage of our type of government? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, don't know | 21% |
| None | 1 |
| Freedom | 24 |
| Freedom of speech, press | 19 |
| Free enterprise, competition in business | 3 |
| People have voice in government—democracy | 17 |
| Freedom of opportunity | 7 |
| Freedom of worship | 5 |
| Equal rights | 5 |
| Four freedoms | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 6 |
| | 112%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**70.** (US Sept 11 '46) As you look back, what do you think is the best thing that was done by the Roosevelt administration? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Bank holiday | 12% |
| Helped the working man, aid to labor | 7 |
| Got us out of the depression | 4 |
| Helped the unemployed, relief for the unemployed, starving | 7 |
| Social security—OAA | 14 |
| WPA, government job projects | 5 |
| NRA | 1 |
| Civilian Conservation Corps | 3 |
| Nothing | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 11 |
| New Deal policies | 1 |
| Foreign policy | 3 |
| Prepared United States for war | 2 |
| Conduct of war | 6 |
| OPA | 2 |
| Paralysis fund | 2 |
| Bank insurance, federal deposit insurance | 3 |
| Helping poor people | 7 |
| Everything | 1 |
| Don't know, no answer | 14 |
| | 109%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**71.** (US Sept 11 '46) What do you think is the chief mistake that the Roosevelt administration made? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too lenient with Britain | 2% |
| Spent too much money | 8 |
| AAA—agricultural policy | 4 |
| Too tolerant and lenient with labor | 8 |
| Not alert on Pearl Harbor affair | 4 |
| Deals with Russia | 2 |
| Secret treaties | 2 |
| Poor selection of advisors, poor advice | 1 |
| No mistakes | 7 |
| Miscellaneous | 8 |
| Everything | 1 |
| Poor handling of problems connected with the war | 8 |
| Poor handling of domestic problems, poor domestic policies (general) | 6 |
| Foreign policy—general | 1 |
| Grabbing too much power—in office 12 years | 3 |
| Too much aid to allies | 1 |
| Steering away from Wallace | 1 |
| Relief | 2 |
| Supreme Court proposals | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| WPA | 4% |
| NRA | 2 |
| Don't know, no answer | 26 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**72.** (US Dec '46) Here is a list of some things the government in Washington might try to do in the next year. Which two things on the list would you pick as the most important to make an immediate start on? Asked of a national cross-section of World War II Veterans. (FOR)

| | | BY ECONOMIC LEVEL | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *National total* | *Prosperous* | *Upper middle* | *Lower middle* | *Poor* |
| | % | % | % | % | % |
| Make better housing available | 51.6 | 36.2 | 52.3 | 53.6 | 47.0 |
| Prevent inflation | 43.7 | 58.2 | 48.8 | 46.1 | 24.6 |
| Arrange for international control of the atomic bomb | 21.4 | 22.4 | 25.6 | 20.6 | 18.0 |
| Regulate labor unions more strictly | 20.6 | 38.8 | 31.1 | 19.0 | 6.0 |
| Pay a cash bonus to veterans | 20.6 | 4.1 | 6.5 | 20.3 | 45.9 |
| Make more jobs available | 16.1 | 5.6 | 9.2 | 14.8 | 33.0 |
| Reduce taxes | 13.4 | 12.8 | 12.5 | 13.8 | 12.8 |
| Tell more people abroad about our way of life | 5.9 | 16.8 | 7.8 | 4.9 | 3.5 |
| Regulate business more strictly | 3.7 | 3.6 | 3.5 | 4.2 | 2.6 |
| Others (volunteered) | 1.1 | 0.5 | 1.9 | 0.6 | 2.1 |
| None of the above | * | * | 0.1 | * | * |
| Don't know | 0.7 | * | 0.5 | 0.4 | 2.1 |
| Percentages** | 198.8 | 199.0 | 199.8 | 198.3 | 197.6 |

* Less than 0.1%.

** Percentages add to considerably more than 100 because the veterans were encouraged to give more than one answer.

## Race Question

**1.** (US Mar 19 '39) The Daughters of the American Revolution would not let a well-known Negro singer give a concert in one of their halls. As a protest against this, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt resigned from the organization. Do you approve of her action? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 67% | 33% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 68% | 32% |
| Republicans | 63 | 37 |
| BY SEX | | |
| Women | 69% | 31% |
| Men | 66 | 34 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 79% | 21% |
| Middle Atlantic | 75 | 25 |
| East central | 71 | 29 |
| West central | 65 | 35 |
| South | 43 | 57 |
| West | 80 | 20 |

**2.** (US June 9 '42) Should Negro and white soldiers serve together in all branches of the armed forces? (AIPO)

Yes 41% No 51% No opinion 8%

**3.** (US June 20 '42) If we win the war, do you think the Negroes will be treated better than they are now, or worse, or about the same? (NORC)

Better 21% Worse 1% Same 69% Don't know 9%

**4.** (US June 20 '42) Do you think most Negroes are pretty well satisfied with things in this country, or do you think most of them are dissatisfied? (NORC)

| | *Satisfied* | *Dissatisfied* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 62% | 24% | 14% |
| (Nov 3 '42) | 54 | 35 | 11 |

**5.** (US June 20 '42) Do you think the Negroes as a whole are better off or worse off now, than they were before the war started? (NORC)

Better 40% Worse 2% Same 23% Don't know 35%

**6.** (US June 20 '42) Do you think the average Negro makes just as good a soldier as the average white man? (NORC)

Yes 55% No 28% Don't know 17%

**7.** (US June 20 '42) Do you think a Negro makes just as good an airplane pilot as a white man—if they both have the same education and training? (NORC)

Yes 49% No 30% Don't know 21%

**8.** (US June 20 '42) Who do you think should lead Negro troops in the army—white officers, Negro officers, or both? (NORC)

White 28% Negro 28% Both 39% Don't know 5%

**9.** (US June 20 '42) Would you say that a Negro has the same chance as a white man to get ahead in the armed forces—if he has just as much ability? (NORC)

Yes 42% No 44% Don't know 14%

**10.** (US June 20 '42) Do you think Negroes should be given just as good a chance as white men to get ahead in the armed forces? (NORC)

Yes 72% No 22% Don't know 6%

**11.** (US June 20 '42) In general, do you think Negroes are as patriotic as white people in this country? (NORC)

Yes 63% No 23% Don't know 14%

**12.** (US June 20 '42) In general, do you think Negroes are as intelligent as white people—that is, can they learn things just as well if they are given the same education (and training)? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 48% | 10% |
| (May '44) | 44 | 48 | 8 |
| (May '46) National total | 57 | 37 | 6 |
| BY RACE | | | |
| White | 53% | 40% | 7% |
| Negro | 92 | 5 | 3 |

**13.** (US June 20 '42) Generally speaking, do you think there should be separate sections for Negroes in street cars and buses? (NORC)

Yes 51% No 44% Don't know 5%

**14.** (US June 20 '42) Do you think there should be separate restaurants for Negroes and white people? (NORC)

Yes 69% No 27% Don't know 4%

**15.** (US June 20 '42) Do you think there should be separate sections in towns and cities for Negroes to live in? (NORC)

Yes 84% No 14% Don't know 2%

**16.** (US June 20 '42) Let's put it another way. If a Negro with just as much income and education as you have, moved into your block, would it make any difference to you? (NORC)

Yes 62% No 35% Don't know 3%

**17.** (US June 20 '42) Which one of these things do you think white people would be most willing to grant the Negroes now? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Houses | 50% |
| Same places | 1 |
| Jobs | 17 |
| Wages | 22 |
| Don't know | 10 |

**18.** (US June 20 '42) Well, from the Negroes' point of view, which one of these things do you think Negroes themselves want most? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Houses | 10% |
| Same places | 16 |
| Jobs | 30 |
| Wages | 36 |
| Don't know | 8 |

**19.** (US June 20 '42) Do you think Negroes are getting all the opportunities they deserve in this country, or do you think that in general they are not being treated fairly? (NORC)

| | *All opportunities they deserve* | *Not being treated fairly* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 59% | 31% | 10% |
| (Nov 3 '42) | 61 | 33 | 6 |

**20.** (US June 20 '42) In general, who would you say is more to blame for the fact that Negroes don't have the same chances as white people in this country—the white people or the Negroes themselves? (NORC)

White people 30% Negroes 40% Both 17% Other 1%
Don't know 12%

**21.** (US Nov '43) Do you think Negroes have the same chance as white people to make a good living in this country? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *Qualified answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 44% | 53% | 3% | — |
| (May '44) | 50 | 41 | 3 | 6% |

**22.** (US May '44) Do you think most Negroes in the United States are being treated fairly or unfairly? (NORC)

| | *Fairly* | *Unfairly* | *Don't know* | *Qualified answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 60% | 25% | 9% | 6% |
| (May '46) | | | | |
| National total | 63 | 28 | 9 | |
| BY RACE | | | | |
| White | 66% | 25% | 9% | |
| Negro | 28 | 66 | 6 | |

**23.** (US May '44) From what you've heard, do most Negroes in the United States think they are being treated fairly or unfairly? (NORC)

Fairly 25% Unfairly 53% Qualified answer 1%
Don't know 21%

What would you say most Negroes consider unfair about the way they are being treated? Asked of 53% of the sample who said they believed that most Negroes in the United States thought they were being treated unfairly.

| | |
|---|---|
| Race prejudice | 22% |
| Segregation | 14 |
| Can't vote | 5 |
| Political | 2 |
| Employment | 14 |
| Low wages | 5 |
| Schools | 2 |
| Bad housing | 2 |
| Negroes don't know | * |
| Other answers | 1 |
| Don't know | 3 |
| | 70%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 53 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**24.** (US May '44) After the war do you expect Negroes and white people to get along with each other better, or not as well as they did before the war? (NORC)

Better 23% Not as well 39% Same 23%
Qualified answer 1% Don't know 14%

Why do you think so [that after the war Negroes and white people will get along with each other better, not as well, or the same as they did before the war]? Asked of 85% of the sample who expressed such opinions.

*Those answering "better"*

| | |
|---|---|
| Mutual understanding | 12% |
| Whites have learned from war | 2 |
| Improvement for Negroes | 2 |
| General trend toward arbitration | 2 |
| Sufficient work for all | * |
| Government will prevent trouble | 1 |
| Negro more educated | 1 |
| Appreciate what Negro did in war | 2 |
| Other answers | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 24%† |

*Those answering "not as well"*

| | |
|---|---|
| Economic | 7% |
| Political | * |
| Negro causes trouble to hold gains | 5 |
| War caused intimacy with whites | 9 |
| Agitation | 4 |
| Negro represents competition | 1 |
| Whites will cause trouble | 4 |
| Negro resents treatment from Southerner | * |
| Negro wants equality due to helping win war | 3 |
| Other answers | 1 |
| Northern people causing trouble among Negroes | 1 |
| General prejudice on part of whites | 2 |
| General unrest after the war | 1 |
| Nothing being done to prevent trouble | * |
| Negroes already complaining | 6 |
| Negro not doing his part in war | * |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 45%** |

*Those answering "same"*

| | |
|---|---|
| War will not remove prejudice | 5% |
| Nothing is being done on Negro problem | 5 |
| Due to economic postwar condition | 1 |
| Whites will not change | 2 |
| Negro will not change | 1 |
| Negro satisfied from gains during war | 1 |
| Government will prevent trouble | * |
| Negro more educated | * |

| | |
|---|---|
| Normalcy after war | 7% |
| Appreciation for what Negro did in war | * |
| Contacts made for friendliness | 1 |
| Other answers | * |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 24%† |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 39 because some respondents gave several answers.
† Percentages add to more than 23 because some respondents gave several answers.

**25.** (US May '44) As far as you know, is Negro blood the same as white blood or is it different in some way? (NORC)

| | *Same* | *Different* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 36% | 32% | 32% |
| (May '46) | | | |
| National total | 44% | 30% | 26% |
| BY RACE | | | |
| Negro | 68% | 17% | 15% |
| White | 42 | 31 | 27 |

**26.** (US May '44) From what you know, do you think most Negroes in this town would rather go places where only Negroes go, or do you think they would rather go places where white people also go? (NORC)

Only Negroes 53% White people 34% Don't know 13%

**27.** (US May '44) Do you think some restaurants in this town should serve both Negro and white people? (NORC)

Yes 46% No 47% Don't know 4% Qualified answer 3%

Why don't you think so? Asked of 47% of the sample who thought that no restaurants in their town should serve both Negro and white people.

| | |
|---|---|
| Negroes are not clean | 5% |
| Negroes bold, obnoxious, unmannered | 1 |
| They're different, different habits | 1 |
| Whites would stop patronizing | 3 |
| Indignation expressed, whites a superior race | 16 |
| Would lead to social equality | 2 |
| Both races prefer privacy | 3 |
| Just a matter of custom, never have mixed | 6 |
| It would cause trouble, riots | 5 |
| Other answers | 2 |
| Should be separate, segregate | 6 |
| Don't know | * |
| | 50%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 47 because some respondents gave more than one reason.

**28.** (US May '44) Do you think you would eat in a restaurant that served both Negro and white people? (NORC)

Yes 51% No 42% Don't know 1% Qualified answer 6%

If a Negro were sitting at one table would you sit at a table next to his? Asked of 51% of the sample who said they would eat in a restaurant that served both Negro and white people.

Yes 43% No 4% Don't know 1% Qualified answer 3%

**29.** (US May '44) Do you think anything should be done about making it possible for Negroes to have better housing than most of them have now? (NORC)

Yes 69% No 22% Don't know 9% Qualified answer *

What do you think should be done? Asked of 69% of the sample who thought that something should be done.

| | |
|---|---|
| Government housing projects | 28% |
| Improve housing standards by law, good sections | 25 |
| Lower rents | 2 |
| Educate them, health, playground projects | 5 |
| Segregate in one part of the country | 1 |
| Move Negroes to rural sections, farms | 1 |
| Allow Negroes to live in good sections | 2 |
| Economic equality, give them better jobs | 4 |
| Other answers | 2 |
| Segregate them, keep separate | 1 |
| Don't know | 7 |
| | 78%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 69 because some respondents suggested more than one change.

**30.** (US May '44) Would it make any difference to you if a Negro family moved in next door to you? (NORC)

Yes 69% No 22% Don't know 2% Qualified answer 7%

Why would it make a difference? Asked of 69% of the sample who said that such a thing would make a difference to them.

| | |
|---|---|
| Real estate depreciates | 10% |
| Whites and Negroes not ready for this relationship | 1 |
| Negro undesirable neighbor, dirty, untidy | 5 |
| Negro undesirable because immoral, arrogant | 7 |
| Negroes are basically different | 4 |
| Association would be objectionable | 22 |
| That would be too close to Negro, I'm white | 22 |
| One Negro family would bring in more | 3 |
| Other answers | 1 |
| Should be separate, segregate | 4 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 80%* |

* Percentages add to more than 69 because some respondents gave more than one reason.

**31.** (US May '44) Since the war started, do you know if there have been any riots between Negroes and white people anywhere in the United States? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, no special place | 5% |
| Detroit | 45 |
| Haven't heard | 28 |
| Los Angeles, New York, Mobile, Beaumont | 24 |
| Other places | 22 |
| | 124%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents named more than one place.

**32.** (US May '44) Do you think all Negroes are pretty much alike? (NORC)

Yes 39% No 57% Don't know 4%

**33.** (US May '44) Do you think all white people are pretty much alike? (NORC)

Yes 25% No 74% Don't know 1%

## Territorial Expansion

**1.** (US Nov 12 '39) Would you be willing to see the United States trade the war debts which the English owe us for some islands near the Panama Canal (in the West Indies)? A comparable cross-section was asked: Would you like to see, etc.? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 66% No 34%

**2.** (US Dec '39) If England and France want to buy here and have no more cash, should we provide them with funds by

buying from their possessions and investments in South America and other parts of the Western Hemisphere? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 44.6% | 39.2% | 16.2% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 48.3% | 38.8% | 12.9% |
| Poor | 42.6 | 38.0 | 19.4 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Executives | 61.4% | 32.7% | 5.9% |
| Factory labor | 52.2 | 35.6 | 12.2 |

**3.** (US June 14 '40) If the Allies need more money for running the war, would you be in favor of the United States and other American republics buying the British, French, and Dutch possessions in the area of the Panama Canal? When a comparable cross-section was asked the question, respondents were shown a map of these possessions in the Panama Canal area. Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 81% No 19%

**4.** (US July '40) If England and France run out of cash and want to buy more supplies here, should we provide them with the cash by buying some of their territory on this side of the ocean? (FOR)

Yes 61.4% No 22.0% Don't know 16.6%

**5.** (US Dec 13 '40) If England offers to pay its World War debt to the United States by giving us islands or land near the Panama Canal, would you approve our accepting this offer? (AIPO)

Yes 88% No 12% No opinion (10%)

**6.** US Mar 15 '46) Would you favor admitting Hawaii into the Union as a state? A comparable cross-section was asked: A vote of the people in the Territory of Hawaii showed a majority wanted Hawaii to be admitted into the Union as the 49th state. Would you favor admitting Hawaii as a state? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 48% No 23% No opinion 29%

(Feb 13 '46) Would you favor admitting Hawaii into the Union as a state?

Yes 58% No 19% No opinion 23%

**7.** (US Mar 15 '46) Would you favor or oppose having Hawaii admitted as a 49th state in the Union? (AIPO)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 60% | 19% | 21% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 61% | 17% | 22% |
| Republicans | 61 | 21 | 18 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 62% | 20% | 18% |
| East and West central | 59 | 20 | 21 |
| South | 55 | 16 | 29 |
| Far West | 66 | 15 | 19 |
| Pacific coast | 68 | 18 | 14 |

**8.** (US Sept 21 '46) Would you favor or oppose having Alaska admitted as a 49th state in the Union? (AIPO)

Favor 64% Oppose 12% No opinion 24%

## VACATIONS

**1.** (US July '36) How many days' vacation do you expect to have this year? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1–7 days | 14.0% |
| 8–16 days | 28.3 |
| 17–21 days | 2.0 |
| 22–30 days | 3.5 |
| Over 30 days | 3.2 |
| None | 44.6 |
| Don't know | 4.4 |

How far do you expect to go from home (one way)?

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 50 miles | 11.7% |
| 50–100 miles | 13.2 |
| 100–500 miles | 39.5 |
| Over 500 miles | 26.3 |
| Don't go away | 1.9 |
| Don't know | 7.4 |

**2.** (US July '36) Has (would) the (proposed) reduction in railway fares from three and a half to two cents a mile made (make) a difference in your vacation plans? (FOR)

Yes 16.5% No 81.3% No answer 2.2%

**3.** (US July 12 '37) If someone paid all your expenses, where would you like to go on a two months' vacation? (AIPO)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | California | 11% |
| | Europe | 7 |
| | Cover United States | 6 |
| | Florida | 4 |
| | Western United States | 4 |
| | Canada | 3 |
| | Around world | 3 |
| | Alaska | 2 |
| | Yellowstone National Park | 2 |
| | Hawaii | 2 |
| | South America | 2 |
| | England | 2 |
| | Home town | 2 |
| | All others | 44 |
| | No answer | 6 |
| (July 26 '37) | California | 12% |
| | Europe | 8 |
| | Florida | 6 |
| | United States (travel) | 5 |
| | Canada | 3 |
| | West | 3 |
| | Hawaii | 3 |
| | New York City | 2 |
| | Southern states | 2 |
| | Colorado | 2 |
| | To the mountains | 2 |
| | All others | 44 |
| | No answer | 8 |

**4.** (US July 26 '37) Would you rather have a vacation in the summer or in the winter? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Summer | 72% |
| Winter | 21 |
| No opinion | 6 |
| Fall | 1 |

**5.** (Great Britain June 12 '39) Can you afford a holiday of a week or more away from home this summer? (BIPO)

Yes 59% No 41%

What are you doing on your holiday? Asked of 59% of sample who said they could afford a holiday of a week or more away from home this summer.

| | |
|---|---|
| Seaside | 44% |
| Country | 21 |
| Abroad | 10 |
| Motoring | 6 |
| Staying at home | 5 |
| Rambling | 4 |
| Camping | 3 |
| Cruising | 2 |
| Visiting | 2 |
| Don't get a holiday | 1 |
| Yachting | 1 |
| Cycling | 1 |

In what month will you take your vacation? Asked of 59% of sample who said they could afford a holiday of a week or more away from home this summer.

| | |
|---|---|
| May | 1% |
| June | 12 |
| July | 26 |
| August | 48 |
| September | 11 |
| October | 1 |
| Other | 1 |

**6.** (US June 7 '39) What kind of place do you like best to go for a vacation—lake, mountains, seashore, or some other place? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Lake | 25% |
| Mountains | 34 |
| Seashore | 22 |
| Other | 7 |

**7.** (US June 7 '39) Do you (or your husband) usually get a vacation with pay each year? (AIPO)

Yes 27% No 73%

**8.** (US June 7 '39) Are you getting a vacation this year? (AIPO)

Yes 33% No 53% Don't know 14%

How long will it [your vacation] last? Asked of 33% of the sample who were getting a vacation this year.

| | |
|---|---|
| One week or less | 8% |
| Over 1 week to 2 weeks | 16 |
| Over 2 weeks to 3 weeks | 2 |
| Over 3 weeks to 4 weeks | 3 |
| Over 4 weeks | 2 |
| No answer | 2 |

Do you plan to go on a trip? Asked of 33% of the sample who were getting a vacation this year.

Yes 22% No 8% Don't know 3%

**9.** (US June 7 '39) Do you get a vacation with pay this year? (AIPO)

Yes 25% No 75%

How long will it [your vacation] last? Asked of 25% of the sample who were getting a vacation with pay this year.

| | |
|---|---|
| One week or less | 5% |
| Over 1 week to 2 weeks | 14 |
| Over 2 weeks to 3 weeks | 1 |
| Over 3 weeks to 4 weeks | 2 |
| Over 4 weeks | 2 |
| No answer | 1 |

Do you plan to go on a trip? Asked of 25% of the sample who were getting a vacation with pay this year.

Yes 17% No 6% Don't know 2%

**10.** (Great Britain June '42) Are you taking a summer holiday this year? (BIPO)

Yes 48% No 52%

**11.** (US Sept 29 '42) Did you take a vacation last winter? (AIPO)

Yes 9% No 91%

Where did you go [on your vacation]? Asked of 9% of the sample who took a vacation last winter.

| | |
|---|---|
| New York | 1% |
| Middle Atlantic states | 1 |
| Northeast central states | 1 |
| Northwest central states | 1 |
| Florida | 1 |
| Southwestern states | 1 |
| Northwestern states | 1 |
| California | 1 |

**12.** (US Sept 29 '42) Have you made any plans to take a vacation trip this winter? (AIPO)

Yes 5% No 95%

Where do you plan to go on your vacation trip this winter? Asked of 5% of the sample who had planned to take a vacation trip in the winter.

| | |
|---|---|
| New York | 1% |
| Northeast central states | 1 |
| Northwest central states | 1 |
| Florida, and the southwestern states | 1 |
| California | 1 |

How do you plan to go on your vacation this year? Asked of 5% of the sample who had made plans to take a vacation trip in the winter.

| | |
|---|---|
| Train | 3% |
| Bus | 1 |
| Automobile | 1 |
| Others | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

Is there any special reason why you plan to take a vacation this winter? Asked of 5% of the sample who had planned to take a vacation trip in the winter.

| | |
|---|---|
| For health reasons | 1% |
| Company gives it them | 1 |
| Visit relatives, parents | 1 |
| Other | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |

**13.** (Sweden Apr '43) How would you like to spend a fortnight's holiday? How did you spend your holiday last year? (SGI)

| | *Holiday wanted* | *Holiday last year* |
|---|---|---|
| Seaside or health resort on the coast | 21.0% | 5.5% |
| Summer home or farm | 14.5 | 11.0 |
| Cycling, camping | 12.0 | 8.0 |
| Traveling as a tourist | 8.5 | 2.0 |
| At home | 7.5 | 11.5 |
| Mountains | 7.0 | 1.0 |
| Travel to a certain city | 7.0 | 6.5 |
| Bathing place or health resort inland | 3.5 | 1.5 |
| Other | 5.0 | 5.0 |
| Don't know | 14.0 | — |
| No holiday last year | — | 8.0 |
| Unspecified | — | 40.0 |

**14.** (Sweden Apr '43) How long was your summer holiday last year? (SGI)

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Upper classes* | *Middle classes* | *Workers* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Less than one week | 4% | 5% | 3% |
| 1 week | 5 | 12 | 13 |
| 2 weeks | 22 | 17 | 28 |
| 3 weeks | 12 | 6 | 3 |
| 4 weeks or more | 29 | 9 | 3 |
| No summer holiday last year | 21 | 43 | 40 |
| Unspecified | 7 | 8 | 10 |

**15.** (Great Britain Mar '44) Do you intend to arrange a holiday away from home this year? (BIPO)

Yes 34% No 57% Don't know 9%

Have you already arranged your accommodation [for your holiday]? Asked of 34% of the sample who intended to take a holiday this year.

Yes 15% No 19%

**16.** (Denmark June 4 '44) Which summer month do you consider the best for a holiday at the seaside? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| May | 0.5% |
| June | 12.0 |
| July | 67.0 |
| August | 14.0 |
| September | 1.0 |
| Don't know | 5.5 |

**17.** (Denmark June 11 '44) Which summer month do you consider the best for taking a holiday in the country (not seaside)? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| May | 3% |
| June | 14 |
| July | 47 |
| August | 22 |
| September | 5 |
| Don't know | 9 |

**18.** (Denmark June 18 '44) How would you like to spend 14 days' summer holiday, if it were possible for you to do so, and how did you spend your summer holiday last year? (DGI)

| | *This year* | *Last year* |
|---|---|---|
| Seaside | 23.0% | 7.0% |
| Stay at a farm | 15.0 | 13.0 |
| Stay at one's own house | 13.0 | 7.0 |
| Cycling | 12.0 | 8.0 |
| In the country | 4.0 | 2.0 |
| Visiting family | 4.0 | 9.0 |
| At home | 4.0 | 19.0 |
| Traveling around | 2.0 | — |
| Sailing | 2.0 | 1.0 |
| Visit Copenhagen | 2.0 | 2.0 |
| Hiking | 1.0 | 0.5 |
| Camping | 0.6 | 0.6 |
| Allotment gardening, etc. | 0.6 | 2.0 |
| Other ways | 1.8 | 4.9 |
| No holidays | 1.0 | 24.0 |
| Don't know | 14.0 | — |

**19.** (Denmark July 16 '44) Where in Denmark would you prefer to spend 14 days' summer holiday? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Bornholm | 8% |
| Nordsjælland | 6 |
| Vestkysten | 5 |
| Jylland | 4 |
| København | 3 |
| Sjælland | 3 |
| Fyen | 3 |
| Silkeborg | 3% |
| Skagen | 2 |
| Sønderjylland | 2 |
| Vejle | 1 |
| Other places | 30 |
| Don't know | 30 |

Why? [Referring to preference for spending 14 days' summer holiday.]

| | |
|---|---|
| Beautiful country | 32% |
| Have relatives there | 20 |
| Never been there before | 10 |
| Spent childhood there | 9 |
| Good beach | 7 |
| Used to go there | 5 |
| Have heard about the place | 2 |
| Near home | 2 |
| Peaceful and quiet | 2 |
| Don't know | 11 |

Is it possible for you to do it [spend 14 days' summer holiday some where in Denmark]?

Yes 58% No 35% Don't know 7%

**20.** (Great Britain May '45) Have you booked holiday accommodation? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 33% |
| Tried and failed | 4 |
| Still trying | 13 |
| No holiday away | 46 |
| No plans to yet | 4 |

Are you having to pay more than you wanted to pay? Asked of 33% of the sample who had booked holiday accommodations.

Yes 15% No 18%

Do you think that the charge is excessive? Asked of 33% of the sample who had booked holiday accommodations.

Yes 12% No 21%

**21.** (Denmark Aug 4 '45) Do you think that a housewife should have her holiday by herself, without husband and children? (DGI)

Yes 26% No 64% Don't know 10%

**22.** (Canada Sept 26 '45) Have you had a vacation this summer, or do you plan to have one? (CIPO)

Had vacation 53% No vacation 45% Undecided 2%

**23.** (Great Britain Sept 29 '45) Did you go on a summer holiday? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 51% | 49% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 52% | 48% |
| Women | 49 | 51 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 21–29 years | 61% | 39% |
| 30–49 years | 53 | 47 |
| 50 years and over | 45 | 55 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Higher income | 78% | 22% |
| Middle income | 68 | 32 |
| Lower income | 43 | 57 |

What kind of accommodation did you have? Asked of 51% of the sample who went away on a summer holiday.

| | *Hotel* | *Boarding house* | *Rooms* | *Other* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9% | 16% | 9% | 17% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 11% | 14% | 10% | 17% |
| Women | 6 | 17 | 8 | 18 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 8% | 19% | 7% | 27% |
| 30–49 years | 8 | 18 | 10 | 17 |
| 50 years and over | 9 | 12 | 9 | 15 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher income | 44% | 14% | 6% | 14% |
| Middle income | 16 | 25 | 8 | 19 |
| Lower income | 3 | 13 | 10 | 17 |

Do you think you got value for your money [in holiday accommodations]? Asked of 51% of the sample who went away on a summer holiday.

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 30% | 13% | 8% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 31% | 14% | 7% |
| Women | 29 | 12 | 8 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 35% | 16% | 10% |
| 30–49 years | 31 | 15 | 7 |
| 50 years and over | 26 | 11 | 8 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher income | 48% | 25% | 5% |
| Middle income | 39 | 20 | 9 |
| Lower income | 26 | 10 | 7 |

**24.** (Great Britain Apr 27 '46) Have you booked holiday accommodation? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *Tried and failed* | *Still trying* | *No holiday away* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 35% | 2% | 13% | 50% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 35% | 2% | 11% | 52% |
| Women | 36 | 3 | 14 | 47 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 36% | 2% | 15% | 47% |
| 30–49 years | 37 | 3 | 15 | 45 |
| 50 years and over | 33 | 2 | 8 | 57 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher income | 58% | — | 9% | 33% |
| Middle income | 44 | 3% | 15 | 38 |
| Lower income | 30 | 2 | 12 | 56 |

What is it? Asked of 35% of the sample who said they had booked holiday accommodations.

| | *Boarding house* | *Private lodgings* | *Hotel* | *Holiday camp* | *Other* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 29% | 26% | 19% | 9% | 17% |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 24% | 28% | 22% | 10% | 16% |
| Women | 33 | 24 | 16 | 9 | 18 |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 32% | 18% | 15% | 16% | 19% |
| 30–49 years | 31 | 24 | 17 | 10 | 18 |
| 50 years and over | 24 | 33 | 22 | 5 | 16 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Higher income | 3% | 16% | 60% | 1% | 20% |
| Middle income | 23 | 28 | 23 | 6 | 20 |
| Lower income | 37 | 27 | 8 | 13 | 15 |

Are you having to pay more than you wanted to pay [for your holiday accommodations]?

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 39% | 61% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 34% | 66% |
| Women | 43 | 57 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 21–29 years | 38% | 62% |
| 30–49 years | 40 | 60 |
| 50 years and over | 37 | 63 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Higher income | 40% | 60% |
| Middle income | 35 | 65 |
| Lower income | 22 | 78 |

Do you think that the charge is excessive? Asked of 35% of the sample who said they had booked holiday accommodations.

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 29% | 66% | 5% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 26% | 70% | 4% |
| Women | 33 | 62 | 5 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 26% | 69% | 5% |
| 30–49 years | 32 | 64 | 4 |
| 50 years and over | 27 | 68 | 5 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher income | 25% | 70% | 5% |
| Middle income | 27 | 69 | 4 |
| Lower income | 31 | 64 | 5 |

**25.** (France May 1 '46) At what time of the year would you prefer to take your vacation? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Spring | 14% |
| Summer (no month named) | 21 |
| July | 11 |
| August | 23 |
| September | 6 |
| Autumn | 3 |
| Winter | 10 |
| No opinion | 12 |

**26.** (France May 1 '46) In what part of France would you prefer to take your vacation? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Southern France (Cote d'Azur) | 27% |
| Alps | 12 |
| Brittany | 12 |
| Pyrenees | 7 |
| Central France | 5 |
| Western beaches | 5 |
| Northern shore | 4 |
| Vosges Mountains | 2 |
| Paris | 2 |
| Jura | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Country | 6% |
| Sea | 4 |
| Mountains | 2 |
| Colonies or abroad | 1 |
| Undecided | 10 |

**27.** (Norway June 28 '46) Where would you prefer to spend your summer holidays this year? (NGI)

| | *In the mountains* | *By the seaside* | *Abroad* | *Other places* | *Never have a holiday* | *Mountains and seaside* | *At home* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 26% | 16% | 10% | 3% | 1% | 1% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | | |
| Men | 37% | 25% | 14% | 9% | 4% | 1% | 2% | 8% |
| Women | 30 | 26 | 17 | 11 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 12 |
| BY AGE | | | | | | | | |
| 18–25 years | 32% | 31% | 22% | 7% | 1% | — | — | 7% |
| 25–35 years | 35 | 28 | 19 | 7 | 2 | 1% | 1% | 7 |
| 35–50 years | 37 | 23 | 14 | 12 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 9 |
| 50 years and over | 30 | 25 | 11 | 11 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 14 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | | |
| Higher | 26% | 37% | 13% | 10% | 3% | 2% | — | 9% |
| Middle | 32 | 29 | 20 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 2% | 6 |
| Lower | 34 | 25 | 15 | 10 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 10 |

**28.** (US Aug '46) Who do you think should have the most to say in deciding where to spend a vacation, the husband or the wife? (FOR)

| | *Husband* | *Wife* | *Both the same* | *Depends* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 11.8% | 13.5% | 64.3% | 4.5% | 5.9% |
| Women | 12.8 | 8.5 | 69.4 | 3.8 | 5.5 |

**29.** (US Oct '46) It has been said that the trouble with vacations is that they are too short. Do you feel you could do a better job if you had more vacation time than you now take, less, or is your present vacation about right? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

More 32.9% Less 2.0% About right 65.1%

**30.** (US Oct '46) How much vacation will you take this year? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *None* | *One week* | *Two weeks* | *Three weeks* | *Four weeks* | *More than four weeks* | *Weekends only* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| National total | 11.4 | 9.5 | 24.9 | 22.0 | 21.4 | 10.1 | 0.7 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Greater New York | 7.8 | 5.9 | 18.6 | 24.4 | 30.4 | 12.1 | 0.8 |
| Remainder of the Northeast | 11.1 | 11.7 | 26.4 | 21.9 | 18.4 | 9.4 | 1.1 |
| South | 17.4 | 10.5 | 39.3 | 18.6 | 9.6 | 4.0 | 0.6 |
| Midwest | 12.1 | 8.7 | 22.8 | 21.9 | 22.8 | 11.5 | 0.2 |
| Far West | 15.9 | 11.2 | 29.0 | 17.7 | 16.8 | 7.5 | 1.9 |

**31.** (France Oct 1 '46) Did you take a vacation this summer? (FIPO)

Yes 59% No 41%

Did you have a good vacation? Asked of 59% of the sample who took a vacation.

| | *Very good* | *Good enough* | *Not very good* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41% | 42% | 15% | 2% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Workers | 36% | 43% | 19% | 2% |
| Farmers | 31 | 49 | 18 | 2 |
| White-collar | 45 | 40 | 14 | 1 |
| Professionals | 42 | 43 | 12 | 3 |
| Business | 48 | 40 | 9 | 3 |
| Private income and pensions | 35 | 59 | 6 | — |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Communists | 19% | 28% | 15% | 38% |
| Socialists | 23 | 31 | 10 | 36 |
| Radical-socialists | 25 | 17 | 11 | 47 |
| MRP | 30 | 24 | 6 | 40 |
| PRL | 27 | 27 | 3 | 43 |

On the whole, did you have good weather? Asked of 59% of the sample who took a vacation.

| | |
|---|---|
| Good weather | 32% |
| Bad weather | 26 |
| Neither good nor bad weather | 19 |
| Sometimes good, sometimes bad | 23 |

## VEGETABLE GARDENING

**1.** (Great Britain Apr 10 '39) Have you a flower or vegetable garden? (BIPO)

Yes 58% No 42%

**2.** (Great Britain Dec '39) Since the war began, has your family started growing foodstuffs or keeping any kind of livestock? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Did so before the war* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 15% | 68% | 17% |
| (Mar '41) | 33 | 43 | 24 |

**3.** (US Apr 15 '42) Do you plan to have a vegetable garden this spring? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *No place for one* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 52% | 27% | 2% | 19% |

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| (Jan 23 '43) | 54% | 44% | 2% |

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* | *No place for one* | *Already have one* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Apr 13 '46) | 46% | 31% | 1% | 18% | 4% |

**4.** (US Apr 15 '42) Did you have a vegetable garden last year? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| | 41% | 59% |
| (Jan 7 '43) | 48 | 52 |
| (May 12 '43) | 53 | 47 |

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| (May 9 '44)... | 62% | 25% | 13% |

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* | *No place for one* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (May 29 '45)... | 57% | 30% | 1% | 12% |
| (Mar 13 '46)... | 47 | 37 | 1 | 15 |

**5.** (Great Britain Oct '42) Does your family grow any of its own vegetables? (BIPO)

Yes 59% No 41%

Will you be growing your own vegetables next year?

Yes 60% No 30% Don't know 10%

**6.** (US Apr 2 '43) Do you plan to have a vegetable garden for home consumption this year? (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 17% Don't know 2% No place for one 20%

**7.** (Canada May 5 '43) Do you plan to have a vegetable garden for your own use this year? Those who planned to have a vegetable garden were asked: Will it be a larger or smaller garden than you had last year? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Larger garden | 23% |
| Smaller garden | 2 |
| About the same | 24 |
| No garden last year | 8 |
| Don't plan to have a garden | 41 |
| Not sure | 2 |

(May 24 '44)

| | |
|---|---|
| Larger garden | 15% |
| Smaller garden | 4 |
| About the same | 36 |
| No garden last year | 3 |
| Don't plan to have one | 39 |
| Not sure | 3 |

**8.** (US June 12 '43) Have you put in a vegetable garden? (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 25% No opinion 18%

Do you plan to have one [a vegetable garden]? Asked of 25% of the sample who had not put in a vegetable garden.

Yes 35% No 65%

**9.** (Great Britain Aug 22 '43) Have you a garden or allotment? (BIPO)

Yes 61% No 39%

**10.** (US Jan 15 '44) Did you have a victory garden last year? (NORC)

Yes 64% No 36% No answer Less than 0.5%

Did you get more food out of it [victory garden] than you needed for your daily use? Asked of 64% of the sample who had a victory garden last year.

Yes 43% No 21%

What did you do with the food you couldn't eat right away? Asked of 43% of the sample who got more food out of their victory garden last year than they needed for their daily use.

| | |
|---|---|
| Canned it | 36% |
| Gave it away | 14 |
| Sold it | 6 |
| Stored it | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Nothing left in ground | * |
| Don't know | * |
| | 62%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 43 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Apr 8 '44) Did you have a victory garden last year?

Yes 64% No 36%

Do you plan to have one [victory garden] this year?

Yes 61% No 34% Don't know 5%

Do you plan to raise more food this year, about the same amount, or less than you raised last year? Asked of 56% of the sample who had victory gardens last year and planned to have one this year.

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 22% |
| About the same | 30 |
| Less | 3 |
| Don't know | 1 |

(May 18 '44) Did you have a victory garden last year?

Yes 63% No 37%

Do you have one [victory garden] this year?

Yes 60% No 40%

Why not? Asked of 40% of the sample who did not have a victory garden this year.

| | |
|---|---|
| No place for a victory garden | 20% |
| No time for a victory garden | 7 |
| Miscellaneous personal reasons | 7 |
| Soil bad or conditions poor | 2 |
| A victory garden doesn't pay | 1 |
| Lack of help | 1 |
| Lack of gasoline or poor tires | * |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know | 3 |
| | 41%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 40 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Do you plan to raise more food this year, about the same amount, or less than you raised last year? Asked of 55% of the sample who had a victory garden last year and inrended to have one this year.

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 20% |
| About the same | 29 |
| Less | 5 |
| Don't know | 1 |

Why [do you plan to raise more food]? Asked of 20% of the sample who planned to raise more food in their victory garden this year.

| | |
|---|---|
| To increase family food supply | 8% |
| More ground or better facilities this year | 5 |
| Patriotic reasons | 3 |
| For economic reasons | 2 |
| Enjoy experience and/or results | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 22%* |

* Percentages add to more than 20 as some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

In your opinion, did victory gardens help increase the food supply last year?

Yes 95% No 2% Don't know 3%

Did they [victory gardens] help [increase the food supply] a lot or only a little? Asked of 95% of the sample who thought victory gardens did help increase the food supply last year.

Helped a little 11% Helped a lot 81% Don't know 3%

**11.** (US Mar 25 '44) Did you have a vegetable garden for home consumption last year? (AIPO)

Yes 58% No 26% No place for one 16%

Do you plan to have one [vegetable garden] this year?

Yes 56% No 18% No place for one 24% Don't know 2%

Will it be a larger or smaller garden than you had last year? Asked of the sample of those who had a vegetable garden last year and planned to have one this year.

Larger 27% Smaller 7% Same 66%

**12.** (US May 31 '44) Have you started a vegetable garden this year? (AIPO)

Yes 54% No 31% No place for one 15%

Do you plan to have one [vegetable garden]? Asked of the sample who had not started a vegetable garden this year.

Yes 24% No 76%

(May 29 '45) Have you started a vegetable garden this year?

Yes 54% No 33% No answer 1% No place for one 12%

Do you plan to have one [vegetable garden]? Asked of 33% of the sample who had not started a vegetable garden.

Yes 4% No 27% No answer 2%

**13.** (US May 9 '44) Do you think there is as much need for victory gardens this year as there was last year? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who had not started a vegetable garden this year and did not plan to have one. (AIPO)

Yes 77% No 15% Don't know 8%

(May 29 '45) Do you think there is more need or less need for victory gardens this year than there was last year?

More 81% Less 2% Same 13% Don't know 4%

**14.** (US May 18 '44) How about this year—do you think that victory gardens are needed as much this year as last? (NORC)

Yes 91% No 5% Don't know 4%

Why not? Asked of 5% of the sample who thought victory gardens were not needed as much this year.

| | |
|---|---|
| There is more food now | 3% |
| Rationing has been taken off | 1 |
| Contribution of victory gardens is small | * |
| Better crops this year | * |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

(May 26 '44) How about this year—do you think that victory gardens are needed as much this year as last?

Yes 91% No 6% Don't know 3%

**15.** (US May 26 '44) In your opinion, did victory gardens help increase the food supply last year? (NORC)

Yes 94% No 2% Don't know 4%

Did they [victory gardens] help a lot or only a little? Asked of 94% of the sample who believed that victory gardens helped increase the food supply last year.

Helped a lot 77% Helped a little 15% Don't know 2%

**16.** (Germany May 8 '46) Have you a garden? Those who had a garden were asked: Approximately how large is it [your garden]? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, no answer | 1% |
| No | 40 |
| 10 square meters or less | 5 |
| 11–20 square meters | 6 |
| 21–59 square meters | 14 |
| 60–79 square meters | 4 |
| 80–99 square meters | 2 |
| 100–199 square meters | 10% |
| 200–399 square meters | 9 |
| 400–799 square meters | 5 |
| 800 square meters and over | 4 |

## VEGETARIANISM

**1.** (US Oct 2 '43) Many of the people in the United States are vegetarians, that is people who eat no fish, fowl, or meat of any kind. Do you happen to be a vegetarian? (AIPO)

Yes 4% No 96%

## VENEREAL DISEASES

**1.** (US Dec 20 '36) Would you be in favor of a government bureau that would distribute information concerning venereal diseases? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 90% | 10% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 91% | 9% |
| Middle Atlantic | 92 | 8 |
| East central | 90 | 10 |
| West central | 84 | 16 |
| South | 93 | 7 |
| Mountain | 92 | 8 |
| Pacific | 89 | 11 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | |
| Farmers | 88% | 12% |
| Small towns | 88 | 12 |
| Cities | 91 | 9 |

Should this bureau [to distribute information] set up clinics for the treatment of venereal diseases?

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 88% | 12% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 93% | 7% |
| Middle Atlantic | 92 | 8 |
| East central | 83 | 17 |
| West central | 81 | 19 |
| South | 93 | 7 |
| Mountain | 91 | 9 |
| Pacific coast | 83 | 17 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | |
| Farmers | 86% | 14% |
| Small towns | 85 | 15 |
| Big cities | 89 | 11 |

**2.** (US Jan '37) It is said that millions of Americans are unfit for parenthood because of venereal diseases. One noted authority has said that one of the best ways to curb this evil would be legalized controlled prostitution. Do you agree with him? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 50.5% | 30.9% | 18.6% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 52.7% | 32.8% | 14.5% |
| Women | 48.3 | 28.9 | 22.8 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| Under 40 years | 52.0% | 30.4% | 17.6% |
| Over 40 years | 49.2 | 31.3 | 19.5 |

**3.** (US May 9 '37) Should Congress appropriate twenty-five million dollars to help control venereal diseases? (AIPO)

Yes 79% No 21%

**4.** (US May 9 '37) New Hampshire legislators have voted to require a test for venereal diseases for all persons seeking marriage licenses. Would you favor such a law in this state? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 92% | 8% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 89% | 11% |
| Middle Atlantic | 94 | 6 |
| East central | 93 | 7 |
| West central | 89 | 11 |
| South | 93 | 7 |
| Rocky Mountain | 89 | 11 |
| Pacific coast | 94 | 6 |

**5.** (US May 17 '37) As a means to control social diseases do you favor providing free treatment for all persons afflicted, regardless of their circumstances? (AIPO)

Yes 77% No 23% = 100% No opinion 9%

**6.** (US May 17 '37) As a means to control social diseases, do you favor punishing by fine or imprisonment all persons afflicted who do not get treated? (AIPO)

Yes 73% No 27% = 100% No opinion 16%

**7.** (US July 12 '37) Illinois has passed a law requiring a test for venereal diseases for all persons applying for marriage licenses. Would you favor such a law in this state? (AIPO)

Yes 88% No 6% No opinion 6%

**8.** (US Aug 8 '37) The United States Department of Health is mailing a ballot to every family in Chicago, asking this question: "In strict confidence and at no expense to you, would you like to be given, by your physician, a blood test for syphilis?" How would you vote if you received this ballot? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 87% | 13% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 83% | 17% |
| Middle Atlantic | 88 | 12 |
| East central | 88 | 12 |
| West central | 84 | 16 |
| South | 90 | 10 |
| Rocky Mountain | 89 | 11 |
| Pacific coast | 82 | 18 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | |
| Farm | 88% | 12% |
| Small town | 89 | 11 |
| Urban | 86 | 14 |
| BY AGE | | |
| Men, average | 89% | 11% |
| Women, average | 85 | 15 |
| Young persons (18–24 years) | 90 | 10 |

**9.** (US Jan 26 '38) Would you favor a law requiring doctors to give every expectant mother a blood test for syphilis? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 88% | 12% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Women | 90% | 10% |
| Men | 87 | 13 |
| BY AGE (WOMEN ONLY) | | |
| 18–24 years | 93% | 7% |
| 25–34 years | 91 | 9 |
| 35–44 years | 89 | 11 |
| 45–54 years | 89 | 11 |
| 55 years and over | 84 | 16 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS (WOMEN ONLY) | | |
| Above average | 95% | 5% |
| Average | 88 | 12 |
| Below average | 95 | 5 |
| Poor | 90 | 10 |
| On relief | 81 | 19 |

**10.** (US May 15 '38) Do you think Congress should appropriate money to aid states in fighting venereal diseases? (AIPO)

Yes 86% No 14%

Would you be willing to pay higher taxes for this purpose [to fight venereal diseases]?

Yes 69% No 31%

**11.** (Great Britain Aug 22 '42) Would you be in favor of public bureaus to distribute information on venereal diseases? (BIPO)

Yes 79% No 8% Don't know 13%

**12.** (Great Britain Aug 22 '42) Would you favor a law requiring a test for venereal disease for all persons seeking marriage licenses? (BIPO)

Yes 64% No 19% Don't know 17%

**13.** (Australia Sept–Oct '42) Would you favor an outspoken press, radio, and pulpit campaign on venereal disease? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Favor | 78% |
| Oppose | 12 |
| Undecided | 8 |
| No answer | 2 |

**14.** (US Nov 13 '42) In order to control the spread of venereal disease around army camps, which of these plans do you favor: Require all prostitutes to take a regular weekly medical examination and quarantine those who are diseased, or conduct a police drive (rely upon continuous police action) to get rid of all prostitutes around army camps? (AIPO)

| | *Medical examination and quarantine* | *Police action* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 45% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 61% | 39% |
| Women | 49 | 51 |
| (Apr 10 '43) National total | 68% | 32% |

**15.** (Australia Feb '43) Should it be compulsory or voluntary for people with venereal disease to attend a clinic? (APOP)

Compulsory 95% Voluntary 2% Undecided 3%

**16.** (Great Britain Apr '43) Do you approve or disapprove of the government's campaign against venereal disease? (BIPO)

Approve 87% Disapprove 3% Don't know 10%

Is there anything more you think might be done against venereal disease?

| | |
|---|---|
| No | 30% |
| More information about venereal disease; straight talking; films, etc. | 13 |
| Sex education in general; hygiene taught in schools | 8 |
| Regular medical examination for all | 8 |
| Compulsory reporting and treatment | 6 |
| Licensed houses | 3 |
| More clinics | 2 |
| Tests before marriage | 2 |
| Less immorality | 2 |
| Don't know anything about it | 2 |
| Preventives for civilians too | — |
| Miscellaneous | 6 |
| No answer | 18 |

**17.** (Canada May 15 '43) Would you approve or disapprove of a law that would require both men and women to take a physical examination and blood test before they marry? (CIPO)

Approve 84% Disapprove 6% No opinion 10%

**18.** (Canada May 15 '43) Do you think it would be a good idea, or a bad idea if the government sponsored a campaign to give people more information about the treatment of venereal disease (such as syphilis or gonorrhoea), and made it possible for anyone to have an examination free of charge? (CIPO)

| | *Good idea* | *Bad idea* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 90% | 2% | 8% |
| (Feb 6 '46) | 93 | 4 | 3 |

**19.** (Canada June 21 '44) At the present time, the government is carrying on a widespread campaign against venereal disease. Do you think it would be a good idea or not to give lectures to senior high school students on this subject? (CIPO)

Good idea 93% Poor idea 4% Undecided 3%

**20.** (Canada June 21 '44) Do you think that any one having a venereal disease should be forced by law to take treatment free of charge until cured, or do you think this should be left for the person to decide? (CIPO)

Should force treatment 94% Leave to individual 4%
No opinion 2%

**21.** (Canada Feb 6 '46) In some provinces there is a law requiring both men and women to take a physical examination and blood test before they marry. Do you approve or disapprove of this law? (CIPO)

Approve 89% Disapprove 6% Undecided 5%

**22.** (Canada Feb 6 '46) In some states in the United States the law also compels mothers to be tested for venereal disease in order to make sure that the baby is born healthy. Do you think this is a good law or not? (CIPO)

Good law 85% Not a good law 7% Undecided 8%

**23.** (Sweden Apr '46) Do you think that school children should be taught the existence and significance of venereal disease? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *Yes, but only in certain forms* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 74% | 6% | 12% | 8% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 77% | 6% | 11% | 6% |
| Women | 72 | 6 | 14 | 8 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 76% | 14% | 8% | 2% |
| Middle class | 73 | 6 | 13 | 8 |
| Workers | 75 | 5 | 12 | 8 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 81% | 5% | 9% | 5% |
| 30–49 years | 79 | 6 | 10 | 5 |
| 50–64 years | 69 | 6 | 15 | 10 |
| 65 years and over | 54 | 5 | 23 | 18 |

At what age do you think they [the children] should be told [about venereal disease]? Asked of 80% of the sample who thought children should be taught the existence of venereal disease.

| | *Before 10 years* | *10–12 years* | *13–14 years* | *15–16 years* | *Later* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 1% | 16% | 39% | 20% | 2% | 2% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | |
| Women | 1% | 14% | 39% | 20% | 2% | 2% |
| Men | 1 | 19 | 39 | 20 | 2 | 2 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Upper class | 1% | 13% | 35% | 33% | 8% | — |
| Middle class | 1 | 12 | 39 | 23 | 2 | 2% |
| Workers | 1 | 20 | 40 | 17 | 2 | — |
| BY AGE | | | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 2% | 15% | 48% | 19% | 2% | — |
| 30–49 years | 1 | 18 | 41 | 20 | 2 | 3% |
| 50–64 years | 1 | 16 | 34 | 22 | 2 | — |
| 65 years and over | 1 | 11 | 25 | 17 | 2 | 3 |

**24.** (Sweden Apr '46) Should one do something about it if one has been infected with a venereal disease? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 94% | 6% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Women | 93% | 7% |
| Men | 95 | 5 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper class | 96% | 4% |
| Middle class | 94 | 6 |
| Workers | 94 | 6 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 20–29 years | 95% | 5% |
| 30–49 years | 97 | 3 |
| 50–64 years | 94 | 6 |
| 65 years and over | 81 | 19 |

**25.** (Sweden Apr '46) What do you think are the possibilities of curing syphilis? (SGI)

| | *Incurable* | *Curable* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 8% | 52% | 40% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Women | 8% | 45% | 47% |
| Men | 8 | 59 | 33 |

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Incurable* | *Curable* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Upper class | 7% | 71% | 22% |
| Middle class | 7 | 51 | 42 |
| Workers | 9 | 50 | 41 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 6% | 61% | 33% |
| 30–49 years | 8 | 57 | 35 |
| 50–64 years | 10 | 43 | 47 |
| 65 years and over | 10 | 28 | 62 |

## VETERANS

**1.** (Canada July 4 '42) From what you have seen or read, do you think the soldiers who returned from the last war were, on the whole, fairly or unfairly treated? (CIPO)

Fairly 39% Unfairly 45% Don't know 16%

**2.** (Canada July 4 '42) Do you think the soldiers who return from this war should be treated more generously than the veterans of the last war? (CIPO)

More generously 66% Not more generously 21%
Undecided 13%

**3.** (Canada Jan 27 '45) From what you have heard or read, do you think the government in this war is doing too much for returned men, or not doing enough for them? (CIPO)

About right 44% Not enough 40% Too much 2%
Don't know 14%

**4.** (US June 27 '45) Some people say that our army leaders will try to run this country after the war. Do you believe this? (AIPO)

Yes 9% No 73% Don't know 18%

**5.** (US July 27 '45) If war veterans get organized after this war into a strong political group, do you think that would be a good thing or a bad thing for the country? (AIPO)

| | *Good* | *Bad* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 28% | 29% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Business and professional | 40% | 40% | 20% |
| White-collar | 42 | 37 | 21 |
| Farmers | 40 | 32 | 28 |
| Manual workers | 49 | 18 | 33 |

**6.** (Canada Dec 1 '45) Do you think that veterans being discharged right now have any cause for complaint about the way the government plans for them are being carried out? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24% | 52% | 24% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Business and professional and small business | 28% | 52% | 20% |
| White-collar | 24 | 55 | 21 |
| Labor | 27 | 50 | 23 |
| Farm | 17 | 56 | 27 |

**7.** (Canada Feb 13 '46) It has been suggested that returned men should form their own political party in this country. Would you approve or disapprove if this were done? (CIPO)

Approve 18% Disapprove 63% Undecided 19%

**8.** (US May 11 '46) Would you be interested in going back into some branch of the service if the pay were increased 50%? Asked of a national cross-section of veterans of World War II. (AIPO)

Yes 23% No 74% No opinion 3%

**9.** (Australia July '46) In your opinion, is the federal government doing enough for ex-servicemen? (APOP)

Yes 26% No 59% No opinion 15%

**10.** (US July 24 '46) Do you belong to any veterans' organization? Asked of a national cross-section of male veterans of World War II. (AIPO)

Yes 41% No 58% No answer 1%

Do you plan to join one [a veterans' organization]? Asked of 58% of the sample who did not belong to any veterans' organization.

Yes 31% No 23% No answer 4%

Which one? Asked of 72% of the sample who belonged or planned to join a veterans' organization.

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, don't know | 8% |
| American Legion | 38 |
| Veterans of Foreign Wars | 26 |
| Disabled American Veterans | 2 |
| AMVETS | 2 |
| American Veterans Committee | 2 |
| Jewish War Veterans | * |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| | 81%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 72 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**11.** (US Sept 20 '46) Has the government given you, as a veteran, all the help you think it should? Asked of a national cross-section of male veterans of World War II. (AIPO)

Yes 71% No 26% No answer 3%

What more should it [the government] do [to help veterans]? Asked of 26% of the sample who said the government had not given all the help it should.

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 4% |
| They might give a bonus | 4 |
| Do what they say | 1 |
| See that each veteran has a good job | 2 |
| Speed up getting compensation, pensions, allowances | 1 |
| Help veteran find place to live | 4 |
| Get rid of red tape—get GI loan through | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 |
| | 27%* |

* Percentages add to more than 26 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**12.** (US Sept 6 '46) What do you think about what the veterans did in the recent local election in Athens, Tennessee? (AIPO)

| | *All right, or all right under the circumstances* | *Good idea but wrong method* | *No opinion* | *Haven't heard of affair* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 25% | 20% | 7% | 48% |
| Veterans | 46 | 26 | 2 | 26 |

**13.** (Canada Nov 2 '46) Have you heard or read of the recent action of some veteran organizations in moving their families into empty buildings owned by the government? (CIPO)

Yes 81% No 19%

Do you approve of this action or not? Asked of 81% of the sample who had heard or read of the recent action of some veteran organizations in moving their families into empty buildings owned by the government.

Approve 54% Disapprove 17% Undecided 10%

## Education

**1.** (US Apr '45) There has been a lot of talk about the government providing further education for returning servicemen at government expense. In general do you think this is a good idea or not such a good idea? (FOR)

Good idea 85.4% Not such a good idea 8.3%
Don't know 6.3%

## Employment

**1.** (US Apr '43) If there aren't enough jobs after the war for all the men now in the armed forces, do you think it should be up to the government to guarantee jobs for them or not? (NORC)

Should 73% Should not 22% No opinion 3%
Qualified answer 2%

If the government has to do one of these four things to get them [veterans] all jobs which one would you choose: Start some government projects which would not compete with private business; start some government projects which would compete with private business; take over and run some private business; give money to some businesses so they can hire more people? Asked of 78% of the sample who thought the government should guarantee jobs for veterans and those who had no opinion on the subject.

| | |
|---|---|
| Start government projects which would not compete with private business | 40% |
| Start government projects which would compete with private business | 6 |
| Take over and run some private businesses | 6 |
| Give money to some businesses so they can hire more people | 17 |
| No opinion | 7 |
| Qualified answer | 2 |

**2.** (Australia May '45) What do you think of the plan to give servicemen first preference for jobs for seven years after the war? (APOP)

In favor 65% Opposed 27% Undecided 8%

**3.** (Australia May–June '43) If servicemen receive preference for jobs after the war, should it be permanent—or for only a few years after discharge—or do you oppose any preference? (APOP)

| | *Favor preference:* *Permanently* | *Few years only* | *Oppose any preference* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 47% | 28% | 17% | 8% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 43% | 31% | 20% | 6% |
| Women | 52 | 23 | 15 | 10 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Liberal-Country party | 50% | 30% | 13% | 7% |
| Labor party | 44 | 26 | 22 | 8 |

**4.** (Australia Jan '45) For how long after the war do you think returned servicemen should have preference for jobs—only a few years, indefinitely, or not at all? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Only a few years: | 41% |
| 1 to 3 years | 10% |
| 5 years | 15 |
| About 10 years | 9 |
| No exact term | 7 |
| Indefinitely | 34 |
| Oppose preference | 20 |
| No opinion | 5 |

**5.** (Australia July '43) If servicemen receive preference for jobs after the war, should all servicemen receive the same preference, or should some have preference before others? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Same preference for all | 54% |
| Some before others: | 32 |
| Those on active service | 16% |
| Volunteers, AIF | 9 |
| Disabled veterans | 2 |
| According to circumstances | 5 |
| No answer because opposed to any preference | 14 |

**6.** (US June 26 '43) Do you think the men in the armed forces will have a hard time finding jobs when the war is over? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 35% | 9% |
| Families with a member in Armed Forces | 55 | 35 | 10 |

**7.** (US Aug 17 '43) Will the men now in the armed forces have a better chance to get a job after the war if the Republicans are in power in Washington or if the Democrats are in power? (AIPO)

Republicans 16% Democrats 26% No difference 33%
Don't know 25%

**8.** (US Jan 4 '44) Is it your understanding that each man who left a job to go into the armed forces has a guarantee to get that job back at the same salary after the war? (AIPO)

Yes 53% No 35% Don't know 12%

**9.** (US July '44) After the war, do you think soldiers should be given first choice of the jobs that are open, or do you think everybody should have an equal chance to get jobs? (FOR)

Soldiers first 65.2% Everybody equal 31.3%
Don't know 3.5%

**10.** (US Sept 8 '44) When the war is over and many soldiers return to civilian life, they may not find jobs. Do you think the government should give soldiers money if they find themselves out of work after the war? (AIPO)

Yes 83% No 13% Don't know 4%

How much money should the government give per week to a married veteran with two children while he is unemployed? Asked of 83% of the sample who thought the government should give veterans money if they find themselves out of work after the war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $20 | 6% |
| $20 | 9 |
| $25 | 20 |
| $30 | 12 |
| $35 | 8 |
| $40 | 5 |
| Over $40 | 7 |
| Estimate | 16 |

Median: $25

**11.** (Australia June '46) By federal law servicemen have preference for another 6 and ½ years. Do you favor preference ending then—or should it extend longer? (APOP)

Limit to 6½ years 70% Extend longer 22% Undecided 8%

**12.** (US June '46) Do you personally know any veterans who are trying to get a job? (FOR)

Yes 37.2% No 61.0% No answer 1.8%

## VOCABULARY

**1.** (US Aug 5 '41) Here are some words which may be included on a quiz program, depending upon how many people understand their meaning. We are trying to find out now how familiar these words are to people. Will you please look at this card and give me the number of the word that seems to be the closest to each word in capital letters. (AIPO)

K FORM

1. *Space*

| | |
|---|---|
| school | 3% |
| noon | 2 |
| captain | 2 |
| room | 87 |
| board | 2 |
| no selection | 4 |

*Lift*

| | |
|---|---|
| sort out | 2% |
| raise | 90 |
| value | 1 |
| enjoy | 2 |
| fancy | 2 |
| no selection | 3 |

*Concern*

| | |
|---|---|
| see clearly | 5% |
| engage | 4 |
| furnish | 2 |
| disturb | 13 |
| have to do with | 70 |
| no selection | 6 |

*Broaden*

| | |
|---|---|
| efface | 1% |
| make level | 3 |
| elapse | 2 |
| embroider | 1 |
| widen | 89 |
| no selection | 4 |

*Blunt*

| | |
|---|---|
| dull | 85% |
| drowsy | 1 |
| deaf | 3 |
| doubtful | 2 |
| ugly | 3 |
| no selection | 6 |

2. *Accustom*

| | |
|---|---|
| disappoint | 1% |
| customary | 22 |
| encounter | 3 |
| get used | 65 |
| business | 2 |
| no selection | 7 |

*Chirrup*

| | |
|---|---|
| aspen | 3% |
| joyful | 31 |
| capsize | 1 |
| chirp | 47 |
| incite | 3 |
| no selection | 15 |

*Edible*

| | |
|---|---|
| auspicious | 2% |
| eligible | 6 |
| fit to eat | 76 |
| sagacious | 1 |
| able to speak | 6 |
| no selection | 9 |

*Pact*

| | |
|---|---|
| puissance | 3% |
| remonstrance | 1 |
| agreement | 73 |
| skillet | 2 |
| pressure | 12 |
| no selection | 9 |

*Solicitor*

| | |
|---|---|
| lawyer | 64% |
| chieftain | 4 |
| watchman | 3 |
| maggot | 7 |
| constable | 8 |
| no selection | 14 |

3. *Allusion*

| | |
|---|---|
| aria | 1% |
| illusions | 12 |
| eulogy | 2 |
| dream | 38 |
| reference | 30 |
| no selection | 17 |

*Caprice*

| | |
|---|---|
| value | 7% |
| a star | 6 |
| grimace | 6 |
| whim | 48 |
| inducement | 8 |
| no selection | 25 |

*Animosity*

| | |
|---|---|
| hatred | 58% |
| animation | 11 |
| disobedience | 5 |
| diversity | 3 |
| friendship | 4 |
| no selection | 19 |

*Emanate*

| | |
|---|---|
| populate | 7% |
| free | 15 |
| prominent | 14 |
| rival | 6 |
| come | 31 |
| no selection | 27 |

*Madrigal*

| | |
|---|---|
| song | 27% |
| mountebank | 5 |
| lunatic | 14 |
| ribald | 6 |
| sycophant | 6 |
| no selection | 42 |

4. *Cloistered*

| | |
|---|---|
| miniature | 2% |
| bunched | 36 |
| arched | 5 |
| malady | 1 |
| secluded | 36 |
| no selection | 20 |
| bound | 5 |
| green | 6 |
| no selection | 42 |

*Encomium*

| | |
|---|---|
| repetition | 13% |
| friend | 7 |
| panegyric | 14 |
| abrasion | 7 |
| expulsion | 9 |
| no selection | 50 |

*Tactility*

| | |
|---|---|
| tangibility | 13% |
| grace | 13 |
| subtlety | 14 |
| extensibility | 4 |
| manageableness | 24 |
| no selection | 32 |

*Pristine*

| | |
|---|---|
| flashing | 15% |
| earlier | 8 |
| primeval | 24 |

*Sedulous*

| | |
|---|---|
| muddied | 8% |
| sluggish | 13 |
| stupid | 11 |
| assiduous | 13 |
| corrupting | 17 |
| no selection | 38 |

T FORM

1. *Nation*

| | |
|---|---|
| business | 4% |
| daughter | 1 |
| country | 92 |
| chief | 1 |
| animal | — |
| no selection | 2 |
| coy | 4 |
| fair | 89 |
| no selection | 3 |

*Every*

| | |
|---|---|
| sweet | 2% |
| not hot | 1 |
| few | 11 |
| large | 9 |
| each | 73 |
| no selection | 4 |

*Advertise*

| | |
|---|---|
| detain | — |
| explore | 2% |
| give notice of | 50 |
| adverse | 2 |
| newspaper | 43 |
| no selection | 3 |

*Blond*

| | |
|---|---|
| polite | 2% |
| dishonest | 1 |
| dauntless | 1 |

*Bog*

| | |
|---|---|
| ebb | 3% |
| disorder | 3 |
| swamp | 76 |
| field | 5 |
| difficulty | 6 |
| no selection | 7 |

2. *Aged*

| | |
|---|---|
| years | 11% |
| active | 1 |
| old | 83 |
| merciful | 1 |
| punctual | 1 |
| no selection | 3 |
| die | 4 |
| outrun | 3 |
| no selection | 8 |

*Conspire*

| | |
|---|---|
| plot | 74% |
| breathe | 6 |
| rely | 5 |

*Concur*

| | |
|---|---|
| agree | 73% |
| race | 3 |
| mongrel | 3 |
| pounce | 4 |
| ramble | 4 |
| no selection | 13 |

*Downcast*

| | |
|---|---|
| throw down | 13% |
| neutral | 1 |
| judicious | 1 |
| sad | 74 |
| broken | 7 |
| no selection | 4 |

3. *Avarice*

| | |
|---|---|
| ordinary | 8% |
| various | 8 |
| empress | 3 |
| frailty | 5 |
| greed | 55 |
| no selection | 21 |

*Dynasty*

| | |
|---|---|
| davenport | 3% |
| very unpleasant | 9 |
| framework | 4 |
| ruling family | 64 |
| engine | 4 |
| no selection | 16 |

*Sexton*

| | |
|---|---|
| cube | 1% |
| janitor | 61 |
| compass | 5 |

4. *Broach*

| | |
|---|---|
| dodge | 5% |
| clasp | 51 |
| open | 27 |
| top | 1 |
| edify | 5 |
| no selection | 11 |

*Largess*

| | |
|---|---|
| enormity | 21% |
| present | 14 |
| monstrosity | 10 |
| amiability | 8 |
| size | 25 |
| no selection | 22 |

*Monomania*

| | |
|---|---|
| flying machine | 8% |
| conceit | 22 |
| one-colored | 20 |

*Average*

| | |
|---|---|
| level | 21% |
| count | 10 |
| evident | 2 |
| ordinary | 61 |
| distinct | 2 |
| no selection | 4 |

| | |
|---|---|
| archbishop | 17 |
| six singers | 8 |
| no selection | 8 |

*Conflagration*

| | |
|---|---|
| carnival | 2% |
| celebration | 13 |
| fire | 54 |
| contagion | 4 |
| decorate with flags | 12 |
| no selection | 15 |

*Reciprocal*

| | |
|---|---|
| saturnine | 2% |
| mutual | 42 |
| receptive | 31 |
| morose | 3 |
| careless | 5 |
| no selection | 17 |

| | |
|---|---|
| endogen | 5 |
| aberration | 13 |
| no selection | 32 |

*Umbel*

| | |
|---|---|
| cluster | 14% |
| canopy | 16 |
| shadow | 10 |
| pigment | 13 |
| ribbing | 6 |
| no selection | 41 |

*Sequestrate*

| | |
|---|---|
| follow | 13% |
| petition | 11 |
| horseman | 13 |
| confiscate | 28 |
| redwood | 2 |
| no selection | 33 |

**2.** (Denmark Apr 13 '46) Do you understand the meaning of the word "authorize"? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Believe understand, but mistaken | 20% |
| Think so, but can't explain | 7 |
| Yes | 22 |
| No | 51 |

**3.** (Denmark Apr 13 '46) Do you understand the meaning of the word "structure"? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 10% |
| Wrong interpretation | 10 |
| Think so, but can't explain | 3 |
| No | 77 |

**4.** (Denmark Apr 13 '46) Do you understand the word "conflict"? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 71% |
| Think that it means all sorts of other things | 6 |
| Think so, but can't explain | 2 |
| No | 21 |

**5.** (Denmark Apr 13 '46) Do you understand the meaning of the word "psychosis"? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 20% |
| Think so, but don't understand | 9 |
| Cannot explain | 4 |
| No | 67 |

## WAGE AND PRICE REGULATION

**1.** (Great Britain Dec '39) Should the government control prices and wages in war time? (BIPO)

Prices 79% Wages 60% Don't know 18% = 157%*

* Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (US July 9 '41) Do you favor, or oppose, the government doing everything possible to keep prices from going up rapidly? (AIPO)

Favor 89% Oppose 7% No opinion 4%

**3.** (US July 22 '41) As one way to prevent rapid increases, would you favor the government keeping all salaries and wages and prices of farm products where they are now until the war in Europe is over? (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 31% No opinion 9%

**4.** (US Sept 12 '41) As one way to prevent prices from going up rapidly (to prevent rapid price increase), would you be willing to have the government keep your wage (salary) rate where it is now, if (provided) the government also holds the prices (keeps the price) of things which you buy where they are now? Asked of a national cross-section of employed people. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 62% | 32% | 6% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Families earning: | | | |
| less than $20 a week | 57% | 35% | 8% |
| $20 to $40 a week | 65 | 30 | 5 |
| over $40 a week | 63 | 32 | 5 |

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| (Nov 9 '41) National total | 66% | 28% | 6% |

(July 29 '42) Asked of 56% of a sample of employed people.

| *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|
| 70% | 25% | 5% |

**5.** (US Sept '41) Which would you favor freezing at their present levels for the duration of the emergency? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Wages | 62.6% |
| Raw materials | 52.3 |
| Wholesale prices | 30.8 |
| Farm products | 30.7 |
| Retail prices | 27.8 |
| All-or-none | 14.3 |
| None | 11.0 |
| | 229.5%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (US Nov 9 '41) A new law in Canada keeps prices from going higher than they are now, and also keeps wages and

salary rates from going higher. Would you approve or disapprove of such a law in the United States? A comparable cross-section was asked: A recent law in Canada keeps wage and salary rates from going higher than they are now and also keeps prices from going higher. Would you approve or disapprove of such a law in the United States? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Approve 67% Disapprove 24% No opinion 9%

**7.** (US Dec 14 '41) A recent law in Canada keeps wage and salary rates from going higher than they are now and also keeps all prices, including prices of farm products, from going higher. Would you approve, or disapprove, of such a law in the United States? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 67% | 24% | 9% |
| (Dec 14 '41) | | | |
| National total | 63% | 28% | 9% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 60% | 30% | 10% |
| East central | 61 | 29 | 10 |
| West central | 61 | 29 | 10 |
| South | 66 | 25 | 9 |
| Far West | 69 | 24 | 7 |
| (Apr 5 '42) | | | |
| National total | 66% | 24% | 10% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labor | 63% | 26% | 11% |
| Farmers | 64 | 27 | 9 |
| (May 24 '42) | | | |
| National total | 74% | 18% | 8% |

**8.** (Great Britain Dec 19 '41) A recent law in Canada keeps wages and salaries from going higher than they are now and also keeps prices from going higher. Would you approve or disapprove of such a law in Britain? (BIPO)

Approve 70% Disapprove 13% Don't know 17%

**9.** (Canada Jan 7 '42) Do you feel you have a clear idea of what this law [wage and price ceiling] involves as far as you personally are concerned? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| | 55% | 45% |
| (July 18 '42) | 64 | 36 |

**10.** (Canada Dec '41) There is a price and wage ceiling law to keep Canadian prices from going higher and also to keep wages and salaries from going higher. In general do you approve (or disapprove) of this law? (CIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 71% | 22% | 7% |
| (Mar 6 '43) | 79 | 15 | 6 |
| (Sept 25 '43) | 69 | 20 | 11 |

**11.** (Australia Feb '42) Do you approve or disapprove the new regulation to stop both wages and prices from going higher than they are? (APOP)

Approve 83% Disapprove 7% Undecided 10%

**12.** (US May 30 '42) If prices and rents are kept from going higher during the war, and if profits are limited, do you think wages ought to be limited too, so they don't go higher during the war? 77% of the sample who thought wages should be limited were asked: All wages, or only those over a certain amount? (NORC)

Wages should not be limited 16%
Don't know whether or not wages should be limited 7
All wages should be limited 23
Only wages over a certain amount should be limited 50
Don't know whether all wages or only those over a certain amount should be limited 4

**13.** (Canada July 18 '42) Do you think the law which keeps prices and wages from going higher should remain in effect after the war? (CIPO)

Yes 50% No 33% No opinion 17%

**14.** (US Sept 9 '42) Do you think it's necessary to control both wages and farm prices in order to keep the cost of living from going so high that we'll have a serious inflation? (NORC)

Yes 87% No 7% Don't know 6%

**15.** (Great Britain Sept 20 '42) Would you agree or disagree with a war measure which doesn't change wages or incomes but fixes them where they are now provided that it also fixes the cost of living, rent and profits? (BIPO)

Agree 53% Disagree 29% Don't know 18%

**16.** (US Sept 24 '42) Do you think there should be any limit on how high wages and salaries should go during the war? (NORC)

Yes 85% No 9% Don't know 6%

Do you think all wages and salaries should be kept where they are now, or do you think some should be allowed to go higher? Asked of 85% of the sample who thought there should be a limit on how high wages and salaries should go during the war.

Kept where they are 21% Some go higher 57%
Don't know 7%

**17.** (US Sept 24 '42) If there is (is not) a limit on wages and salaries will this affect prices, in general, or won't it make any difference to prices? (NORC)

| | *Affect prices* | *No difference* | *Not ascertainable* | *Not asked* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 52% | 26% | 16% | 6%* |
| BY OPINION (ON WAGES DURING THE WAR) | | | | |
| Wages should be unlimited | 43% | 35% | 22% | |
| Wages should be kept where they are or lower | 56 | 32 | 12 | |
| Some should be higher | 60 | 27 | 13 | |
| Not ascertainable | 30 | 13 | 57 | |

* Included in the national total is the 6% of the sample who did not know if there should be a limit on wages during the war.

Will it [a limit (no limit)] make them [prices] go up or down? Asked of 52% of the sample who thought that if there was (was not) a limit on wages it would affect prices.

| | *Go up* | *Go down* | *Stay down* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 12% | 11% | 25% | 4% |
| BY OPINION (ON WAGES DURING THE WAR) | | | | |
| Wages should be unlimited | 37% | 1% | 3% | 2% |
| Wages should be kept where they are or lower | 5 | 14 | 33 | 4 |
| Some should be higher | 13 | 12 | 30 | 5 |
| Not ascertainable | 3 | 8 | 14 | 5 |

**18.** (US May 22 '43) If there were no limit on wages and salaries, would this have any effect on prices in general, or wouldn't it have any connection with prices? Would it make them [prices] go up, stay the same, or go down? Asked of 83%

of the sample who thought unlimited wages would affect prices. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| No connection between the two | 9% |
| Don't know whether or not there is any connection | 8 |
| Prices would go up | 78 |
| Would go down | 2 |
| Don't know what prices would do | 1 |
| Would stay the same or stabilize | 2 |

(Sept 9 '43) Asked of 80% of the sample who thought unlimited wages would affect prices.

| | |
|---|---|
| No connection between the two | 10% |
| Don't know whether or not there is any connection | 10 |
| Prices would go up | 76 |
| Would stay the same or stabilize | 2 |
| Would go down | 1 |
| Don't know what prices would do | 1 |

(Jan 7 '44) Asked of 77% of the sample who thought unlimited wages would affect prices.

| | |
|---|---|
| No connection between the two | 11% |
| Don't know whether or not there is any connection | 12 |
| Prices would go up | 74 |
| Would stay the same or stabilize | 1 |
| Would go down | 1 |
| Don't know what prices would do | 1 |

(June 23 '44) Asked of 76% of the sample who thought unlimited wages would affect prices.

| | |
|---|---|
| No connection between the two | 11% |
| Don't know whether or not there is any connection | 13 |
| Prices would go up | 73 |
| Would stay the same or stabilize | 1 |
| Would go down | 1 |
| Don't know what prices would do | 1 |

**19.** (Australia Nov '43) For nearly two years both prices and wages have been pegged or fixed. Do you think this has worked satisfactorily? (APOP)

Yes 33% No 51% No opinion 16%

(Apr '45) For three years both wages and prices have been pegged or fixed. Do you think this has worked satisfactorily?

Yes 44% No 42% No opinion 14%

**20.** (Canada Nov 17 '43) If the ceiling were completely removed from wages, do you think prices would go higher than they are now, or do you think they would remain about the same? (CIPO)

Go higher 76% Remain about same 15% Don't know 9%

**21.** (US Nov 24 '43) Do you think the government should let wages and prices keep on rising, or should the government refuse to allow any increases in wages and salaries and keep the cost of living where it is now? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Let wages and prices keep on rising | 11% |
| Refuse increases in wages and salaries | 79 |
| No opinion | 10 |

**22.** (US Dec '43) If the government had to do one of these two things, which one would you rather have it try to do: Allow both prices and wages to go higher than they are now; keep both prices and wages right where they are now? (NORC)

| | *Allow both prices and wages to go higher than they are now* | *Keep both where they are now* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 11% | 80% | 9% |
| (US Mar '45) (NORC) | 6 | 88 | 6 |
| (Great Britain Aug 26 '45) (BIPO) | | | |
| National total | 11% | 89% | |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 12% | 88% | |
| Women | 10 | 90 | |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 11% | 89% | |
| 30–49 years | 12 | 88 | |
| 50 years and over | 11 | 89 | |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 9% | 91% | |
| Middle | 7 | 93 | |
| Lower | 13 | 87 | |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional, salaried executives | 6% | 94% | |
| Salaried clerical | 6 | 94 | |
| Proprietors, shop or business; farmers | 14 | 86 | |
| Weekly wages, factory, heavy industry, transport, miner | 15 | 85 | |
| Agricultural workers (excluding farmers) | 6 | 94 | |
| Weekly wages, all others | 14 | 86 | |
| Housewives | 9 | 91 | |
| Retired, unoccupied | 12 | 88 | |

**23.** (Canada Dec 11 '43) There is a price and wage ceiling law to keep Canadian prices from going higher and also to keep wages and salaries from going higher. Do you think that this law has been successful in keeping prices from going up? Do you think that this law has been successful in keeping wages from going up? (CIPO)

| | *Ceilings successful* | *Partly successful* | *Not successful* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wages | 38% | 40% | 11% | 11% |
| Prices | 34 | 49 | 13 | 4 |

**24.** (US Dec '43) Some people say that one way to keep both prices and wages from going higher than they are now is for the government to pay farmers something out of taxes. Do you agree or disagree? (NORC)

Agree 39% Disagree 42% Don't know 19%

**24.** (Sweden Oct '44) Do you think that wage and price controls which have been introduced in order to stop the rise of prices should be continued or do you think that one or the other should be abolished? (SGI)

| | Wage Control | | | Price Control | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Continued* | *Abolished* | *Don't know* | *Continued* | *Abolished* | *Don't know* |
| National total | 55% | 29% | 16% | 73% | 15% | 12% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | |
| Men | 56% | 34% | 10% | 73% | 19% | 8% |
| Women | 54 | 24 | 22 | 74 | 10 | 16 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Upper class | 71% | 20% | 9% | 81% | 13% | 6% |
| Middle class | 60 | 24 | 16 | 73 | 15 | 12 |
| Workers | 50 | 34 | 16 | 73 | 15 | 12 |

BY RURAL-URBAN

| | Wage Control | | | Price Control | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Continued* | *Abolished* | *Don't know* | *Continued* | *Abolished* | *Don't know* |
| Country | 56% | 26% | 18% | 72% | 14% | 14% |
| Town | 54 | 34 | 12 | 76 | 15 | 9 |

**26.** (Canada July 25 '45) Now that the war with Germany is over, do you think the government should remove the controls on wages and prices, or do you think these controls should be continued? 77% of the sample who would like continuance of control were asked: Would you like to see them continued until things get back to normal? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Continue until things normal | 54% |
| Continue for longer than that | 20 |
| Continue, but undecided as to how long | 3 |
| Remove controls now | 16 |
| Undecided whether to continue or remove | 7 |

**27.** (Australia Aug '45) Do you think wartime controls to prevent prices and wages from rising should stop at the end of the war or continue for about 5 years? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Continue | 42% |
| End within 2 or 3 years of VJ Day | 14 |
| Stop | 37 |
| No opinion | 7 |

**28.** (US Aug 8 '45) Some people believe that wage ceilings cannot be removed without also removing price ceilings. If you had to vote for or against keeping both wage and price control, would you vote to keep both or do away with both? (AIPO)

| | *Keep both* | *Do away with both* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 77% | 18% | 5% |
| (Oct 3 '45) | | | |
| National total | 67% | 21% | 12% |
| Union members only | 66 | 25 | 9 |

**29.** (Hungary Oct '45) Can a valorization of wages keep up with the price index? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Uncertain* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 71% | 20% | 9% |
| (Mar '46) | 22 | 70 | 8 |
| (June '46) | 18 | 76 | 6 |

**30.** (Australia Nov '45) For how many years should our government continue the regulations which stop prices and wages from rising? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Stop now | 27% |
| Another year | 12 |
| A few years | 4 |
| 2 years | 14 |
| 3 years | 7 |
| 5 years | 7 |
| Forever | 6 |
| No opinion | 23 |

**31.** (US Dec 19 '45) If auto workers' wages are increased, should OPA permit the price of new cars to be increased accordingly? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes: | 36% |
| if necessary fot reasonable profit | 4 |
| if wages go up 30% | * |
| a slight increase | 1 |
| No: | 46 |
| if already making big profits | 1% |
| No opinion | 11 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**32.** (US Feb 13 '46) To keep prices from going higher, would you approve or disapprove of putting wage ceilings back into effect? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve | 52% |
| Disapprove | 32 |
| No answet | 1 |
| No opinion | 15 |

## WAGE REGULATION

**1.** (US Mar '40) Do you think there should be a law limiting the amount of money any individual is allowed to earn in a year? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 23.9% | 70.0% | 6.1% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 10.3% | 88.5% | 1.2% |
| Upper middle | 18.1 | 78.9 | 3.0 |
| Lower middle | 23.5 | 72.0 | 4.5 |
| Poor | 31.7 | 59.3 | 9.0 |
| BY RACE | | | |
| Negroes | 31.5% | 51.4% | 17.1% |

What amount? Asked of 23.9% of the sample who thought there should be a law limiting individual earnings.

| | |
|---|---|
| $5,000 and under | 3.0% |
| $5,001 to $10,000 | 2.0 |
| $10,001 to $15,000 | 0.8 |
| $15,001 to $20,000 | 0.6 |
| $20,001 to $25,000 | 1.0 |
| $25,001 to $45,000 | 0.3 |
| $45,001 to $50,000 | 2.0 |
| $50,001 to $75,000 | 1.1 |
| $75,001 to $95,000 | 0.1 |
| $95,001 to $100,000 | 2.0 |
| $100,001 to $200,000 | 0.2 |
| $200,001 to $500,000 | 0.4 |
| Over $500,000 | 0.4 |
| Don't know | 10.0 |

**2.** (US Sept '40) Should it be required that all wage rates be adjusted to reflect marked changes in cost of living? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

Yes 59.9% No 35.9% Don't know or no answet 4.2%

**3.** (US Apr 9 '41) Would you like to see the federal government keep all salaries and wages at the present level so that nobody's wage could be cut and no one could get an increase as long as they did the same kind of work, until the present war in Europe is over? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 52% | 48% = 100% | 12% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Businessmen | 42% | 58% | |
| Farmers | 55 | 45 | |
| White-collar workers | 47 | 53 | |
| Skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labor | 57 | 43 | |

**4.** (US Jan 28 '42) How do you feel about having the government regulate salaries and wages—in general are you for it or against it? (NORC)

For 65% Against 19% Depends 7% Don't know 9%

**5.** (US Feb 23 '42) Do you think there should be a general increase in wages throughout the country today, or do you think wages should be kept at the present level? (AIPO)

Increased 41% Present level 48% No opinion 11%

**6.** (US May 24 '42) The government has already put a ceiling over prices. Do you think the government should also put a ceiling over wages? Asked of a national cross-section of civic and community leaders. (AIPO)

Yes 82% No 15% No opinion 3%

**7.** (US May 24 '42) Do you think the government will put a ceiling over wages? Asked of a national cross-section of civic and community leaders. (AIPO)

Yes 52% No 35% Don't know 13%

**8.** (US June 9 '42) How much money should men at the head of large corporations in this country (like General Motors and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer) be able to keep after paying all taxes? A comparable cross-section was asked the same question with the corporations General Electric and General Foods substituted for General Motors and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Up to $5,000 | 4% |
| $6,000 to $10,000 | 6 |
| $11,000 to $15,000 | 3 |
| $16,000 to $25,000 | 2 |
| $25,000 | 23 |
| $26,000 to $50,000 | 6 |
| Over $50,000 | 3 |
| Unlimited | 15 |
| Not classified | 1 |
| No opinion | 37 |

**9.** (US May '42) Which of the following statements comes closest to what you think should be done regarding wages and salaries during the war: (1) There should be no limit on how high wages and salaries can go for different kinds of jobs. (2) A limit should be set on how high wages and salaries can go for different kinds of jobs. (3) Wages and salaries for different kinds of jobs should not be allowed to go any higher than they are now. (NORC)

| *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Something else* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15% | 48% | 20% | 7% | 10% |

**10.** (US July 18 '42) Do you think there should be any limit on how high wages and salaries should go during the war? 80% of the sample who thought there should be a limit on wages were asked: Do you think all wages and salaries should be kept where they are now, or do you think some should be allowed to go higher? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| No limit on wages | 14% |
| Don't know whether or not wages should be limited | 6 |
| Wages should be kept where they are | 27 |
| Some go higher | 47 |
| Some go lower | 1 |
| Should be a limit on wages, but undecided what to do about them | 5 |

(Aug 21 '42)

| | |
|---|---|
| No limit on wages | 11% |
| Don't know whether or not wages should be limited | 7 |
| Wages should be kept where they are | 25 |
| Some go higher | 45 |
| Some go lower | 5% |
| Should be a limit on wages, but undecided what to do about them | 7 |

(Nov 27 '42) Do you think there should be any limit on how high wages and salaries should go during the war?

Yes 83% No 12% Don't know 5%

(May 22 '43) Do you think there should be any limit on how high wages and salaries should go during the war? 83% of the sample who thought there should be a limit on wages were asked: Do you think all wages and salaries should be kept where they are now, or do you think some should be allowed to go higher?

| | |
|---|---|
| No limit on wages | 12% |
| Don't know whether or not wages should be limited | 5 |
| Wages should be kept where they are now | 20 |
| Some go higher | 58 |
| Wages should be limited, but undecided what to do about them | 5 |

(June 18 '43) Do you think there should be any limit on how high wages and salaries should go during the war?

Yes 75% No 15% Don't know 6%
Depends on cost of living 4%

(Sept 9 '43) Do you think there should be any limit on how high wages and salaries should go during the war? 78% of the sample who thought there should be a limit on wages were asked: Do you think all wages and salaries should be kept where they are now, or do you think some should be allowed to go higher?

| | |
|---|---|
| No limit on wages | 15% |
| Don't know whether or not wages should be limited | 7 |
| Wages should be kept where they are | 18 |
| Some go higher | 55 |
| Should be a limit on wages, but undecided what to do about them | 5 |

(Jan 7 '44) 76% of the sample who thought there should be a limit on wages were asked: Do you think all wages and salaries should be kept where they are now, or do you think some should be allowed to go higher?

| | |
|---|---|
| No limit on wages | 12% |
| Don't know whether or not wages should be limited | 12 |
| Wages should be kept where they are | 16 |
| Some wages should go higher | 54 |
| Should be a limit on wages, but undecided what to do about them | 6 |

**11.** (US Sept 3 '42) Do you approve or disapprove of the government's policy with respect to wage control? (AIPO)

Approve 46% Disapprove 43% No opinion 11%

**12.** (US Dec 2 '42) Some movie stars have been paid $200,000 and more per year. Would you favor or oppose the idea of limiting their incomes so that they would have only $25,000 left after paying taxes and insurance? (AIPO)

Favor 58% Oppose 28% No opinion 14%

**13.** (US Dec 2 '42) Some heads of industries have been paid $200,000 and more per year. Would you favor or oppose the idea of limiting their incomes so that they would have only $25,000 left after paying taxes and insurance? (AIPO)

Favor 55% Oppose 29% No opinion 16%

**14.** (Great Britain Mar 1 '43) The government is introducing a bill to regulate wages and working conditions in cafes, hotels, and restaurants. Do you approve or disapprove of such a bill? (BIPO)

Yes 81% No 6% Don't know 13%

**15.** (Canada Mar 6 '43) Do you think that this law [price and wage ceiling law] has been successful in keeping wages from going up? (CIPO)

Yes 65% No 19% No opinion 16%

**16.** (US Apr '43) Do you think it will be necessary or unnecessary for the government to continue controlling high wages and salaries while we are getting back to peacetime conditions? (NORC)

Necessary 67% Unnecessary 25% Qualified answer *
Don't know 8%

* Less than 0.5%.

**17.** (US May 22 '43) During the next year, do you think the government will really be able to keep wages and salaries under control? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *Depends* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 66% | 17% | 17% | |
| (Sept 9 '43)..... | 65 | 18 | 17 | |
| (Jan 7 '44)..... | 46 | 17 | 32 | 5% |

Why do you think so [that the government will be able to keep wages under control]? Asked of 46% of the sample who thought the government could control wages.

| | |
|---|---|
| Because the government is powerful or capable | 12% |
| Present control successful | 11 |
| Because of the efforts they are making | 4 |
| Because there is a law controlling wages | 3 |
| Because the President will do it | 2 |
| Because they have to control inflation | 2 |
| Because they are controlling strikes | 2 |
| Because the people will cooperate | 2 |
| Because it looks as if Congress is going to do something | 1 |
| The people will demand it | 1 |
| The war will be over or employment will drop | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 5 |
| | 47%* |

* Percentages add to more than 46 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Why do you think so [that the government will not be able to keep wages under control]? Asked of 22% of the sample who thought the government could not control wages, and those who were not sure about it.

| | |
|---|---|
| Pressure groups (labor) | 10% |
| Hasn't worked yet (general) | 3 |
| People won't stand for it | 2 |
| Other pressure groups will interfere | 1 |
| Government: | |
| Dissension or inefficiency in government | 3 |
| Will not enforce it because this is election year | 1 |
| Other criticism of government | 1 |
| Wages can't be controlled unless prices are controlled | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 24%* |

* Percentages add to more than 22 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

(June 23 '44) During the next year, do you think the government will really be able to keep wages and salaries under control?

Yes 56% No 11% Don't know 28% Depends 5%

Why do you think so [that the government will be able to keep wages under control]? Asked of 56% of the sample who thought the government could control wages.

| | |
|---|---|
| Present control successful | 26% |
| Because the government is powerful or capable | 9 |
| Because of the effort they are making | 4 |
| Because they have to control inflation | 3 |
| Because the people will cooperate | 3 |
| The war will be over or employment will drop | 2 |
| Because there is a law controlling wages | 1 |
| Because the President will do it | 1 |
| Because they are controlling strikes | 1 |
| The people will demand it | 1 |
| Because it looks as if Congress is going to do something | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 8 |
| | 60%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 56 as some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

Why do you think so [that the government will not be able to keep wages under control]? Asked of 16% of the sample who thought the government could not control wages and those who were not sure about it.

| | |
|---|---|
| Government will not enforce it because it is an election year | 3% |
| Dissension or inefficiency in government | 1 |
| Other criticism of government | 1 |
| Pressure groups (labor) | 4 |
| Other pressure groups will interfere | 1 |
| Hasn't worked yet (general) | 2 |
| People won't stand for it (no mention of pressure groups) | 1 |
| Employment won't continue | 1 |
| Wages can't be controlled unless prices are controlled | 1 |
| Depends on war | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 17%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 16 as some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

**18.** (US Dec '43) As far as you know is the government trying to do anything now to keep wages and salaries from going higher? (NORC)

Yes 66% No 14% Don't know 20%

In general, do you think the government is doing a good job of keeping wages and salaries from going higher, or not? Asked of 66% of the sample who thought the government was doing something to keep wages from going higher.

Yes 37% No 22% Don't know 7%

**19.** (US Dec '43) Do you think the government should be trying to keep wages and salaries from going higher than they are now? 77% of the sample who thought the government should try to keep wages from going higher were asked: Do you think all wages and salaries should be kept where they are now or do you think some should be allowed to go higher? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Government should not try to keep wages from going higher | 15% |
| Don't know whether or not the government should try to keep wages from going higher | 8 |
| Keep all wages where they are | 19 |
| Allow some wages to go higher | 54 |
| Don't know whether all wages should remain the same or whether some should be allowed to go higher | 4 |

(Mar '45)

| | |
|---|---|
| Government should not try to keep wages from going higher | 19% |
| Don't know whether or not the government should try to keep wages from going higher | 5 |
| Keep all wages where they are—all frozen | 30 |
| Allow some to go higher | 42 |
| All wages frozen but some lower | 1 |
| Don't know whether all wages should remain the same or whether some should be allowed to go higher | 3 |

**20.** (US May 14 '44) Do you think wages for most workers should be allowed to go up, or should wages be held where they are now? (AIPO)

| | *Let wages go up* | *Hold wages at present level* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 18% | 72% | 10% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Skilled and unskilled labor | 23% | 67% | 10% |

**21.** (US June 23 '44) Would you be willing to have the government freeze your own income where it is now? (NORC)

Yes 40% No 39% Don't know 20% Frozen already 1%

Would you be willing to have it [your income] frozen after it went a little higher, or don't you think it should be limited at all? Asked of 39% of the sample who would not be willing to have the government freeze their income.

A little higher 13% No limit 21% Don't know 5%

Suppose all incomes were frozen where they are now—would you be willing to have your own income frozen? Asked of 39% of the sample who would not be willing to have the government freeze their income.

Yes 14% No 20% Don't know 5%

**22.** (US Aug '44) There has been a lot of talk about the Little Steel Formula—which of these comes closest to what you think the Little Steel Formula means? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Small steel companies will receive a subsidy of up to 15% to make it possible for them to compete with the large steel companies | 13.7% |
| The tariff on steel cannot be raised more than 15% above prewar levels | 4.3 |
| A chemical formula for a new type of alloy steel that doesn't use more than 15% of other necessary war metals | 4.1 |
| Workers are entitled to a 15% wage increase over prewar pay to meet rising living costs | 32.9 |
| Don't know | 45.0 |

**23.** (US Mar '45) How about [the government] controlling how high wages and salaries can go [after the war]? (NORC)

Necessary 74% Unnecessary 19% Don't know 7%

**24.** (US Mar 20 '45) Have you ever heard or read anything about the "Little Steel Formula"? (AIPO)

Yes 52% No 48%

Will you tell me briefly what you think it is for? Asked of 52% of the sample who had heard or read about the Little Steel Formula.

| | |
|---|---|
| Stabilize wages; to avoid inflation | 30% |
| A wage agreement | 5 |
| Control prices | 2 |
| Keep wages within 15% of prewar level | 1 |
| Concerns labor | 2 |
| Didn't say | 12 |

What is your opinion of it [the Little Steel Formula]? Asked of 52% of the sample who had heard or read about the Little Steel Formula.

| | |
|---|---|
| Favor | 40% |
| Oppose | 19 |
| Bad—prices up, wages down | 4 |
| Favor—prices down, stop inflation | 4 |
| Favor if enforced | 1 |
| Good and bad—about even | 3 |
| Didn't say | 29 |

**25.** (US Mar 20 '45) Do you think the government's present policy in regard to wage and salary increases should be continued or should it be changed to permit general increases in wages and salaries? (AIPO)

| | *Continued* | *Changed* | *Qualified answers* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 29% | 13% | 16% |
| By those people who know what the Little Steel Formula is | 45 | 30 | 16 | 9 |

**26.** (US Mar 20 '45) Do you think the government should continue its present policy in regard to increases in wages and salaries under the "Little Steel Formula," or should its policy be changed to permit general increases in salaries and wages? (AIPO)

Continued 33% Changed 30% Qualified answers 7% No opinion 30%

**27.** (US Aug 8 '45) Do you approve or disapprove of removing all wage ceilings now? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 25% | 62% | 13% |
| (Oct 3 '45) | | | |
| National total | 30 | 58 | 12 |
| By union members only | 39% | 54% | 7% |

**28.** (Canada Dec 15 '45) Do you think the government should remove all wage ceilings now, just some, or none at all? (CIPO)

Remove all now 23% Remove some 21% Remove none 37% Undecided 19%

**29.** (Germany Apr 15 '46) Under the National Socialist regime the income of the workers was fixed by the government and the right to strike for higher wages was denied them. In your opinion, was this a good or a bad idea? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 1% |
| A good idea | 35 |
| A bad idea | 38 |
| No opinion, don't know | 26 |

**30.** (Germany Apr 15 '46) Since the beginning of the occupation, wages have been fixed at their former levels and workers are still not allowed to strike for higher pay. Do you think this situation should be allowed to continue, or do you feel a change is desirable? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 2% |
| Should stay the same | 55 |
| Should change | 24 |
| No opinion | 19 |

**31.** (Australia Aug '46) Since 1942 all prices and wages have been pegged, or fixed to stop increases. Do you favor, or oppose, removing those controls from wages now? (APOP)

Favor 35% Oppose 55% Undecided 10%

# WAGES

**1.** (US Apr '36) Do you think that in general the officials of large corporations are paid too much or too little for the work they do? (FOR)

| | *Too much* | *About right* | *Too little* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 54.5% | 16.8% | 5.8% | 22.9% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 50.7% | 23.4% | 4.4% | 21.5% |
| Upper middle class | 53.4 | 20.2 | 5.1 | 21.3 |
| Lower middle class | 60.2 | 14.1 | 4.9 | 20.8 |
| Poor | 57.1 | 13.5 | 5.2 | 24.2 |
| BY RACE | | | | |
| Negroes | 32.5% | 17.3% | 12.1% | 38.1% |
| BY OPINION (OF ROOSEVELT) | | | | |
| Reelection essential | 28.7% | 33.0% | 38.9% | 36.1% |
| Best man despite mistakes | 30.3 | 25.9 | 28.0 | 27.3 |
| Usefulness now over | 14.1 | 17.3 | 11.1 | 12.2 |
| Reelection a calamity | 19.6 | 18.9 | 15.5 | 15.0 |
| Uncertain | 7.3 | 4.9 | 6.5 | 9.4 |

**2.** (US Nov 30 '36) Do you think WPA workers should be given higher wages? (AIPO)

Yes 36% No 64% = 100% No opinion 18%

**3.** (US June 6 '37) Do you think the present wage scale of workers in industry is too high, too low or about right? (AIPO)

Too high 2% Too low 62% About right 36%

**4.** (US Mar 8 '38) Do you think the salaries of people who earn more than $15,000 a year should be made public by the federal government? (AIPO)

Yes 45% No 55% = 100% No opinion 11%

**5.** (US Mar 30 '38) Do you think salaries over $15,000 a year that are paid by corporations should be made public by the federal government? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 51% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper income group | 33% | 67% |
| Middle income group | 48 | 52 |
| Lower income group | 61 | 39 |

**6.** (US Mar 15 '38) Do you think all salaries over $75,000 a year paid by corporations should be made public by the federal government? (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 31% No opinion 12%

**7.** (US Apr 24 '38) Do you think people on relief in this community are getting as much as they should? A comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think this community is generous enough with people on relief? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 71% No 29%

**8.** (US Apr 24 '38) Would you favor raising taxes in order to give them [people on relief] more? A comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think taxes should be increased in order to give them more? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 13% No 87%

**9.** (US May 27 '38) Do you think railroad workers should take a 15% cut in wages, as demanded by the railroads? (AIPO)

Yes 27% No 57% No opinion 16%

**10.** (US July '38) Would it improve the general situation if labor accepted a wage cut? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *Most labor but not s me* | *Some labor but not most* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 12.6% | 2.6% | 11.6% | 63.4% | 9.8% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 23.7% | 2.9% | 16.6% | 47.6% | 9.2% |
| Poor | 8.7 | 1.6 | 9.0 | 70.8 | 9.9 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| Executives | 20.0% | 4.2% | 20.8% | 48.3% | 6.7% |
| Factory labor | 8.8 | 1.9 | 8.2 | 73.6 | 7.5 |
| Unemployed | 10.4 | 2.8 | 9.0 | 64.6 | 13.2 |

**11.** (US Sept 28 '38) In view of the financial troubles of the railroads, should the railroad workers accept a pay cut? (AIPO)

Yes 52% No 48%

**12.** (US Sept 28 '38) If there is a cut [in railroad workers' pay] should it be 15% as the companies have demanded? Those who said there should be no cut in pay were asked: If not 15%, how big should the cut be? Asked of a national cross-section of those who thought railroad workers should accept a pay cut in view of the financial troubles of the railroads. 52% of the total sample represented. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 15% | 54% |
| 10% | 24 |
| 8% | 5 |
| 5% | 8 |
| All others | 2 |
| No answer | 7 |

**13.** (US Jan 1 '39) Do you think your employer pays you a fair wage? Asked of a national cross-section of employed persons. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 79% | 21% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | |
| Skilled workers | 80% | 20% |
| Unskilled workers | 75 | 25 |
| White-collar workers | 84 | 16 |
| Professional workers | 77 | 23 |

**14.** (US Dec 2 '38) Do you think he [your employer] can afford to pay you more? (AIPO)

Yes 55% No 45%

**15.** (US Aug 6 '39) In general, how much money do you think WPA workers should be paid: (1) just enough to take care of their bare living needs; (2) more than enough money to take care of their bare living needs, but still less than the average pay for workers in private business; (3) about the same amount of money as that paid to workers in private business; (4) more than is paid to workers in privare industry? (AIPO)

| *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 26% | 47% | 26% | 1% |

**16.** (US Feb 6 '40) Do you think most persons on WPA in your community are getting as much relief help as they should, or not as much? (AIPO)

As much 57% Not as much 30% Too much 13%
No opinion (23%)

**17.** (US Feb 6 '40) Do you think most persons on home relief in your community are getting as much relief help as they should, or not as much? (AIPO)

As much 54% Not as much 32% Too much 14%
No opinion (27%)

**18.** (US Jan 6 '41) Should employees of industries working on defense contracts have the right to protest, if they believe they are underpaid? (AIPO)

Yes 69% No 22% No opinion 9%

**19.** (US May 6 '41) Are you making more money or less money this year than you did last year? (AIPO)

More 28% Less 20% No opinion 4% About the same 48%

(May 20 '41)

More 31% Same 45% Less 19% No answer 5%

**20.** (US Aug 6 '41) Do you consider that you are now being paid a fair wage (salary)? Asked of a national cross-section of employed people. (AIPO)

Yes 64% No 33% Undecided 3%

(Oct 1 '41) Asked of a national cross-section of employed people except farmers.

Yes 65% No 32% No answer 3%

(July 29 '42) Asked of a national cross-section of employed persons. 56% of the sample represented.

Yes 73% No 27%

**21.** (Great Britain Dec 19 '41) Are wages paid to boys and girls under eighteen years of age too high or too low? (BIPO)

Too high 43% Too low 12% Don't know 45%

**22.** (US Dec '41) After the present war is over, do you think people will be paid more, about the same, or less than before it started? (FOR)

More 10.9% About the same 21.2% Less 60.5%
Don't know 7.4%

**23.** (US Dec 19 '41) Do you think workers in war industries should continue to be paid time and one-half for all work over 40 hours per week (the present basis) for as long as the war lasts? (AIPO)

Yes 47% No 45% No opinion 6% No answer 2%

**24.** (US Dec 19 '41) How many hours do you think workers in war industries should work in a week before time and one-half pay for overtime starts? Asked of 45% of the sample who thought workers in war industries should not be paid time and one-half for all work over 40 hours per week. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 46 hours | 1% |
| 47–48 hours | 12 |
| 49–52 hours | 4 |
| 53–60 hours | 4 |
| 60–65 hours | 7 |
| 65 hours and over | 1 |
| Should pay no overtime | 11 |
| No answer | 5 |

**25.** (US Feb 23 '42) CIO leaders want a dollar a day more per man for all CIO members working in steel industries. Do you think they should be given this increase? (AIPO)

Yes 12% No 61% No opinion 27%

**26.** (US Feb 23 '42) The CIO wants a dollar a day more per man for all CIO members working in steel industries. Do you think they should be given this increase? (AIPO)

Yes 17% No 57% No opinion 26%

**27.** (Canada Mar 23 '42) Do you think workers in war industries should be paid time and a half for overtime? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 57% | 33% | 10% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Labor | 68% | 25% | 7% |
| Farmer | 45 | 41 | 14 |
| White-collar | 59 | 34 | 7 |

**28.** (Sweden May '42) What do you consider to be the lowest possible weekly wage on which a young man or girl between sixteen and twenty can manage on their own? Asked of a national cross-section of parents. (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Towns* | *Provinces* | *Country* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| No answer | 3% | — | 1% | 7% |
| Don't know | 32 | 21% | 29 | 44 |
| Under 15 kr.* | 1 | — | — | 2 |
| 15–25 kr. | 3 | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| 25–35 kr. | 10 | 5 | 14 | 12 |
| 35–45 kr. | 18 | 20 | 25 | 13 |
| 45–55 kr. | 19 | 27 | 18 | 12 |
| More than 55 kr. | 14 | 26 | 12 | 4 |

* The kronor is worth approximately 24 cents in American money.

**29.** (US Oct 21 '42) Do you think your present job pays you as well as it should or do you think it should pay you more? (NORC)

Pays enough 32% Should pay more 24%
Not employed 42% Don't know 2%

**30.** (Australia Nov '42) Should special rates of pay for working overtime be continued or abolished until after the war? (APOP)

Continued 55% Abolished in wartime 38% Undecided 7%

**31.** (Australia Dec '42) Speaking generally, should overtime be paid in cash or in postwar credits, such as war savings certificates? (APOP)

Cash 49% Postwar credits 38% Undecided 6%
No answer 7%

**32.** (US Dec '42) How much a week do you think you should be earning about ten years from now? Asked of a national cross-section of high-school students. (FOR)

| | *Under $20* | *$20–$39* | *$40–59* | *$60–79* | *$80–99* | *$100 & over* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 1.6% | 30.7% | 30.5% | 9.9% | 1.4% | 5.7% | 20.2% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | |
| Boys | 0.3% | 18.0% | 36.3% | 15.9% | 2.3% | 9.6% | 17.6% |
| Girls | 2.9 | 43.7 | 24.7 | 3.7 | 0.5 | 1.7 | 22.8 |

BY HIGHEST AND LOWEST AVERAGES EXPECTED
BY SPECIAL GROUPS
BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Highest* | *Lowest* |
|---|---|---|
| Prosperous and upper middle class | $58.94 | $40.26 |
| Children of executives | 62.00 | 39.60 |
| Choosing certain professions | 83.32 | 37.65 |

**33.** (US Jan '43) Would you say that your wages are good, only fair, or poor? Your working conditions? Your chances for advancement? Asked of a national cross-section of working force, including factory labor, miners, transportation and public-utility workers, personal-service workers (janitors, beauticians, laundrymen, domestics, etc.) (FOR)

| | WORKING CONDITIONS | | | | WAGES | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Good* | *Fair* | *Poor* | *Don't know* | *Good* | *Fair* | *Poor* | *Don't know* |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | | | | |
| Factory workers: | | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Men | 62.4 | 32.3 | 4.6 | 0.7 | 40.2 | 52.2 | 7.2 | 0.4 |
| Women | 63.5 | 31.3 | 5.2 | — | 53.9 | 38.3 | 7.0 | 0.8 |
| Personal service | 60.8 | 32.3 | 6.6 | 0.3 | 25.8 | 58.9 | 14.8 | 0.5 |
| Transport and public utility | 57.4 | 37.0 | 5.6 | — | 34.3 | 56.5 | 9.1 | 0.1 |
| Mine workers | 39.3 | 47.2 | 12.7 | 0.8 | 25.2 | 60.5 | 14.1 | 0.2 |
| BY AGE | | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 20–34 years | 61.8 | 32.3 | 5.7 | 0.2 | 38.9 | 52.5 | 8.3 | 0.3 |
| 35–49 years | 56.7 | 36.4 | 6.5 | 0.4 | 33.2 | 56.5 | 9.9 | 0.4 |
| 50 years and over | 51.5 | 39.2 | 8.3 | 1.0 | 26.8 | 55.5 | 17.1 | 0.6 |

| | CHANCES FOR ADVANCEMENT | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Good* | *Fair* | *Poor* | *Don't know* |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Factory workers: | | | | |
| Men | 32.1% | 31.0% | 30.6% | 6.3% |
| Women | 29.8 | 22.8 | 40.9 | 6.5 |
| Personal service | 16.5 | 19.2 | 57.1 | 7.2 |
| Transports and public utility | 27.9 | 24.8 | 42.7 | 4.6 |
| Mine workers | 18.0 | 24.6 | 47.6 | 9.8 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–34 years | 29.7% | 25.1% | 38.5% | 6.7% |
| 35–49 years | 24.5 | 25.4 | 44.4 | 5.7 |
| 50 years and over | 14.6 | 23.6 | 53.0 | 8.8 |

**34.** (Sweden Feb '44) Do you think that any particular weekday is best for pay-day? If so, which day? Asked of a national cross-section of families whose incomes are paid weekly. (SGI)

| | *No definite day* | *Monday* | *Tuesday* | *Wednesday* | *Thursday* | *Friday* | *Saturday* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 34% | 2% | — | 6% | 25% | 31% | 2% |
| Those paid Friday | 34 | 3 | 1% | 5 | 22 | 35 | — |
| Those paid Thursday | 26 | — | — | 4 | 68 | 2 | — |

**35.** (Sweden Feb '44) Which is your pay-day now? Asked of a national cross-section who receive their pay weekly. (SGI)

Thursday 11% Friday 77% Saturday 9%
Different day 3%

**36.** (Denmark Feb 28 '43) Would you work more, if you could earn more by doing so? Asked of a national cross-section of people eighteen to twenty-five years old. (DGI)

Yes 55.5% No 38.2% Don't know 6.3%

**37.** (Denmark Apr 11 '43) Which do you prefer: a small, fixed salary or a larger, but less stable, income? Asked of a national cross-section of people eighteen to twenty-five years old. (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Small, fixed salary | 64.3% |
| Large, more insecure income | 26.5 |
| Don't know | 9.2 |

**38.** (US May 22 '43) In general, do you think wages and salaries are about where they should be, too high or too low? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| About where should be | 48% |
| Too high | 21 |
| Too low | 16 |
| Some too high, some too low | 7 |
| Don't know | 8 |

What do you think is mostly responsible for the fact that they [wages and salaries] are too high? Asked of 21% of the sample who thought wages and salaries were too high.

| | |
|---|---|
| Shortages: | |
| General labor shortages | 6% |
| Taking advantage: | |
| Unions | 3 |
| Labor itself | 2 |
| Cost plus contracts | 1 |
| Government to blame: | |
| Government (general) | 1 |
| Defense plants and war industries set example | 2 |
| Government sets example for high wages | 2 |
| Other costs: | |
| High cost of living and taxes | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 2 |
| | 23%* |

* Percentages add to more than 21 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Sept 9 '43) In general, do you think wages and salaries are about where they should be, too high or too low?

| | |
|---|---|
| About where should be (unqualified) | 30% |
| About where should be according to cost of living | 5 |
| Too high | 16 |
| Too low (unqualified) | 10 |
| Too low because prices are too high | 5 |
| Some too high—some too low (unqualified) | 12 |
| Laborers and war workers make too much; others not enough | 18 |
| Don't know | 4 |

(Jan 7 '44)

| | |
|---|---|
| About where should be | 37% |
| Too high | 13 |
| Too low | 13 |
| Some too high | 27 |
| Don't know | 10 |

(June 23 '44)

| | |
|---|---|
| About where should be | 31% |
| Too high | 13 |
| Too low | 8 |
| Where should be according to cost of living | 9 |
| Too low because prices are too high | 5 |
| Laborers and war-workers make too much | 11 |
| Some too high, some low | 16 |
| Don't know | 7 |

**39.** (Nov 13 '43) In some plants workers are paid on a piecework basis, that is, they are paid for what they actually turn out, and not on an hourly or daily basis. Would you favor or oppose putting such a plan into operation in all war plants in this country? A comparable cross-section was asked: Now taking into account both the arguments for and the arguments against, would you like to see all war plants put this plan into operation on a piecework basis? Results were combined (AIPO)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 54% | 33% | 13% |
| Employed persons only | 46 | 42 | 12 |

**40.** (US Nov 10 '43) Do you think the wages now being paid in industries producing war materials will continue to be as high when these same industries produce peacetime goods? Asked of a national cross-section of employed persons. (AIPO)

Yes 9% No 85% No opinion 6%

**41.** (US Nov 10 '43) What would you say is the average weekly wage today (excluding overtime) for workers in war industries, taking into account all workers? Asked of a national cross-section of employed persons. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, don't know | 8% |
| Under $30 | 2 |
| $30–$34 | 3 |
| $35–$39 | 9 |
| $40–$44 | 17 |
| $45–$49 | 9 |
| $50 | 22 |
| $51–$59 | 5 |
| $60 | 10 |
| $61 and over | 15 |

Median = $50

**42.** (US Nov 10 '43) What do you think the average weekly wage will be for these same workers [in war industries] after the war? Asked of a national cross-section of employed persons. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, don't know | 10% |
| Under $20 | 6 |
| $20–$24 | 10 |
| $25–$30 | 21 |
| $30 | 18 |
| $31–$35 | 14 |
| $36–$40 | 10 |
| $41–$45 | 4 |
| $46–$50 | 5 |
| Over $50 | 2 |

Median = $30

**43.** (US Dec '43) If wages and salaries go any higher than they are now, do you think this would be a good thing or a bad thing for the country as a whole? (NORC)

Good 17% Bad 67% Neither 6% Don't know 10%

**44.** (Canada Dec 15 '43) When the war is over, do you expect to make the same amount of money you are now making per week, or do you expect to make more or less than you are now making? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Expect to make more | 30% |
| Expect to make the same | 34 |
| Expect to make less | 19 |
| No opinion | 17 |

**45.** (Canada Dec 15 '43) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the amount of money you are making? (CIPO)

Satisfied 58% Dissatisfied 42%

**46.** (Canada July 22 '44) After the war, do you expect to have a job which will pay you more money than you are now earning, the same amount of money you are now earning, or less money than you are now earning? (CIPO)

Earn more 17% Earn the same 45% Earn less 33%
Undecided 5%

**47.** (US Aug 16 '44) The President of the United States is paid a salary of $75,000 a year. About how much do you think the Vice President should get? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $10,000 | 1% |
| $10,000–$12,499 | 5 |
| $12,500–$17,499 | 5 |
| $17,500–$22,499 | 5 |
| $22,500–$27,499 | 24 |
| $27,500–$32,499 | 3 |
| $32,500–$36,249 | 7 |
| $36,250–$38,749 | 7 |
| $38,750–$42,499 | 5 |
| $42,500–$47,499 | 1 |
| $47,500–$50,000 | 22 |
| Over $50,000 | 7 |
| Don't know | 8 |

Median = $35,000

**48.** (Sweden Oct '44) Do you think it right if wages, in spite of the wage control, should be increased for those earning the lowest ones, leaving wages as they are for all others, or should such exceptions not be allowed? (SGI)

| | *Wages should be increased for those earning the lowest ones* | *Should not be allowed, don't know and no answer* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 85% | 15% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 87% | 13% |
| Women | 82 | 18 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper class | 74% | 26% |
| Middle class | 80 | 20 |
| Workers | 89 | 11 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | |
| Country | 84% | 16% |
| Town | 85 | 15 |

**49.** (US Jan 3 '45) After the war, do you think the weekly income of workers will be about the same as it is now, or will it be more, or less? (AIPO)

| | *About the same* | *More* | *Less* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 20% | 5% | 71% | 4% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 23% | 6% | 68% | 3% |
| Women | 18 | 4 | 74 | 4 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Business and professional | 23% | 6% | 68% | 3% |
| White-collar workers | 23 | 2 | 74 | 1 |
| Farmers | 15 | 4 | 77 | 4 |
| Skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled | 22 | 6 | 67 | 5 |
| Union members | 26 | 5 | 65 | 4 |

**50.** (Sweden Feb '45) Do you think that all increases in wages should wait until after the war, or do you think that wages should be increased now for certain groups? (SGI)

| | *Must wait* | *Certain ones now* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 21% | 62% | 17% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 26% | 57% | 17% |
| Middle class | 28 | 54 | 18 |
| Workers | 15 | 70 | 15 |

BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY

| | *Must wait* | *Certain ones now* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Country | 26% | 56% | 18% |
| Large towns | 12 | 73 | 15 |
| Other towns | 17 | 71 | 12 |
| Farmers | 36 | 42 | 22 |
| Others | 16 | 70 | 14 |

**51.** (Sweden Apr '45) Do you think that, compared with others doing similar work, you receive the pay that your work is worth? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No, not quite* | *Not at all* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 45% | 24% | 14% | 17% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 47% | 26% | 17% | 10% |
| Women | 40 | 18 | 7 | 35 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 61% | 17% | 8% | 14% |
| Middle class | 41 | 23 | 14 | 22 |
| Workers | 47 | 25 | 15 | 13 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Farmers | 38% | 24% | 18% | 20% |
| Others | 47 | 25 | 13 | 15 |

**52.** (France Mar 1 '45) Did you approve of the raising of government employees' salaries? (FIPO)

Yes 83% No 11% No opinion 6%

**53.** (US Dec 12 '45) Do you think any class or group of people in this country is not making as much money as it should? (AIPO)

Yes 59% No 26% No opinion 15%

Which group [is not making as much money as it should]? Asked of 59% of the sample who thought that a class or group of people in this country was not making as much money as it should.

| | |
|---|---|
| White-collar workers, semi-professional workers | 25% |
| Professional group, small business, business executives | 9 |
| Farmers | 10 |
| Laboring class, skilled workers, semi-skilled workers, unskilled workers | 13 |
| Others | 5 |
| | 62%* |

* Percentages add to more than 59 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**54.** (US June 27 '45) After the war, are you expecting the general level of wages to be higher, lower, or about the same as it is now? (AIPO)

| | *Higher* | *Lower* | *About same* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 5% | 63% | 27% | 5% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Business and professional | 8% | 60% | 29% | 3% |
| White-collar | 4 | 68 | 27 | 1 |
| Farmers | 2 | 73 | 20 | 5 |
| Skilled and unskilled workers | 4 | 60 | 29 | 7 |

**55.** (US June 14 '45) Many large companies have said they would like to guarantee an annual wage to their workers after the war instead of laying them off during slack seasons, but that they can't afford to. Do you think this is probably true, or that most of them could guarantee an annual wage to their workers if they wanted to? (NYHT)

| | *Probably true* | *Most could if wanted* | *Don't know and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 31.5% | 53.6% | 14.9% |
| Women | 24.4 | 49.6 | 26.0 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–34 years | 26.7% | 54.8% | 18.5% |
| 35–49 years | 29.3 | 52.0 | 18.7 |
| 50 years and over | 26.7 | 48.0 | 25.3 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| Grade school | 18.7% | 51.8% | 29.5% |
| High school | 29.6 | 54.9 | 15.5 |
| College | 41.2 | 44.6 | 14.2 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional and executive | 47.6% | 39.3% | 13.1% |
| Proprietor—farm | 27.8 | 47.1 | 25.1 |
| Proprietor—other | 47.9 | 43.7 | 8.4 |
| Housekeeper | 21.8 | 51.1 | 27.1 |
| Salaried—minor | 33.5 | 53.4 | 13.1 |
| Wages—factory | 22.7 | 65.9 | 11.4 |
| Wages—farm | 13.6 | 61.4 | 25.0 |
| Wages—other | 22.4 | 54.5 | 23.1 |
| Other | 28.6 | 41.0 | 30.4 |

**56.** (Great Britain Aug 26 '45) Military police receive a salary of £600 per annum. Do you think that this should be increased or remain where it is? (BIPO)

| | *Increased* | *Remain* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 21% | 66% | 13% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 26% | 64% | 10% |
| Women | 15 | 68 | 17 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 22% | 61% | 17% |
| 30–49 years | 24 | 64 | 12 |
| 50 years and over | 18 | 69 | 13 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher class | 38% | 56% | 6% |
| Middle class | 28 | 62 | 10 |
| Lower class | 17 | 68 | 15 |

To what amount [should the MP's salary be increased]? Asked of 21% of the sample who thought the salary of MP's should be increased.

| | |
|---|---|
| £700 | 2% |
| £750 | 2 |
| £800 | 6 |
| £850 | 1 |
| £900 | 1 |
| £1,000 | 7 |
| £1,200 | 1 |
| No reply | 1 |

**57.** (US Sept '45) Do you think that in Russia every worker gets paid the same amount of money regardless of what kind of work he does, or that certain workers get paid more than others? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| (Correct), certain paid more | 44.7% |
| (Incorrect), same | 22.2 |
| Don't know | 33.1 |

(Germany Apr 15 '46) Do you think that in Russia all workers get the same pay without consideration for what they

are doing or do you think that certain workers get better pay than others? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 2% |
| All the same | 7 |
| Some get more than others | 47 |
| No opinion, don't know, can't say | 44 |

Why do some [workers] get better pay? Asked of 47% of the sample who thought some workers in Russia got better pay than other workers.

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 2% |
| Because they know more: technical people, skilled workers, specialists | 30 |
| Because they are politically better: active members of the Communist party; spies | 3 |
| Because jobs and wages are classified (as in Germany) in various salary groups | 1 |
| Because pay depends on type of job, profession | 11 |
| Don't know, can't say | 1 |

**58.** (US Sept 19 '45) Do you think wage rates in general will be higher, lower, or about the same a year from now? (AIPO)

Higher 23% Lower 35% Same 35% No opinion 7%

**59.** (US Oct 12 '45) Do you think that automobile workers should get as much for forty hours in peacetime as they got for forty-eight hours during the war? (AIPO)

| | *Should get as much pay* | *Should not* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 54% | 13% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Business and professional | 22% | 71% | 7% |
| Farmers | 21 | 68 | 11 |
| White-collar | 29 | 58 | 13 |
| All manual workers | 44 | 40 | 16 |
| Union members only | 55 | 32 | 13 |

**60.** (US Oct 12 '45) Should workers in a plant who work forty hours a week be willing to take less pay than they did for a forty-eight hour week during wartime? (AIPO)

Yes 56% No 37% No opinion 7%

**61.** (US Sept 19 '45) Would you yourself be willing to take less [than forty-eight hours pay for forty hours work] if you worked in a plant? (AIPO)

Yes 56% No 37% No opinion 7%

**62.** (US Nov 4 '45) Because there is no overtime now, the total weekly pay of many factory workers is less than it was during the war. So that their total weekly pay will be the same as it was during the war, these workers want a 30% increase in their hourly rate. Do you think they should or should not receive this increase? (AIPO)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 55% | 12% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional and business | 21% | 71% | 8% |
| White-collar | 31 | 60 | 9 |
| Farmers | 20 | 67 | 13 |
| All manual workers | 44 | 42 | 14 |
| Union members only | 57 | 37 | 6 |

Would you favor increasing factory workers' hourly rates by 15%? Asked of 67% of the sample who were not in favor of a 30% wage increase for factory workers.

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 64% | 27% | 9% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional and business | 60% | 33% | 7% |
| White-collar | 66 | 27 | 7 |
| Farmers | 49 | 38 | 13 |
| All manual workers | 71 | 19 | 10 |
| Union members only | 83 | 14 | 3 |

(US Nov 30 '45) Because there is no overtime now, the total weekly pay of many factory workers is less than it was during the war. So that their total weekly pay will be the same as it was during the war, these workers want a 30% increase in their hourly rate. Do you think they should or should not receive this increase? (AIPO)

Should 38% Should not 52% No opinion 10%

Would you favor increasing factory workers' hourly rates by 15% [if not by 30%]? Asked of 62% of the sample who thought the workers should not receive a 30% pay increase.

Yes 69% No 22% No opinion 9%

(Canada Dec 8 '45) Because there is no overtime now, the total weekly pay of many factory workers is less than it was during the war. So that their total pay will be the same as it was during the war, these workers want a 30% increase in their hourly rate. Do you think they should or should not receive this increase? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should get 30% increase | 41% |
| Should not get it | 44 |
| Undecided | 15 |

Would you favor increasing factory workers' hourly rates by 15%?

| | |
|---|---|
| Favor 30% | 41% |
| Favor 15% | 27 |
| Oppose | 19 |
| Undecided | 13 |

**63.** (US Nov 21 '45) Because of loss of overtime, the total weekly pay of many workers in automobile factories is less than it was during the war. So that their total weekly pay will be the same as it was during the war, these workers want a 30% increase in their hourly rate. Do you think they should or should not receive this increase? (AIPO)

Should 30% Should not 60% No opinion 10%

Would you favor increasing factory workers' hourly rate by 15%?

Yes 68% No 22% No opinion 10%

Because of the loss of overtime, the total weekly pay of many workers in automobile factories is less than it was during the war. So that their total weekly pay will be closer to what it was during the war, these workers want an increase in their hourly rate. Do you think they should or should not receive an increase of 15% in their hourly rate?

Should 54% Should not 34% No opinion 12%

Would you favor increasing factory workers' hourly rate by 30%?

Yes 19% No 67% No opinion 14%

**64.** (Canada Oct 13 '45) Should war workers who are now being laid off be expected to accept jobs in industries that are short of workers, even though this means that they would get less money than they were getting in their war jobs? (CIPO)

| | *Should accept* | *Should not accept* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 77% | 14% | 9% |
| BY UNION STATUS | | | |
| Union members | 64% | 26% | 10% |
| Non-union members | 80 | 12 | 8 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Pro-conservatives | 83% | 10% | 7% |
| Liberals | 81 | 11 | 8 |
| CCF | 59 | 31 | 10 |

**65.** (US Nov 15 '45) Generally speaking, would you expect a big company or a small company to pay labor the best wages? (NYHT)

| | |
|---|---|
| Big company | 53.3% |
| Small company | 22.0 |
| No difference | 17.8 |
| Don't know | 6.9 |

**66.** (US Nov 21 '45) If a company improves its methods of manufacturing so that it can produce the same quality product for less money, which of the following do you think should be done with the saving: (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Company sell product to consumer for less money | 32% |
| Company sell product at same price but increase workers' wages | 40 |
| Both | 21 |
| No opinion | 7 |

**67.** (US Dec 12 '45) President Truman thinks the wages and salaries of civil service workers in the federal government should be raised 20%. Do you favor or oppose such a raise? (AIPO)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 53% | 33% | 14% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| White-collar | 58% | 31% | 11% |
| Manual workers | 57 | 26 | 17 |
| Business and professional | 56 | 33 | 11 |
| Farmers | 32 | 53 | 15 |
| Union members | 65 | 22 | 13 |

**68.** (US Nov 21 '45) President Truman thinks the wages and salaries of civil service workers in the federal government should be raised by one-fifth. Do you favor or oppose such a raise? (AIPO)

Favor 55% Oppose 31% No opinion 14%

**69.** (Canada Nov 24 '45) Do you happen to know how much a private member of the federal parliament is paid a year by the government? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| $4,000 per year | 27% |
| Less than $4,000 | 6 |
| More than $4,000 | 8 |
| No idea how much | 59 |

**70.** (US Dec 19 '45) Do you think the workers in General Motors should get more pay? (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 23% No opinion 20%

How much more [pay should the General Motors workers get]? Asked of 17% of the sample who thought General Motors workers should get more pay.

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 10% | 2% |
| 10%, 1/10 | 6 |
| 10%–15% | 3 |
| 15% | 13 |
| 15%–20% | 5% |
| 20%, 1/5 | 9 |
| 20%–25% | 1 |
| 25%, 1/4 | 2 |
| 30% | 8 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| No answer | 3 |
| Don't know | 1 |

Median = 15%

**71.** (US Jan '46) Do you think the basic hourly rates paid to labor should be generally raised, lowered, or kept about where they are now? (FOR)

| | *Raised* | *Lowered* | *Kept where they are* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 30.5% | 4.3% | 50.8% | 14.4% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Executives | 34.9% | 4.7% | 52.7% | 7.7% |
| Farmers | 15.2 | 15.2 | 54.4 | 15.2 |
| Workers | 46.4 | 1.5 | 40.9 | 11.2 |

**72.** (US Jan '46) Do you think the 30% raise some labor people have been asking for is too much, not enough, or about right? Asked of 30.5% of the sample who thought the basic hourly rate should be raised. (FOR)

| | *Too much* | *Not enough* | *About right* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 12.1% | 1.2% | 14.3% | 2.9% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Executives | 24.0% | 1.4% | 7.8% | 1.7% |
| Farmers | 4.9 | 0.8 | 7.2 | 2.3 |
| Workers | 16.0 | 2.5 | 24.8 | 3.1 |

**73.** (Great Britain Jan 12 '46) Which do you think is more important in a job, as high wages as possible, or security with lower wages? (BIPO)

| | *High wages* | *Security* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 23% | 73% | 4% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 24% | 72% | 4% |
| Women | 22 | 73 | 5 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 27% | 70% | 3% |
| 30–49 years | 24 | 72 | 4 |
| 50 years and over | 21 | 74 | 5 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher income group | 17% | 80% | 3% |
| Middle income group | 17 | 79 | 4 |
| Lower income group | 26 | 70 | 4 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional, salaried-executive | 26% | 69% | 5% |
| Salaried-clerical | 17 | 81 | 2 |
| Proprietors, shop or business, farmers | 21 | 75 | 4 |
| Weekly wages: factory, heavy industry, transport, miner | 32 | 66 | 2 |
| Agricultural workers (excluding farmers) | 31 | 63 | 6 |
| Weekly wages, all others | 25 | 72 | 3 |
| Housewives | 17 | 76 | 7 |
| Retired, unoccupied | 19 | 72 | 9 |

**74.** (France Feb 1 '46) In your opinion, should wages and salaries vary according to the importance of the locality? (FIPO)

Yes 67% No 26% No opinion 7%

**75.** (France Feb 1 '46) Should they [wages and salaries] vary according to the expenses of the family? (FIPO)

Yes 80% No 17% No opinion 3%

**76.** (Australia Apr–May '46) Should wages be decided by the arbitration court, or by direct negotiation between employers and unions? (APOP)

Arbitration 56% Direct negotiation 30% No opinion 14%

**77.** (US June 26 '46) Do you consider the amount of money which you (or the head of family) are paid is a fair amount for the work done? (AIPO)

Yes 52% No 38% Doesn't work 10%

**78.** (Great Britain Aug '46) Do you think that amateurs chosen to represent this country in international sporting contests should be paid for "broken time," i.e. earnings they lose? (BIPO)

| | *Paid* | *Not paid* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 65% | 14% | 21% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 72% | 18% | 10% |
| Women | 57 | 10 | 33 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 59% | 28% | 13% |
| Middle | 67 | 18 | 15 |
| Lower | 65 | 11 | 24 |

**79.** (France Sept '46) Do you approve of the increase in salaries such as has just been decided by the government? (FIPO)

Approve 45% Disapprove 47% No opinion 8%

Which do you consider will be more valuable: no increase in salaries, a smaller increase, or a larger increase? Asked of the 47% who disapproved of the increase in salaries decided by the government.

Not to increase 31% Increase by more 8% Increase by less 5% Don't know 3%

**80.** (Canada Sept 28 '46) Are there any particular occupations or industries where you think the workers have more reason to demand an increase than others? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No occupations or industries justified | 10% |
| All labor groups justified | 12 |
| Miners | 16 |
| Unskilled workers | 9 |
| Farmers, farm help | 8 |
| "White-collar" workers | 6 |
| Steel workers | 6 |
| Textile workers | 4 |
| Skilled workers | 3 |
| Teachers | 2 |
| Pulp, lumber workers | 2 |
| Civil servants | 1 |
| Meat packers | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 14 |
| Didn't name any | 2 |
| Undecided | 17 |
| | 113%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**81.** (Canada Sept 28 '46) Generally speaking, do you think labor is entitled or not entitled to the higher wages they are demanding? (CIPO)

Yes 53% No 15% Some entitled 25% Undecided 7%

**82.** (US Nov '46) If one company isn't doing so well and is just breaking even, or perhaps losing a little, do you think it should pay its workers less for the same jobs than workers in other companies are paid, or about the same? (FOR)

| | *Less* | *About the same* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 20.1% | 67.4% | 12.5% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Owners of businesses | 26.1% | 68.1% | 5.8% |
| Salaried executives | 21 6 | 73.2 | 5.2 |
| Wage earners | 18.2 | 70.3 | 11.5 |

**83.** (US Dec '46) On the whole, do you think that the amount of money paid to business executives during the war was too high, about right, or not high enough? (FOR)

| | *Too high* | *About right* | *Not high enough* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 50.5% | 29.5% | 1.9% | 18 1% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 45.9% | 40.8% | 4.1% | 9.2% |
| Upper middle | 48.6 | 35.8 | 2.7 | 12.9 |
| Lower middle | 54.6 | 25.7 | 2.0 | 17.7 |
| Poor | 38.9 | 32.4 | 0.6 | 28.1 |

**84.** (US Dec 22 '46) Labor leaders say that because of the increased cost of living since the raise in wages of last spring, workers should be given another wage increase of about 20%. Do you agree or disagree with this? (AIPO)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 46% | 12% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Manual workers | 54% | 36% | 10% |
| All other occupations | 33 | 53 | 14 |
| Labor union members only | 62 | 31 | 7 |

**85.** (US Jan 12 '47) Many unions of factory workers are going to ask for a pay increase within the next month or two. Do you think these factory workers should get more pay? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 38% | 49% | 13% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farmers | 19% | 71% | 10% |
| Professional and business | 31 | 56 | 13 |
| White-collar | 37 | 48 | 15 |
| Manual workers | 50 | 37 | 13 |
| Union members only | 59 | 30 | 11 |
| Those who think prices must rise if wages do | 21 | 68 | 11 |
| Those who think wages can be increased without affecting prices | 57 | 32 | 11 |

How much more [pay] should the factory workers get? Asked of 38% of the sample who thought factory workers should get more pay.

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 10% | 7% |
| 10% | 25 |
| 10%–15% | 2 |
| 15% | 12 |
| 15%–20% | 3 |
| 20% | 15 |
| 20%–25% | 2 |
| 25% | 9 |
| 25%–30% | * |

| | |
|---|---|
| 30% | 2% |
| Over 30% | 4 |
| No answer | 19 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**86.** (US Dec 31 '46) How much do you think automobile workers are paid per hour now? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $1 per hour | 4% |
| $1 per hour | 11 |
| Over $1 to under $1.25 | 9 |
| $1.25 | 15 |
| Over $1.25 to under $1.50 | 9 |
| $1.50 | 18 |
| Over $1.50 to under $1.75 | 3 |
| $1.75 | 4 |
| Over $1.75 | 13 |
| No opinion | 14 |

**87.** (US Dec 31 '46) How much do you think automobile workers should be paid per hour? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $1 per hour | 4% |
| $1 per hour | 14 |
| Over $1 to under $1.25 | 6 |
| $1.25 | 13 |
| Over $1.25 to under $1.50 | 7 |
| $1.50 | 21 |
| Over $1.50 to under $1.75 | 3 |
| $1.75 | 5 |
| Over $1.75 | 12 |
| No opinion | 15 |

**88.** (US Dec 31 '46) Will you tell me what is meant by the term "portal-to-portal" pay? (AIPO)

Correct 41% Incorrect 8% No answer, don't know 51%

What is your opinion of the union's effort to collect this portal-to-portal pay for the last several years? Asked of 41% of the sample who were familiar with the term "portal-to-portal" pay.

Fair, OK, approve 17% Fair in some cases 3%
Unfair, not right, disapprove 72% No reply 8%

**89.** (US Dec 31 '46) The unions are trying to collect pay for the last several years for workers to cover the time they needed to get from the factory gates until they actually began work on the job. Should workers be paid for this time for the last several years? How strongly do you feel about this—very strongly, fairly strongly, or not at all strongly? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 20% | 72% | 8% |
| Skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled | 30 | 59 | 11 |
| BY INTENSITY OF FEELING | | | |
| Very strongly | 48% | 58% | |
| Fairly strongly | 38 | 29 | |
| Not strongly | 12 | 12 | |
| No opinion | 2 | 1 | |

**90.** (US Dec 31 '46) How about in the future—should workers be paid for this [portal-to-portal] time? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 45% | 43% | 12% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled workers | 55% | 32% | 13% |
| BY INFORMATION | | | |
| Those who knew what the term "portal-to-portal" pay meant | 48% | 43% | 9% |

## Minimum Wages

**1.** (US Dec 14 '35) Do you think the federal government ought to set the lowest wage employees should receive in each business and industry? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 51% | 49% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 60% | 40% |
| Republicans | 43 | 57 |
| Socialists | 71 | 29 |
| Third party | 48 | 52 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 48% | 52% |
| Middle Atlantic | 50 | 50 |
| East central | 48 | 52 |
| West central | 42 | 58 |
| South | 51 | 49 |
| Mountain | 45 | 55 |
| Pacific coast | 52 | 48 |
| (May 17 '37) | | |
| National total | 61% | 39% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 60% | 40% |
| Middle Atlantic | 60 | 40 |
| East central | 61 | 39 |
| West central | 61 | 39 |
| South | 56 | 44 |
| Mountain | 69 | 31 |
| Pacific coast | 63 | 37 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 71% | 29% |
| Republicans | 41 | 59 |
| Others | 64 | 36 |

(Nov 20 '36) Do you think the federal government ought to set the lowest wages employees should receive in each industry?

Yes 63% No 37%

**2.** (US July 19 '36) Do you favor an amendment to the Constitution to regulate minimum wages? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 70% | 30% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 84% | 16% |
| Republicans | 51 | 49 |
| Socialists | 84 | 16 |
| Third party | 78 | 22 |

Should this power [to regulate minimum wages] be given to Congress or the individual states? Asked of a national cross-section of those who favored the amendment. 70% of the sample represented.

| | *Cong.* | *States* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 44% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 65% | 35% |
| Republicans | 40 | 60 |
| Socialists | 70 | 30 |
| Third party | 70 | 30 |

**3.** (US July '36) Should minimum wages for all or most kinds of work be fixed by law? (FOR)

| | *All* | *Most* | *Some* | *None* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total.... | 37.8% | 14.2% | 15.7% | 22.5% | 9.8% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | |
| | *All and Most* | | | | |
| Proprietors..... | 46.6% | — | 16.4% | 32.5% | 4.5% |
| Farm labor..... | 40.0 | — | 22.7 | 18.2 | 19.1 |
| Housekeepers.... | 47.5 | — | 16.9 | 20.3 | 15.3 |
| Salaried workers.. | 57.7 | — | 16.1 | 20.1 | 6.1 |
| Factory labor.... | 54.4 | — | 11.4 | 22.3 | 11.9 |
| Unemployed..... | 55.7 | — | 9.7 | 21.9 | 12.7 |

**4.** (US May 24 '37) Is anyone in this community doing your type of work paid less than $16.00 a week? Asked of a national cross-section of employed persons. (AIPO)

Yes 31% No 40% No opinion 29%

**5.** (US June 1 '37) About what figure do you believe should be set as the minimum (the smallest) hourly wage for this community? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $.40 | 20% |
| $.40 | 13 |
| Over $.40 to $.50 | 4 |
| $.50 | 21 |
| Over $.50 | 24 |
| No opinion | 18 |

Median = $.50
Mean = .52

**6.** (US Jan 25 '38) In your opinion what is the lowest hourly wage that any worker should receive in this community? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $.40 | 31% |
| $.40 | 18 |
| Over $.40 to $.50 | 4 |
| $.50 | 22 |
| Over $.50 | 18 |
| No opinion | 7 |

Median = $.40
Mean = .44

**7.** (US Aug 19 '45) If you were the one to decide, what minimum wage would you set for business or factory workers in this state? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $.40 | 1% |
| $.40 | 4 |
| Over $.40 to $.50 | 1 |
| $.50 | 17 |
| Over $.50 to $.65 | 13 |
| $.65 | 9 |
| Over $.65 to $.75 | 3 |
| $.75 | 14 |
| Over $.75 to $1.00 | 9 |
| $1.00 | 9 |
| Over $1.00 | 3 |
| Don't know | 17 |

Median = $.65 per hour
Median for employer and self-employed = $.60
Median for wage and salary group = $.75

(Feb 27 '46)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $.40 | 1% |
| $.40 | 2 |
| Over $.40 to $.50 | * |
| $.50 | 8 |
| Over $.50 to $.65 | 8 |
| $.65 | 11 |
| Over $.65 to $.75 | 5 |
| $.75 | 17 |
| Over $.75 to $1.00 | 12% |
| $1.00 | 15 |
| Over $1.00 | 6 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| Don't know, no answer | 11 |

Median = $.65 per hour

* Less than 0.5%.

**8.** (US July 26 '37) Should Congress set the lowest wage employees should receive in each business and industry? (AIPO)

Yes 58% No 42% = 100% No opinion 9%

**9.** (US Aug 16 '37) Do you think persons who work on an hourly basis in your community should receive at least 40 cents an hour or $16.00 a week? (AIPO)

Yes 88% No 12% = 100% No opinion 5%

**10.** (US June 1 '38) If Congress passes a Minimum Wage Law, do you think the minimum wage per hour should be the same all over the country or should it be different for different sections of the country? (AIPO)

Same 38% Different 62%

**11.** (US June 1 '38) If the minimum hourly wage is set higher in this part of the country than in other sections, do you think it will hurt business here? (AIPO)

Yes 37% No 63%

**12.** (Great Britain June '42) Do you think that a minimum wage for miners of 85s a week is too high, too low, or about right? (BIPO)

Too high 4% Too low 43% About right 47%
Don't know 6%

**13.** (US Nov '44) During peacetime who do you think should decide what is the lowest wage an employer can pay—the employer himself, the government or a labor union? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Employer | 24% |
| Government | 32 |
| Labor union | 20 |
| Other (not specified) | * |
| Don't know | 6 |
| Employees—employees and employer | 2 |
| Employer and government combinations | * |
| Employer and labor union combinations | 4 |
| Employer, government and labor union combinations | 8 |
| Government and labor union combinations | 2 |
| Other answers not elsewhere classified | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

(Sept '45)

| | |
|---|---|
| Employer | 23% |
| Government | 33 |
| Labor union | 22 |
| Other answers | 2 |
| Employees and employer | 1 |
| Employer and government | 1 |
| Employer and labor union—collective bargaining | 3 |
| Government and labor union | 1 |
| Employer, government, labor union | 9 |
| Don't know | 5 |

**14.** (US Sept '45) During peacetime, who do you think should decide what is the lowest wage an employer can pay—the employer himself, the government, a labor union, or a combination of all three? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Employer | 14% |
| Government | 17 |
| Labor union | 8 |
| Other answers not elsewhere classified | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Employees and employer | * |
| Employer and government | 1% |
| Employer and labor union—collective bargaining | 1 |
| Government and labor union | * |
| Government, labor union and employer | 53 |
| Don't know | 5 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**15.** (US Nov '44) Who do you think Dewey would rather see decide what is the lowest wage an employer can pay—the employer, government, or a labor union? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Employer | 40% |
| Government | 19 |
| Labor union | 7 |
| Other | 1 |
| Don't know | 28 |
| Employees—employees and employer—people | 1 |
| Employer and government combination | * |
| Employer and labor union—labor and capital | 2 |
| Government and labor union | * |
| Employer, government and labor union | 2 |
| Other answers | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**16.** (US Nov '44) Who do you think Roosevelt would rather see decide what is the lowest wage an employer can pay—the employer, government, or a labor union? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Employer | 4% |
| Government | 45 |
| Labor union | 35 |
| Other | * |
| Don't know | 11 |
| Employees—employees and employer—people | * |
| Employer and government combination | * |
| Employer and labor union—labor and capital | 1 |
| Government and labor union | 2 |
| Employer, government and labor union | 2 |
| Other answers | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**17.** (US Aug 19 '45) What does the term "minimum wage" mean to you? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Lowest wages, lowest legal wage | 48% |
| Incorrect | 22 |
| Don't know | 30 |

Do you happen to know what the minimum wage per hour for the country is now? Asked of 48% of the sample who could correctly identify the term "minimum wage."

| | |
|---|---|
| $.25 | 1% |
| .30 | 1 |
| .35 | 2 |
| .40 | 23 |
| .45 | 4 |
| .50 | 12 |
| .55 | 3 |
| .60 | 4 |
| .65 | 3 |
| .75 and over | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 45 |

Median = $.45

(Sept 19 '45) What does the term "minimum wage" mean to you?

| | |
|---|---|
| Lowest wage | 16% |
| Lowest legal wage | 35 |
| Lowest wage required by union | 1 |
| Average wage | 10 |
| Low pay, low wage | 2% |
| Living wage | 14 |
| Lowest acceptable wage | 1 |
| Starting wage | 1 |
| Ability, man's worth | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 19 |

* Less than 0.5%.

(Feb 27 '46)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 13% |
| Lowest wage | 19 |
| Lowest legal wage (40 cents) | 38 |
| Lowest wage required by union | 1 |
| Average wage, reasonable wage | 5 |
| Low pay, very low wage, substandard wage, bread without butter | 3 |
| Living wage, 25, 30, 40, 45 cents per hour, 60 cents per hour | 17 |
| Starting wage | 1 |
| Miscellaneous answers | 3 |

**18.** (Aug 19 '45) Would you favor or oppose making the minimum wage 65 cents an hour for all workers in business and industry? (AIPO)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 32% | 12% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Wage and salary earners | 63% | 25% | 12% |
| Employers and self-employed | 48 | 41 | 11 |

**19.** (US Sept 19 '45) At the present time the minimum wage that can be paid to workers in every state in most businesses and industries is 40 cents an hour. This means that all persons working in such businesses, in every state, including young people who have never worked before, cannot be paid less than 40 cents an hour. Would you approve or disapprove of raising this minimum to 60 cents an hour? (AIPO)

Approve 59% Disapprove 33% No opinion 8%

Would you approve or disapprove of raising this minimum [wage] to 50 cents an hour?

Approve 71% Disapprove 20% No opinion 9%

**20.** (US Sept 19 '45) At the present time the minimum wage that can be paid to workers in every state in most businesses and industries is 40 cents an hour. This means that all persons working in such businesses, in every state, including young people who have never worked before, cannot be paid less than 40 cents an hour. Would you approve or disapprove of raising this minimum to 65 cents an hour? (AIPO)

Approve 56% Disapprove 38% No opinion 6%

Would you approve or disapprove of raising this minimum [wage] to 55 cents an hour?

Approve 67% Disapprove 24% No opinion 9%

(Apr 7 '46) At the present time the minimum wage that can be paid to workers in every state in most businesses and industries is 40 cents an hour. This means that all persons working in such businesses, in every state, including young people who have never worked before, cannot be paid less than 40 cents an hour. Would you approve or disapprove of raising this minimum to 65 cents an hour?

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 65% | 29% | 6% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 70% | 25% | 5% |
| Republicans | 59 | 36 | 5 |
| Union members | 80 | 14 | 6 |

BY OCCUPATION

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Farmers | 50% | 42% | 8% |

**21.** (US Sept 19 '45) Do you think that the minimum wage rate should be the same for every section of the country? (AIPO)

Yes 37% No 45% No opinion 18%

**22.** (US Nov 11 '46) Should the Congress to be elected this Novembet pass a law raising the minimum wage throughout the country from 40 to 65 cents an hour—that is, no worker could receive less than 65 cents an hour? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 66% | 26% | 8% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republicans | 61% | 31% | 8% |
| Democrats | 70 | 24 | 6 |
| Independents | 70 | 23 | 7 |

## Agricultural

**1.** (Great Britain July '39) Do you think a minimum cash wage of £2 per week for agricultural workers would be too high, too low, or about right? (BIPO)

Too high 3% Too low 53% About right 38%
Don't know 6%

**2.** (Great Britain Aug 30 '41) Do you think that a minimum cash wage of £3 a week for agricultural workers would be too high, too low, or about right? (BIPO)

Too high 5% Too low 42% About right 53%

**3.** (Great Britain Aug 22 '43) Do you think that a minimum wage of £4 per week for farm laborers is about right, too high, or too low? (BIPO)

Too high 11% Too low 14% About right 66%
Don't know 9%

**4.** (US Feb 20 '43) How much do farmers around here have to pay by the day for farm labor? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (AIPO)

| *Wages per day* | |
|---|---|
| Less than $1.00 | 1% |
| $1–$1.99 | 26 |
| $2–$2.99 | 30 |
| $3–$3.99 | 19 |
| $4–$4.99 | 14 |
| $5–$5.99 | 8 |
| $6 or more | 2 |

| | *Average daily farm wage paid at present* |
|---|---|
| National average | $2.85 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | $4.00 |
| East central | 3.00 |
| West central | 3.75 |
| South | 2.00 |
| Far West | 4.50 |

**5.** (US Apr '43) Do you think that the wages of factory workers are too high, about right, or too low? How about the wages of farm hands? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

| | *Too high* | *About right* | *Too low* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Farmers' opinion about: | | | | |
| Wages of factory workers | 47.3% | 32.8% | 2.3% | 17.6% |
| Wages of farm hands | 18.2 | 37.6 | 36.0 | 8.2 |
| Hired hands' opinion about: | | | | |
| Wages of factory workers | 30.4 | 48.1 | 2.9 | 18.6 |
| Wages of farm hands | 1.2 | 37.9 | 57.7 | 3.2 |

# WAGES AND HOURS

**1.** (US Oct 19 '35) Do you favor government regulations to maintain minimum wage rates and maximum hours of labor? (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 34% No opinion 9%

Should these [regulations to maintain minimum wage rates and maximum hours of labor] be handled by the federal government, or the states? Asked of 57% of the sample who favored government regulations to maintain minimum wage rates and maximum hours of labor.

The federal government 41% The states 14%
No opinion 2%

**2.** (US Feb 8 '36) If employees work fewer hours, should they be paid less? (AIPO)

Yes 28% No 72%

**3.** (US Apr 19 '36) If hours are reduced, should the weekly wages of employees be lowered or remain the same? (AIPO)

| | *Remain the same* | *Be lowered* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 84% | 16% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 90% | 10% |
| Republicans | 74 | 26 |
| Socialists | 94 | 6 |
| Third party | 90 | 10 |

**4.** (US May 24 '37) Do you think the hours can be reduced without some reduction in pay? Asked of national cross-section of employed persons. (AIPO)

Yes 37% No 39% No opinion 24%

**5.** (US Oct '37) Which kind of government—federal, state, or local—do you feel should take care of regulating wages and hours of labor? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Federal | 39.8% |
| State | 17.7 |
| Local | 12.3 |
| Combination of these | 1.6 |
| None of them | 12.1 |
| Don't know | 16.5 |

**6.** (US Jan 12 '39) Should Congress pass a bill to provide for minimum wages and maximum hours? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 69% | 31% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 72% | 28% |
| Middle Atlantic | 75 | 25 |
| East central | 72 | 28 |
| West central | 64 | 36 |
| South | 63 | 37 |
| Rocky Mountain | 67 | 33 |
| Pacific coast | 55 | 45 |

**7.** (US Nov 10 '37) Should minimum wages and maximum hours be set by one national committee, or by separate committees in different sections of the country? (AIPO)

One committee 18% Separate committees 57%
No opinion 25%

**8.** (US Feb 16 '38) Would you favor a federal law requiring employers to maintain the wage and hours standards you have suggested? (AIPO)

Yes 67% No 33%

**9.** (US May 11 '38) Should Congress pass a bill regulating wages and hours before ending this session? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 59% | 41% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 74% | 26% |
| Middle Atlantic | 62 | 38 |
| East central | 58 | 42 |
| West central | 50 | 50 |
| South | 56 | 44 |
| Rocky Mountain | 61 | 39 |
| Pacific coast | 59 | 41 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 71% | 29% |
| Republicans | 34 | 66 |

**10.** (US July '38) On the whole, do you approve or disapprove of President Roosevelt's wages and hours legislation? (FOR)

| | *Like* | *Dislike* | *Undecided* | *Uninformed* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48.8% | 21.8% | 10.9% | 18.5% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION* | | | | |
| Southwest | 90.6% | 9.4% | | |
| Southeast | 83.2 | 16.8 | | |
| Mountain states | 70.9 | 29.1 | | |
| Pacific coast | 69.6 | 30.4 | | |
| Middle West | 62.6 | 37.4 | | |
| Northwest plains | 62.1 | 37.9 | | |
| Northeast | 56.9 | 43.1 | | |
| BY RACE* | | | | |
| Negroes | 91.3% | 8.7% | | |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS* | | | | |
| Poor | 79.2% | 20.8% | | |
| Lower middle class | 71.9 | 28.1 | | |
| Upper middle class | 60.3 | 39.7 | | |
| Prosperous | 45.4 | 54.6 | | |
| BY OCCUPATION* | | | | |
| Factory labor | 86.6% | 13.4% | | |
| Other labor | 81.6 | 18.4 | | |
| Farm labor | 81.4 | 18.6 | | |
| Unemployed | 80.5 | 19.5 | | |
| Students | 72.5 | 27.5 | | |
| Housekeeper | 69.0 | 31.0 | | |
| White-collar | 68.0 | 32.0 | | |
| Proprietors | 65.6 | 34.4 | | |
| Farmers | 62.4 | 37.6 | | |
| Professional | 60.2 | 39.8 | | |
| Executives | 50.6 | 49.4 | | |
| Retired | 42.6 | 57.4 | | |

* Those who were undecided or uninformed were excluded from these breakdowns.

**11.** (US July 2 '38) Do you approve of the federal law which regulates minimum wages and maximum hours? (AIPO)

Yes 62% No 28% No opinion 10%

**12.** (US Dec 2 '38) Has the Wages and Hours Law had any effect on the number of hours you work a week? How? Asked of a national cross-section of employed persons. (AIPO)

Raised 1% Lowered 11% No effect 88%

**13.** (US Dec 2 '38) Has the Wages and Hours Law had any effect on the weekly wages you receive? How? Asked of a national cross-section of employed persons. (AIPO)

Raised 3% Lowered 5% No effect 92%

**14.** (US Jan 1 '39) Are you in favor of the new Wages and Hours Law? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 71% | 29% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 79% | 21% |
| Middle Atlantic | 77 | 23 |
| East central | 66 | 34 |
| West central | 75 | 25 |
| South | 59 | 41 |
| West | 73 | 27 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 80% | 20% |
| Republicans | 51 | 49 |
| Others | 80 | 20 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | |
| Employers | 56% | 44% |
| Employees | 79 | 21 |

**15.** (Great Britain Sept '39) Do you think that employers have been using the war unfairly to dismiss work people, to lower wages, to increase the hours of work? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| To dismiss work people | 33% |
| To lower wages | 7 |
| To increase the hours of work | 2 |
| Don't know | 58 |

**16.** (US Jan 6 '41) If it would help speed up the defense program, would you be willing to work more hours per week at the same rate of pay per hour as you are now getting? Asked of a national cross-section of employers and employed people. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 75% | 15% | 10% |
| BY UNION STATUS | | | |
| Labor union members | 68% | 27% | 5% |

**17.** (US Jan 22 '41) If it would help speed up the defense program, would you be willing to work overtime for five hours each week with just straight time pay and not time-and-a half pay? (AIPO)

Yes 74% No 12% Undecided 14%

**18.** (US Feb '42) Would you be willing to raise the number of working hours to fifty hours a week with pay on a straight hourly basis (no extra overtime pay) for the duration of the emergency? (FOR)

Yes 80.2% No 11.1% Don't know 8.7%

**19.** (Canada Mar 23 '42) How many hours should these workers put in before time-and-a-half pay for overtime starts? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 48 hours or less | 62% |
| 49–59 hours | 17 |
| 60 hours and over | 21 |

**20.** (US Mar 29 '42) How many hours do you think workers in war industries should work in a week before time and one-half pay for overtime starts? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 40 hours | 27% |
| 40–47 hours | 4 |
| 48 hours | 25 |
| 49–59 hours | 8 |
| 60 or more than 60 hours | 9 |
| Should not pay overtime | 21 |
| No opinion | 6 |

Median = 48 hours

| | *Median average* |
|---|---|
| National total | 48 hours |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 48 hours |
| East central | 48 |
| West central | 48 |
| South | 56 |
| Far West | 48 |
| BY OCCUPATION | |
| Farmers | 60 hours |
| White-collar workers | 48 |
| Skilled and unskilled labor | 48 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | |
| Upper income | 48 hours |
| Middle income | 48 |
| Lower income | 48 |
| Labor union members | 40 |

(Mar 31 '42)

| | |
|---|---|
| No opinion | 4% |
| 40 hours or less | 26 |
| 41–47 hours | 5 |
| 48 hours | 31 |
| 49–59 hours | 5 |
| 60 hours and over | 6 |
| Should not pay overtime | 23 |

(Apr 16 '42)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 48 hours | 34% |
| 48 hours | 34 |
| More than 48 hours | 9 |
| Pay no overtime | 15 |
| No answer | 8 |

(Oct 28 '42)

| | |
|---|---|
| 40 hours or less | 33% |
| 41–47 hours | 5 |
| 48 hours | 29 |
| 49–59 hours | 4 |
| 60 hours or more | 4 |
| No overtime pay | 18 |
| No opinion | 7 |

Median = 48 hours

| | *National basis* | *War workers* |
|---|---|---|
| (Nov 27 '42) | | |
| 40 hours | 29% | 53% |
| 41–47 hours | 4 | 4 |
| 48 hours | 38 | 30 |
| 49–59 hours | 3 | 3 |
| 60 hours or more | 3 | 2 |
| Should not pay overtime | 17% | 7% |
| No opinion | 6 | 1 |
| | Median = 48 hours | 40 hours |

(Jan 22 '43) How long should they work before time and a half pay for overtime begins?

| | |
|---|---|
| 40 hours | 29% |
| 41–47 hours | 4 |
| 48 hours | 30 |
| 49–59 hours | 5 |
| 60 hours or more | 5 |
| No overtime pay at all | 23 |
| Undecided | 4 |

Median = 48 hours

(Feb 19 '43) How long should they [people in war plants] work before time and a half overtime begins? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers.

| | |
|---|---|
| 40 hours | 7% |
| 41–47 hours | * |
| 48 hours | 24 |
| 49–59 hours | 7 |
| 60 hours | 12 |
| Over 60 hours | 2 |
| Should not pay overtime | 42 |
| No opinion | 6 |

Median = 60 hours

* Less than 0.5%.

**21.** (US Apr 15 '42) Overtime pay now starts after 40 hours work in any week. Should Congress pass a law changing the regular work week in all war industries to 48 hours so that time and one-half pay for overtime would not start until after 48 hours work? (AIPO)

Yes 53% No 33% No opinion and no answer 14%

## WAGES AND PRICES

**1.** (US June 6 '37) Are you in favor of higher wages for employees if higher wages means higher prices? (AIPO)

Yes 66% No 34%

(Nov 23 '43) Would you rather get a higher wage or salary than you are now getting and pay still higher prices for things you buy, or keep your present salary and have prices stay where they are now?

Higher wages and prices 10% Keep present wages 79%
No opinion 11%

**3.** (US Dec '43) If some wages and salaries do go higher than they are now, do you think this would affect prices in any way? (NORC)

Yes 67% No 28% Don't know 5%

Would prices go up or down [if wages went higher]? Asked of 67% of the sample who thought higher wages would affect prices.

Up 65% Down 1% Don't know 1%

**4.** (US Apr 12 '44) Do you think prices (or wages) can go up without wages (or prices) going up? Asked of a national cross-section of those who thought prices only should go up, or those who thought wages only should go up. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Prices | 46% | 46% | 8% |
| Wages | 49 | 35 | 16 |

**5.** (US Dec 12 '44) When the war with Germany ends, should wage rates be increased so that when workers stop putting in as much overtime as they are now, their total weekly pay will remain about as much as it is now? (AIPO)

Yes 37% No 51% No opinion 12%

As a way of doing this [keeping total weekly pay on wartime basis] do you approve or disapprove of reducing taxes on business? Asked of 37% of the sample who thought wages should be increased after the war.

Approve 44% Disapprove 33% No opinion 23%

As a way of doing this [keeping total weekly pay on wartime level] would you approve or disapprove of keeping prices after the war where they are now? Asked of 37% of the sample who thought wages should be increased after the war.

Approve 55% Disapprove 40% No opinion 5%

**6.** (Sweden Feb '45) Do you think that prices must necessarily rise if an increase in wages is given to large groups of workers? (SGI)

| | *Prices rise if wages increased* | *No rise of prices* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46% | 33% | 21% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 62% | 23% | 15% |
| Middle class | 55 | 26 | 19 |
| Workers | 38 | 39 | 23 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Country | 49% | 29% | 22% |
| Large towns | 42 | 40 | 18 |
| Other towns | 43 | 39 | 18 |
| Farmers | 54 | 22 | 24 |
| Others | 44 | 37 | 19 |

**7.** (Sweden Feb '45) Do you think that an improvement in the standard of living after the war should be effected through a general lowering of prices or by increased wages? (SGI)

| | *Lowering of prices* | *Increase in wages* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 50% | 18% | 32% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 54% | 11% | 35% |
| Middle class | 52 | 16 | 32 |
| Workers | 49 | 20 | 31 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Country | 49% | 17% | 34% |
| Large towns | 52 | 17 | 31 |
| Other towns | 52 | 20 | 28 |
| Farmers | 41 | 16 | 43 |
| Others | 54 | 19 | 27 |

**8.** (US Oct 19 '45) The automobile workers union says that workers' pay can be increased by 30% without making it necessary to increase the price of automobiles. Do you agree or disagree with this? (AIPO)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 26% | 42% | 32% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farmers | 16% | 54% | 30% |
| Business and professional | 19 | 56 | 25 |
| White-collar | 25 | 41 | 34 |
| Manual workers | 34 | 32 | 34 |
| Union members | 40 | 30 | 30 |

**9.** (US Oct 19 '45) Do you think that if wages to auto workers are increased by thirty percent, the price of new automobiles will be increased? (AIPO)

Yes 78% No 11% No opinion 11%

**10.** (US Oct 17 '45) Some people say that automobile workers' pay can be increased by 15% without making it necessary to increase the price of automobiles. Do you agree or disagree with this? (AIPO)

Agree 39% Disagree 33% No opinion 28%

**11.** (US Oct 17 '45) Do you think that if wages to auto workers are increased by 15%, the price of new automobiles will be increased? (AIPO)

Yes 73% No 16% No opinion 11%

**12.** (US Feb 13 '46) It is said that prices will go higher to meet the increase in wages given to workers in recent strikes. If this is true, which of these statements comes closest to the way you feel about this: (1) Labor unions are chiefly responsible for these price increases because of demanding too much in wages. (2) Big companies are chiefly responsible because they could pay higher wages to workers without increasing prices. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Statement 1 | 29% |
| Statement 2 | 38 |
| Both | 25 |
| No opinion | 7 |
| No answer | 1 |

**13.** (US Mar '46) Some people say that most of the really big industries could raise their wages without increasing the prices of things they sell. Do you agree with this or not? (NORC)

Agree 56% Disagree 34% Don't know 10%

**14.** (Netherlands Aug '46) There is much talk nowadays about changes in wages and prices. Which would you personally prefer? (NIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| That all prices are lowered but your income stays exactly the same as it is now | 62% |
| That your income be raised, but prices stay exactly as they are | 23 |
| That your income and the prices both stay the same that they are now | 7 |
| Don't know | 8 |

**15.** (US Sept 11 '46) Some people say that the way to keep prices down and wages high is to get each worker to turn out more work per day. Do you agree or disagree with this? (AIPO)

Agree 43% Disagree 44% No opinion 13%

**16.** (US Dec 22 '46) Would you be willing to keep wages where they are now provided that prices remain where they are now? (AIPO)

| | *Yes, keep wages at present levels* | *No, wages should go up* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 43% | 8% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Manual workers | 46% | 47% | 7% |
| All other occupations | 52 | 40 | 8 |
| Labor union members | 46 | 49 | 5 |

**17.** (US Jan 12 '47) Do you think pay increases could be given by most factories without increasing the prices of the goods they make? (AIPO)

Yes 47% No 40% No opinion 13%

**18.** (US Dec 11 '46) Do you think pay increases will mean higher prices for the goods the factories make? (AIPO)

Yes 81% No 13% No opinion 6%

## WAR

**1.** (US Jan 25 '37) Do you believe that modern warfare is more humane, or less humane, than it used to be? (AIPO)

More humane 23% Less humane 77% = 100%
No opinion 18%

**2.** (US Mar '46) In general, what do you think is usually the main cause of wars? (NORC)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Greed* | | *81%* |
| Greed, desire, ambition, covetousness, grasping, selfishness, jealousy, competition (not specified by what or whom) | 27% | |
| Greed, etc., for power | 19 | |
| Greed for land | 14 | |
| Greed for world domination | 4 | |
| Greed for money | 10 | |
| Greed for economic supremacy, exploitation of resources, war profits, world trade | 7 | |
| *Human nature* | | *15* |
| Sin, hatred, ignorance, fear, lack of confidence | 7 | |
| Intolerance, lack of cooperation, lack of brotherhood | 7 | |
| Patriotism | * | |
| Human nature to fight | 1 | |
| *Differences and misunderstandings* | | *7* |
| Differences of language, race, religion, political ideals, economic | 3 | |
| Propaganda | 1 | |
| Debts, gold standards | 1 | |
| Differences between peoples and nations (not specified) | 2 | |
| *Certain people or groups* | | *20* |
| Capital, business | 6 | |
| Ambitious men in high positions | 6 | |
| Dictators | 5 | |
| Others, such as Jews, international bankers, politicians, warlords, militarists, munitions manufacturers | 3 | |
| *Certain countries, politics, armaments* | | *10* |
| Politics (not specified) | 5 | |
| Other, such as Germany wants war, Japan wants war, England wants war, bad diplomacy, power politics, secret treaties, armaments, oppression, lack of strong union of nations | 5 | |
| *Economic reasons* | | *7* |
| *Inevitability of war* | | * |
| *Don't know* | | *8* |
| | | *148%*** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The German public was asked whether it agreed or disagreed with the following statement: Only through war can the human spirit be glorified. (OMGUS)

Yes 2% No 95% No opinion 3%

## Aerial Operations

**1.** (US Mar 30 '48) Do you think all nations should agree not to bomb civilians in cities during wartime? (AIPO)

Yes 91% No 9%

Should the United States call a conference of all nations to make such an agreement [not to bomb civilians in cities during wartime]?

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 61% | 39% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 65% | 35% |
| Women | 58 | 42 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 61% | 39% |
| Middle Atlantic | 58 | 42 |
| East central | 56 | 44 |
| West central | 68 | 32 |
| South | 65 | 35 |
| Rocky Mountain | 57 | 43 |
| Pacific coast | 60 | 40 |

Do you think all nations that agreed to such a treaty [not to bomb civilians in cities during wartime] would keep their word?

Yes 12% No 83% No opinion 5%

## U.S.

**1.** (US Nov 17 '35) In order to declare war, should Congress be required to obtain the approval of the people by means of a national vote? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 75% | 25% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 75% | 25% |
| Middle Atlantic | 75 | 25 |
| East central | 75 | 25 |
| West central | 77 | 23 |
| South | 70 | 30 |
| Mountain | 79 | 21 |
| Pacific | 77 | 23 |
| (Apr 4 '47) | | |
| National total | 71% | 29% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | |
| Farmers | 71% | 29% |
| Small towns | 66 | 34 |
| Cities | 72 | 28 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 70% | 30% |
| Republicans | 68 | 32 |
| Socialists | 85 | 15 |
| Union party | 86 | 14 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 71% | 29% |
| Middle Atlantic | 74 | 26 |
| East central | 72 | 28 |
| West central | 71 | 29 |
| South | 64 | 36 |

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| Mountain | 66% | 34% |
| Pacific | 71 | 29 |
| (Oct 10 '37) | | |
| National total | 73% | 27% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 72% | 28% |
| Middle Atlantic | 72 | 28 |
| East central | 74 | 26 |
| West central | 75 | 25 |
| South | 75 | 25 |
| Rocky Mountain | 73 | 27 |
| Pacific coast | 67 | 33 |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 69% | 31% |
| Women | 79 | 21 |

**2.** (US Dec 28 '37) In order to declare war, except when our country is invaded, should Congress be required to obtain the approval of the people by means of a national vote? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | | No opinion | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 64% | 36% | = 100% | 7% | |
| (Mar 26 '38) | 62 | 32 | | 6 | = 100% |
| (Sept 13 '38) | | | | | |
| National total | 68% | 32% | | | |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 64% | 36% | | | |
| Women | 72 | 28 | | | |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Democrats | 69% | 31% | | | |
| Republicans | 63 | 37 | | | |

**3.** (US Mar 26 '38) In order to declare war, except when the United States or any other country in North or South America is invaded, should Congress be required to obtain the approval of the people in a national vote? (AIPO)

Yes 59% No 36% No opinion 5%

**4.** (US Aug 10 '38) Should Congress continue to have sole power to declare war, or should the approval of the people through a national vote be required before Congress can declare war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Approval of the people | 58% |
| Congress should have power | 37 |
| No opinion | 5 |

**5.** (US Aug 10 '38) If a nation attacks or threatens to attack the United States, would you be willing to leave with Congress the power to declare war without a national vote? (AIPO)

Yes 77% No 16% No opinion 7%

**6.** (US Mar 8 '39) Should the Constitution be changed to require Congress to obtain the approval of the people in a national vote before the United States could take part in a foreign war? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 58% | 42% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper-income group | 45% | 55% |
| Middle income group | 54 | 46 |
| Lower income group | 67 | 33 |

**7.** (US Dec '39) Do you think that any decision between war and peace for this country should be submitted to popular vote, even though it might mean a delay, or would you prefer to leave the war decision to Congress? (FOR)

| | Congress | Referendum | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49.8% | 42.7% | 7.5% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 55.4% | 40.0% | 4.6% |
| Women | 44.2 | 45.3 | 10.5 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| Under 40 years | 47.4% | 46.0% | 6.6% |
| Over 40 years | 52.2 | 39.4 | 8.4 |

**8.** (US Nov '40) If it comes to a question of the United States declaring war, in whose judgment would you have the greater confidence, that of the President and the Department of State—whoever they are at the time—or that represented by a vote of Congress after debate? (FOR)

| | President | Depends on who is President | Congress | Both | Neither | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 25.7% | 6.2% | 50.8% | 6.8% | 1.4% | 9.1% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | | |
| For Roosevelt | 39.3% | 7.0% | 37.8% | 7.1% | 0.9% | 7.9% |
| For Willkie | 12.1 | 4.1 | 70.2 | 5.9 | 1.5 | 6.2 |

## WAR BONDS AND STAMPS

**1.** (Great Britain Jan '40) Have you bought, or are you buying, any national defense bonds or any of the new issue of national saving certificates? (BIPO)

Bought 9% Buying through a savings group 5% No 86%

**2.** (US June 7 '41) Have you heard about defense savings bonds and stamps? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| | 91% | 9% |
| (Oct 22 '41) | 97 | 3 |

**3.** (Nov 26 '41) Have you made any definite plans to buy any defense bonds or stamps? A comparable cross-section was asked: Have you had a chance to work out definite plans for buying defense bonds or stamps at regular intervals? The two cross-sections were asked: Have you bought any bonds or stamps as yet? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Have already bought 12%
Have not bought but intend to 12% No 76%

**4.** (US June 7 '41) Would you favor a plan under which any part of your salary or wages you decide on would be deducted each payday to buy defense stamps and bonds for you? Asked of a national cross-section of employed persons who had bought bonds or stamps or plan to buy some. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 55% |
| No | 40 |
| No opinion | 3 |
| Have already bought bonds or stamps but do not plan to buy any more | 2 |

**5.** (US Oct 22 '41) Do you happen to know how much interest is paid on defense bonds? Asked of a national cross-section of

people who knew about defense saving bonds and stamps. (AIPO)

Correct answers 34% Didn't know 58%
Incorrect answers 8%

**6.** (US Oct 22 '41) Do you know what the difference is between defense bonds and stamps? Asked of a national cross-section who knew about defense saving bonds and stamps. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct answers | 63% |
| Didn't know | 35 |
| Yes, but didn't give an answer | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |

**7.** (US Nov 26 '41) Have you any definite plans to buy any defense bonds or stamps? Those who had made plans to buy some were asked: Have you bought any bonds or stamps as yet? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Have already bought 21%
Have not bought but intend to 17% No 62%

**8.** (US Oct 22 '41) Would you favor a law which would make it compulsoty for everybody to buy defense bonds or stamps, in proportion to income? (AIPO)

Yes 29% No 64% No opinion 7%

**9.** (US Jan 2 '42) Would you favor a law for buying defense stamps and bonds which would make it compulsory for everybody to invest 2 cents out of every dollar of their salary, wages, or other income in defense stamps and bonds? Asked of a national cross-section of employed people. (AIPO)

Yes 33% No 61% No opinion 6%

**10.** (US Jan 2 '42) Would you be willing to have your employer take a small part (say, 2 cents out of every dollar) of your wages or salary each payday to buy defense bonds and stamps for you? (AIPO)

Yes 69% No 19% No opinion 12%

**11.** (US Jan 9 '42) Which do you think is the better name for the government's war bonds—victory bonds or defense bonds? (NORC)

| | *Victory* | *Defense* | *Other* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 49.7% | 42.8% | 2.1% | 5.4% |
| (Jan 28 '42) | 38 | 51 | 1 | 10 |

**12.** (US Feb 11 '42) Would you be willing to have your employer take 15 cents out of every dollar of your wage or salary each payday to buy defense bonds and stamps for you? Asked of a national cross-section of employed people. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 54% | 41% | 5% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income and middle income | 60% | 36% | 4% |
| Lower income | 48 | 46 | 6 |

(May 26 '43) Asked of a national cross-section of employed persons: Would you be willing to have your employer take 15 cents out of every dollar of your wages or salary each payday to buy defense bonds for you? A comparable cross-section was asked: Would you be willing to have your employer take $1.50 out of every $10 of your wages or salary each payday to buy defense bonds for you? Results were combined.

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 52% | 43% | 5% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper and middle income groups | 54% | 41% | 5% |
| Lower income group | 49 | 45 | 6 |

**13.** (US Feb 11 '42) Would you be willing to have your employer take 10 cents out of every dollar of your wage or salary each payday to buy defense bonds and stamps for you? Asked of a national cross-section of employed people. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 66% | 27% | 7% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper and middle income | 72% | 22% | 6% |
| Lower income | 60 | 32 | 8 |

**14.** (US Jan 28 '42) From what you have heard, how much do you have to pay for the smallest defense stamp you can buy? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| 5 cents | 2% |
| 10 cents | 74 |
| 25 cents | 8 |
| Other | 1 |
| Scattered | 1 |
| Don't know | 14 |

**15.** (US Jan 28 '42) What's the smallest defense bond you can buy, and how much does it cost? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Both right | 70% |
| Right size, wrong or don't know cost | 4 |
| Right cost, wrong or don't know size | 5 |
| Wrong or don't know both | 21 |

**16.** (US Jan 28 '42) Has your employer put in a plan by which you can buy defense bonds by setting aside a part of your pay for that purpose every payday? Asked of a national cross-section of wage earners. (NORC)

Yes 28% No 69% No answer 1% Don't know 2%

Are you buying any bonds this way [on the payroll plan for buying bonds]? Asked of 28% of a sample of wage earners who said a payroll plan for buying bonds had been established in that company.

Yes 18% No 10%

Do you think most of the people where you work would favor such a plan [payroll plan for buying bonds]? Asked of 71% of a sample of wage earners who said a payroll plan for buying bonds had not been established in their company and those who had no opinion on the subject.

Yes 28% No 21% No answer 2% Don't know 20%

Have you (or husband or wife, if married) bought any defense bonds or stamps in any other way [than payroll plan]? Asked of a national cross-section of wage earners.

Yes 62% No 38%

Did you buy them [defense bonds or stamps] or are you buying them on any regular plan or schedule? Asked of 62% of a sample of wage earners who had bought bonds and stamps in ways other than payroll plan.

Yes 27% No 35%

**17.** (US Jan 28 '42) Have you (or your husband or wife, if married) bought any defense bonds or stamps yet? Asked of a national cross-section of people other than wage earners. (NORC)

Yes 55% No 44% Don't know 1%

Did you buy them [bonds and stamps] or are you buying them on any more or less regular plan or schedule? Asked of 55% of a sample of people other than wage earners who had bought bonds and stamps.

Yes 26% No 27% Don't know 2%

**18.** (US Feb '42) Some people think a way to stop rising prices or to stop shortages is for the government to take a certain

amount of each person's wages or salary for defense bonds. These defense bonds could not be cashed until the war is over. Would you be in favor of such a plan or against it? Those who in answer to other questions said they thought rising prices were a good thing for the country and that the government should not ration products which might be in short supply were excluded from the cross-section. (NORC)

In favor 34% Against 45% Depends 12% Don't know 9%

**19.** (US Mar 26 '42) Have you (or your family) bought any defense bonds or defense stamps? (OPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 72% | 27% | 1% |
| (Apr 30 '42) | 65 | 35 | — |

**20.** (US Apr 15 '42) Should all people receiving wages, salary, or other income put 10 cents out of every dollar of their income in war savings bonds and stamps? (AIPO)

Yes 58% No 31% No opinion 11%

Do you think the government should pass a law to make everybody do this [put 10 cents out of every dollar of their income into bonds and stamps]? Asked of 69% of the sample who thought everyone should put 10 cents out of every dollar they earn into bonds or stamps and those who had no opinion on the subject.

Yes 20% No 38% No opinion 8% Qualified 3%

**21.** (Apr 15 '42) Would you and the other members of your immediate family who receive any income be able to put 10 cents out of every dollar of your salary (income) in war savings bonds and stamps? (AIPO)

Yes 48% No 43% Don't know 7% Qualified answer 2%

**22.** (US May 15 '42) Would you be willing to have your employer take a regular part of your wages or salary each payday to buy war savings bonds or stamps for you? Asked of a national cross section of employed people. (AIPO)

Yes 43% No 32% Already doing it 25%

What is the largest amount out of each dollar of your salary or wages you would be able to put into war savings bonds or stamps? Asked of a national cross-section of employed people who would be willing to take a regular part of their wages for war bonds and stamps.

| *Amount of earnings* | *Average amount willing to have deducted* |
|---|---|
| Less than $30 a week | 8% |
| More than $30 a week | 10 |

**23.** (US May '42) Here is another suggestion which some people say would help the war effort. The government should take a certain percentage of each person's wages or salary for defense bonds or stamps. These bonds or stamps could not be cashed during the war except in case of an emergency in the family. Do you think this would be a good idea or a bad idea? (NORC)

Good idea 56% Bad idea 26% Qualified answer 13% Don't know 5%

**24.** (Canada May 20 '42) Would you be willing to have your employer take 10 cents out of every dollar of your wages or salary to lend to the government without interest until the war is over? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 51% | 43% | 6% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Above average | 66% | 28% | 6% |
| Average | 55 | 40 | 5 |
| Below average | 45 | 48 | 7 |

**25.** (US May 30 '42) Would you favor or oppose having the government require you (or your husband or wife) to take a certain part of your pay in war bonds instead of cash? (NORC)

Favor 61% Oppose 33% Don't know 6%

**26.** (US May 30 '42) Does the company for which you work deduct part of your wages to buy war bonds for you? Asked of a national cross-section of employed people. (AIPO)

Yes 28% No 72%

**27.** (US June 1 '42) Have you (or your husband or wife) bought any government war bonds? (NORC)

Yes 47% No 51% Don't know 2%

Did you buy the bonds outright, or did you buy war stamps first and then turn them in for bonds? Asked of 47% of the sample who had bought government bonds.

Outright 27% Stamps first 10% Both 10%

**28.** (US June 1 '42) Have you (or your husband or wife) bought any government war stamps? (NORC)

Yes 55% No 44% Don't know 1%

Have you turned in any of your war stamps for cash? Asked of 55% of the sample who had bought war stamps.

Yes 1% No 53% Don't know 1%

**29.** (US June 1 '42) As you know, you can cash in war savings stamps any time you want to now, and get your money back. Would you be in favor of changing this so war stamps could not be cashed in till after the war—provided you could still buy bonds with the stamps and cash in the bonds just as you can now? (NORC)

Yes 63% No 24% Don't know 13%

**30.** (US June 9 '42) Has anyone called (at your home) to ask you to buy war bonds or stamps (or to increase your purchase of them)? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 59% | 41% | |
| (July 29 '42) | 53 | 43 | 4% |

(Aug 21 '42) Has anyone ever called at your home to ask you to buy war savings stamps and bonds? (NORC)

Yes 49% No 48% Don't know 3%

**31.** (US June 9 '42) Have you bought any war savings bonds or stamps (as yet)? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| | 78% | 22% |
| (Apr 6 '43) | 83 | 17 |

Have you bought any since the first of January? Asked of 83% of the sample who had bought war bonds or stamps.

Yes 80% No 20%

(June 20 '44) Have you bought any war bonds or stamps as yet?

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 82% | 18% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | |
| Business and professional | 88% | 12% |
| White-collar | 88 | 12 |
| Skilled and semi-skilled workers | 83 | 17 |
| Unskilled | 73 | 27 |
| Farmers | 80 | 20 |

BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Farms | 80% | 20% |
| Towns under 10,000 | 80 | 20 |
| Towns and cities 10,000 to 100,000 | 87 | 13 |
| Cities 100,000 and over | 84 | 16 |
| (Apr 4 '45) | 85% | 15% |

(Oct 3 '45) Have you bought any war bonds yet?

Yes 84% No 16%

**32.** (US July 29 '42) Have you got around yet to buying any war savings stamps and bonds? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 77% | 21% | 2% |
| (Aug 21 '42) | 82 | 18 | — |

**33.** (US Sept 18 '42) Should all people receiving wages, salaries, or other income be required by law to put 10 cents out of every dollar of their income in war savings stamps and bonds? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 52% | 43% | 5% |
| (Dec 2 '44) | 38 | 58 | 4 |

**34.** (US Sept 9 '42) If you had to pay a 5% sales tax out of every dollar you spent, could you buy the same amount of war bonds and stamps you are buying now or not? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Could buy same amount | 30% |
| Could not buy same amount | 53 |
| Not buying any now | 13 |
| Don't know | 4 |

Did you happen to buy any war bonds or stamps in the last month or two? Asked of the 87% who answered *yes*, *no*, or *don't know* in regard to effect of sales tax on bond and stamp purchases.

Yes 63% No 24%

**35.** (Great Britain Sept 20 '42) Do you belong to a national war savings group? (BIPO)

Yes 55% No 42% Object 3%

**36.** (Great Britain Sept 20 '42) Does anyone call at your house to find out whether you will buy national savings stamps? (BIPO)

Yes 38% No 51% Don't know 11%

**37.** (US Sept 24 '42) Do you think the government should require everyone to buy war bonds and stamps every month? (NORC)

Yes 49% No 30% No answer 1% Depends 20%

**38.** (US Sept 24 '42) In the last month have you or your family bought any bonds or stamps? (NORC)

Yes 73% No 27%

**39.** (US Sept 24 '42) Would you yourself be willing to have the government tell you how many bonds or stamps you had to buy each month, or do you think it should be left up to you to decide how many you want to buy? (NORC)

Government tell 19% Left up to individual 78%
Don't know 3%

**40.** (US Oct 6 '42) Do you (or your husband, wife) own any war savings stamps? (NORC)

Yes 64% No 36%

**41.** (US Oct 6 '42) How about bonds? Have you (or your husband, wife) got around to buying any war savings bonds? (NORC)

Yes 64% No 36%

Have you bought any [bonds] within the last two months? Asked of 64% of the sample who own some war bonds.

Yes 49% No 14% No answer 1%

About how much have you been able to spend for bonds in the last two months? Asked of 49% of the sample who had bought bonds within the last two months.

| | |
|---|---|
| $10 and under | 2% |
| $11–$20 | 8 |
| $21–$30 | 4 |
| $31–$40 | 6 |
| $41–$50 | 5 |
| $51–$60 | 1 |
| $61–$80 | 3 |
| $81–$100 | 3 |
| $101–$200 | 3 |
| Over $200 | 2 |
| Indefinite | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 11 |

*Percent of salary represented*

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 5% of salary | 5% |
| 5% or less than 10% of salary | 9 |
| 10% of salary | 2 |
| Over 10% of salary | 16 |
| Not ascertainable | 17 |

Are you buying bonds on a payroll deduction plan—that is, a plan where a certain amount is taken out of your pay check each week or month? Asked of 49% of the sample who had bought bonds within the last two months.

Yes 23% No 26%

**42.** (US Oct 27 '42) Do you happen to have bought any war bonds or stamps as yet? (AIPO)

Yes 78% No 22%

Do you think you might sell some of these bonds or stamps in order to have money to help pay your income tax? Asked of 78% of the sample who had bought war bonds or stamps.

Yes 7% No 60% Don't know 10% Qualified answers 1%

**43.** (US Nov 27 '42) Have you started to buy any war savings stamps or bonds yet? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| | 86% | 14% |
| (Apr 6 '43) | 90 | 10 |

**44.** (US Mar '43) Comparing now with a year ago, have you more, less, or about the same amount of money in government bonds or stamps? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *More* | *Less* | *Same* | *None either year* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Well-to-do | 77.9% | 0.6% | 14.2% | 6.7% | 0.6% |
| Moderately well off | 59.1 | 1.0 | 18.4 | 21.0 | 0.5 |
| Poor | 32.3 | 2.2 | 20.2 | 43.8 | 1.5 |

**45.** (US Apr 6 '43) What do you think could be done to get people to buy more war bonds and stamps? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Have compulsory savings—take percentage from salary | 13% |
| Sell seriousness of war to people—frighten them by more details of war | 9 |
| Control prices, inflation, and cost of living | 4 |
| Personal effort—bond drives, club work, door to door canvass, etc | 5 |
| Increase advertising—keep need in front of people all the time | 6 |
| Rallies, parades, talks by servicemen, movie, or radio celebrities | 3 |
| Increase wages—pay people more | 5 |
| Control taxes—prevent further rise | 2 |
| Stress patriotism—give pin to those who buy 10% etc. | 2 |
| Others | 13 |
| People are doing all they can now—can't do any more | 14 |
| Don't know | 26 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**46.** (US Apr 27 '43) Does your employer now deduct money from your wages or salary to buy war bonds for you? 26% of the sample who had money from their wages deducted were asked: How much? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Have under 10% deducted | 5% |
| 10% deducted | 16 |
| Over 10% deducted | 4 |
| Percentage of deduction not given | 1 |
| Employer does not deduct anything | 33 |
| Employer or self-employed | 20 |
| Not employed | 21 |

**47.** (Apr 27 '43) Do you think a law should be passed requiring all persons to contribute 15 cents out of every dollar of their wages or salary to buy war bonds? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 29% | 66% | 5% |
| (Jan 4 '44) | 38 | 57 | 5 |

**48.** (US Apr 27 '43) Do you think a law should be passed requiring all persons to contribute $1.50 out of every $10 of their wages or salary to buy war bonds? (AIPO)

Yes 32% No 64% No opinion 4%

**49.** (US May 22 '43) Would you yourself be willing to have the government require you to buy war bonds or stamps? (NORC)

Yes 45% No 46% Don't know 1% Depends 8%

Should the government tell you how much to buy, or should this be up to you to decide? Asked of 45% of the sample who were willing to have the government require them to buy war bonds or stamps.

| | |
|---|---|
| Government tell | 9% |
| Left to individual | 32 |
| Depends on amount | 3 |
| Don't know | 1 |

**50.** (US July 4 '43) Have you been able to buy any war bonds and stamps since January first of this year? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 60% | 40% |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | |
| Farmers | 50% | 50% |
| Towns under 10,000 | 57 | 43 |
| 10,000 to 100,000 | 69 | 31 |
| 100,000 and over | 65 | 35 |

**51.** (US July 4 '43) Do you or your family happen to have any war bonds or stamps? (AIPO)

Yes 81%

No (never bought any or if have, cashed them) 19%

**52.** (US June 3 '43) Can you tell me roughly the total value of all the war bonds and stamps you and your family have? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| $5 and under | 3% |
| $6 to $25 | 9 |
| $26 to $50 | 10 |
| $51 to $100 | 13 |
| $101 to $500 | 26 |
| Over $500 | 21 |
| No answer | 5 |
| Don't have any | 13 |

**53.** (US June 22 '43) Should the government require every family to put 15% of its income into war bonds? (AIPO)

Yes 27% No 68% No opinion 5%

**54.** (US June 22 '43) Should the government require every family to put 15 cents of every dollar of its income into war bonds? (AIPO)

Yes 36% No 60% No opinion 4%

**55.** (US Sept 9 '43) Have you (or your family) ever bought any war bonds or stamps? (NORC)

Yes 88% No 12%

Have you (or your family) ever cashed any of them [bonds or stamps] in? Asked of 88% of the sample who had bought war bonds and stamps.

Yes 13% No 74% Don't know 1%

**56.** (US Oct 15 '43) Do you or your family happen to have any war bonds or stamps? A comparable cross-section was asked: Have you, yourself, bought any war bonds or stamps during the last four weeks? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *% owning no bond or stamp* | *% owning bonds or stamps* |
|---|---|---|
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 12% | 88% |
| East central | 15 | 85 |
| West central | 18 | 82 |
| South | 32 | 68 |
| Mountain states and Pacific coast | 15 | 85 |
| BY EDUCATION | | |
| Grade school | 27% | 73% |
| High school | 9 | 91 |
| College | 6 | 94 |

**57.** (US Nov 15 '43) Have you (or your family) bought any war bonds? (NORC)

Yes 88% No 12%

Are you (or any member of your family) buying bonds on a regular payroll deduction plan—that is, a plan where a certain amount is taken out of your pay check each week or month?

Yes 45% No 43% Have not bought any war bonds 12%

Have you (or any member of your family) been able to buy any bonds outside of the ones you bought on the payroll deduction plan?

Yes 27% No 18% Have not bought any war bonds 55%

What was the main thing that made you buy one [war bond] at that particular time? Asked of a national cross-section of people not buying war bonds on the payroll deduction plan

| | |
|---|---|
| Felt duty bound—patriotic reasons | 18% |
| Bond drive | 16 |
| Had extra money | 12 |
| Buy regularly anyway | 9 |
| As an investment | 6 |
| Had stamps, turned them in | 6 |
| School, store, employees' etc. drive | 6 |
| For a gift | 4 |
| Approached personally | 4 |
| To help meet the community quota | 3 |
| Bond rally, show; auction, booth, etc. | 3 |
| Some personal (emotional) experience | 1 |
| Saved for it | 1 |
| Radio appeal | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 9 |

Do you happen to remember where you bought your last bond? Asked of a national cross-section of people not buying war bonds on the payroll deduction plan.

| | |
|---|---|
| Bank | 39% |
| Post-office | 20 |
| Place of employment | 6 |
| Store | 6 |
| School | 4 |
| Personal calls at home | 4 |
| Theatre or place of entertainment | 3 |
| Bond rally | 1 |
| Credit or loan company | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 15 |

**58.** (US Jan 4 '44) Should all people receiving wages, salary, or other income, be required by law to put 15 cents out of every dollar of their income in war bonds and stamps? (AIPO)

Yes 39% No 55% No opinion 6%

**59.** (US Jan 7 '44) Have you (or your family) ever bought any war bonds? (NORC)

Yes 85% No 14% Don't know 1%

Are you (or any member of your family) buying bonds on a regular payroll deduction plan—that is a plan where a certain amount is taken out of your pay check each week or month? (NORC)

Yes 38% No 47%

Are you planning to keep your bonds until they come due, or do you plan on using them for something right after the war? Asked of 85% of the sample who had bought war bonds.

Keep until due 66% Planning to cash 7% Don't know 12%

Have you (or your family) ever cashed any of them in? Asked of 85% of the sample who had bought war bonds.

Yes 15% No 68% Don't know 2%

**60.** (Feb 16 '44) The goal set for civilians in recent war loan drives was not reached for the nation. What do you think the government should do about this problem? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Continue attempt to reach goal by bond sales | 46% |
| *Make bond buying compulsory* | |
| Force people to buy bonds—compulsory saving | 24% |
| Make those who can afford it buy bonds | 6 |
| *Increase efforts to sell bonds* | |
| Have more and better campaigning—emphasize need | 11 |
| Urge people to buy bonds but do not force them | 4 |
| *Make purchase of bonds easier* | |
| Cut down taxes so that people could afford to buy bonds | 1 |
| Raise money by other means—increase taxes | 9% |
| Economize so that need is reduced | 2 |
| Thought that the goal had been achieved | 2 |
| Don't know | 29 |
| Miscellaneous | 15 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**61.** (US Feb 16 '44) Do you think a law should be passed requiring all persons with incomes of over $1,000 a year to save 15 cents out of every dollar of their incomes to buy war bonds? (AIPO)

Yes 41% No 54% No opinion 5%

**62.** (US Mar 29 '44) Many people have been cashing in their war bonds. Do you think the government should make it more difficult for people to cash in war bonds while the war is on? A comparable cross-section was asked this question omitting the first sentence. Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 33% No opinion 7%

**63.** (US Mar 29 '44) Should the government make a greater effort to get people to buy more war bonds? (AIPO)

Yes 48% No 42% No opinion 10%

**64.** (US Apr 8 '44) Have you (or your family) ever boughr any war bonds? (NORC)

Yes 89% No 11%

Are you (or any member of your family) buying bonds on a regular payroll deduction plan—that is, a plan where a certain amount is taken out of your pay check each week or month? Asked of 89% of the sample who had bought some war bonds.

Yes 42% No 46% No answer 1%

Are you planning to keep your bonds until they come due, or do you plan on using them for something right after the war? Asked of 89% of the sample who had bought some war bonds.

Keep until due 71% Planning to cash 7% Don't know 11%

What are you planning to use them [bonds] for? Asked of 7% of the sample who were planning to cash in their war bonds.

| | |
|---|---|
| Buy a home; build or repair home or farm buildings | 2% |
| Pay living costs; use for necessities | 1 |
| Emergencies, doctor's bills, expected depression | 1 |
| Buy furniture or home equipment | 1 |
| Other and don't know | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |

Have you (or your family) ever cashed any of them in? Asked of 89% of the sample who had bought some war bonds.

Yes 16% No 71% Don't know 2%

**65.** (US June 20 '44) Do you, personally, plan to buy any war bonds or stamps? (AIPO)

Yes 27% No 10% Have already bought 63%

**66.** (US June 23 '44) Have you (or your family) bought any war bonds in the last month or so? (NORC)

Yes 73% No 26% Don't know 1%

Are you (or any member of your family) buying bonds on a regular payroll deduction plan—that is, a plan where a certain amount is taken out of your pay check each week or month? Asked of 73% of the sample who had bought bonds in the last month.

Yes 40% No 32% No answer 1%

Are you planning to keep your bonds until they come due, or do you plan on using them for something right after the war? Asked of 73% of the sample who had bought bonds in the last month.

Keep until due 61% Planning to cash 5% Don't know 7%

Have you (or your family) ever cashed any of them [bonds] in? Asked of 73% of the sample who had bought bonds in the last month.

Yes 14% No 57% Don't know 2%

**67.** (US Aug '44) If our national debt should be double what it is now, do you expect that the government might have to stop payments on war loans, or that it could keep right on paying? (FOR)

Could keep on paying 52.3% Might have to stop 27.3%
Don't know 20.4%

**68.** (US Nov 15 '44) Do you believe that war bonds are a good investment? (AIPO)

Yes 91% No 5% Don't know 4%

Why [do you think war bonds are or are not a good investment]?

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| A means of saving for future return, good way of saving, prevents spending unnecessarily, future security | 31% | 4% | 2% |
| Good investment financially, good interest rate, redeemable | 22 | 2 | — |
| "If the country goes broke, money is no good anyway," "If war bonds are no good, nothing is," "Bound to be good as long as government exists," "If United States is not worth investing in, nothing else is," "Good as long as country is good," "If government fails, everything fails" | 13 | — | — |
| Back up fighting man, least we can do, help war effort, government needs it, helping country | 13 | 4 | 1 |
| Backed by government, secure investment, safe investment, safe | 14 | — | — |
| An investment in our country, in our government, in America | 2 | — | — |
| Miscellaneous reasons why bonds are a good investment | 1 | — | — |
| Country may not be able to pay off, poor investment, not safe, no good | — | 57 | 7 |
| Money not needed, government spending too much, waste, etc | — | 12 | 8 |
| Interest too low, poor financial return | * | 1 | — |
| Miscellaneous reasons why bonds are a poor investment | * | 15 | 1 |
| No opinion | 4 | 5 | 81 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**69.** (Canada Mar 31 '45) Aside from raising money for the war, which one of these reasons for buying victory bonds do you think is the most important one: (1) To let everyone feel that he is doing something to win the war; (2) to let fighting men know we are doing our part; (3) so people will have some savings put by for after the war; (4) because they are a good investment; (5) so that people will not push prices higher by too much spending. (CIPO)

| | *Patriotism: statements 1 and 2* | *Investment: statements 3 and 4* | *Anti-inflationary* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 35% | 46% | 19% | 4% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| Ontario | 34% | 45% | 24% | 3% |
| Quebec | 22 | 62 | 16 | 4 |

**70.** (US Sept 19 '45) Are your friends planning to spend the money they have put into war bonds on things they need now, or do most of them plan to keep their war bonds? (AIPO)

Plan to spend 16% Plan to keep 43% Don't know 41%

**71.** (US Sept 19 '45) Do you think you will cash in any of your bonds in the next year? (AIPO)

Yes 17% No 69% No opinion 14%

**72.** (US Oct 27 '45) Some people say that since the war is over it is no longer important nor is there any need to buy war bonds. Do you agree or disagree with this? (AIPO)

Agree 22% Disagree 67% No opinion 11%

**73.** (US Oct 3 '45) There will be another war loan or victory loan drive starting in a few weeks. Do you intend to buy any war bonds during this drive? (AIPO)

Yes 56% No 27% Don't know 17%

Do you plan to buy more or fewer bonds than you did in the last drive? Asked of 56% of the sample who planned to buy bonds during the drive.

More 5% Fewer 12% Same 33% Don't know 6%

## WAR CRIMES AND TRIALS

**1.** (Canada June 30 '43) If it were your job to sentence the following men for their past actions, would you imprison, execute, or exile them? (CIPO)

| | *Execute* | *Exile* | *Imprison* | *Other* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hitler | 63% | 13% | 11% | 4% | 9% |
| Mussolini | 53 | 21 | 14 | 3 | 9 |
| Hirohito | 61 | 14 | 11 | 4 | 10 |

**2.** (Canada June 30 '43) If it were your job to sentence the following men for their past actions, what would you have done with them? (CIPO)

| | *Execute* | *Exile* | *Imprison* | *Torture* | *Other* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hitler | 51% | 8% | 11% | 8% | 15% | 7% |
| Mussolini | 47 | 9 | 13 | 7 | 16 | 8 |
| Hirohito | 51 | 8 | 10 | 9 | 14 | 8 |

**3.** (Great Britain Aug '44) Should Germans who have committed crimes against other Germans in Germany, as for example against German Jews, be tried and punished by the United Nations, or should their trial and punishment be left to the German people? (BIPO)

By United Nations 66% By German people 26%
Don't know 8%

**4.** (France Oct 16 '44) Do you approve of the (recent) arrest of Sacha-Guitry? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 12% | 32% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Workers | 61% | 6% | 33% |
| White-collar | 61 | 13 | 26 |
| Business | 48 | 17 | 35 |
| Professional | 48 | 21 | 31 |
| Private income and pensions | 57 | 14 | 29 |
| Unemployed | 50 | 13 | 37 |

**5.** (France Oct 16 '44) Did you approve of the execution of (former) Minister Pucheu? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 42% | 18% | 40% |
| | | | *No opinion* |
| (Dec 1 '44) | 59 | 11 | 30% |

**6.** (France Oct 16 '44) Do you think Marshall Petain should be punished? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 32% | 58% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 37% | 52% | 11% |
| Women | 26 | 66 | 8 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Workers | 48% | 40% | 12% |
| White-collar | 29 | 61 | 10 |
| Business | 30 | 61 | 9 |
| Professional | 24 | 70 | 6 |
| Private income and pensions | 14 | 86 | — |
| Unemployed | 25 | 65 | 10 |

(Feb 16 '45) Should Marshall Petain be punished?

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 53% | 34% | 13% |
| (May 16 '45) | 69 | 22 | 9 |

With what punishment? Asked of 69% of the (May 16 '45) sample who thought Petain should be punished.

| | |
|---|---|
| Capital punishment | 28% |
| Detention | 19 |
| Degradation | 10 |
| Too old to be judged | 2 |
| He was mistaken in good faith | 1 |
| Other answers | 6 |
| No answer | 34 |

**7.** (France Nov 16 '44) What fate should be reserved for Pierre Laval? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Capital punishment | 65% |
| Banishment, permanent or temporary deportation | 15 |
| Try him, it is the right of the court of justice to pass a sentence | 7 |
| Confiscate his property | 1 |
| Miscellaneous, including mercy | 4 |
| No opinion | 8 |

**8.** (France Nov 16 '44) What fate should be reserved for Doriot? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Punish him with death | 75% |
| Deportation or life or temporary imprisonment | 11 |
| Take away his French citizenship | 6 |
| Try him | 6 |
| Miscellaneous and no opinion | 2 |

**9.** (France Nov 16 '44) What fate should be reserved for Bichelonne? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Punish him with death | 44% |
| Deportation or life or temporary imprisonment | 17 |
| Try him | 5 |
| Confiscate his property or forfeit his French nationality | 1 |
| Other answers and in particular—but don't be too hard on him | 3 |
| No opinion | 30 |

**10.** (France Dec 1 '44) Do you approve of the death sentence passed by the high court on Georges Suarez, publisher of the paper *Aujourd'hui*? (FIPO)

Yes 65% No 16% No opinion 19%

**11.** (France Dec 1 '44) The high court has sentenced M. Stephane Lauzanne, editor in chief of *Le Matin*, to twenty years imprisonment. Do you find this judgment just, not stiff enough, or too severe? (FIPO)

Not stiff enough 40% Just 31% Too severe 11%
No opinion 18%

**12.** (France Dec 16 '44) Should punitive action be taken against the bishops who collaborated with the Germans? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 82% | 10% | 8% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Workers | 91% | 5% | 4% |
| Living on income | 92 | 7 | 1 |
| White-collar | 87 | 8 | 5 |
| Business | 78 | 12 | 10 |
| Professional | 62 | 30 | 8 |
| Housewives | 76 | 14 | 10 |

Should it [punitive action against collaborating bishops] be taken by the church or by the government? Asked of 82% of the sample who thought that punitive action should be taken against the bishops who had collaborated with the Germans.

Government 57% Church 32% Both 11%

**13.** (France Jan 1 '45) Do you approve of the arrest of the Count of Paris, pretender to the French throne?* (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Paris | 47% | 29% | 24% |
| Provinces | 62 | 16 | 22 |

* The November 14 press had announced the Count's arrest after a brush with the FFI. It later turned out that he was really in Spain.

**14.** (France Jan 1 '45) M. Sacha-Guitry [French actor and director accused of collaboration] has been let out on parole. Do you approve of this? (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Paris | 26% | 51% | 23% |
| Provinces | 17 | 40 | 43 |

**15.** (France Jan 1 '45) The Catholic vicar general of the diocese of Arras has been sentenced to five years' imprisonment for intelligence with the enemy. Do you find this sentence just, too severe, or not stiff enough? (FIPO)

| | *Just* | *Too severe* | *Not stiff enough* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Paris | 34% | 7% | 35% | 24% |
| Provinces | 34 | 6 | 36 | 24 |

**16.** (France Mar 1 '45) Did you approve of the death sentence for Paul Chack? (FIPO)

Yes 55% No 22% No opinion 23%

**17.** (France Mar 1 '45) Did you approve of the death sentence for Henri Béraud? (FIPO)

Yes 49% No 30% No opinion 21%

**18.** (France Mar 1 '45) Albertini, chief of Marcel Déat's Cabinet, has been sentenced to five years' hard labor. Do you find this sentence just, too severe, or not severe enough? (FIPO)

Just 19% Too severe 2% Not severe enough 56%
No opinion 23%

**19.** (France Mar 16 '45) Henri Béraud, condemned to death, has been pardoned. Do you approve of the pardon? (FIPO)

Yes 34% No 42% No opinion 24%

**20.** (France Mar 16 '45) Did you approve of the death sentence given Robert Bresillach, editor-in-chief of *Je Suis Partout*? (FIPO)

Yes 52% No 18% No opinion 30%

**21.** (France May 16 '45) Admiral Esteva has been sentenced to military degradation and life imprisonment. Do you find this sentence just, too severe, or not stiff enough? (FIPO)

| | *Not severe enough* | *Too severe* | *Just* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National toral.... | 24% | 21% | 39% | 16% |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–34 years..... | 26% | 23% | 34% | 17% |
| 35–64 years..... | 23 | 21 | 40 | 16 |
| 65 years or more.. | 10 | 19 | 44 | 27 |

**22.** (France May 16 '45) Should General Dentz be punished? (FIPO)

Yes 63% No 8% No opinion 29%

**23.** (Sweden June '45) How do you think the following persons, generally speaking, should be punished—the leading Quislings in Denmark and Norway? (SGI)

| | *Death penalty* | *Prison for life* | *Shorter prison sentences* | *Exile* | *Loss of civil rights for life* | *Loss of civil rights for shorter term* | *Other punishment* | *No punishment* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| National total..... | 56 | 19 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 8 |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | | | |
| Men..... | 62 | 16 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 7 | 2 | 5 |
| Women..... | 51 | 21 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 10 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | | | |
| Upper class..... | 53 | 16 | 1 | 4 | 6 | 1 | 7 | 4 | 8 |
| Middle class..... | 53 | 20 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 8 |
| Workers..... | 59 | 18 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 7 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | | | | | |
| North Sweden..... | 54 | 19 | — | 4 | 5 | 1 | 9 | 1 | 7 |
| Dalärna..... | 51 | 26 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 8 | — | 5 |
| Mälar district..... | 50 | 25 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 6 | — | 10 |
| Stockholm..... | 65 | 13 | — | 5 | 3 | — | 6 | 2 | 6 |
| East Gotland..... | 58 | 20 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 7 |
| Skåne..... | 62 | 12 | — | 3 | 3 | — | 8 | 2 | 10 |
| Bovä..... | 55 | 18 | 2 | 3 | 7 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 8 |

—other Quislings in Denmark and Norway who have helped to oppress their own countrymen?

| | *Death penalty* | *Prison for life* | *Shorter prison sentences* | *Exile* | *Loss of civil rights for life* | *Loss of civil rights for shorter term* | *Other punishment* | *No punishment* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| National total..... | 29 | 27 | 7 | 9 | 11 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 9 |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | | | |
| Men..... | 29 | 27 | 8 | 7 | 12 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 7 |
| Women..... | 29 | 26 | 6 | 10 | 10 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 12 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | | | |
| Upper class..... | 23 | 21 | 9 | 8 | 15 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 11 |
| Middle class..... | 26 | 25 | 8 | 10 | 11 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 10 |
| Workers..... | 31 | 28 | 7 | 8 | 10 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 9 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | | | | | |
| North Sweden..... | 26 | 29 | 7 | 10 | 10 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 9 |
| Dalärna..... | 24 | 29 | 8 | 9 | 13 | 4 | 4 | — | 9 |
| Mälar district..... | 27 | 32 | 7 | 6 | 11 | 2 | 5 | — | 10 |
| Stockholm..... | 30 | 22 | 8 | 9 | 11 | 3 | 8 | 2 | 7 |
| East Gotland..... | 30 | 25 | 10 | 11 | 9 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 9 |
| Skåne..... | 38 | 21 | 3 | 8 | 9 | 1 | 7 | 2 | 11 |
| Bovä..... | 27 | 26 | 8 | 9 | 14 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 9 |

—Danes and Norwegians who have worked with the occupation forces in other ways?

| | *Death penalty* | *Prison for life* | *Shorter prison sentences* | *Exile* | *Loss of civil rights for life* | *Loss of civil rights for shorter term* | *Other punishment* | *No punishment* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| National total..... | 14 | 16 | 18 | 9 | 16 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 13 |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | | | |
| Men..... | 15 | 16 | 19 | 7 | 17 | 8 | 5 | 3 | 10 |
| Women..... | 14 | 16 | 17 | 11 | 15 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 16 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | | | |
| Upper class..... | 11 | 9 | 22 | 3 | 19 | 11 | 2 | 6 | 17 |
| Middle class..... | 12 | 15 | 18 | 10 | 17 | 8 | 4 | 3 | 13 |
| Workers..... | 16 | 17 | 18 | 9 | 15 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 12 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | | | | | |
| North Sweden..... | 16 | 16 | 24 | 8 | 12 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 11 |
| Dalärna..... | 10 | 18 | 16 | 7 | 21 | 11 | 5 | 2 | 10 |
| Mälar district..... | 12 | 15 | 22 | 10 | 16 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 15 |
| Stockholm..... | 10 | 15 | 15 | 7 | 17 | 7 | 10 | 7 | 12 |
| East Gotland..... | 14 | 16 | 23 | 9 | 14 | 7 | 2 | 3 | 12 |
| Skåne..... | 20 | 16 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 6 | 6 | 3 | 13 |
| Bovä..... | 13 | 16 | 13 | 8 | 23 | 8 | 4 | 3 | 12 |

**24.** (Denmark June 15 '45) How would you punish the Hipo-people [Danish members of the German police]? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Death penalty | 89.2% |
| Prison | 6.2 |
| Take away their civic rights | 0.2 |
| Take away their civic rights for life | 1.7 |
| Take away their civic rights for a shorter time | 0.3 |
| Confiscation of fortune and property | 1.9 |
| Other replies | 0.5 |

**25.** (Denmark June 15 '45) How would you punish the Gestapo people? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Death penalty | 84.8% |
| Prison | 9.1 |
| Take away their civic rights | 0.5 |
| Take away their civic rights for life | 2.1 |
| Take away their civic rights for a shorter time | 0.5 |
| Confiscation of fortune and property | 2.3 |
| Other replies | 0.7 |

**26.** (Great Britain July '45) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the progress made in the punishment of war criminals? (BIPO)

| | *Satisfied* | *Dis-satisfied* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 25% | 59% | 16% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 26% | 62% | 12% |
| Women | 24 | 55 | 21 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 21% | 65% | 14% |
| 30–49 years | 23 | 61 | 16 |
| 50 years and over | 28 | 54 | 18 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 33% | 55% | 12% |
| Middle | 26 | 62 | 12 |
| Lower | 23 | 59 | 18 |

Why [are you dissatisfied with the progress made in the punishment of war criminals]? Asked of 59% of the sample who were dissatisfied with the progress.

| | |
|---|---|
| Too slow, too much red tape; playing about with legal niceties | 30% |
| Why try them? Should have been shot long ago. Shoot them. Should be treated as our men were treated | 10 |
| We are too soft, like we were with the Kaiser. Too lenient. Letting them off too lightly | 5 |
| We treat them with too much courtesy. Well fed. Living in luxury | 4 |
| No progress at all | 3 |
| Influence being used to cause delay until people's mood softens and causes apathy | 2 |
| Fear the majority will get away with it | 1 |
| Trying only small-fry. Big ones getting away | 1 |
| Some are afraid of evidence against our leaders | 1 |
| Don't believe they are responsible; did only their duty; should not be punished | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| No reply, don't know | 40 |

**27.** (Germany Oct 26 '45) In your opinion, will fair legal treatment be given the Nazi leaders now on trial in Nuremberg? (OMGUS)

Yes 78% No 4% No opinion 16% No answer 2%

(Nov 19 '45) Do you think the Nazi leaders now being tried in Nuremberg will get a fair legal treatment?

Yes 81% No 2% No opinion 17%

**28.** (Germany Oct 26 '45) The Allies have indicted some German organizations in their entirety; for example, the SS, SA, the general staff of the armed forces, the Gestapo, as well as the cabinet of the Reich, and the entire leadership of the Nazi Party. In your opinion, is the prosecution of these organizations justified? (OMGUS)

Yes 56% No 27% No opinion 15% No answer 2%

Are there any organizations against which you think an indictment should be drawn up? Asked of 27% of the sample who thought the prosecution of some German organizations was not justified.

| | |
|---|---|
| SS | 10% |
| SA | 5 |
| General staff of the armed forces | 8 |
| Gestapo | 13 |
| Cabinet of the Reich | 10 |
| Leadership of the Nazi party | 14 |
| None of these | 1 |
| No opinion | 1 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 65%* |

* Percentages add to more than 27 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Dec 27 '45) The four Allies have laid charges against entire German organizations; for example, the SS, SA, the general staff, and the whole party leadership. In your opinion, is the prosecution of these organizations justified?

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 60% |
| No | 25 |
| No opinion | 13 |
| Partly yes, partly no | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |

**29.** (Germany Oct 26 '45) Do you think that the press reports of the Nuremberg trials are complete and authentic? (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opin-ion* | *No an-swer* | *Don't know* | *Other* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 79% | 6% | 3% | 6% | 5% | 1% |
| (Nov 19 '45) | 75 | 4 | 20 | 1 | — | — |
| (Nov 26 '45) | 77 | 5 | 17 | 1 | — | — |
| (Dec 27 '45) | 75 | 7 | 17 | 1 | — | — |
| (Mar 15 '46) | 69 | 15 | 16 | — | — | — |
| (Aug 9 '46) | 67 | 10 | 23 | — | — | — |
| (Oct 4 '46) | 68 | 6 | 26 | — | — | — |

**30.** (Germany Nov 26 '45) In your opinion, are (Do you think that) the trials in Nuremberg (against Nazi leaders) (are) being carried out fairly? (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *No answer* | *Other* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 83% | 2% | 14% | — | 1% |
| (Dec 27 '45) | 81 | 3 | 16 | — | — |
| (Jan 14 '46) | 82 | 2 | 15 | 1% | — |
| (Feb 14 '46) | 81 | 6 | 13 | — | — |
| (Feb 21 '46) | 75 | 7 | 17 | 1 | — |
| (Aug 9 '46) | 76 | 5 | 18 | 1 | — |
| (Oct 4 '46) | 78 | 6 | 16 | 1 | — |

**31.** (Germany Dec 27 '45) What do you think of the way in which the newspapers are handling the Nuremberg trials? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good, satisfactory; tells the truth; objective, reports fairly; like it; informative; glad to hear the truth; just | 51% |
| Good in general but: insufficient or dubious details; bad pictures; should give more details | 6 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Incomplete; inadequate | 3% |
| Biased; much propaganda | 3 |
| Slow and tedious; dull; too much irrelevant material | 3 |
| Unjust; untrue; don't like it; can't believe it; humiliating | 2 |
| Don't (or rarely) read the papers; don't or can't get a newspaper | 14 |
| No interest in politics | 1 |
| Other | 1 |
| No opinion; can't say | 14 |
| No answer | 1 |

(Jan 14 '46)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good, satisfactory; tells the truth; objective, reports fairly; like it; informative; glad to hear the truth; just | 58% |
| Good in general but: insufficient or dubious details; bad pictures; should give more details | 4 |
| Incomplete; inadequate | 3 |
| Biased; much propaganda | 3 |
| Slow and tedious; dull; too much irrelevant material | 1 |
| Unjust; untrue; don't like it; can't believe it; humiliating | 3 |
| Don't (or rarely) read the papers; don't or can't get a paper | 4 |
| Hope so; hope it is true | 1 |
| No opinion; can't say | 19 |
| No answer | 4 |

(Oct 4 '46) What do you think about the reports in the German newspapers of the Nuremberg trials?

| | |
|---|---|
| Good; satisfactory; say the truth; objective; reports are just; think it good; good news; glad to hear the truth | 44% |
| Good in general, but details are insufficient or dubious; bad pictures; they should go more for details | 6 |
| Incomplete and insufficient | 3 |
| Influenced; very much propaganda | 3 |
| Unjust; not true; can't judge it as right; can't believe it; humiliating | 3 |
| I never read (or very seldom); can't get a newspaper | 16 |
| No opinion; can't say | 24 |
| No answer | 1 |

(Feb 14 '46)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good; satisfactory; tells the truth; objective, reports fairly; like it; informative; glad to hear the truth | 46% |
| Good in general but: insufficient or dubious details; bad pictures; should give more details | 5 |
| Incomplete; inadequate | 4 |
| Biased; much propaganda | 4 |
| Slow and tedious; dull; too much irrelevant material | 4 |
| Unjust; untrue; don't like it; can't believe it; humiliating | 4 |
| Don't (or rarely read) the papers; don't or can't get a paper | 12 |
| Other answers | 2 |
| No opinion; can't say | 12 |
| Hope so; hope it's true | 7 |

**32.** (Germany (Dec 27 '45) Which defendant (Nuremberg trials) do you think is not guilty? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| All are guilty; none are not guilty; all are bad; all are responsible | 70% |
| Reserve judgement; can't say yet | 1 |
| Generals, military not guilty | 2 |
| Mentioned specific people as being either guilty or not guilty | 9 |
| No opinion; no information; no knowledge; l can't judge | 16 |
| No answer | 2 |

(Mar 15 '46)

| | |
|---|---|
| All are guilty; none not guilty; all are bad; all are responsible | 75% |
| None are guilty | 1 |
| Mentioned specific people as being either guilty or not guilty | 5% |
| No opinion; no information; no knowledge; can't judge | 18 |
| No answer | 1 |

**33.** (Germany Dec 27 '45) Have you learned anything new from the evidence presented at the Nuremberg trials? (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 84% | 13% | 1% | 2% |
| (Jan 14 '46) | 87 | 11 | — | 2 |
| (Oct 4 '46) | 71 | 27 | — | 2 |

(Dec 27 '45) What did you find out that you didn't already know? Asked of 84% of the sample who learned something they didn't know from the trials.

| | |
|---|---|
| Concentration camp | 64% |
| War preparations made so long ago | 6 |
| Germany was the aggressor | 3 |
| Betrayed, swindled | 5 |
| Activities of party leaders | 7 |
| Annihilation of Jews, mass murders | 23 |
| Hitler and/or Nazi party worse than we thought, thought them OK until now | 1 |
| Didn't know anything before, just finding out now, have learned much | 13 |
| Other | 7 |
| | 129%* |

* Percentages add to more than 84 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Jan 14 '46) Asked of 87% of the sample who learned something they didn't know from the trials.

| | |
|---|---|
| Concentration camp | 57% |
| War preparations made so long ago | 5 |
| Germany was the aggressor | 3 |
| Betrayed, swindled | 4 |
| Activities of party leaders | 8 |
| Annihilation of Jews, mass murders | 30 |
| Hitler and/or Nazi party worse than we thought, thought them OK until now | 3 |
| Didn't know anything before, just finding out now, have learned much | 10 |
| Other | 7 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 128%* |

* Percentages add to more than 87 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Oct 4 '46) Asked of 71% of the sample who learned something they didn't know from the trials.

| | |
|---|---|
| Concentration camp | 71% |
| War preparation | 3 |
| Germany was the aggressor | 1 |
| We were cheated, swindled | 7 |
| Activity of party leaders | 5 |
| Extermination of the Jews, mass murders | 12 |
| Hitler and the members of the Nazi party were worse than we were, thought they were OK | 3 |
| Did not know anything before, have learned a lot now | 8 |
| Politics | 1 |
| Others | 2 |
| No answer | 1 |
| No opinion, no interest, don't know, can't say | 1 |
| | 115%* |

* Percentages add to more than 71 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**34.** (Germany Jan 14 '46) Do you read the newspaper reports on the Nuremberg trials? (OMGUS)

Yes 82% No 17% No answer 1%

Are you very interested in these reports, or only a little? Asked of 82% of the sample who had read the reports of the Nuremberg trials.

Greatly 62% A little 19% Not at all 1%

(Germany Jan 31 '46) Do you read the newspaper reports on the Nuremberg trials? (OMGUS)

Yes 78% No 22%

(France Feb 1 '46) (FIPO)

Sometimes 42% Always 30% Never 18% No answer 10%

(Germany Mar 29 '46) (OMGUS)

Yes 67% No 32% No answer 1%

Are you very much or only a little interested in them [newspaper reports of the trials]? Asked of 67% of the sample who read the newspaper reports of the Nuremberg trials.

Very much 36% A little 18% A very little 12%
No answer 1%

Do you always read the reports completely or only partly? Asked of 67% of the sample who read the newspaper reports of the Nuremberg trials.

Completely 34% Partly 32% Not at all 1%
No answer 1%

(Germany Aug 9 '46) Have you been following the newspaper reports of the Nuremberg trials? (OMGUS)

Yes, all of them 31% Yes, partly 41% No 28%

Are you very much or only a little interested in the reports? Asked of 72% of the sample who had followed the reports of the trials.

Interested 45% Not very interested 25% No answer 2%

**35.** (Germany Jan 14 '46) Do the papers report the (Nuremberg) trials as completely as you wish or are the reports given too much space? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too little space given the trials | 14% |
| OK as it is | 58 |
| Too much space given the trials | 7 |
| No opinion | 19 |
| No answer | 2 |

**36.** (Germany Jan 31 '46) Do you think the verdict will be the same for all the accused? (OMGUS)

Yes 37% No 46% No opinion 16% No answer 1%

**37.** (France Feb 1 '46) In your opinion, should the following defendants [at the Nuremberg trials] undergo punishment, and what should the punishment be? (FIPO)

| | *Goering* | *Ribbentrop* | *Schacht* | *Hess* | *Keitel* | *Doenitz* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Capital punishment (generally hanging) | 82% | 79% | 77% | 75% | 75% | 75% |
| Slow death with corporal punishment | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| Imprisonment, exile | 3 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 7 | 7 |
| No punishment | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| No answer | 11 | 12 | 14 | 13 | 14 | 14 |

**38.** (Germany Feb 21 '46) Why is the German general staff being tried in Nuremberg? What is it accused of? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Responsible for the war, made plans for war long in advance | 47% |
| Started war of aggression | 7 |
| Started total war, inhumane measures used in war | 4 |
| Party collaborators, worked with party, carried on war too long, followed Hitler's orders | 6 |
| Cruelties against PW's | 2 |
| Responsible for mass murders; concentration camps | 3 |
| Responsible for misery of German people | 3 |
| Can't say, don't know, ask my husband | 27 |
| No answer | 1 |

Do you think this accusation is justified? Asked of 47% of the sample who said the German general staff was being tried because it was responsible for the war.

Yes 38% No 4% No opinion 4% No answer 1%

**39.** (Germany Feb '46) Are the accused people in Nuremberg the only ones who have committed war crimes or do you think that there are others? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| They are the only guilty ones | 17% |
| There are still other war criminals | 71 |
| Don't know, can't say | 10 |
| No answer | 2 |

Who are they? Asked of 71% of the sample who thought there were other war criminals in addition to the accused in Nuremberg.

| | |
|---|---|
| Party people—leaders, ward and district bosses, politicians | 23% |
| Party people—activists and fanatics | 5 |
| Industrialists, profiteers, those who profited from war | 9 |
| Army men—officers, Wehrmacht generals | 6 |
| SS | 5 |
| Gestapo | 1 |
| Other party subsidiary organizations | 1 |
| Idea men—Rosenberg types, Nietzschians | 1 |
| Other | 6 |
| War-mongers in other countries, lands, states, e.g. foreign general staffs, leading men in other countries, those in England, US and/or Russia responsible for war | 6 |
| Those who ran concentration camps | 3 |
| No answer | 39 |
| | 105%* |

* Percentages add to more than 71 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Should these people also be tried? Asked of 71% of the sample who thought there were other criminals in addition to the accused in Nuremberg.

Yes 58% No 6% No opinion 11% No answer 25%

**40.** (Finland Feb 22 '46) Have you followed through the press and radio fairly regularly, now and then, or hardly at all, our procedure to decide the responsibility for the war? (FGI)

Fairly regularly 34% Now and then 43%
Hardly at all 22% Don't know 1%

**41.** (Germany Mar 8 '46) Do you think all of those accused in the Nuremberg trials took part in planning the war? (OMGUS)

Yes, all of them 71% No, not all of them 10% No one 1%
No answer 18%

**42.** (Germany Mar 29 '46) Do you think any of the accused have successfully proven that they can clear themselves of the accusations made against them? (OMGUS)

Yes 5% No 59% Don't know 35% No answer 1%

**43.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The German public was asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: The German people are responsible for the war and should pay the penalty for war crimes. (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amzone | 30% | 62% | 8% |
| Berlin only | 50 | 47 | 3 |

**44.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The German public was asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: All German officials who ordered the murdering of civilians or prisoners of war, or who participated in such murders should be tried as criminals. (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amzone | 94% | 2% | 4% |
| Berlin only | 97 | 2 | 1 |

**45.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The German public was asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: Since Germany was not responsible for the war, German leaders should not be brought to trial as war criminals. (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amzone | 32% | 56% | 12% |
| Berlin | 29 | 69 | 2 |

**46.** (Belgium Apr–June '46) Did you read the accounts of the trials at Nuremberg (these last weeks) in your newspaper? (INSOC)

| | *Always* | *Sometimes* | *Rarely* | *Never* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 28% | 34% | 16% | 22% |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | | |
| Urban | 28% | 37% | 17% | 18% |
| Rural | 26 | 33 | 15 | 26 |
| Industrial | 32 | 29 | 13 | 26 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Farm and farm labor | 22% | 35% | 17% | 26% |
| Workers and artisans | 35 | 29 | 15 | 21 |
| Employees and executives | 26 | 40 | 17 | 17 |
| Merchants, manufacturers, foremen | 26 | 38 | 16 | 20 |
| Liberal professions | 39 | 35 | 18 | 8 |
| Property holders | 50 | 30 | 8 | 12 |
| Unemployed women | 17 | 35 | 15 | 33 |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 36% | 33% | 15% | 16% |
| Women | 16 | 36 | 16 | 32 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–34 years | 23% | 35% | 18% | 24% |
| 35–49 years | 27 | 34 | 16 | 23 |
| 50–64 years | 37 | 33 | 10 | 20 |
| 65 years and over | 41 | 32 | 10 | 17 |

**47.** (Belgium July–Oct '46) Does the Nuremberg verdict seem to you just, too severe, or too indulgent? (INSOC)

| | *Just* | *Too severe* | *Too indulgent* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 37.3% | 3.2% | 46.0% | 13.5% |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | | |
| Urban | 39.9% | 4.1% | 44.2% | 11.8% |
| Rural | 37.6 | 2.8 | 43.8 | 15.8 |
| Industrial | 32.0 | 1.9 | 52.8 | 13.3 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Farmers | 38.0% | 1.7% | 41.5% | 18.8% |
| Workers | 30.7 | 2.2 | 51.0 | 16.1 |
| White-collar workers | 36.1 | 4.2 | 52.6 | 7.1 |
| Business men | 49.8 | 4.2 | 35.4 | 10.6 |
| Professional | 59.3 | 6.6 | 27.5 | 6.6 |
| Private income and pensions | 41.7 | 3.0 | 48.5 | 6.8 |
| Housewives | 36.2 | 3.8 | 44.7 | 15.3 |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 38.8% | 3.5% | 47.2% | 10.5% |
| Women | 35.4 | 2.7 | 44.4 | 17.5 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–34 years | 37.1% | 3.2% | 47.0% | 12.7% |
| 35–49 years | 36.7 | 3.6 | 45.9 | 13.8 |
| 50–64 years | 38.3 | 2.2 | 45.1 | 14.4 |
| 65 years and over | 39.3 | 3.4 | 44.1 | 13.2 |

Do the recently handed-down court decisions concerning economic collaboration with the enemy seem to you just, too severe, too indulgent?

| | *Just* | *Too severe* | *Too indulgent* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 15.9% | 9.4% | 44.0% | 30.7% |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | | |
| Urban | 17.6% | 11.3% | 43.0% | 28.1% |
| Rural | 14.3 | 6.8 | 45.7 | 33.2 |
| Industrial | 15.0 | 9.7 | 43.2 | 32.1 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Farmers | 12.8% | 5.6% | 42.7% | 38.9% |
| Workers | 14.1 | 9.0 | 47.8 | 29.1 |
| White-collar workers | 18.0 | 7.4 | 51.8 | 22.8 |
| Business men | 21.4 | 18.9 | 41.2 | 18.5 |
| Professional | 34.0 | 17.7 | 34.0 | 14.3 |
| Private income and pensions | 21.5 | 7.3 | 41.7 | 29.5 |
| Housewives | 11.2 | 8.4 | 38.0 | 42.4 |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 17.7% | 11.2% | 47.8% | 23.3% |
| Women | 13.5 | 7.1 | 38.7 | 40.7 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–34 years | 15.8% | 8.7% | 45.0% | 30.5% |
| 35–49 years | 15.7 | 11.5 | 44.7 | 28.1 |
| 50–64 years | 16.0 | 7.2 | 44.6 | 32.2 |
| 65 years and over | 17.2 | 9.3 | 34.8 | 38.7 |

**48.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) Do you think the verdicts in general too harsh or too lenient? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too harsh | 9% |
| Too lenient | 21 |
| Just | 55 |
| Both | 1 |
| No opinion | 13 |
| No answer | 1 |

**49.** (Germany Aug 9 '46) Which of the defendants do you believe to be less guilty or not guilty at all? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| All equally guilty | 52% |
| Military men, officers, soldiers | 4 |
| Neurath | 4 |
| Schacht | 4 |
| Speer | 4 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Papen | 2 |
| Schirach | 1 |
| Fritzsche | 1 |
| Hess | 3 |
| Keitel | 1 |
| Doenitz | 1 |
| Raeder | 2 |
| Jodl | 2 |
| No opinion, can't judge; no sufficient insight; don't know defendants | 29 |
| | 110%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**50.** (Sweden Sept 5 '46) Which penalty do you consider that the Nazi leaders should be sentenced to? (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Penalty of death for all | 64% |
| Penalty of death for one or more | 6 |
| Penalty of death for none | 9 |
| Don't know | 21 |

**51.** (Germany Oct '46) What did you feel on hearing the verdicts at the Nuremberg trials? (GMZFO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Satisfaction | 26% |
| Feeling that justice had been done | 23 |
| Indifference | 13 |
| Amazement | 10 |
| Pity | 8 |
| Indignation, rebellion | 7 |
| Joy | 3 |
| Anger | 3 |
| Grief, sadness | 2 |
| Other | 3 |
| No opinion | 2 |

**52.** (Germany Oct '46) Do you believe that the verdicts handed down at the Nuremberg trials will tend to prevent a war? (GMZFO)

Yes 19% No 67% No opinion 14%

**53.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) Have you followed the newspaper or radio reports of the Nuremberg trials against the former German statesmen and political leaders? (OMGUS)

Yes 79% No 21%

**54.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) Have you heard the verdict regarding the accused at the Nuremberg trials? (OMGUS)

Yes 93% No 7%

**55.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) What can the German people learn from these trials, that is, what lesson can the German people draw from these trials? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Lasting peace; never start a war again; the people always have to suffer from the consequences of war | 26% |
| Never elect a dictator as a leader again; no one-sided party economy, politics, caution in election of future statesmen | 30 |
| The accused in Nuremberg are guilty of all misery | 2 |
| No offence against the rights of humanity | 2 |
| Not to join any party; not to be a member of any party | 2 |
| Justice | 3 |
| There is no justice; only we Germans get punished, not the Allies | 1 |
| Others; that Allies agree; concentration camps | 1 |
| Don't understand politics; never cared about it; I have other worries; no opinion | 32 |
| Nothing; no lesson; the German people will never learn | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |

**56.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) In your opinion were any of the defendants sentenced too harshly? (OMGUS)

Yes 16% No 65% No opinion 18% No answer 1%

Which [defendants were sentenced too harshly]? Asked of 16% of the sample who thought some defendants were sentenced too harshly.

| | |
|---|---|
| All those sentenced to death; all those who will be hanged | 11% |
| Officers should die the soldier's death (Keitel and Jodl) | 27 |
| v. Neurath | 8 |
| Keitel | 26 |
| Jodl | 34 |
| Doenitz | 6 |
| Raeder | 19 |
| Frick | 1 |
| Others | 12 |
| Hess | 9 |
| No answer | 3 |

**57.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) Which of these organizations [on trial at Nuremberg] should not have been prosecuted? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| SS | 17% |
| SA | 30 |
| General staff of the Wehrmacht | 24 |
| Gestapo | 1 |
| Reichs Cabinet | 3 |
| Leadership of the Nazi party | 6 |
| Not any of these | 28 |
| Others | 2 |
| No interest, don't know | 6 |
| No answer | 15 |
| | 132%* |

* Percentages total more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**58.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) Do you think that the Allies were legally justified in bringing the leaders of their defeated enemy to trial, or do you think that this should not have been done? (OMGUS)

Justified 72% Should not have been done 12%
No opinion 15% No answer 1%

Why not? Asked of 12% of the sample who thought some of the leaders should not have been brought to trial.

| | |
|---|---|
| Would have been the task of the German people | 37% |
| It never happened before in history that the government of a nation has been brought to trial; there is no law to sanction this action; history will prove it | 21 |
| The Allies, too, committed crimes and made mistakes (air raids and treatment of PW's), nobody has the right to accuse | 18 |
| Things could have happened the opposite way and the Allies could have been forced to justify their conduct today | 2 |
| Conquerers and conquered should have prosecuted | 4 |
| Would be the task of the neutral states | 6 |
| Government is acknowledged; Russia, too, has the GPU; costs too much money, because Germany is the suffering party; it was the war, had to act like that; have not done any harm to America | 9 |
| No answer | 3 |

**59.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) As you should know, the Allies also accused in these trials [Nuremberg] whole organizations and groups, such as the SA, SS, Gestapo, leadership of the Wehrmacht, the Reich government, the leadership of the Nazi party. Do you believe the treatment of these organizations in such a manner is justified? (OMGUS)

Yes 59% No 17% No opinion 24%

Why not? Asked of 17% of the sample who thought the treatment of these organizations was not justified.

There are many innocent people among them; many of them only did their duty, most people had to join them 46%
Some of these organizations only did their duty; in many organizations they were unknowing campfollowers only; the organizations as such are not criminal 29
The majority of the people were not informed 9
The Wehrmacht has not been informed enough about the political events 4
Most cases have to be treated individually 4
I refuse to accept the trials; there are organizations like these in other countries, too 6
No opinion, don't know 1
No answer 3

**60.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) Do you think the lesser party leaders should be brought to trial, too, or do you believe it is sufficient to have the higher leaders punished? (OMGUS)

Bring the lesser leaders to trial 43%
Be satisfied with this punishment 43
No opinion 12
Both 1
No answer 1

**61.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Are you in agreement or not with the following statement: In this war there were many criminals against humanity and peace among all the opponents. (OMGUS)

Agree 83% Disagree 6% No opinion 11%

## WEALTH

**1.** (US July '35) Do you believe that the government should allow a man who has investments worth over a million dollars to keep them, subject only to present taxes? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 45.1% | 45.8% | 9.1% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 49.9% | 44.3% | 5.8% |
| Women | 39.9 | 47.1 | 13.0 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 69.6% | 21.0% | 9.4% |
| Upper middle class | 48.7 | 40.7 | 10.6 |
| Lower middle class | 39.9 | 48.9 | 11.2 |
| Poor | 29.4 | 59.8 | 10.8 |
| BY RACE | | | |
| Negroes | 60.7% | 25.9% | 13.4% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| East | 53.0% | 38.5% | 8.5% |
| South | 58.0 | 35.8 | 6.2 |
| Middle West | 34.6 | 54.6 | 10.8 |
| West | 85.2 | 14.8 | — |
| Pacific coast | 33.8 | 54.0 | 12.2 |

**2.** (US Oct '35) How much money do you think any person should be allowed to inherit? (FOR)

| | *None* | *$100,000 or less* | *$100,000 to $1,000,000* | *$1,000,000 to $10,000,000* | *Over $10,000,000* | *No limit* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 0.7% | 14.4% | 15.5% | 2.2% | 0.1% | 51.7% | 15.4% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 0.7% | 8.2% | 16.1% | 1.8% | 0.7% | 58.9% | 13.6% |
| Upper middle | 0.7% | 13.1% | 15.6% | 2.8% | — | 51.1% | 16.7% |
| Lower middle | 0.5% | 15.5% | 16.3% | 2.3% | 0.2% | 51.2% | 14.0% |
| Poor | 1.0% | 16.8% | 15.3% | 1.9% | — | 47.1% | 17.9% |
| BY RACE | | | | | | | |
| Negroes | 0.4% | 14.6% | 12.0% | 1.3% | — | 58.0% | 13.7% |

**3.** (US Dec 7 '36) Do you believe the government should limit the size of private fortunes? (AIPO)

Yes 41% No 50% No opinion 9%

What figure should be set as a limit? Asked of 41% of the sample who believed the government should limit the size of private fortunes.

$ 1,000,000 30%
$ 100,000 10
$ 5,000,000 9
$ 500,000 9
$ 50,000 7
$ 2,000,000 7
$10,000,000 5
$ 10,000 3
$ 25,000 2
$ 5,000 2
$ 3,000,000 1
$ 250,000 1
$50,000,000 1
$ 2,400 1
$ 20,000 1
$ 300,000 1
$25,000,000 1
$ 200,000 1
$ 75,000 1
All others 7

**4.** (US Jan '37) John D. Rockefeller Jr. is quoted as agreeing with the statement that thirty years will see the end of great American fortunes. Do you agree with him? (FOR)

Agree 27.6% Disagree 44.5% Don't know 27.9%

If the great fortunes such as Rockefeller's and Morgan's are going to disappear, will the people as a whole benefit or will it mean less prosperity for all? Asked of 27.6% of the sample who agree with Mr. Rockefeller.

People will benefit 57.4% Less prosperity 29.6%
Don't know 13.0%

**5.** (US June 7 '37) Do you think the size of private fortunes should be limited? (AIPO)

Yes 44% No 48% No opinion 8%

What figure should be set as the limit? Asked of 44% of the sample who thought private fortunes should be limited.

| | |
|---|---|
| $10,000 and under | 2% |
| $10,000 to $40,000 | 2 |
| $40,000 to $100,000 | 4 |
| $100,000 | 4 |
| Over $100,000 to $500,000 | 2 |
| $500,000 | 3 |
| Over $500,000 to $1,000,000 | * |
| $1,000,000 | 11 |
| Over $1,000,000 to $5,000,000 | 2 |
| $5,000,000 and over | 4 |
| No definite amount | 10 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**6.** (US June 21 '37) Should a limit be placed on the amount of money any person can inherit? (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 62% No opinion 8%

What figures should be set as the limit? Asked of 30% of the sample who thought there should be a limit on the amount any person can inherit.

| | |
|---|---|
| $10,000 or less | 1% |
| $15,000 to $25,000 | 1 |
| $30,000 to $50,000 | 2 |
| $60,000 to $100,000 | 4 |
| $150,000 to $500,000 | 4 |
| $750,000 to $1,000,000 | 7 |
| $1,500,000 to $5,000,000 | 2 |
| Over $5,000,000 | 1 |
| No definite amount | 8 |

**7.** (US Oct '37) Do you think that the federal government should follow a policy of taking money from those who have much and giving money to those who have little? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *Yes, if it doesn't go too far* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 30.1% | 23.5% | 40.7% | 5.7% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 18.4% | 20.1% | 60.0% | 1.5% |
| Poor | 42.8 | 21.6 | 28.9 | 6.7 |

**8.** (US June '39) Do you think that our government should or should not redistribute wealth by heavy taxes on the rich? Confiscate all wealth over and above what people actually need to live on decently, and use it for the public good? (FOR)

| | REDISTRIBUTE WEALTH | | | CONFISCATE WEALTH | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
| National total | 34.7% | 54.3% | 11.0% | 15.5% | 76.2% | 8.3% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 17.3% | 76.2% | 6.5% | 4.6% | 91.7% | 3.7% |
| Upper middle | 27.9 | 64.3 | 7.8 | 7.1 | 86.7 | 6.2 |
| Lower middle | 33.5 | 56.8 | 9.7 | 13.7 | 79.0 | 7.3 |
| Poor | 45.6 | 40.3 | 14.1 | 24.2 | 66.4 | 9.4 |
| BY RACE | | | | | | |
| Negroes | 43.6% | 36.8% | 19.6% | 30.9% | 51.2% | 17.9% |

**9.** (US May 7 '41) Do you think there is too much power in the hands of a few rich men and large corporations in the United States? (AIPO)

Yes 59% No 27% No opinion 14%

**10.** (US July '42) Five years after the war do you think there will be more, fewer, or about the same number of rich people in the United States as before the war? (FOR)

| | *More* | *Same* | *Fewer* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 15.7% | 24.1% | 50.0% | 10.2% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 9.0% | 24.0% | 62.0% | 5.0% |
| Poor | 20.1 | 24.8 | 41.0 | 14.1 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| Pacific coast | 12.7% | 22.7% | 61.0% | 3.6% |
| Mountain states | 20.5 | 32.3 | 39.7 | 7.5 |

**11.** (US Nov '42) Do you think the country would be better off or worse off if we had no rich people? Asked of a national cross-section of high-school students. (FOR)

| | *Better* | *Worse* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 21.2% | 66.7% | 12.1% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous and upper middle | 15.0% | 75.4% | 9.6% |
| Poor | 26.9 | 56.4 | 16.7 |
| BY RACE | | | |
| Negroes | 13.2% | 69.8% | 17.0% |

**12.** (US Nov '42) How many thousands of dollars a year must a man get before you would call him a rich man? Asked of a national cross-section of high-school students. (FOR)

| | *Under $5,000* | *$5,000–$9,999* | *$10,000–$19,999* | *$20,000–$49,999* | *$50,000–$99,999* | *$100,000–$500,000* | *Over $500,000* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| National total | 5.0 | 11.8 | 24.1 | 25.5 | 11.9 | 6.9 | 2.4 | 12.4 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Prosperous and upper middle | 3.1 | 9.7 | 24.2 | 29.7 | 13.3 | 6.7 | 2.3 | 11.0 |
| Poor | 9.7 | 16.1 | 22.6 | 21.7 | 7.5 | 6.5 | 2.8 | 13.1 |
| BY RACE | | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Negroes | 6.6 | 6.6 | 14.0 | 17.8 | 19.6 | 14.9 | 3.7 | 16.8 |

**13.** (Canada Dec 5 '42) Do you think that it will still be possible for a man to become a millionaire after the war? (CIPO)

| | *Will be possible* | *Will not be possible* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 43% | 14% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–39 years | 47% | 42% | 11% |
| 40–59 years | 40 | 45 | 15 |
| 60 years and over | 38 | 45 | 17 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income | 48% | 43% | 9% |
| Middle income | 46 | 44 | 10 |
| Lower income | 40 | 43 | 17 |

## WEATHER FORECASTING

**1.** (Canada June 5 '46) How often do you read or listen to the daily weather reports and forecasts—every day, fairly often, or hardly ever? (CIPO)

Every day 55% Fairly often 23% Hardly ever 22%

**2.** (Canada June 6 '46) In weather forecasts, which of these items is usually of most interest to you—temperature, cloudiness of the sky, wind, or rain and snowfall? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Temperature | 37% |
| Rain or snow | 30 |
| Cloudiness | 6 |
| Wind | 4 |
| No preference | 23 |

**3.** (Canada June 5 '46) In your opinion, can you get a fairly reliable weather forecast by studying the almanac? (The question was repeated with "almanac" substituted by animals, birds, and trees and phases of the moon.) (CIPO)

| | *Almanac* | *Animals, birds, and trees* | *Phases of the moon* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Reliable | 15% | 33% | 39% |
| Not reliable | 62 | 43 | 35 |
| Undecided | 23 | 24 | 26 |

## WILLKIE, WENDELL LEWIS

**1.** (US July 3 '40) Do you think Wendell Willkie would make a good President? (AIPO)

Yes 76% No 24% = 100% Undecided 22%

**2.** (US Aug '40) Which one of these four statements comes closest to expressing your opinion of Wendell Willkie: (1) Willkie is just the man the country needs for President during the next four years. (2) Even though Willkie hasn't as much political and international experience as he needs, he still would make a better President than Roosevelt. (3) Willkie is probably an honest and capable businessman, but he hasn't the right experience to be President in times like these. (4) The election of a man like Mr. Willkie (at any time) would be a very bad thing for the country? (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 11.5% | 24.1% | 36.1% | 9.4% | 18.9% |
| (Sept '40) (FOR) | 12.2 | 23.0 | 35.1 | 16.8 | 12.9 |
| (Oct '40) (FOR) | 11.1 | 26.8 | 36.5 | 13.8 | 11.8 |
| (Oct 19 '40) (AIPO) | 15.0 | 26.0 | 33.0 | 15.0 | 11.0 |
| (Oct 24 '40) (AIPO) | 14.0 | 28.0 | 32.0 | 17.0 | 9.0 |

**3.** (US Aug '40) Does the fact that Mr. Willkie was president of a large utility holding company make you feel more or less favorable toward him as a candidate for President, or doesn't it make any difference to you? (FOR)

| | *More favorable* | *No difference* | *Less favorable* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 19.8% | 57.6% | 13.9% | 8.7% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 32.1% | 55.5% | 11.0% | 1.4% |
| Upper middle class | 28.7 | 54.7 | 12.1 | 4.5 |
| Lower middle class | 17.9 | 58.4 | 15.2 | 8.5 |
| Poor | 10.3 | 59.9 | 14.7 | 15.1 |
| BY RACE | | | | |
| Negroes (Sept '40) | 19.0% | 53.4% | 10.3% | 17.3% |
| National total (Oct '40) | 21.3 | 58.6 | 14.8 | 5.3 |
| | 20.1 | 60.6 | 14.8 | 4.5 |

**4.** (US Nov '40) Did you read or listen to Willkie's speech of acceptance at Elwood? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *Part only* | *No* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 37.4% | 17.2% | 45.4% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 64.5% | 14.2% | 21.3% |
| Poor | 21.8 | 15.9 | 62.3 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Mountain states | 54.3% | 12.2% | 33.5% |
| East south central | 20.1 | 8.1 | 71.8 |

On the whole, did it make you more favorable or less favorable toward him than you had been, or did it leave you feeling about the same? Asked of 54.6% of the sample who were familiar with all or part of Willkie's speech of acceptance.

| | *More* | *Same* | *Less* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 30.7% | 48.5% | 18.6% | 2.2% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 39.7% | 44.1% | 15.5% | 0.7% |
| Upper middle class | 34.8 | 46.0 | 17.5 | 1.7 |
| Lower middle class | 28.6 | 49.5 | 19.5 | 2.4 |
| Poor | 24.4 | 52.0 | 19.7 | 3.9 |
| BY RACE | | | | |
| Negroes (excluding the South) | 21.3% | 59.0% | 19.7% | — |

Do you think that Willkie's campaign so far has been very well run, fairly well run, or poorly run?

| | *Very well run* | *Fairly well run* | *Poorly run* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 17.8% | 31.6% | 25.6% | 25.0% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Prosperous | 18.4% | 44.3% | 23.1% | 14.2% |
| Poor | 18.0 | 22.3 | 23.7 | 36.0 |

Who do you think is mainly responsible for its not being better—Willkie himself, or his advisors, or the Republican party as a whole? Asked of 57.2% of the sample who felt Willkie's campaign so far had been fairly or poorly run.

| | *Willkie* | *His advisors* | *Republican party* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 37.3% | 19.4% | 22.0% | 22.8% | = 101.5%* |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 30.5% | 20.9% | 27.7% | 22.6% | = 101.7%* |
| Poor | 38.0 | 18.1 | 18.6 | 26.5 | = 101.2* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**5.** (US Nov 19 '40) If Wendell Willkie is to continue as head of the Republican party, which of these jobs do you think it would be best for him to take? Asked of a national cross-section of Willkie voters. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Head of an insurance company | 4% |
| Head of a college or university | 15 |
| Head of a manufacturing company | 10 |
| Head of a public utilities company | 21 |
| Head of a radio forum | 19 |
| Take no job | 22 |
| No answer | 9 |

**6.** (US Mar 2 '41) Has your opinion of Wendell Willkie changed since the election? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 39% | 61% |
| BY PAST VOTING PREFERENCE | | |
| Roosevelt voters | 39% | 61% |
| Willkie voters | 39 | 61 |

Do you like him better or not as well as then [at 1940 election]? Asked of 39% of the sample whose opinion of Willkie had changed since the November election.

| | *Better* | *Same* | *Not as well* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 22% | 64% | 14% |
| BY PAST VOTING PREFERENCE | | | |
| Roosevelt voters | 31% | 62% | 7% |
| Willkie voters | 14 | 62 | 24 |

(July 27 '41) Has your opinion of Wendell Willkie changed since the election?

Yes 39% No 61%

Do you like him [Willkie] better, or not as well as then?

| | *Better* | *Less* | *Haven't changed opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 20% | 19% | 61% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republicans | 9% | 38% | 53% |
| Democrats | 30 | 7 | 63 |

**7.** (US Mar 2 '41) Do you think Wendell Willkie would have made a good President if he had been elected last November? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 60% | 40% |
| BY PAST VOTING PREFERENCE | | |
| Roosevelt voters | 39% | 61% |
| Willkie voters | 85 | 15 |
| (July 9 '41) National total | 41% | 59% |

**8.** (US Nov '41) Regardless of whom you favored in the last presidential election, today do you like Wendell Willkie better, about the same, or less than you did when he was running for President? (NORC)

| | *Better* | *About the same* | *Less* | *Don't know Willkie* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 21.1% | 45.5% | 19.1% | 4.1% | 10.1% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Democrats | 30.8% | 47.4% | 9.9% | 3.4% | 8.5% |
| Republicans | 13.3 | 43.1 | 37.8 | 0.2 | 5.6 |
| Other | 14.9 | 45.8 | 12.3 | 9.4 | 17.6 |

Why [do you like him better (less)]? Asked of 21.1% of the sample who liked Willkie better and 19.9% of the sample who liked him less.

BETTER

| | |
|---|---|
| Like his foreign policies, his support of President—administration; doing his best for the country, putting patriotism ahead of politics | 77.4% |
| Good sport about defeat | 6.9 |
| Have gotten to know him better since campaign—just admire him more | 6.3 |
| Individualist—doesn't adhere strictly to party | 2.0 |
| Other | 7.4 |

LESS

| | |
|---|---|
| Political turncoat—shouldn't support President—changed his platform | 54.8% |
| Isn't a big man—doesn't contribute anything—isn't qualified | 4.7 |
| Butting in too much, trying to be in the limelight—talks too much | 7.5 |
| Opposes Roosevelt | 1.3 |
| He's just interested in Wendell Willkie | 1.5 |
| Indecisive—doesn't know what he wants to do | 8.4 |
| Don't like his foreign policy | 6.0 |
| Insincere and dishonest | 6.4 |
| Other | 9.4 |

**9.** (US Oct 27 '42) What is your opinion of Wendell Willkie? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve his trip, did a good job as good-will messenger | 2% |
| Good man, very capable and sincere | 48 |
| OK, means well, nothing against him | 10 |
| He's trying to make a name for Willkie, a publicity seeker | 5 |
| He has too much to say, he talks too much | 5 |
| Disapprove of much that he does—some good ideas, some not | 1 |
| Dislike him | 16 |
| Disapprove of his trip | 1 |
| No opinion | 12 |
| (June 3 '43)...General approval | 53% |
| General disapproval | 32 |
| Mixed views | 3 |
| No answer | 12 |

**10.** (US June 2 '43) Do you approve or disapprove of Wendell Willkie? (AIPO)

Approve 47% Disapprove 30% No opinion 23%

**11.** (US June 2 '43) Do you approve or disapprove of Willkie's ideas on the part this country should play in the postwar world? (AIPO)

Approve 31% Disapprove 14% No opinion 55%

**12.** (US June 2 '43) Do you approve or disapprove of Willkie's ideas on how this country should be run? (AIPO)

Approve 27% Disapprove 23% No opinion 50%

**13.** (US Oct 31 '43) We would like to find out what things people like and dislike about Wendell Willkie. What do you, yourself, like best about him? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| His sincerity, frankness, outspokenness, and truthfulness | 17% |
| His ability, intelligence, and aggressiveness | 12 |
| His participation in international affairs—his knowledge of world affairs | 5 |
| His wholehearted interest in the country—he's a "man of the people" | 5 |
| His openmindedness, freedom of thought, and progressiveness | 7 |
| His winning personality and friendliness | 8 |
| His cooperation with the President | 3 |
| Other reasons | 5 |
| Like everything about him | 1 |
| Like nothing about him | 18 |
| No opinion | 19 |

**14.** (US Oct 31 '43) Now what would you say you like the least about him [Wendell Willkie]? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| His insincerity and changeableness—you can't tell where he stands | 14% |
| He talks too much | 14 |
| He's too much like Roosevelt | 4 |

| | |
|---|---|
| He's a Republican | 3% |
| His connections with big business | — |
| He criticizes the government and the President | — |
| He lacks ability and actual experience | 4 |
| His know-it-all attitude | 3 |
| He's too much of a publicity hound and a politician | 3 |
| His poor appearance | 3 |
| His foreign policy | 1 |
| Other reasons | 10 |
| Dislike everything about him | 2 |
| Dislike nothing about him | 14 |
| No opinion | 25 |

**15.** (US Oct 31 '43) What kind of a job do you think he [Willkie] would do in running the country? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Excellent job | 9% |
| Good job | 29 |
| Poor job | 24 |
| Fair job | 14 |
| Very poor job | 3 |
| Better than Roosevelt | * |
| Same as Roosevelt | 2 |
| Not as good as Roosevelt | 2 |
| Don't know | 17 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**16.** (US Oct 31 '43) Do you think he [Willkie] could handle big problems like unemployment better than Roosevelt, as well as Roosevelt, or not as well? (AIPO)

| | *Better* | *As well* | *Not as well* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 16% | 30% | 41% | 13% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Republicans | 30% | 36% | 23% | 11% |
| Democrats | 5 | 24 | 58 | 13 |

**17.** (US Oct 31 '43) Do you think he [Willkie] will be good at handling problems which will come up after the war concerning our relations with other nations? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 53% | 24% | 23% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republicans | 62% | 22% | 16% |
| Democrats | 46 | 28 | 26 |

**18.** (US Sept 29 '43) Do you think he [Willkie] has a good understanding of world problems? (AIPO)

Yes 66% No 17% No answer 1% Don't know 16%

**19.** (US Sept 29 '43) Do you think he [Willkie] has a good understanding of national problems? (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 19% No answer 2% Don't know 19%

**20.** (US Sept 29 '43) Do you think he [Willkie] could get along with businessmen, Congress, labor union leaders, workers themselves? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Businessmen | 69% | 12% | 18% | 1% |
| Congress | 35 | 29 | 34 | 2 |
| Labor union leaders | 32 | 35 | 31 | 2 |
| Workers themselves | 53 | 22 | 23 | 2 |

# WOMAN

## Employment

**1.** (US June 20 '37) Do you approve of a married woman earning money in business or industry if she has a husband capable of supporting her? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| | 18% | 82% |
| (Dec 25 '38) | | |
| National total | 22% | 78% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men voters | 19% | 81% |
| Women voters | 25 | 75 |

(Oct 31 '45)

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve | 18% |
| Disapprove | 62 |
| No opinion | 4 |
| Approve if she is capable | 2 |
| Approve if she does valuable work | 1 |
| Approve if she is specially talented | 1 |
| Approve only when first married | * |
| Approve if there are no children | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 9 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**2.** (US Oct '36) Do you believe that married women should have a full-time job outside of the home? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No, unless they need it* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 15.1% | 47.7% | 34.6% | 2.6% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 11.9% | 53.8% | 31.4% | 2.9% |
| Women | 18.3 | 41.7 | 37.7 | 2.3 |

[Should married women work] even if they have children? Asked of 15.1% of the sample who believed married women should work.

Yes 70% No 30%

For which of the following reasons [shouldn't married women work]? Asked of 47.7% of the sample who believed married women should not work.

| | |
|---|---|
| They take jobs that otherwise would be filled by men | 36.2% |
| Healthier children and happier home life if women don't work | 20.8 |
| Woman's place is in the home | 35.3 |
| Women's labor is cheap labor that brings down standard of living | 6.9 |
| Don't know | 0.8 |

**3.** (Great Britain Apr 30 '39) Do you favor trained women such as teachers and doctors giving up their jobs when they marry? (BIPO)

Yes 48% No 46% No opinion 6%

**4.** (Great Britain Apr 30 '39) Do you consider that women not holding skilled posts should give up their jobs when they marry? (BIPO)

Yes 56% No 39% No opinion 5%

**5.** (Great Britain Dec 6 '38) Do you think a woman should be barred from any form of employment simply because she is married? (BIPO)

Yes 31% No 69% = 100% No opinion 9%

**6.** (US July 26 '39) A bill was introduced in the Illinois state legislature prohibiting married women from working in business or industry if their husbands earn more than $1,600 a year ($133 a month). Would you favor such a law in this state? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *Yes, if* | *No* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 67% | 7% | 23% | 2% | 1% |
| BY SEX AND MARITAL STATUS | | | | | |
| Married men | 68% | 7% | 22% | 2% | 1% |
| Single men | 67 | 6 | 23 | 2 | 2 |
| Widowed and divorced men | 71 | 12 | 16 | 1 | — |
| Married women | 65 | 8 | 24 | 2 | 1 |
| Single women | 58 | 5 | 36 | — | 1 |
| Widowed and divorced women | 68 | 9 | 16 | 3 | 4 |

**7.** (US July 26 '39) Is your wife working? Asked of a national cross-section of married men. (AIPO)

Yes 12% No 79% No answer 9%

If she were offered a job at $25 a week, would you want her to take it? Asked of 79% of the sample whose wives were not working.

Yes 17% No 56% No opinion 6%

Is your wife working? Asked of a national cross-section of married men.

Yes 12% No 82% No opinion 6%

If she were offered a job at $50 a week, would you want her to take it? Asked of 82% of the sample whose wives were not working.

Yes 27% No 48% No opinion 7%

**8.** (US July 26 '39) A bill was introduced in the Massachusetts legislature prohibiting married women from working for the state or local government if their husbands earn more than $1,000 a year ($83 a month). Would you favor such a law in this state? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *Yes, if* | *No* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 10% | 31% | 1% | 2% |
| BY SEX AND MARITAL STATUS | | | | | |
| Married men | 58% | 10% | 29% | 1% | 2% |
| Single men | 57 | 8 | 31 | 3 | 1 |
| Widowed and divorced men | 62 | 8 | 17 | 4 | 9 |
| Married women | 51 | 12 | 35 | 1 | 1 |
| Single women | 48 | 10 | 35 | 4 | 3 |
| Widowed and divorced women | 55 | 6 | 33 | 2 | 4 |

**9.** (Great Britain Apr '41) Do you approve or disapprove of women being compelled to do war work? (BIPO)

Approve 72% Disapprove 23% Don't know 5%

**10.** (Great Britain Dec 19 '41) Should women be given the opportunity to train for fully skilled work in every trade and profession? Asked of a national cross-section of men. (BIPO)

Yes 72% No 28%

**11.** (US Mar 2 '42) As things are now, do you think women should have to register so they can be required to work wherever they're needed? (NORC)

Yes 66% No 29% Don't know 5%

**12.** (US May 30 '42) As things are now, do you think married women should or should not work in war industries? (NORC)

Should 60% Should not 13% Depends 24%
Don't know 3%

On what does it depend? Asked of 24% of the sample who were not sure whether married women should or should not work in war industries.

| | |
|---|---|
| Responsibility to children and home ties | 12% |
| If needed or drafted | 7 |
| Not if husband can support her | 2 |
| If husband is drafted, in service | 2 |
| Financial reasons | 2 |
| If they want to | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | * |
| | 27%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 24 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Why not? Asked of 13% of the sample who thought women should not work in war industries.

| | |
|---|---|
| A woman's place is in the home | 6% |
| Too many men and single women still unemployed | 4 |
| Labor shortage not severe enough | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 14%* |

* Percentages add to more than 13 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**13.** (Australia July–Aug '42) Do you favor or oppose employment of conductresses on trams and buses? (APOP)

Favor 78% Oppose 15% Undecided 7%

**14.** (US Oct 21 '42) As things are now, do you think there is any need for married women without children to work in war industries? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 71% | 21% | 8% |
| (Apr 28 '43) Women only | 76 | 13 | 11 |

(Oct 21 '42) How about married women with children? Right now, do you think there is any need for them to work in industries? Asked of 71% of the sample who thought there was need for married women without children to work in war industries, and also asked of 76% of the sample of women who thought there was need for married women without children to work in war industries.

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 14% | 53% | 4% | = 71% |
| (Apr 28 '43) Women only | 17 | 54 | 5 | = 76 |

**15.** (US Jan 31 '43) Would you be willing to have your wife take a full-time job running a machine in a war plant? Asked of a national cross-section of married men. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 30% |
| Has one now | 2 |
| No | 55 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| Yes, if | 11 |

**16.** (US Jan 31 '43) Would you be willing to take a full-time job running a machine in a war plant? Asked of a national cross-section of women not employed in war industries. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 40% |
| No | 40 |
| Don't know | 3 |
| Qualified answers | 17 |

Would you be willing to take a job in a war plant in another city? Asked of the sample of women not employed in war industries who were willing to take full-time jobs running machines in war plants.

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 55% |
| No | 34 |
| Don't know | 3 |
| Yes, if | 8 |

**17.** (US Mar 10 '43) Should all women over eighteen be required to register with the government for jobs in war industries? (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 32% No opinion 8%

**18.** (US Mar 10 '43) Should all single women over eighteen be required to register with the government for jobs in war industries? (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 29% No opinion 10%

**19.** (US Mar 10 '43) If you were offered a job in a war plant today, would you take it? Asked of a national cross-section of women living within 25 miles of a war plant. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 28% |
| No | 51 |
| Have one now | 4 |
| Yes, if | 17 |
| No answer | (5) |

**20.** (US Mar 10 '43) If you were asked to sign up for a job in a war plant today, would you take it? Asked of a national cross-section of women who lived within 25 miles of a war plant. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 35% |
| No | 43 |
| Have one now | 2 |
| Yes, if | 20 |

**21.** (US Mar 10 '43) If you could have your child (children) cared for in a day nursery free of charge, would you take a job in a war plant? Asked of a national cross-section of mothers. (AIPO)

Yes 29% No 56% Qualified 15%

**22.** (Sweden Apr '43) Would you consider it right to introduce a general conscription of childless women in the form of labor duty in nationally vital industries, lighter agricultural work, or non-military functions of the defense? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 62% | 22% | 16% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 64% | 24% | 12% |
| Women | 60 | 20 | 20 |
| BY SEX AND RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Town men | 64% | 27% | 9% |
| Town women | 67 | 19 | 14 |
| Country men | 64 | 23 | 13 |
| Country women | 57 | 20 | 23 |

**23.** (Sweden Apr '43) Do you think that women could replace men satisfactorily in these spheres [labor duty in essential industry, lighter agricultural work, and non-military defense operations]? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 54% | 27% | 19% |
| BY SEX AND RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Town men | 50% | 36% | 14% |
| Town women | 58 | 27 | 15 |
| Country men | 56 | 26 | 18 |
| Country women | 51 | 23 | 26 |

**24.** (Canada Apr 21 '43) After the war do you think women should be given equal opportunity with men to compete for jobs in industry, or do you think employers should give men the first chance? (CIPO)

| | *Equal chance* | *Give men first chance* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24% | 72% | 4% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Business and professional | 21% | 75% | 4% |
| White-collar | 27 | 70 | 3 |
| Labor | 21 | 74 | 5 |
| Farmers | 27 | 67 | 6 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 21% | 75% | 4% |
| Women | 27 | 68 | 5 |

**25.** (US Aug '43) After the war, do you think that opportunities for women to advance in business will be better, worse, or about the same as they were before the war? What about opportunities in government? Asked of a national cross-section of young women aged 20–35 years. (FOR)

| | *Better* | *Same* | *Worse* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Opportunities in business | 43.1% | 28.5% | 19.4% | 9.0% |
| Opportunities in government | 45.4 | 30.2 | 12.0 | 12.4 |

**26.** (Sweden Oct '43) Do you work outside your home? Does your wife work outside the home? Asked of widows and divorced people who had children at home and married men and women. (SGI)

| | *Wife has full-time job* | *Wife has part-time or temporary job* | *Looks after home only* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9% | 12% | 79% |
| BY SEX AND MARITAL STATUS | | | |
| Married men | 9% | 10% | 81% |
| Married women | 9 | 14 | 77 |

**27.** (Sweden Oct '43) Is it need of extra income that makes you work outside your home, or do you actually prefer it to domestic work? Asked of a national cross-section of women who work outside their homes. (SGI)

Need extra income 88% Prefer working outside 12%

**28.** (Sweden Oct '43) Are you happy in your work as a housewife? Asked of a national cross-section of women who stay at home. (SGI)

Yes 94% No 3% Don't know 3%

**29.** (Sweden Oct '43) Do you feel happy about your wife working outside the home? Asked of a national cross-section of married men with self-supporting wives. (SGI)

Yes 52% No 45% Don't know 3%

**30.** (US May 18 '44) Do you think there is greater need or less need for women workers now than there was a few months ago? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Greater | 62% |
| Same | 14 |
| Less | 13 |
| Don't know | 11 |

Why? Asked of 13% of the sample who thought there was less need for women workers.

| | |
|---|---|
| Production is being cut down and/or workers laid off | 8% |
| Supply of workers is sufficient | 2 |
| Returning servicemen can fill jobs | 1 |
| Women should stay home | 1 |
| The war situation does not require it | * |
| Women are not much help | * |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**31.** (US Dec 14 '44) Are there any jobs on this list which you think a woman should not hold? (NYHT)

| | |
|---|---|
| Real-estate agent | 16% |
| Editor of newspaper | 17 |
| Treasurer of large company | 20 |
| President of a bank | 34 |
| United States Senator | 39 |
| Foreman airplane factory | 43 |
| Governor of a state | 56 |
| | 225%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer. Included in the above figures, in each case, is that 12% of the women who stoutly insisted that no women should hold any of those jobs; but 30% of the women contended that they could and should hold all of them.

**32.** (Great Britain Jan '45) Do you think that it is likely you will continue to go out to work after the war? Asked of a national cross-section of occupied women. (BIPO)

Yes 61% No 39%

**33.** (US Feb 10 '45) Do you plan to work in any job after the war? Asked of a cross-section of employed women. (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 29% Don't know 10%

**34.** (US Oct 31 '45) If there is a limited number of jobs, do you approve or disapprove of a married woman holding a job in business or industry when her husband is able to support her? (AIPO)

Approve 10% Disapprove 86% No opinion 4%

**35.** (Denmark Nov 19 '45) Do you think that society should make it easier or more difficult for married women to be self-supporting? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Easier | 43.4% |
| More difficult | 24.1 |
| Remain as it is | 7.6 |
| Don't know | 24.9 |

Why? Asked of 43.4% of the sample who thought society should make it easier for married women to be self-supporting.

| | |
|---|---|
| Homes need more economic support | 35.3% |
| Women should be able to utilize their abilities | 25.4 |
| Equality | 7.6 |
| Woman should look after her home | 5.4 |
| Sundry | 4.1 |
| Cannot explain | 22.2 |

Why? Asked of 24.1% of the sample who thought society should make it more difficult for married women to be self-supporting.

| | |
|---|---|
| Woman should look after her home | 83.3% |
| Women take work away from men | 9.4 |
| A man should be able to support his wife | 3.3 |
| Sundry | 1.7 |
| Cannot explain | 2.3 |

Why? Asked of 7.6% of the sample who thought society should let married women's chances to be self-supporting remain the same.

| | |
|---|---|
| Woman should look after her home | 38.3% |
| Greater economical demands on the home | 17.9 |
| Good as it is | 9.4 |
| Woman should be able to use her abilities | 7.8 |
| Equality | 5.5 |
| Sundry | 4.7 |
| Cannot explain | 16.4 |

**36.** (Finland Jan 11 '46) Do you think that some of the married women, who work in business or other services ought to leave their work? (FGI)

All should leave 40% None should leave 28%
Don't know 32%

Why? Asked of 40% of the sample who thought that some of the married women ought to leave their work.

| | |
|---|---|
| For the sake of home and children | 40% |
| If husband has sufficient income | 37 |
| These jobs should be given to those who need them more | 32 |
| Other reasons | 6 |
| No reason | 3 |
| | 118%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**37.** (Germany Feb 14 '46) Do you think that women should devote themselves exclusively to their family or do you think that they should be encouraged to take another profession if they want to? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Family only | 49% |
| Other positions | 47 |
| No opinion | 34 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 131%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**38.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) Do you agree or disagree that women should be allowed to have the same job opportunities, according to their abilities, as men? Asked of the German public. (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amzone | 73% | 25% | 2% |
| Berlin | 88 | 11 | 1 |

**39.** (US Aug '46) Do you think a married woman who has no children under sixteen and whose husband makes enough to support her should or should not be allowed to take a job if she wants to? (FOR)

BY SEX

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Depends* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 34.0% | 46.3% | 15.8% | 3.9% |
| Women | 41.6 | 38.3 | 15.9 | 4.2 |

**40.** (US Aug '46) Which of these statements comes closest to your opinion? (FOR)

| | BY SEX | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Men* | *Women* |
| All women should have an equal chance with men for any job in business or industry regardless of whether they have to support themselves or not | 21.7% | 28.5% |
| Only women who have to support themselves should have an equal chance with men for jobs in business or industry | 46.0 | 49.5 |
| A man should have preference over all women for any job that he can fill satisfactorily | 27.8 | 17.3 |
| Don't know | 4.5 | 4.7 |

**41.** (US Aug '46) Suppose a young couple want to get married, but the man isn't earning enough to support both of them. Should they wait until he is earning enough, or should the girl take a job so they can get married right away? (FOR)

| | BY SEX | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Wait* | *Girl should take a job* | *Depends* | *Don't know* |
| Men | 39.4% | 43.7% | 12.4% | 4.5% |
| Women | 33.2 | 49.8 | 12.2 | 4.8 |

**42.** (US Aug '46) On the whole, who do you think has the more interesting time, the woman who is holding a full-time job, or the woman who is running a home? (FOR)

| | BY SEX | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Woman with full-time job* | *Woman running a home* | *No difference* | *Don't know* |
| Men | 27.1% | 49.2% | 8.4% | 15.3% |
| Women | 32.0 | 49.7 | 7.8 | 10.5 |

**43.** (Hungary Nov '46) Should the woman look for a job if her husband is well-paid and they have no children? Asked of a cross-section of Budapest men and women. (HIPOR)

| | BY SEX | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Men* | *Women* |
| Yes | 29.6% | 30.2% |
| No | 68 5 | 64.0 |
| Other | 1.9 | 5.8 |

Whose life is more amusing, the working woman's or the housewife's?

| | BY SEX | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Men* | *Women* |
| Working woman's | 51.9% | 61.2% |
| Housewife's | 36.6 | 26.4 |
| No answer | 11.5 | 12.4 |

Has a housewife spare time for paid or voluntary jobs, or does housework take all her time?

| | BY SEX | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Men* | *Women* |
| Takes all her time | 46.4% | 49.0% |
| Has spare time | 41.8 | 32.8 |
| Other; no answer | 11.8 | 18.2 |

**44.** (Hungary Nov '46) If a man cannot earn enough to keep a family, is it better to postpone marriage, or should the woman look for a job too? Asked of a cross-section of Budapest men and women. (HIPOR)

| | BY SEX | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Men* | *Women* |
| Wait | 41.0% | 26.0% |
| Woman earn also | 56.4 | 68.2 |
| Other; no answer | 2.6 | 5.8 |

**45.** (Norway Nov 8 '46) Do you consider it right or wrong that an unmarried woman in an official position keeps her job after having had a child? (NGI)

| | *Right* | *Wrong* | *Don't know* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 70% | 19% | 8% | 3% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 74% | 17% | 7% | 2% |
| Women | 67 | 22 | 8 | 3 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 18–25 years | 73% | 20% | 6% | 1% |
| 25–35 years | 75 | 16 | 6 | 3 |
| 35–50 years | 69 | 20 | 8 | 3 |
| 50 years and over | 66 | 21 | 9 | 4 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| High | 64% | 27% | 7% | 2% |
| Middle | 72 | 20 | 7 | 1 |
| Low | 70 | 19 | 8 | 3 |

**46.** (Sweden Nov 21 '46) Do you think it right for a married woman to have a professional job when her husband can earn the living of the family alone? (SGI)

| | *Right* | *Not right* | *Not right when she has child(ren)* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 23% | 58% | 14% | 5% |
| (Dec '46) | 23 | 58 | 14 | 5 |

**47.** (Canada Oct 17 '45) Do you think women should be given equal opportunity with men to compete for jobs in industry, or do you think employers should give men the first chance? (CIPO)

| | *Equal chance* | *Men first chance* | *Qualified* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 20% | 69% | 8% | 3% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 15% | 75% | 7% | 3% |
| Women | 25 | 62 | 9 | 4 |

## Military Service, Compulsory

**1.** (US Dec 18 '40) Would you be in favor of starting (now) to draft American (single) women between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-five to train them for jobs in wartime? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48% | 52% | 6% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 44% | 56% | |
| Women | 52 | 48 | |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–35 years (women only) | 54% | 46% | |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income group | 41% | 59% | |
| Middle income group | 44 | 56 | |
| Lower income group | 55 | 45 | |
| (Jan 9 '42) | | | |
| National total | 68% | 26% | 6% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 63% | 31% | 6% |
| Women | 73 | 20 | 7 |

BY AGE

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 21–35 years (women only)... | 75% | 19% | 6% |
| (Mar 27 '42) | | | |
| National total..... | 69% | 23% | 8% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men..... | 66% | 27% | 7% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–35 years (women only)... | 76% | 18% | 6% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic..... | 69% | 23% | 8% |
| East central..... | 70 | 22 | 8 |
| West central..... | 68 | 24 | 8 |
| South..... | 72 | 18 | 10 |
| Far West..... | 69 | 25 | 6 |

**2.** (US Feb 2 '41) Do you think that girls between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, who are out of high school, should spend one year in a training camp learning things useful to our defense program? (AIPO)

Yes 56% No 34% Don't know 10%

**3.** (Great Britain Nov '41) Would you approve or disapprove if the government used compulsory measures in getting women into the Ats, Waafs, Wrens? (BIPO)

Approve 55% Disapprove 35% Don't know 10%

**4.** (Great Britain Dec 19 '41) Do you approve of conscripting for national service women up to fifty years of age? (BIPO)

Yes 46% No 44% Don't know 10%

**5.** (Australia May '42) Should single women be called up for war work as they are needed? (APOP)

Yes 82% No 10% Undecided 8%

**6.** (Australia July–Aug '42) If the government began a compulsory transfer of single women from non-essential industries to war work, would you approve or disapprove? (APOP)

Approve 75% Disapprove 18% Undecided 7%

**7.** (Great Britain Aug 22 '42) Do you think that the call-up of women is or is not working fairly? (BIPO)

Fairly 39% Unfairly 37% Don't know 24%

**8.** (US Aug 18 '43) Do you favor drafting single women between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-five to serve in the WACS, WAVES or other similar branches of the armed services? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided (No opinion)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 45% | 48% | 7% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men..... | 39% | 54% | 7% |
| Women..... | 51 | 42 | 7 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–35 years (women only)... | 58% | 36% | 6% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic..... | 45% | 49% | 6% |
| East central..... | 46 | 48 | 6 |
| West central..... | 42 | 51 | 7 |
| South..... | 44 | 46 | 10 |
| Far West..... | 47 | 46 | 7 |
| (Nov 9 '43) National total | 46% | 46% | 8% |
| (Mar 15 '44).. .. .. | 40 | 51 | 9 |

**9.** (Great Britain Aug 22 '43) Do you agree or disagree that women between forty-six and fifty years of age should be called up for national service? (BIPO)

Yes 24% No 70% Don't know 6%

**10.** (US Sept 10 '43) The army can either draft 300,000 single women aged twenty-one to thirty-five for the WACS for non-fighting jobs, or it can draft the same number of married men with families for the same work. Which plan would you favor? (AIPO)

| | *Single women* | *Married men* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 81% | 13% | 6% |
| BY SEX AND FAMILY STATUS | | | |
| Men..... | 78% | 22% | |
| Women..... | 84 | 16 | |
| Men (married with children). | 80 | 20 | |
| (Oct 23 '43) | | | |
| National total..... | 73% | 19% | 8% |
| BY SEX AND MARITAL STATUS | | | |
| Women..... | 77% | 16% | 7% |
| Men..... | 68 | 23 | 9 |
| Single women..... | 72 | 23 | 5 |
| Married men..... | 70 | 21 | 9 |
| (Dec 3 '43) | | | |
| National total..... | 78% | 15% | 7% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Women..... | 81% | 12% | 7% |
| Men..... | 75 | 17 | 8 |
| (Mar 10 '44) | | | |
| National total..... | 75% | 16% | 9% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men..... | 72% | 19% | 9% |
| Women..... | 78 | 13 | 9 |
| (Apr 2 '44) | | | |
| National total..... | 76% | 16% | 8% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–35 years (single women only)..... | 75% | 18% | 7% |

**11.** (US Jan 4 '44) So that more fathers will not be drafted, would you favor giving local draft boards the right to draft single women between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-five for non-fighting jobs with the armed forces? (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 32% No opinion 8%

**12.** (US Feb 16 '44) Would you favor giving local draft boards the right to draft single women between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-five for non-fighting jobs with the armed forces? (AIPO)

Yes 56% No 36% No opinion 8%

**13.** (US Apr 12 '44) Do you think that single women between the ages of twenty-one and thirty should be drafted for service in the WACS, to take over non-fighting jobs of young army men to release them for active combat? (AIPO)

Yes 47% No 44% No opinion 9%

**14.** (US Feb 28 '45) After the war is over, do you think young women should be required to take one year's training in the women's branches of the armed services? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total..... | 22% | 71% | 7% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men..... | 19% | 74% | 7% |
| Women..... | 25 | 68 | 7 |

**15.** (Great Britain Feb '45) Do you approve or disapprove of the government's decision to draft women's services overseas? (BIPO)

Yes 43% No 39% Don't know 18%

**16.** (US Oct 31 '45) In the future, do you think that all able-bodied young women should be required to spend one year being trained for civilian defense or other work that would be useful in wartime? (AIPO)

Yes 29% No 63% No opinion 8%

**17.** (Australia Dec '44) Do you approve, or oppose, the compulsory call up of single women for war work? (APOP)

Approve 73% Oppose 20% Undecided 7%

## Social and Moral Questions

**1.** (Canada Sept 30 '42) It has been suggested that women should not be allowed in places where alcoholic beverages are sold by the glass. Do you agree or disagree? (CIPO)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 60% | 35% | 5% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 58% | 35% | 7% |
| Women | 63 | 34 | 3 |

**2.** (US Aug 4 '45) Do you think a woman whose husband is overseas should accept dates with other men? A comparable cross-section was asked: What do you think about the idea of servicemen's wives having dates with other men while their husbands are overseas? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *No* | *Yes* | *Yes, qualified* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 85% | 6% | 5% | 4% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 83% | 7% | 4% | 6% |
| Women | 87 | 5 | 6 | 2 |

**3.** (Canada Sept 19 '45) In some provinces, women are not allowed to enter beverage rooms (beer parlors). Do you approve or disapprove of beverage rooms for women? (CIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 31% | 63% | 6% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 34% | 60% | 6% |
| Women | 28 | 66 | 6 |

## Suffrage

**1.** (France Nov 1 '44) Are you in favor of votes for women? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 64% |
| No | 28 |
| Yes, under certain conditions | 3 |
| No opinion | 5 |

Why? Asked of 28% of the sample of Parisians who were not in favor of votes for women.

| | |
|---|---|
| For reasons of principle | 11% |
| Political ineptitude of women | 7 |
| Various hazards in the female vote | 3 |
| Other reasons | 4 |
| No answer | 3 |

Why? Asked of 64% of the sample of Parisians who were in favor of votes for women.

| | |
|---|---|
| For reasons of principle | 37% |
| Political opportunism | 7 |
| A woman is more competent of certain questions | 5 |
| The reform won't do any harm | 3 |
| Other reasons | 3 |
| No answer | 9 |

**2.** (France Nov 1 '44) Do you think that women's votes will affect the outcome of the next elections? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

Yes 54% No 32% No opinion 14%

In what direction do you think women's votes will tend to sway the elections? Asked of 54% of the sample who thought that women's votes would affect the outcome of the next elections.

| | |
|---|---|
| Toward the left | 14% |
| Toward the center | 12 |
| Toward both extremes at the same time | 10 |
| Toward the right | 7 |
| No opinion | 11 |

**3.** (Belgium Apr–June '46) Are you in favor of women voting for the legislative elections? (INSOC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 61% | 30% | 9% |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Urban | 61% | 30% | 9% |
| Rural | 61 | 29 | 10 |
| Industrial | 58 | 33 | 9 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farm and farm labor | 65% | 28% | 7% |
| Workers and artisans | 50 | 37 | 13 |
| Employers and executives | 67 | 28 | 5 |
| Merchants, manufacturers, foremen | 62 | 32 | 6 |
| Liberal professions | 58 | 37 | 5 |
| Property holders | 53 | 38 | 9 |
| Unemployed women | 67 | 22 | 11 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 55% | 37% | 8% |
| Women | 68 | 21 | 11 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–34 years | 60% | 30% | 10% |
| 35–49 years | 62 | 30 | 8 |
| 50–64 years | 61 | 30 | 9 |
| 65 years and over | 55 | 35 | 10 |

## Wages

**1.** (Great Britain Oct '41) Do you think that women should or should not be paid the same wages as men if they are doing the same work? (BIPO)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 68% | 26% | 6% |
| (Dec 27 '42) | 68 | 27 | 5 |

(US Sept 19 '45) Do you think women should or should not receive the same rate of pay as men for the same work? (AIPO)

Should 76% Should not 17% Don't know 7%

**2.** (Australia Oct '41) Do you favor equal pay for men and women doing the same work? (APOP)

| | *Favor* | *Against* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 59% | 33% | 8% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Well-to-do | 36% | 58% | 6% |
| Comfortably off | 52 | 42 | 6 |
| Artisans, etc | 63 | 27 | 10 |
| Lowest incomes | 67 | 26 | 7 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | |
| Capital cities | 58% | 32% | 10% |
| Other cities and towns | 60 | 35 | 5 |
| Rural | 56 | 38 | 6 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Labor | 67% | 25% | 8% |
| Other | 51 | 42 | 7 |

**3.** (Australia July '44) If a woman is doing much the same work as a man, should she be paid the same wage or less? (APOP)

Equal pay 72% Oppose it 23% Undecided 5%

**4.** (US Feb 13 '42) If women take the place of men in industry, should they be paid the same wages as men? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 78% | 14% | 8% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 71% | 20% | 9% |
| Women | 85 | 7 | 8 |
| (Canada Nov 18 '42) (CIPO) | | | |
| National total | 79% | 16% | 5% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 73% | 20% | 7% |
| Women | 86 | 11 | 3 |

**5.** (Australia Sept–Oct '42) If women take over men's jobs for the duration, should they be paid full male award rates, or less? (APOP)

Full male rates 68% Less 28% Undecided 4%

**6.** (Australia July '43) Do you think that, in normal times, equal pay for men and women would greatly reduce women's desire for marriage and a family—or would it make no difference? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Greatly reduce | 45% |
| Slightly reduce | 18 |
| No difference | 34 |
| No answer | 3 |

**7.** (Sweden Dec '44) Do you consider it right, as a matter of principle, that women, notwithstanding men's capacity as breadwinners of the family, should receive the same pay for equal work? (SGI)

| | *Right* | *Wrong* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 71% | 20% | 9% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 70% | 24% | 6% |
| Women | 72 | 16 | 12 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 64% | 28% | 8% |
| Middle class | 68 | 24 | 8 |
| Workers | 74 | 17 | 9 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Country | 70% | 20% | 10% |
| Town | 71 | 22 | 7 |

Do you think that the equal wage principle should apply, in those cases where men and women do exactly the same work (for instance, certain jobs in factories, offices, or civil service)? Asked of 20% of the sample who thought it wrong for women to receive the same wages as men.

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 36% | 53% | 11% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 33% | 58% | 9% |
| Women | 42 | 45 | 13 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 23% | 69% | 8% |
| Middle class | 38 | 55 | 7 |
| Workers | 36 | 48 | 16 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Country | 42% | 49% | 9% |
| Town | 28 | 59 | 13 |

**8.** (Sweden Dec '44) If equal wages are introduced, do you think that, on the whole, women will be able to assert themselves in the field of work in competition with men? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 30% | 51% | 19% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 24% | 62% | 14% |
| Women | 36 | 39 | 25 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 30% | 53% | 17% |
| Middle class | 30 | 53 | 17 |
| Workers | 30 | 48 | 22 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Country | 27% | 52% | 21% |
| Town | 36 | 48 | 16 |

**9.** (US Sept 19 '45) If a young single woman is doing exactly the same kind of work as a married man with children (and doing the work equally as well), do you think she should (or should not) receive (exactly) the same rate of pay? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 66% | 28% | 6% |
| (Australia Aug '46) (APOP) | 56 | 39 | 5 |

**10.** (US June 12 '46) It has been suggested that women ought to be paid a regular weekly wage by their husbands for the work they do in the home. Do you approve or disapprove of this? (AIPO)

Approve 26% Disapprove 64% No answer 10%

**11.** (US Aug '46) Sometimes women get paid less than men for doing exactly the same jobs. Do you think there is often a good reason for this, or that women should always be paid the same as men? (POR)

| | *Good reason* | *Paid same* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 28.3% | 64.7% | 7.0% |
| Women | 18.9 | 72.0 | 9.1 |

**12.** (Hungary Nov '46) Should a woman earn the same amount as a man if she is as competent? Asked of a cross-section of Budapest men and women. (HIPOR)

BY SEX

| | Yes | No | Other, no answer |
|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 77% | 22% | 1% |
| Women | 85 | 12 | 3 |

## WOMEN AS SOLDIERS

**1.** (Great Britain Nov '41) Would you approve or disapprove if women were allowed to become fighting members of the forces? (BIPO)

Approve 25% Disapprove 65% Don't know 10%

**2.** (US Jan 4 '44) If you had a daughter or sister, which branch of the armed services would you prefer that she join—the WACS, WAVES, SPARS, or the Marines? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| WACS | 19% |
| WAVES | 27 |
| SPARS | 2 |
| Nurses | 1 |
| Marines | 12 |
| Join none | 11 |
| Undecided | 28 |

Would you urge her [your daughter or sister] to join [the armed services]?

Yes 31% No 60% No opinion 9%

**3.** (Great Britain Jan 18 '44) After the war should the women's services (ATS, WAAF, WREN) continue or should they be discontinued? (BIPO)

Continued 34% Discontinued 51% Don't know 15%

**4.** (US May 18 '44) Do you think there is greater need or less need for women to join the WACS, WAVES, and other branches of the armed forces than there was a few months ago? (NORC)

Greater 59% Same 11% Less 8% Don't know 22%

Why? Asked of 8% of the sample who thought there was less need for women to join the armed forces.

| | |
|---|---|
| Needs have been met; quotas are filled | 3% |
| Women have been unnecessarily taken | 2 |
| Women should not be used | 2 |
| There are available men to do the work | 1 |
| Women needed as much as men—or more—in civilian jobs | * |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**5.** (US June 26 '46) It has been proposed that a WAC Corps (Women's Army Corps) be continued in the army during peacetime, starting with about five thousand members. Do you approve or disapprove of this? (AIPO)

Approve 42% Disapprove 45% No opinion 13%

## WOMEN IN PUBLIC LIFE

**1.** (US Nov 4 '36) Should President Roosevelt name any more women to his new cabinet? (AIPO)

Yes 35% No 65% = 100% No opinion 12%

**2.** (US Nov 20 '36) Do we need more women in politics? (AIPO)

Yes 38% No 62% = 100% No opinion 4%

**3.** (US Feb 21 '37) Are you in favor of permitting women to serve as jurors in this state? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 69% | 31% |
| **BY SPECIAL GROUP** | | |
| Women | 78% | 22% |
| Young people | 76 | 24 |
| Farmers | 65 | 35 |
| Reliefers | 57 | 43 |
| **BY STATE** | | |
| Alabama | 65% | 35% |
| Arizona | 68 | 32 |
| Arkansas* | 62 | 38 |
| California* | 74 | 26 |
| Colorado | 59 | 41 |
| Connecticut | 80 | 20 |
| Delaware* | 74 | 26 |
| Florida | 60 | 40 |
| Georgia | 39 | 61 |
| Idaho | 72 | 28 |
| Illinois | 68 | 32 |
| Indiana* | 64 | 36 |
| Iowa* | 84 | 16 |
| Kansas* | 71 | 29 |
| Kentucky* | 56 | 44 |
| Louisiana* | 57 | 43 |
| Maine* | 71 | 29 |
| Maryland | 69 | 31 |
| Massachusetts | 60 | 40 |
| Michigan* | 80 | 20 |
| Minnesota* | 73 | 27 |
| Mississippi | 58 | 42 |
| Missouri | 68 | 32 |
| Montana | 54 | 46 |
| Nebraska | 63 | 37 |
| Nevada* | 87 | 13 |
| New Hampshire | 72 | 28 |
| New Jersey* | 69 | 31 |
| New Mexico | 71 | 29 |
| New York | 64 | 36 |
| North Carolina | 70 | 30 |
| North Dakota* | 84 | 16 |
| Ohio* | 70 | 30 |
| Oklahoma | 73 | 27 |
| Oregon* | 85 | 15 |
| Pennsylvania* | 75 | 25 |
| Rhode Island* | 85 | 15 |
| South Carolina | 42 | 58 |
| South Dakota | 80 | 20 |
| Tennessee | 62 | 38 |
| Texas | 70 | 30 |
| Utah* | 70 | 30 |
| Vermont | 70 | 30 |
| Virginia | 60 | 40 |
| Washington* | 84 | 16 |
| West Virginia | 52 | 48 |
| Wisconsin* | 83 | 17 |
| Wyoming | 68 | 32 |

* States which permit women jurors.

**4.** (US Aug 15 '37) Would you vote for a woman for President if she was qualified in every other respect? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 34% | 66% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 27% | 73% |
| Women | 41 | 59 |

**5.** (US Jan 18 '38) Would you favor the appointment of a woman lawyer to be a judge on the United States Supreme Court? (AIPO)

Yes 37% No 58% No opinion 5%

**6.** (US July '37) Do you approve of women in high public office, such as governorships, the United States Senate, and the Cabinet? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *If single* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41.9% | 50.9% | 0.1% | 7.1% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 36.5% | 56.9% | 0.1% | 6.5% |
| Women | 47.6 | 44.6 | 0.2 | 7.6 |
| BY OPINION TOWARD MALE TEACHERS | | | | |
| Think male teachers are better for boys over 13 years | 36.4% | 57.6% | 0.1% | 5.9% |
| Think male teachers are not better for boys over 13 years | 50.4 | 44.7 | 0.1 | 4.8 |

**7.** (Sweden Aug '42) Do you think there should be more or fewer women in the Upper House, the local governments and magistracies, or are you satisfied as it is? (SGI)

| | *More* | *Fewer* | *All right* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 8% | 42% | 23% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 21% | 12% | 51% | 16% |
| Women | 32 | 3 | 34 | 31 |

**8.** (Canada Feb 13 '43) In most provinces, women are not allowed to serve on juries. Do you think women should serve on juries in Canada? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| French speaking | 32% | 56% | 12% |
| English speaking | 65 | 28 | 7 |

**9.** (Australia Mar '43) Speaking generally, do you approve or disapprove of women standing for Parliament? (APOP)

Approve 55% Disapprove 38% Undecided 7%

**10.** (Australia Apr '45) Do you think women should take part in the conferences which will plan the postwar world? Those who thought women should take part were then asked: Out of each ten at the conferences, how many should be women? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Opposed any women at conferences | 21% |
| Favored 1 in 10 | 5 |
| Favored 2 in 10 | 17 |
| Favored 3 in 10 | 16 |
| Favored 4 in 10 | 8 |
| Favored 5 in 10 | 28 |
| No opinion | 5 |

**11.** (Canada Apr 18 '45) Do you think women should or should not take part in international conferences to plan the postwar world? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 64% | 29% | 7% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Quebec | 38% | 53% | 9% |
| Rest of Canada | 72 | 22 | 6 |

**12.** (Canada Apr 18 '45) Out of each ten delegates at such conferences, how many do you think should be women? (CIPO)

Median average = 3

**13.** (US Dec 15 '45) A woman leader says not enough of the capable women are holding important jobs in the United States government. Do you agree or disagree with this? (AIPO)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 32% | 48% | 20% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 26% | 53% | 21% |
| Women | 38 | 43 | 19 |

**14.** (US Dec 15 '45) Would you approve or disapprove of having a capable woman in the President's cabinet? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 38% | 48% | 14% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 33% | 52% | 15% |
| Women | 43 | 43 | 14 |

**15.** (US Dec 15 '45) If the party whose candidate you most often support nominated a woman for President of the United States would you vote for her if she seemed best qualified for the job? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 55% | 12% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 29% | 58% | 13% |
| Women | 37 | 51 | 12 |

**16.** (US Dec 15 '45) Would you approve or disapprove of having a capable woman on the United States Supreme Court? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 47% | 40% | 13% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 42% | 46% | 12% |
| Women | 52 | 35 | 13 |

**17.** (US Dec 15 '45) If the party whose candidate you most often support nominated a woman for governor of this state, would you vote for her if she seemed best qualified for the job? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 35% | 9% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 52% | 40% | 8% |
| Women | 60 | 30 | 10 |

**18.** (Sweden Mar '46) Do you think that Sweden would be ruled better or worse if women had more to say in politics? (SGI)

| | Better | Worse | No difference | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24% | 29% | 34% | 13% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Women | 31% | 21% | 32% | 16% |
| Men | 16 | 37 | 36 | 11 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 23% | 34% | 33% | 10% |
| Middle class | 24 | 30 | 34 | 12 |
| Workers | 23 | 28 | 35 | 14 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Large towns | 28% | 30% | 33% | 9% |
| Other towns | 22 | 33 | 30 | 15 |
| Country | 23 | 28 | 36 | 13 |

In what way [would Sweden be ruled better if women had more to say in politics]? Asked of 24% of the sample who thought Sweden would be ruled better.

| | |
|---|---|
| Better for certain matters: They would work more for peace; take better care of economy, social relief; questions of women's rights; questions of the young; etc. | 52% |
| On the whole, better on account of certain qualities: Less quarrelsome and aggressive; less greedy for power; more practical; more idealistic; more intelligent; look deeper into things; more pliant | 9 |
| New faces needed; the woman's point of view to the fore | 7 |
| In favor, generally, of women using their influence; equality of the sexes | 12 |
| Don't know | 8 |
| No answer | 12 |

In what way [would Sweden be ruled worse if women had more to say in politics]? Asked of 29% of the sample who thought Sweden would be ruled worse.

| | |
|---|---|
| Women lack the qualities of leadership; not made to rule; lack a broad vision, cannot see the whole, see details only; not mature enough to handle the situation | 10% |
| No order, only discord; women not men's equals; talk too much; cannot discuss, only chat | 13 |
| Lack of judgment; lack logic; too emotional; too easy to influence; changeable; too impulsive; no will of their own | 7 |
| Women lack political interest; have no knowledge of the situation; politics no woman's matter; do not understand politics; politics for men; better that men decide | 21 |
| Women not suited to some things; not to foreign politics; not so practical | 3 |
| Women more suited to stay at home | 4 |
| Against women generally | 12 |
| Don't know | 10 |
| No answer | 20 |

**19.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The German public was asked whether it agreed or disagreed with the following statement: Women should be encouraged to participate in government. (OMGUS)

| | Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amzone | 53% | 44% | 3% |
| Berlin only | 65 | 35 | — |

**20.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The German public was asked whether it agreed or disagreed with the following statement: Women should not be allowed to become doctors, lawyers, or engineers. (OMGUS)

| | Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amzone | 35% | 62% | 3% |
| Berlin only | 31 | 69 | — |

**21.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The German public was asked whether it agreed or disagreed with the following statement: Only men are able to govern a nation. (OMGUS)

| | Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amzone | 63% | 34% | 3% |
| Berlin only | 60 | 40 | — |

**22.** (Norway June 14 '46) Do you think that Norway would be governed better, worse, or as now, if women went more actively into politics? (NGI)

| | Better | Worse | Just the same | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 39% | 13% | 32% | 16% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 27% | 18% | 42% | 13% |
| Women | 50 | 7 | 23 | 20 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 18–25 years | 32% | 12% | 37% | 19% |
| 25–35 years | 34 | 13 | 38 | 15 |
| 35–50 years | 41 | 14 | 31 | 14 |
| 50 years and over | 42 | 12 | 28 | 18 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| High | 52% | 13% | 26% | 9% |
| Middle | 44 | 10 | 35 | 11 |
| Low | 36 | 13 | 33 | 18 |

**23.** (US Aug '46) Do you think women should take as much interest in public affairs as men do, or do you think they shouldn't be expected to take as much interest in them as men? (FOR)

| BY SEX | Should | Should not | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 57.6% | 37.3% | 5.1% |
| Women | 61.6 | 32.3 | 6.1 |

**24.** (US Aug '46) Do you think that the position of mayor of the city should nearly always be held by a man or by a woman? (FOR)

| BY SEX | Man | Woman | Either | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 87.8% | 1.7% | 8.1% | 2.4% |
| Women | 87.0 | 1.2 | 8.0 | 3.8 |

**25.** (US Aug '46) Do you think that the position of head of the school board should nearly always be held by a man or by a woman? (FOR)

| BY SEX | Man | Woman | Either | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 72.6% | 6.5% | 16.2% | 4.7% |
| Women | 69.3 | 7.8 | 17.6 | 5.3 |

**26.** (US Aug '46) Do you think that the position of president of the Parent-Teacher Association should nearly always be held by a man or by a woman? (FOR)

| BY SEX | Man | Woman | Either | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 17.6% | 47.8% | 23.4% | 11.2% |
| Women | 14.1 | 54.7 | 21.4 | 9.8 |

# WORLD POLITICS

**1.** (US Mar 30 '38) Which nation can be least trusted to keep the treaties it makes? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany | 65%* |
| Japan | 28 |
| Italy | 26 |
| Russia | 7 |
| All others | 7 |
| No opinion | 36 |
| | 169%** |

* 65% of all those responding mentioned Germany. Some mentioned more than one country.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (US Mar '40) Which nation do you regard as the worst influence in Europe? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany | 55.3% |
| Russia | 34.2 |
| England | 1.8 |
| Italy | 1.2 |
| France | 0.3 |
| Don't know | 12.9 |
| | 105.7%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (US Aug '41) When the war is over, and whether we have been fighting in it or not, which one of these things would you rather have this country do? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Stay home, minding our own business, and try to keep out of trouble in the future | 25.6% |
| Make Germany so weak in comparison with other nations that she can never fight another war | 36.7 |
| Take a place of leadership in organizing world peace, but form no actual ties with other countries | 21.7 |
| Admit into a union with us all real democracies, giving each member votes in proportion to its population | 6.9 |
| Admit into a union with us all the other countries in North and South America, giving each member votes in proportion to its population | 5.7 |
| Don't know | 6.0 |
| | 102.6%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**4.** (US Dec '41) After the war, do you think the United States should play a larger part, about the same part, or a smaller part in world affairs than it did up to a couple of years ago? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Larger | 58.4% |
| About the same | 18.3 |
| Smaller | 10.1 |
| Don't know | 13.2 |

Which one of these is closest to the course you would like to see the United States follow? Asked of 58.4% of the sample who thought the United States should play a larger part in world affairs.

| | |
|---|---|
| Limit our activities to Western Hemisphere defense | 6.9% |
| Join a union of democracies in all parts of the world to keep order | 34.9 |
| Join forces with Great Britain to keep order | 6.4% |
| Try, all by ourselves, to keep order | 6.6 |
| Don't know | 3.6 |

**5.** (US June '43) After the war, do you think the United States should play a larger part, or a smaller part in world affairs than it did before the war? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Larger | 76.6% |
| Same | 12.1 |
| Smaller | 4.0 |
| Don't know | 7.3 |

**6.** (US Jan 16 '42) Which of these two things do you think the United States should try to do when the war is over—stay out of world affairs or take active part in world affairs? (OPOR)

Stay out 24% No answer 1% Take part 71% Undecided 4%

Which of these statements comes closest to what you think we should do? Asked of the 24% of the sample who felt the United States should stay out of world affairs:

| | |
|---|---|
| We should maintain a large armed force in our own country and have as little as possible ro do with the rest of the world | 9% |
| We should maintain a large enough armed force to protect North America, including Canada and Mexico, but have little to do with the rest of the world | 6 |
| We should maintain a large enough armed force to protect both North and South America but have little to do with the rest of the world | 8 |
| Other | * |
| No opinion | 1 |

Which of these statements comes closest to what you think we should do? Asked of the 71% who thought we should take an active part in world politics:

| | |
|---|---|
| We should do everything by ourselves that is necessary to protect our own national interests wherever they are | 23% |
| The United States and the British Empire should combine as one powerful English-speaking nation | 10 |
| The United States, the British Empire and other nations should join their people and resources into one big world organization | 36 |
| Other | 1 |

Are there any countries that you think should be kept out of such an organization? Asked of the 36% of the sample who thought the United States should join her people and resources in one world organization with Britain and other nations.

Yes 11% No 22% No answer 3%

Which countries should be kept out (of the world organization)? Asked of the 11% of the sample who thought some countries should be excluded from the world union.

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany | 7% |
| Japan | 7 |
| Italy | 4 |
| China, France, Spain, others | 1 |
| Russia | 1 |
| | 22%* |

* Percentages add to more than 11 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Feb 3 '42) Which of these two things do you think the United States should try to do when the war is over—stay out of world affairs or take active part in world affairs? (AIPO)

Stay out 21% Take active part 69% Undecided 10%

Which of these statements comes closest to what you think we should do? Asked of the 69% of the sample who thought

the United States should take an active part in world affairs when the war was over.

| | |
|---|---|
| We should do everything by ourselves that is necessary to protect our own national interests wherever they are | 19% |
| The United States and the British Empire should combine as one English-speaking nation | 5 |
| The United States and the British Empire and other nations should form a world organization | 43 |

(Mar 26 '42) Which of these two things do you think the United States should try to do when the war is over—stay out of world affairs or take active part in world affairs? (OPOR)

| | *Stay out* | *Take an active part* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 20% | 73% | 7% |
| (June 17 '42) | 21 | 67 | 12 |

If it should happen that there is trouble and other nations get ready again for war, do you think we should stay out of world affairs then? Asked of the 21% of the June 17 '42 sample who thought we should stay out of world affairs.

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 12% |
| No | 5 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| Couldn't happen | * |
| Other | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

Suppose our standard of living is reduced when we try to get along on what we grow and produce at home. Would you still think that it would be best to stay out of world affairs?

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 13% |
| No | 3 |
| Don't know | 3 |
| Couldn't happen | 1 |
| Others | * |
| No answer | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

Have you ever considered the possibility that we might have to keep up a large army, navy and air force at great expense to help police the world if we want to take an active part in world affairs? Asked of the 67% of the sample who thought we should take an active part in world affairs.

Yes 63% No 4%

Do you think this expense would be justified? Asked of the 63% of the sample who thought we should help police the world if we want to take an active part in world affairs.

Yes 61% No 1% Don't know 1%

If our trade with other countries after the war gets us involved in entangling alliances and power politics, as Europe always has been, would you still think it would be best to take an active part in world affairs?

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 54% |
| No | 7 |
| No answer | 2 |
| Don't know | 4 |

(Jan 27 '43) After this war, do you think the United States should stay out of world affairs or take an active part in world affairs? A comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think the United States should mind its own business and keep out of world affairs after this war, or should we take an active part in world affairs to try to prevent future wars? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Take active part* | *Stay out* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 76% | 14% | 10% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic voters | 78% | 12% | 10% |
| Republican voters | 76 | 15 | 9 |

**7.** (US Apr '42) As far as America and the rest of the world are concerned, which of these six policies comes closest to what you would like to see us do when the war is over? (1) Stay at home and have just as little as possible to do with any other country. (2) Have as little as possible to do with any countries in Europe and Asia, but form a new United States to include in one government all North and South American countries. (3) Use our influence to try to organize the world for peace, but form no actual ties with any other country. (4) Form a new league or association with all the nations of the world and take an active part in making it work. (5) Try to form some close connection with the British Empire (with the United States*). (6) Form a new United States to include in one government all democracies everywhere in the world. (FOR)

* Asked in Canada only.

| *Statement* | *1* | *2* | *3* | *4* | *5* | *6* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| National total | 11.1 | 6.9 | 26.2 | 34.3 | 3.5 | 8.4 | 9.6 |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | | | | | |
| | *(1) and (2)* | | | | | | |
| | % | | % | % | % | % | % |
| Well-informed | 11.9 | | 26.4 | 47.6 | 5.1 | 7.4 | 1.6 |
| Poorly informed | 19.1 | | 29.7 | 31.7 | 3.0 | 11.1 | 5.4 |
| Uninformed | 26.0 | | 22.8 | 16.5 | 1.7 | 7.8 | 25.2 |
| BY OPINION IN CANADA (RELEASED JUNE '42) | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Canadian total | 7.9 | 5.8 | 9.4 | 33.8 | 24.3 | 12.9 | 5.9 |
| BY SPECIAL GROUP (RELEASED JUNE '42) | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Business leaders | 3.5 | 4.4 | 22.4 | 43.6 | 9.9 | 6.8 | 9.4 |
| Intellectual leaders | 1.0 | 1.1 | 9.2 | 61.2 | 7.9 | 10.6 | 9.0 |
| BY HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS (RELEASED NOV '42) | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Students | 4.2 | 3.9 | 31.2 | 50.9 | 1.1 | 6.4 | 2.3 |
| BY FACTORY WORKERS (RELEASED FEB '43) | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Workers | 12.0 | 6.2 | 31.4 | 34.2 | 1.8 | 7.5 | 6.9 |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | | | | | |
| | *(1) and (2)* | | | | *(5) and (6)* | | |
| | % | | % | % | % | | % |
| Well-informed | 12.1 | | 37.0 | 43.0 | 6.2 | | 1.7 |
| Poorly informed | 15.1 | | 33.8 | 38.6 | 9.2 | | 3.3 |
| Uninformed | 23.5 | | 29.3 | 24.2 | 9.1 | | 13.9 |
| BY FARMERS (RELEASED APR '43) | | | | | | | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Farmers | 11.7 | 2.5 | 23.3 | 40.3 | .7 | 3.5 | 18.0 |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | | | | | |
| | *(1) and (2)* | | | | *(5) and (6)* | | *Don't know* |
| | % | | | | % | | % |
| Well-informed | 36.2 | | | | 60.6 | | 3.2 |
| Fairly well informed | 42.0 | | | | 46.1 | | 11.9 |
| Poorly informed | 33.3 | | | | 29.9 | | 36.8 |

**8.** (US June 3 '42) How far do you think the United States should go in taking part in world politics after the war? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, don't know | 10% |
| We should do our part | 8 |
| We should police the world | 5 |
| We should become leaders in a postwar world | 32 |
| We should send our ablest men to the peace conference | 1 |
| We should not participate at all | 9 |
| All the way | 21 |
| We should only see that the peace treaty is made as we would like to have it made | 4 |
| We should participate as much but not more than other countries | 4 |
| Police the world with Great Britain and USSR | 1 |
| Sanctity of treaties under United States supervision | 1 |
| Restore independence to conquered nations | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**9.** (US June 17 '42) Have you given any thought to the role the United States should take in world affairs when the war is over? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 59% |
| No | 26 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| No answer | 14 |

What part do you think the United States should play (in world affairs)? Asked of the 59% of the sample who had given some thought to the role the United States should play after the war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Economic and social readjustment | 1% |
| American Century; United States take leading part; run the world our way | 25 |
| Propose an international conference for peace | 2 |
| Active participation; vague phrases; partnership, United Nations | 19 |
| Advisory; promulgate democratic ideals, four freedoms | 5 |
| Prepare for and guard against next war; police world; strong army and navy | 4 |
| Set up a United States of Europe | * |
| Clean up Washington politics | * |
| Stay out of world affairs, mind our own business, etc. | 2 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 59% |

* Less than 0.5%.

Which of these two things do you think the United States should try to do when the war is over? Asked of 41% of the sample who had given no thought to the postwar role of the United States in world affairs and those who had no opinion on the subject.

| | |
|---|---|
| Stay out of world affairs | 13% |
| Take an active part | 19 |
| Don't know or unable to choose | 8 |
| No answer | 1 |

If it should happen that there is trouble and other nations get ready again for war, do you think we should stay out of world affairs then? Asked of the 13% of the sample who thought the United States should stay out of world affairs when the war was over.

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 7% |
| No | 4 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| Couldn't happen | * |
| Other | 1 |

Suppose our standard of living is reduced when we try to get along on what we grow and produce at home—would you still think that it would be best to stay out of world affairs? Asked of the 13% of the sample who thought that the United States should stay out of world affairs when the war was over.

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 8% |
| No | 2 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| Couldn't happen | 1 |
| Other | * |

Have you ever considered the possibility that we might have to keep up a large army, navy, and air force at great expense to help police the world if we want to take an active part in world affairs? Asked of the 19% of the sample who thought the United States should take an active part in world affairs when the war was over.

Yes 16% No 3%

Do you think that this expense would be justified? Asked of the 16% of the sample who thought we might have to keep up a large army, navy, and air force to help police the world if we take an active part in world affairs.

Yes 15% No * Don't know *

* Less than 0.5%.

If our trade with other countries after the war gets us involved in entangling alliances and power politics, as Europe always has been, would you still think it would be best to take an active part in world affairs? Asked of the 19% of the sample who thought the United States should take an active part in world affairs after the war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 11% |
| No | 4 |
| Don't know | 3 |
| No answer | 1 |

**10.** (US July '42) As a result of this war, do you think the United States will be more powerful, less powerful, or have about the same amount of power as before the war? Will Russia? Germany? Britain? Japan? China? Italy? (FOR)

| | *United States* | *Russia* | *China* | *Britain* | *Italy* | *Japan* | *Germany* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| More | 72.6 | 57.3 | 54.8 | 25.3 | 1.2 | 1.7 | 1.1 |
| Same | 16.8 | 16.7 | 21.4 | 27.9 | 7.6 | 3.4 | 2.3 |
| Less | 3.9 | 7.1 | 8.1 | 34.0 | 77.5 | 85.8 | 89.2 |
| Don't know | 6.7 | 18.9 | 15.7 | 12.8 | 13.7 | 9.1 | 7.4 |

**11.** (US Nov 17 '42) Do you think the United States should take an active part with other nations in running the world after the war is over? (AIPO)

Yes 77% No 14% No opinion 9%

**12.** (US June '43) Which one of these statements comes closest to what you would like to see us do when the war is over? (1) Stay on our side of the oceans and have as little as possible to do with Europe and Asia. (2) Try to keep the world at peace, but make no definite agreements with other countries. (3) Take an active part in some sort of international organization with a courr and police force strong enough to enforce its decisions. (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 13.0% | 25.2% | 56.6% | 5.2% |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | | |
| Well-informed | 5.4% | 15.5% | 77.7% | 1.4% |
| Poorly informed | 10.7 | 26.0 | 61.4 | 1.9 |
| Uninformed | 22.0 | 33.5 | 33.3 | 11.2 |

(Aug '43) Asked of a national cross-section of women between the ages of 21 and 35 years.

| *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 15.2% | 32.8% | 46.6% | 5.4% |

(Oct '43) Asked of a national cross-section of business executives.

| *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5.1% | 23.0% | 70.6% | 1.3% |

**13.** (US Mar '44) Which of these comes closest to expressing what you would like to have the United States do after the war? (1) Enter into no alliances and have as little as possible to do with other countries. (2) Depend only on separate alliances with certain countries. (3) Take an active part in an international organization. (FOR)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 12.7% | 7.7% | 68.1% | 11.5% |
| (Aug '45) | 9.0 | 4.4 | 75.3 | 11.3 |

**14.** (US Apr 25 '44) Do you agree with those people who think that the United States should take an active part in world affairs after the war, or with those people who think we should stay out of world affairs? (AIPO)

| | *Take active part* | *Stay out* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 73% | 18% | 9% |
| Middle West | 72 | 18 | 10 |

**15.** (Canada May 17 '44) Do you think the Dominions and Britain should send delegates to an Empire Council to try to plan how they will deal with other countries in the world? (CIPO)

Favor Council 81% Oppose Council 9% No opinion 10%

**16.** (Canada May 17 '44) If this (Empire Council) were done, do you think Canada and the other British nations should agree to deal with other countries in whatever way the majority of such a council decided, or do you think Canada should be free to act by herself? (CIPO)

| | *Majority rule* | *Canada free* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40% | 50% | 10% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Quebec | 21% | 66% | 13% |
| Rest of Canada | 46 | 45 | 9 |

**17.** (US Feb 20 '45) Not counting the United States, which country do you think will be the leading world power after the war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia | 71% |
| England | 20 |
| Russia and England | 2 |
| Germany | * |
| France | 1 |
| Didn't say | 5 |
| Other | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**18.** (US Feb 20 '45) After the war, which country do you think will actually have the most influence in world affairs? (AIPO)

| *Germany* | *USA* | *USSR* | *England* | *USA and/or USSR* | *USA and England* | *Other* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| * | 59% | 27% | 7% | 2% | * | 1% | 4% |
| (May 15 '45) | | | | | | | |
| — | 63 | 24 | 5 | 2 | 1% | — | 5 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**19.** (Sweden June '45) Which country do you think will have the greatest influence in the world after the war? (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| England | 8% |
| Russia | 21 |
| United States | 50 |
| Others | 1 |
| No single country | 4 |
| Don't know | 16 |

**20.** (Canada July 11 '45) After the war with Japan is over, which country do you think will have the most influence in world affairs? (CIPO)

USA 36% Russia 24% Britain 19%

**21.** (Denmark July 22 '45) Which country do you think will have the greatest political and economic influence in the post-war period? (DGP)

| | |
|---|---|
| USA | 21.1% |
| Russia | 19.2 |
| America and England | 12.0 |
| England | 9.3 |
| America and Russia | 6.4 |
| Other combinations of the Allies | 3.8 |
| Other answers | 0.3 |
| Don't know | 27.9 |

**22.** (Australia Sept–Oct '45) Which country do you expect to have the most influence in world affairs? (APOP)

USA 50% Russia 19% Britain 26%

**23.** (US Mar '45) Generally speaking, what country would you say has the most influence in the world today? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| United States | 76% |
| England | 7 |
| Russia | 10 |
| Big Three | * |
| USA and/or England | * |
| USA and/or Russia | 1 |
| England and/or Russia | * |
| Germany or Japan | 1 |
| Miscellaneous other countries | * |
| Don't know | 5 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**24.** (France Mar 16 '45) After the war, will the United States follow an isolationist policy or will they share in organizing a world peace? (FIPO)

Help organize peace 63% Isolationist 16% No opinion 21%

**25.** (Sweden June '45) Which country do you think will have the greatest influence in Europe after the war? (SGI)

| | *USA* | *USSR* | *England* | *None more than another* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 13% | 49% | 19% | 4% | 15% |

| | *USA* | *USSR* | *England* | *None more than another* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Upper class | 7% | 62% | 17% | 2% | 12% |
| Middle class | 12 | 50 | 21 | 4 | 13 |
| Workers | 13 | 47 | 18 | 5 | 17 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| North Sweden | 10% | 49% | 19% | 6% | 16% |
| Dalärna | 10 | 45 | 23 | 2 | 20 |
| Mälar district | 13 | 50 | 16 | 4 | 17 |
| Stockholm | 8 | 55 | 19 | 5 | 13 |
| East Gotland | 14 | 44 | 20 | 4 | 18 |
| Skåne | 17 | 49 | 18 | 3 | 13 |
| Bovä | 13 | 49 | 19 | 4 | 15 |

**26.** (Great Britain Aug 26 '45) Which country do you think will have the most influence in world affairs during the next five years? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| USA | 48% |
| Russia | 31 |
| Great Britain | 14 |
| No one country | 1 |
| Others | 1 |
| Don't know, no answer | 5 |

**27.** (US Oct 3 '45) Do you think it would be best for the future of this country if we take an active part in world affairs, or if we stay out of world affairs? (AIPO)

| | *Active part* | *Stay out* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 71% | 19% | 10% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 68% | 20% | 12% |
| East central | 71 | 19 | 10 |
| West central | 70 | 21 | 9 |
| South | 68 | 17 | 15 |
| Far West | 80 | 15 | 5 |
| (Feb 27 '46) | | | |
| National total | 72% | 22% | 6% |
| Veterans only | 80 | 17 | 3 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 72% | 22% | 6% |
| Republicans | 72 | 23 | 5 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 71% | 25% | 4% |
| East central | 74 | 20 | 6 |
| West central | 71 | 23 | 6 |
| South | 69 | 23 | 8 |
| Mountain states and Far West | 77 | 18 | 5 |
| (Nov 13 '46) | 77 | 19 | 4 |

**28.** (Australia Dec '45 to Jan '46) Do you think America, Russia and Britain could work together in a world government open to all nations? (APOP)

Yes 49% No 39% No opinion 12%

**29.** (Australia Dec '45 to Jan '46) Some people say Britain and America should now tell Russia they are prepared to join a world government of all nations, and to give it their secrets on the atomic bomb. Do you favor or oppose that suggestion? (APOP)

Favor 44% Oppose 41% No opinion 15%

**30.** (France Jan 16 '46) In your opinion, which are the five greatest powers in the world, ranked in order? (FIPO)

| | *1st rank* | *2nd rank* | *3rd rank* | *4th rank* | *5th rank* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| United States | 72% | 24% | 2% | 1% | — |
| Russia | 24 | 53 | 17 | 5 | 1% |
| Great Britain | 2 | 20 | 64 | 11 | 1 |
| France | 1 | 1 | 8 | 58 | 25 |
| China | — | 1 | 6 | 15 | 40 |
| Canada | — | — | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Germany | — | — | 1 | 3 | 9 |
| Japan | — | — | — | 1 | 3 |
| Others | — | — | — | 1 | 9 |
| Don't know | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 9 |

**31.** (US Jan 23 '46) Do you believe any nation(s) would like to dominate or run the world? (AIPO)

Yes 59% No 27% No opinion 14%

Which nation(s)? Asked of the 59% of the sample who thought some nation(s) would like to run the world.

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia | 39% |
| Britain | 19 |
| Germany | 15 |
| Japan | 9 |
| United States | 3 |
| Others | 2 |
| All big nations | 2 |
| No specific reply | 1 |
| No nation | 27 |
| No opinion | 14 |
| | 131%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Australia Feb–Mar '46). (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia | 33% |
| United States | 5 |
| Russia and United States | 2 |
| Russia and Britain | — |
| Britain | 3 |
| Germany | 1 |
| Japan | — |
| Others | 4 |
| No nation | 37 |
| Undecided | 15 |

**32.** (Canada Mar 18 '46) Now that Germany and Japan are defeated, do you believe that any nation wants to dominate the world? (CIPO)

Yes 58% No 27% Undecided 14%

Which country? Asked of the 58% of the sample who believed one nation wanted to dominate the world.

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia | 50% |
| USA | 3 |
| Britain | 3 |
| Germany and Japan | 1 |
| Other countries | 1 |
| No nation | 27 |
| Undecided | 14 |

**33.** (France Apr 1 '46) Is there, in your opinion, any nation who wants to dominate the world? (FIPO)

Yes 68% No 11% No opinion 21%

Which one? Asked of the 68% of the sample who thought one nation wanted to dominate the world.

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia | 26% |
| United States | 25 |
| Both Russia and the United States | 12 |
| Britain | 3 |
| Others | 2 |
| No nation | 11 |
| No opinion | 21 |

**34.** (US Mar 13 '46) In general, do you approve or disapprove of the policy Russia is following in world affairs? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 7% | 71% | 22% |
| (July 24 '46) | 7 | 71 | 22 |

Why do you think she (Russia) is acting as she does? Asked of the 71% of the July 24 '46 sample who disapproved of the policy Russia was following.

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, don't know | 10% |
| She wants world control | 16 |
| She wants more power, enforce position as world power | 25 |
| She wants to rule Europe | 2 |
| She distrusts US, Allies; fears Allies | 10 |
| Wants her own way, selfish, greedy | 13 |
| Trying to control small countries | 1 |
| Communism vs capitalism, neither understands the other | 6 |
| Isolationist | 1 |
| To incite trouble in the United States | 2 |
| Wants atom bomb secret | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 15 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**35.** (US Mar 13 '46) In general, do you approve or disapprove of the policy England is following in world affairs? (AIPO)

Approve 24% Disapprove 51% No opinion 25%

**36.** (Germany Apr 15 '46) In your opinion, which country will have the greatest influence on world affairs during the next ten years? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 1% |
| America | 58 |
| Russia | 11 |
| England | 2 |
| America and England | 6 |
| America and Russia | 6 |
| Germany | * |
| France | * |
| China | * |
| Sweden | * |
| Don't know, no opinion, can't say | 14 |
| Iraq and Iran | * |

*Fractions indicated by * total 2%.

Why [do you think that country will have the greatest influence in world affairs in the next ten years]? Asked of the 85% which mentioned a country which would be influential.

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer, don't know, no opinion | 2% |
| It is strongest; general replies | 9 |
| It has the greatest military strength; big army; atom bomb | 12 |
| Has greatest economic strength; richest, most resourceful; most food | 30 |
| Greatest political strength; most influence; best ideas and leadership; wants peace | 15 |
| Is best liked | 1 |
| Is most feared | * |
| Wants to dominate; wants to spread ideas; wants to become a world power; Bolshevism requires world revolution | 8 |
| Conqueror won the war | 4% |
| Other | 1 |
| Best country, I think so, hope so | 2 |
| Warnings against Russia, Communism, Bolshevism | 1 |

**37.** (US May 15 '46) As you hear and read about Russia these days, do you believe that Russia is trying to build herself up to be the ruling power of the world, or is Russia just building up protection against being attacked in another war? (AIPO)

| | *Ruling power* | *Protection* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 58% | 29% | 13% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional and business | 52% | 36% | 12% |
| White-collar | 55 | 33 | 12 |
| Farmers | 59 | 29 | 12 |
| Manual workers | 60 | 26 | 14 |
| (July 24 '46) National total | 60% | 26% | 14% |

**38.** (Australia July 27 '46) Do you believe that Russia is just building up protection against being attacked—or is she trying to make herself the ruling power of the world? (APOP)

| | *Ruling power* | *Protection* | *Uncertain* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48% | 27% | 18% | 17% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Labor | 43% | 33% | 18% | 6% |
| Non-labor | 58 | 19 | 17 | 6 |

**39.** (US June 12 '46) Would you be willing to have the United States turn over control of all her armed forces and war weapons, including atomic bombs, to a world parliament or congress, provided that all other countries did the same? (AIPO)

Yes 40% No 51% No opinion 9%

**40.** (Canada July 13 '46) Would you be willing to have Canada turn over control of all her armed forces and munitions, including atomic bomb materials, to a world parliament, provided leading countries did the same? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 59% | 29% | 12% |
| Quebec only | 37 | 50 | 13 |
| BY MILITARY STATUS | | | |
| Veterans World War I | 60% | 32% | 8% |
| Veterans World War II | 62 | 30 | 8 |
| Civilians | 58 | 29 | 13 |

**41.** (Great Britain Sept 14 '46) Provided leading countries did the same, should Britain turn over her armed forces, with all atom bomb materials, to a world parliament? (BIPO)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 50% | 27% | 23% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 56% | 29% | 15% |
| Women | 44 | 24 | 32 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 52% | 26% | 22% |
| 30–49 years | 55 | 25 | 20 |
| 50 years and over | 44 | 28 | 28 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 55% | 31% | 14% |
| Middle | 58 | 27 | 15 |
| Lower | 47 | 26 | 27 |
| Very poor | 38 | 28 | 34 |

**42.** (Norway May 17 '46) Which country do you think will have the greatest political influence in Europe in the next few years? (NGI)

| | *USSR* | *USA* | *Great Britain* | *USA and Great Britain* | *USA and USSR* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 27% | 10% | 1% | 1% | 18% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | |
| Men | 50% | 24% | 10% | 2% | 1% | 13% |
| Women | 36 | 29 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 23 |
| BY AGE | | | | | | |
| 18–25 years | 42% | 26% | 14% | 1% | 2% | 15% |
| 25–35 years | 49 | 25 | 8 | 1 | 1 | 16 |
| 35–50 years | 43 | 26 | 9 | 2 | 1 | 19 |
| 50 years and over | 37 | 29 | 10 | 2 | 2 | 20 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| High | 35% | 32% | 21% | 1% | — | 11% |
| Middle | 42 | 28 | 10 | 2 | 2% | 16 |
| Low | 44 | 26 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 19 |

**43.** (US June 12 '46) Would you be willing to have the United States turn over control of her foreign affairs to such a world government,* if all other countries in the world did the same? (AIPO)

Yes 42% No 47% No opinion 11%

* A world parliament or congress.

**44.** (US July '46) Do you think Russia has only been trying to get herself into a defensive position safe from attack, or that she is out to dominate as much of the world as possible? (FOR)

| | *Defensive position* | *Dominate world* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33.8% | 50.0% | 16.2% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| Grade school | 23.5% | 47.8% | 28.7% |
| High school | 35.7 | 53.4 | 10.9 |
| College | 46.0 | 46.7 | 7.3 |

**45.** (Hungary Dec '46) Where do you think there are still a considerable number of problems unsolved in world policy? (HIPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Spain | 18.7% |
| Greece | 13.1 |
| Czechoslovakia-Hungary | 11.4 |
| Palestine | 8.3 |
| Germany | 8.3 |
| China | 7.9 |
| India | 7.5 |
| Turkey | 5.2 |
| Europe | 5.0 |
| Everywhere | 5.0 |
| Japan | 5.0 |
| Balkan | 4.9 |
| America-South America | 3.4 |
| England-Russia | 3.4 |
| Near East | 2.2 |
| Persia | 1.2 |
| Trieste | 1.2% |
| Dutch Indies | 0.6 |
| Other | 3.9 |
| No answer | 31.4 |
| | 147.6%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## WORLD WAR 1939–1945

**1.** (US May 27 '38) Which side would your sympathies be with [if England and France have a war with Germany and Italy]? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| England and France | 65% |
| Germany and Italy | 3 |
| Neither side | 32 |

**2.** (Great Britain May '40) Do you think the allied governments have done everything possible to beat the Germans in Norway? (BIPO)

Yes 30% No 57% Don't know 13%

**3.** (US July 10 '41) It has been said recently that in order to keep the Germans out of North and South America, we must prevent them from capturing the islands off the west coast of Africa. Do you think we should try to keep the Germans out of the islands off the west coast of Africa? (OPOR)

Yes 50% No 21% No opinion 29%

What is the main reason for your opinion? Asked of the 50% of the sample who thought we should try to keep the Germans out of the islands off the west coast of Africa.

| | |
|---|---|
| No comment or senseless | 2% |
| It is necessary for our protection | 46 |
| Roosevelt's policies are OK | 1 |
| If we can get them without fighting; other qualifications | 1 |

What is the reason for your opinion? Asked of 21% of the sample who did not think we should try to keep the Germans out of the islands off the west coast of Africa.

| | |
|---|---|
| No comment | 1% |
| It's a step toward war | 6 |
| It is none of our business | 3 |
| Others (it is unnecessary, it is impossible) | 3 |
| Too far away | 8 |

**4.** (US July 10 '41) President Roosevelt said recently that in order to keep the Germans out of North and South America we must prevent them from capturing the islands off the west coast of Africa. Do you think we should try to keep the Germans out of the islands off the west coast of Africa? (OPOR)

Yes 56% No 23% No opinion 21%

What is the main reason for your opinion? Asked of the 56% of the sample who thought that we should try to keep the Germans out of the islands off the west coast of Africa.

| | |
|---|---|
| No comment or senseless | 2% |
| It is necessary for our protection | 50 |
| Roosevelt's policies are OK | 3 |
| If we can get them without fighting; other qualifications | 1 |

What is the main reason for your opinion? Asked of the 23% of the sample who did not think we should try to keep the Germans out of the islands off the west coast of Africa.

| | |
|---|---|
| No comment | 1% |
| It's a step toward war | 5 |
| Don't like Roosevelt's policies | * |
| It's none of our business | 5 |
| Others (it is unnecessary, it is impossible) | 5 |
| Too far away | 7 |

**5.** (US Dec 19 '41) Do you think the United States, Britain, Russia, and their Allies should form a joint war council which would plan all war operations against the Axis powers? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 80% | 10% | 10% |
| (Jan 27 '43) National total | 74 | 9 | 17 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic voters | 74% | 8% | 18% |
| Republican voters | 75 | 10 | 15 |

**6.** (US Dec 19 '41) If such a [joint war] council is formed, should the army, navy, and air force of every country, including the United States, be controlled by the war council? (AIPO)

| *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|
| 68% | 15% | 17% |
| 66 | 15 | 19 |

**7.** (US Jan 5 '42) Britain's General Wavell has been made supreme commander of all the allied forces in the Far East, including our own. Do you approve or disapprove of having a British general in command of all the allied forces in the Far East? (NORC)

Approve 68% Disapprove 22% Don't know 10%

From what you know or have heard about Wavell, do you think he is the right man for the job? Asked of 68% of the sample who approved of having a British general in command of all allied forces in the Far East.

Yes 80% No 3% Don't know 17%

**8.** (Great Britain Feb '42) Do you think the Allies will be able to open a second front in Western Europe this year? (BIPO)

Yes 22% No 38% Don't know 40%

**9.** (Great Britain Mar '42) What do you think is the main reason for Japanese successes in the Far East? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Their preparedness and our lack of preparedness | 28% |
| Our out-of-date methods. Underestimation of the enemy. Slackness | 20 |
| Their up-to-date methods of waging war | 13 |
| Our lack of equipment, especially aircraft | 12 |
| They have more men; our forces are dispersed | 10 |
| Our lack of seapower | 3 |
| The USA is not prepared | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Don't know | 5 |
| No comment | 3 |

**10.** (US Mar 28 '42) From what you have heard about the war so far, do you think Germany or Japan or the Allies have [or the Allies should now be doing, or the Allies should if the Axis does it to us first] sunk ships without warning them, blockaded or cut off civilian food supplies, used poison gas, or spread disease germs to start epidemics? (NORC)

| | AXIS HAS | | | ALLIES HAVE | | | ALLIES SHOULD NOW* | | | ALLIES SHOULD IF AXIS DOES** | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Sunk merchant ships without warning them | 88 | 1 | 11 | 37 | 34 | 29 | 30 | 22 | 11 = 63 | 5 | 1 | 4 = 10 | |
| Blockaded or cut off civilian food supplies | 72 | 10 | 18 | 46 | 31 | 23 | 24 | 17 | 13 = 54 | 7 | 2 | 7 = 16 | |
| Used poison gas | 33 | 39 | 28 | 2 | 79 | 19 | 17 | 67 | 14 = 98 | 40 | 8 | 12 = 60 | |
| Spread disease germs to start epidemics | 31 | 36 | 33 | 2 | 82 | 16 | 7 | 78 | 13 = 98 | 27 | 27 | 14 = 68 | |

* Asked of those who said that neither the Axis nor the Allies had employed civilian blockades, poison gas, bacterial warfare or had sunk merchant ships without warning.

** Asked of those who had replied No or Don't know to the previous three questions.

**11.** (US May 15 '42) Here are a few names that have been suggested for the present war. Which do you like best? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| War of World Freedom | 26% |
| War of Freedom | 14 |
| War of Liberty | 13 |
| Anti-Dictator War | 11 |
| War for Humanity | 9 |
| Survival War | 7 |
| The People's War | 6 |
| Anti-Nazi War | 5 |
| Total War | 5 |
| War of Liberation | 4 |

**12.** (US Apr 16 '42) What do you think of President Roosevelt's idea of finding a new name for the present war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hadn't given it any thought | 28% |
| Fine—needs a name | 4 |
| All right, OK | 30 |
| Immaterial—not necessary | 23 |
| Silly—waste of time | 15 |

**13.** (Great Britain May '42) Some people say that even if invading the Continent this summer might cost more than invading next summer, the results would make the cost worthwhile. Do you agree or disagree that the cost would be worthwhile? (BIPO)

Agree 49% Disagree 17% Don't know 34%

**14.** (US May 6 '42) Considering what each of these countries could do, which one do you think is trying hardest to win the war—England, Russia, China or the United States [and which one do you think is doing the least]? (NORC)

| | *Most* | *Least* |
|---|---|---|
| England | 8% | 24% |
| Russia | 22 | 2 |
| China | 9 | 9 |
| United States | 40 | 11 |
| Don't know and no answer | 21 | 54 |

In what way is England falling down on the job? Asked of the 24% of the sample who thought that England was doing less to win the war than other countries.

Criticism of fighting strategy:

| | |
|---|---|
| General statements criticizing fighting | 11% |
| Specific criticism that England is not taking the offensive | 4 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Criticism of England's relationship with Allies: | |
| England's attitude is "Let George do it" | 5% |
| Other criticism | 1 |
| Apologia for England's lack of preparation | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 2 |
| | 26%* |

* Percentages add to more than 24% as some respondents gave more than one answer.

In what way is Russia falling down on the job? Asked of the 2% of the sample who found Russia's performance in the war less impressive than the other Allies'.

| | |
|---|---|
| Selfish motives for fighting | * |
| Not fighting hard enough | 1% |
| Not taking the offensive | * |
| Criticism of Russian government | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

In what way is the United States falling down on the job? Asked of the 11% of the sample who thought that the United States was doing less to win the war than England, China, or Russia.

| | |
|---|---|
| Production and preparation: | |
| General criticism of present production | 2% |
| Specific criticism of labor | 1 |
| Specific criticism of capital or management | * |
| Too late getting started | 4 |
| Attitude of the people: | |
| People are not in proper frame of mind | 2 |
| People are not doing all they could | 2 |
| Leadership: | |
| Politics | 1 |
| Military strategy | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | * |
| | 14%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 11 as some respondents gave more than one answer to the question.

In what way is China falling down on the job? Asked of the 9% of the sample who thought that China was doing less to win the war than other nations.

| | |
|---|---|
| Insufficient supplies and equipment to be a military force | 6% |
| Poor leadership | * |
| Disorganization and lack of unity | * |
| Backwardness and low educational level | 1 |
| Lack of pugnacity | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

(July 1 '42) Considering what each of these countries could do, which one do you think is trying hardest to win the war: England, Russia, China, the United States?

| | |
|---|---|
| England | 6% |
| Russia | 30 |
| China | 14 |
| United States | 37 |
| Don't know | 13 |

Next to (country named), which do you think is trying hardest to win the war, considering what each one could do? The 13% with no opinion were excluded from this question.

| | |
|---|---|
| England | 17% |
| Russia | 26 |
| China | 21 |
| United States | 17 |
| Don't know | 6 |

(July 18 '42) Considering what each of these countries could do, which one do you think is trying hardest to win the war: England, Russia, China, the United States?

| | |
|---|---|
| England | 7% |
| Russia | 34 |
| China | 13 |
| United States | 33 |
| Don't know | 13 |

Next to (country named) which country do you think is trying hardest to win the war—considering what each one could do? The 13% who had no opinion were excluded from this sample.

| | |
|---|---|
| England | 16% |
| Russia | 26 |
| China | 23 |
| United States | 17 |
| Don't know | 5 |

(Nov 3 '42) Considering what each of these countries could do, which one do you think is trying hardest to win the war: England, Russia, China, the United States?

| | |
|---|---|
| England | 5% |
| Russia | 44 |
| China | 10 |
| United States | 28 |
| Don't know | 13 |

(Apr 6 '43)

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia | 31% |
| China | 19 |
| United States | 27 |
| Britain | 5 |
| Don't know | 18 |

Which country would you say is trying next hardest? The 18% of the Apr 6 '43 sample who had no opinion were excluded from this question.

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia | 23% |
| China | 19 |
| United States | 16 |
| Britain | 18 |
| Don't know | 6 |

**15.** (May 30 '42) Which of these comes closest to the way you feel the war with Japan is going? (NORC)

| | | *Aug 21 '42* |
|---|---|---|
| We've practically beaten them already | 6% | 4% |
| It may take some time to beat them, but the way we're working now we can't possibly lose | 70 | 63 |
| Unless we work a lot harder, we won't beat them at all | 18 | 28 |
| It looks as if it's too late—it would take a miracle to overcome the losses we've already had | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know | 5 | 4 |

**16.** (Canada July 1 '42) One hears and reads a lot of arguments for and against opening a second front against the Germans. What is your opinion on this? (CIPO)

| | *For second front* | *Only when ready* | *Leave to authorities or no opinion* | *Already started* | *Against* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total.... | 46% | 18% | 29% | 1% | 6% |
| BY PROVINCE | | | | | |
| Quebec..... | 53% | 12% | 22% | 2% | 11% |
| Ontario..... | 46 | 16 | 31 | 1 | 6 |

**17.** (US July 1 '42) Would you like to see England and the United States attempt a large-scale attack on Germany in Western Europe in the near future, or do you think they should wait until they are stronger? (AIPO)

| | *Attempt attack* | *Wait* | *Qualified answer* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 48% | 34% | 4.3% | 18% |
| (July 29 '42).... | 48 | 38 | 4 | 10 |
| (Aug 13 '42).... | 46 | 36 | 4 | 14 |

**18.** (US July 1 '42) Do you think that Roosevelt and Churchill should have the final decision on the military and naval plans of the war, or do you think that these plans should be decided by the military and naval leaders of the United Nations? (AIPO)

| | *Roosevelt and Churchill* | *Military and naval leaders of the United Nations* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 21% | 64% | 15% |
| (Canada Aug 8 '43) (CIPO) | 23 | 66 | 11 |

**19.** (July 31 '42) Do you think that in the next two or three months the Allies should try to land troops somewhere in Europe to attack Germany? (NORC)

Yes 62% No 16% Don't know 22%

**20.** (US July 31 '42) If the Allies do try this attack on Germany (invasion) in the next two or three months, do you think the chances of success are very good, pretty good, about fifty-fifty, or that it's more likely to fail than to succeed? (NORC)

| | *Pretty good* | *Very good* | *50–50* | *Likely to fail* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | — | 46% | 26% | 13% | 15% |
| (Aug 29 '42)... | 53% | — | 29 | 10 | 8 |
| (June 18 '43)... | 63 | — | 24 | 3 | 10 |

**21.** (Great Britain July '42) Do you think the Allies should or should not try to invade Europe this year? (BIPO)

Should 62% Should not 12% Don't know 26%

**22.** (Great Britain Aug 22 '42) Do you think the Allies should try to invade the Continent this year? (BIPO)

Should 60% Should not 17% Don't know 23%

**23.** (US Aug 29 '42) Do you think that in the next two or three months the Allies should try to land an army on the continent of Europe for a real invasion? (NORC)

Yes 57% No 25% Don't know 18%

**24.** (US Aug 29 '42) Do you think the Allies actually will try to land an army in Europe in the next two or three months for a real invasion? (NORC)

Yes 60% No 21% Don't know 19%

**25.** (US Sept 29 '42) What does opening a second front in Europe mean to you? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Relief for Russia—diversion of German troops from Russian front—keeping our promise to Russia | 18% |
| Earlier finish of war—speed up victory | 12 |
| Victory—defeat of Axis—better chance of winning the war | 12 |
| Establishing another point of attack—division of enemy—distraction of attention from other fronts | 10 |
| Invasion of the Continent | 12 |
| Taking the offensive | 10 |
| Sacrifice of thousands of lives | 7 |
| A good thing—vital—approve of it—important | 7 |
| Helping preserve our liberty—protection for our country | 2 |
| Getting more men into the fight—more action | 4 |
| We're ready, prepared to fight | 1 |
| Airplane offensive, bombing of Germany | 2 |
| Necessity of drafting people as yet not taken | 2 |
| Disapprove—can't accomplish anything by it—a foolish move | 2 |
| Invasion by land forces—tank corps, etc | 1 |
| Nothing | 2 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| | 110%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**26.** (US Sept 29 '42) Do you think England and the United States should open a second front against Germany now, or should we wait until we are stronger? (AIPO)

Open now 31% Wait 33% No opinion 36%

**27.** (US Sept 29 '42) Have you followed the discussions about opening a second front? (AIPO)

Yes 73% No 27%

**28.** (US Sept 29 '42) Do you think England and the United States should open a second front against Germany now? (AIPO)

Yes 40% No 16% Don't know 44%

**29.** (Great Britain Oct '42) Do you approve or disapprove of public discussion of whether or not there should be a second front? (BIPO)

Yes 37% No 46% Don't know 17%

**30.** (Great Britain Jan 24 '43) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the Allies have handled the situation in North Africa? (BIPO)

Satisfied 45% Dissatisfied 29% Don't know 26%

**31.** (US Jan 27 '43) Do you think the United States and Britain should form a joint war council which would plan all war operations against the Axis powers? (AIPO)

Yes 59% No 23% No opinion 18%

If such a council is formed (of the United States and Britain), should the army, navy, and air force of both Britain and the United States be controlled by the war council?

Yes 62% No 15% No opinion 23%

**32.** (Great Britain Mar 1 '43) Do you approve or disapprove of the Allies working with men who have collaborated with the Axis? (BIPO)

Approve 18% Disapprove 62% Don't know 20%

**33.** (Great Britain Mar 1 '43) Do you think that it will be necessary to invade the Continent before Germany can be defeated? (BIPO)

Yes 76% No 10% Don't know 14%

**34.** (Great Britain Apr '43) Which country of the United Nations do you think has so far made the greatest single contribution toward winning the war? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Britain | 42% |
| Russia | 50 |
| China | 5 |
| United States | 3 |

Why?

RUSSIA

| | |
|---|---|
| Her great losses and suffering—she is bearing the biggest burden—acts, not merely talk—fighting the hardest—war on her soil | 39% |
| She has something to fight for—all-out war effort—all pull together—more eager to win | 6 |
| Because of her successes—because of Stalin | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |

BRITAIN

| | |
|---|---|
| For over a year we stood alone | 16% |
| We have had to ship so much overseas, we want to help others | 9 |
| We produce most per head—biggest call-up | 6 |
| Battle of Britain; see what we have gone through | 6 |
| Because I am British | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |

CHINA

| | |
|---|---|
| She has been at war longest | 4% |

UNITED STATES

| | |
|---|---|
| They produce a lot | 2% |
| All are trying equally, all doing their share | 2 |
| No comment | 4 |

**35.** (Great Britain Apr 4 '43) Do you expect an allied invasion of the continent this year? (BIPO)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Yes 67% | No 14% | Don't know 19% |

**36.** (US June 18 '43) To beat Germany, do you think the Allies will have to invade the continent of Europe, or do you think we can defeat her by just increasing our air attacks? (NORC)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Invade the continent 62% | Increase air attacks 27% | |
| Don't know 11% | | |

**37.** (US June 22 '43) Which of these countries do you think has done the most toward winning the war so far—Russia, China, Britain, or the United States? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with the countries listed in the following order: Britain, United States, Russia, or China. Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Russia* | *China* | *Britain* | *United States* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 32% | 4% | 9% | 55% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | | |
| College | 50% | 5% | 18% | 27% |
| High school only | 35 | 5 | 10 | 50 |
| Grade school | 28 | 3 | 7 | 62 |

**38.** (US Aug 24 '43) From what you have read, in which country do you think the people—not the soldiers—are working hardest to win the war, Britain, the United States, or Russia? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Britain | 13% |
| United States | 26 |
| Russia | 45 |
| No opinion | 16 |

**39.** (US Oct 2 '43) Which one of these four ideas comes closest to the way you feel the war with Germany and Japan is going? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| We have beaten them already | 3% |
| It will take time, but we can't lose | 69 |
| We must work harder or we won't win | 25 |
| Too late | * |
| Don't know | 3 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**40.** (Britain 11 '43) Do you think it will be necessary for the Allies to invade the Continent before Germany can be defeated? (BIPO)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Will 66% | Will not 14% | Don't know 20% |

**41.** (France Oct 1 '44) Why do you think the Germans put up a defense of Paris? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Reasons of prestige | 35% |
| Military reasons | 29 |
| Emotional reasons | 25 |
| Resistance for the sake of resistance | 3 |
| Other reasons | 10 |
| Don't know | 5 |

**42.** (France Oct 1 '44) Do you think it was on purpose that the allied commander had the Division LeClerc be first to enter Paris? (FIPO)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Yes 92% | No 4% | Don't know 4% |

What do you think was their reason? Asked of the 92% of the sample who thought that it was on purpose that the allied commander had the Division LeClerc be first to enter Paris.

| | |
|---|---|
| Courtesy of the allied command | 74% |
| Granted as a matter of right | 7 |
| For propaganda reasons | 8 |
| Other reasons | 3 |
| Don't know | 8 |

**43.** (France Oct 1 '44) Which nation will contribute most toward the defeat of Germany? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| USSR | 61% |
| USA | 29 |
| Great Britain | 12 |
| The three Allies | 4 |
| Others | 3 |
| | 111%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**44.** (US Dec '44) Of the countries that aren't fighting Japan at the present time, can you name any that you think should be? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia | 45% |
| England, Great Britain | 2 |
| Other European (Scandinavia, France, Poland, Germany, Ireland, Finland, Spain, Portugal, Italy) | 3 |
| Argentina | 3 |
| Other South American—Mexico, Central America, Brazil | 1 |
| Asia, Turkey, India, Korea, Iran, Africa, China, Ethiopia | 1 |
| None | 2 |
| All | 2 |
| Don't know, no | 46 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Other | * |
| All Allies | 1% |
| | 106%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**45.** (Great Britain Jan '45) Do you think that the German offensive in the West is likely to have lengthened or shortened the war? (BIPO)

Lengthened 52% Shortened 29% Don't know 19%

**46.** (France Mar 16 '45) Do you think the Russian troops or the allied troops will get to Berlin first? (FIPO)

Russians 91% Allies 2% Both together 4% Don't know 3%

**47.** (France Mar 16 '45) Do you think the Germans will succeed in temporarily reoccupying Strasbourg? (FIPO)

Yes 2% No 90% Don't know 8%

**48.** (Sweden June '45) Which country has done the most to beat Germany? (SGI)

| | *America* | *Russia* | *England* | *None more than another* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 32% | 10% | 8% | 8% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Upper class | 48% | 23% | 16% | 12% | 1% |
| Middle class | 48 | 27 | 10 | 8 | 7 |
| Workers | 37 | 36 | 10 | 8 | 9 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| North Sweden | 42% | 34% | 10% | 7% | 7% |
| Dalärna | 43 | 35 | 9 | 7 | 6 |
| Mälar district | 40 | 34 | 10 | 8 | 8 |
| Stockholm | 35 | 42 | 8 | 8 | 7 |
| East Gotland | 47 | 26 | 12 | 6 | 9 |
| Skåne | 50 | 23 | 12 | 10 | 5 |
| Bovä | 36 | 36 | 11 | 10 | 7 |

**49.** (Norway July 19 '46) Which one country, in your opinion, contributed the largest share to prevent Germany from winning the war? (NGI)

| | *Russia* | *America* | *England* | *Norway* | *America and Russia* | *Other* | *Don't know* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 36% | 29% | 12% | 5% | 1% | 2% | 12% | 3% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | | |
| Men | 39% | 33% | 12% | 4% | 2% | 3% | 4% | 3% |
| Women | 33 | 25 | 12 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 19 | 3 |
| BY AGE | | | | | | | | |
| 18–25 years | 41% | 24% | 13% | 2% | — | 1% | 17% | 2% |
| 25–35 years | 37 | 26 | 14 | 5 | 2% | 3 | 9 | 4 |
| 35–50 years | 38 | 30 | 11 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 10 | 3 |
| 50 years and over | 30 | 33 | 11 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 13 | 3 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | | |
| High | 16% | 41% | 21% | 4% | 3% | 7% | 6% | 2% |
| Middle | 24 | 41 | 18 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 2 |
| Low | 40 | 26 | 10 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 13 | 3 |

**50.** (Sweden June '45) Which individual do you think has contributed most toward the victory? (SGI)

| | *Roosevelt* | *Churchill* | *Stalin* | *Others* | *No one more than another* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 31% | 28% | 8% | 6% | 15% | 12% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Upper class | 18% | 47% | 6% | 6% | 16% | 7% |
| Middle class | 33 | 32 | 6 | 4 | 13 | 12 |
| Workers | 30 | 24 | 9 | 8 | 15 | 14 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | | |
| North Sweden | 30% | 23% | 10% | 5% | 16% | 16% |
| Dalärna | 34 | 25 | 8 | 8 | 14 | 11 |
| Mälar district | 36 | 24 | 6 | 6 | 13 | 15 |
| Stockholm | 21 | 27 | 11 | 8 | 17 | 16 |
| East Gotland | 34 | 29 | 8 | 5 | 11 | 13 |
| Skåne | 30 | 35 | 5 | 7 | 14 | 9 |
| Bovä | 29 | 30 | 8 | 6 | 16 | 11 |

**51.** (US July '45) What countries would you say had made the greatest sacrifices during the war—Russia, or the United States? England or the United States? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia | 63% |
| United States | 28 |
| Russia more sacrifices in men but United States sacrificed more in materials | 1 |
| Neither one—both equal—50–50 | 1 |
| Don't know | 7 |
| England | 59 |
| United States | 31 |
| England sacrificed more men but the United States sacrificed more materials | 1 |
| Neither one—both equal—50–50 | 1 |
| Don't know | 8 |

**52.** (US July '45) What people would you say have made the greatest sacrifices during this war—the people in Russia or the people of the United States? Of England or the United States? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia | 68% |
| United States | 25 |
| Russia more men, United States more material | * |
| Neither, 50–50 | 1 |
| Don't know | 6 |
| England | 65 |
| United States | 27 |
| England more men, United States more material | * |
| Neither, 50–50 | 1 |
| Don't know | 7 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**53.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The German public was asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: The Allies should have fought against Russia instead of Germany. (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amzone | 20% | 48% | 32% |
| Berlin | 32 | 63 | 5 |

## Aerial Operations

**1.** (Great Britain Nov '39) Would you like to see the RAF bombing enemy military objectives, even if it means that the Germans would bomb back? (BIPO)

Yes 52% No 41% Don't know 7%

**2.** (Great Britain May '40) Would you like to see general bombing of military objectives in Germany itself by the RAF, even if it means that the Germans would do the same in Britain and France? (BIPO)

Yes 66% No 27% Don't know 7%

**3.** (Great Britain Oct '40) Have you personally suffered injury to yourself as the result of an enemy air raid? (BIPO)

Yes 3% No 97%

Has your home been damaged?

Yes 14% No 86%

**4.** (Great Britain Oct '40) From what you have experienced or read about during the past few weeks, do you think it is possible or impossible for Germany to win the war by attack alone on this country? (BIPO)

Possible 6% Impossible 80% Don't know 14%

**5.** (Great Britain Oct '40) In view of the indiscriminate German bombing of this country, would you approve or disapprove if the RAF adopted a similar policy of bombing the civilian population of Germany? (BIPO)

Approve 46% Disapprove 46% Don't know 8%

**6.** (Great Britain Oct '40) Are the air raids causing you difficulty in getting to and from your work? (BIPO)

Yes 19% No 81%

**7.** (Great Britain Jan '41) What are your thoughts when you hear that there has been a very heavy air raid? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Get better protection for people in this country | 16% |
| Intensify our bombing of military targets | 24 |
| Wonder how bombed people are getting on | 28 |
| Find some way to stop the war | 10 |
| Bomb German civilians | 22 |

**8.** (US Jan 22 '41) If the British navy were defeated or surrendered, do you think the Germans would send warplanes over to bomb the United States within six months? (AIPO)

Yes 20% No 64% Don't know 9% Qualified answers 7%

**9.** (US Jan 22 '41) If the British navy were defeated or surrendered, do you think the Germans would send warplanes over to bomb the United States within one year? (AIPO)

Yes 26% No 54% Don't know 13% Qualified answers 7%

**10.** (Great Britain Mar '41) From what you have experienced or read about or heard about during the past few weeks, do you think it is possible or impossible to win the war by air attack alone on this country? (BIPO)

Possible 10% Impossible 78% Don't know 12%

**11.** (US Mar 19 '41) Do you think the United States should send part of our air force with American pilots to Europe to help the English? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24% | 69% | 7% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 22% | 71% | 7% |
| East central | 21 | 72 | 7 |
| West central | 20 | 73 | 7 |
| South | 36 | 56 | 8 |
| West | 26 | 67 | 7 |

**12.** (US Oct 22 '41) Do you think the United States should at this time send part of our air force with American pilots to help Britain? (AIPO)

Yes 28% No 68% No opinion 4%

**13.** (Great Britain Apr '41) How do you feel about the big air raids now, as compared with the way you felt before they began? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| More anxious | 35% |
| Less anxious | 22 |
| About the same | 40 |
| Don't know | 3 |

**14.** (Great Britain Apr '41) Would you approve or disapprove if the RAF adopted a policy of bombing the civilian population of Germany? (BIPO)

Approve 55% Disapprove 36% Don't know 9%

**15.** (Great Britain June '41) Would you approve or disapprove of an agreement between England and Germany to stop night bombing? (BIPO)

Approve 43% Disapprove 47% Don't know 10%

**16.** (US Dec 10 '41) Should the United States air force bomb cities in Japan? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 67% |
| No | 10 |
| No opinion | 5 |
| Yes, if military objectives | 3 |
| Yes, if they bomb us | 13 |
| No, not until necessary to win | 2 |

**17.** (US Dec 10 '41) Do you think there is any chance that this city [town, neighborhood] will be bombed? (AIPO)

Yes 32% No 65% No answer 3%

**18.** (US Dec 24 '41) In the war against Japan, do you think we should fight an all-out war including bombing of Japanese cities, or attack only their navy and other military objectives? (AIPO)

| | *All-out war* | *Military objectives* | *Depends* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 59% | 30% | 7% | 4% |
| (Jan 28 '42) | 56 | 30 | 4 | 10 |
| (Mar 28 '42) | 67 | 23 | 3 | 7 |

Would you be willing to have us bomb Japanese cities even though it meant that Germany and Japan would bomb ours in return? Asked of those who favored an all-out war.

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| (Dec 24 '41) | 84% | 11% | 5% |
| (Jan 28 '42) | 47 | 6 | 3 |
| (Mar 28 '42) | 58 | 6 | 3 |

**19.** (Dec 24 '41) Would you say it is very probable, only fairly probable, or not at all probable that there will be any enemy air raids on our Pacific coast cities within the next few weeks? (NORC)

Very probable 23% Fairly probable 41% Not probable 25%
Don't know 11%

**20.** (US Mar 2 '42) How much chance do you think there is of an enemy air raid on our Pacific coast within the next few weeks? Do you think it is very probable, only fairly probable, or not at all probable? (NORC)

| | *Very probable* | *Fairly probable* | *Not probable* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 25% | 45% | 18% | 12% |
| (Oct 6 '42) | 10 | 35 | 42 | 13 |
| (June 18 '43) | 11 | 41 | 34 | 14 |

Do you think they will ever bomb our Pacific coast? Asked of the 18% of the Mar 2 '42 sample who did not think it at all

probable that there would be an air raid on the Pacific coast in the next few weeks.

Yes 11% No 5% Don't know 2%

Do you think the raids will come regularly, or that they will be few and far between? The 7% of the sample who thought there would never be an air raid on the Pacific coast were excluded from this question.

Regularly 12% Few 57% No answer 14%
Don't know 10% = 93%

**21.** (US Dec 24 '41) How about air raids on East coast cities? Would you say that within the next few weeks they were very probable, only fairly probable, or not at all probable? (NORC)

Very probable 8% Fairly probable 32%
Not probable 48% Don't know 12%

Do you think the raids will come regularly, or that they will be few and far between? Asked of the 40% of the sample who thought that air raids on the East coast in the next few weeks were probable or fairly probable.

Regularly 11% Few 77% Don't know 12%

**22.** (US Mar 2 '42) How about an air raid on our Atlantic coast in the next few weeks? Do you think that is very probable, only fairly probable, or not at all probable? (NORC)

| | *Very probable* | *Fairly probable* | *Not probable* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 12% | 37% | 38% | 13% |
| (Oct 6 '42) | 6 | 25 | 55 | 14 |
| (June 18 '43) | 7 | 31 | 47 | 15 |

Do you think they will ever bomb our Atlantic coast? Asked of the 38% of the Mar 2 '42 sample who thought an air raid on our Atlantic coast in the next few weeks was not at all probable.

Yes 21% No 11% Don't know 5% No answer 1%

Do you think the raids will come regularly, or that they will be few and far between? The 17% of the total Mar 2 '42 sample who said there would never be an air raid on the Atlantic coast or who didn't know whether or not there would be one were excluded from this question.

Regularly 7% Few 49% No answer 20%
Don't know 7% = 83%

**23.** (US Mar 28 '42) If you were running this war and had a lot of airplanes to put in one particular place where they'd do the most good right now, where would you put them? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| China | 4% |
| India | 2 |
| Libya or Egypt | — |
| Philippines | 10 |
| England | 4 |
| Iceland | — |
| Australia | 30 |
| Ireland | 1 |
| Russia | 7 |
| United States | 5 |
| Other | 9 |
| Don't know | 28 |

**24.** (US Apr 28 '42) In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way the government handled the news about the bombing of Tokyo? (NORC)

Approve 66% Disapprove 10% Don't know 24%

**25.** (Canada, Aug 5 '42) Do you think an air raid on this province is at all likely this summer? (CIPO)

| | *Likely* | *Unlikely* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 24% | 65% | 11% |
| BY PROVINCE | | | |
| Ontario | 16% | 77% | 7% |
| Quebec | 36 | 51 | 13 |
| Maritimes | 15 | 65 | 20 |

**26.** (US Aug 13 '42) During the next two or three months, do you think the Allies should concentrate on increasing their bombing attacks on Germany, or do you think they should try to land troops somewhere in Europe to attack Germany? (NORC)

Increase bombing 41% Land troops 39% Don't know 20%

**27.** (Great Britain Aug 22 '42) Do you think that Germany can be defeated by bombing [alone]? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 30% | 54% | 16% |
| (US June 2 '43) (AIPO) | 24 | 71 | 5 |
| (Great Britain July 12 '43) (BIPO) | 19 | 69 | 12 |

**28.** (US Oct 6 '42) To beat Germany, do you think the Allies will have to invade the continent of Europe, or do you think we can defeat her just by increasing our air attacks? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Invade | 60% |
| Air attacks | 28 |
| Don't know | 12 |

**29.** (Canada Nov 11 '42) If the Allies had a strong enough air force, could they win the war by air attack alone? (CIPO)

Yes 29% No 59% Undecided 12%

**30.** (Canada Jan 16 '43) Do you approve or disapprove of bombing Germany's civilian population? of Italy's? of Japan's? (CIPO)

| National total | *Germany's* | *Italy's* | *Japan's* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Approve | 57% | 51% | 62% |
| Disapprove | 38 | 44 | 34 |
| Undecided | 5 | 5 | 4 |
| BY LANGUAGE | | | |
| *French-speaking* | | | |
| Approve | 47% | 40% | 46% |
| Disapprove | 51 | 56 | 51 |
| Undecided | 2 | 4 | 3 |
| *English-speaking* | | | |
| Approve | 60 | 54 | 66 |
| Disapprove | 35 | 41 | 30 |
| Undecided | 5 | 5 | 4 |

**31.** (US Apr 27 '43) Do you happen to know whether Rome has been bombed in this war? (AIPO)

Has 14% Has not 49% Don't know 37%

Why do you think it [Rome] hasn't been bombed? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who said Rome had not been bombed in this war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Respect for Pope, Catholic church, Holy City, religious reasons | 54% |
| Not military objective, not much war production there | 6 |
| Respect for its culture—relics of antiquity—notable ruins, historical | 6 |
| Declared an open city | 6 |
| Mutual agreement | 2 |
| Haven't bombed Italy much | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know | 18% |
| No answer | 5 |
| | 105%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who thought Rome had not been bombed and add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**32.** (US Apr 27 '43) Do you think the allied air forces should bomb Rome? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 37% | 51% | 12% |
| BY RELIGION | | | |
| Catholics | 24% | 67% | 9% |
| Protestants | 36 | 52 | 12 |
| Non-church members | 47 | 40 | 13 |

**33.** (Canada July 3 '43) Some air experts have said that Germany can be beaten by bombing attacks alone. Do you agree or disagree? (CIPO)

Agree 23% Disagree 64% Undecided 13%

**34.** (Great Britain July 12 '43) What are your feelings when you hear that there has been a heavy air raid on a German city? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Very pleased, increase the bombing | 35% |
| Satisfied, got to be done, smashes their production, brings end nearer | 9 |
| Justice, getting their deserts | 15 |
| Indifference, don't mind | 4 |
| Mixed feelings | 5 |
| Pity but it's necessary, they deserve it | 11 |
| Sorry for the Germans | 12 |
| Scared of reprisals | 1 |
| Sorry for the lost airmen | 2 |
| Miscellaneous and don't know | 6 |

**35.** (Great Britain Aug 22 '43) Do you approve or disapprove of the bombing of Rome? (BIPO)

Approve 84% Disapprove 8% Don't know 8%

**36.** (Great Britain Dec '43) What do you think are likely to be the effects of the bombing of German cities? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Upsets German morale | 40% |
| It will shorten the war | 24 |
| Smash war industries | 10 |
| Germans are stickers; it won't break their morale | 4 |
| Bombing will win the war | 3 |
| Bombing alone will not win the war | 3 |
| Germans will retaliate | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 9 |
| Don't know | 5 |

**37.** (Great Britain Dec '43) How do you feel about the bombing? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Satisfaction, getting some of their own medicine, keep it up | 47% |
| We are justified in doing it, it is a necessity | 17 |
| Dislike bombing, but necessary under present circumstances | 16 |
| Sorry for the kids and old people, but it is necessary | 3 |
| They should bomb only industrial plants and communications | 2 |
| I am against bombing | 7 |
| Miscellaneous | 6 |
| No answer, don't know | 2 |

**38.** (Sweden Dec '43) During war it happens that air raids on towns containing important military targets victimize the civil population. Do you think that such bombardments with no consideration for the civil population are justifiable or absolutely wrong? (SGI)

| | *Justifiable* | *Absolutely wrong* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24% | 55% | 21% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 37% | 50% | 13% |
| Women | 13 | 60 | 27 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Town | 29% | 56% | 15% |
| Country | 22 | 54 | 24 |

**39.** (Sweden Dec '43) Do you think that air raids intended to break the spirits of the civil population are justifiable under certain conditions or absolutely wrong? (SGI)

| | *Justifiable* | *Absolutely wrong* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9% | 73% | 18% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 14% | 75% | 11% |
| Women | 4 | 72 | 24 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Town | 12% | 75% | 13% |
| Country | 7 | 72 | 21 |

**40.** (Hungary Mar '44) Do you think Budapest will be bombed systematically from the air? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

Yes 24% No 53% Uncertain 23%

**41.** (US Mar 29 '44) If military leaders believe it will be necessary to bomb historic religious buildings and shrines in Europe, would you approve or disapprove of their bombing them? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 74% | 19% | 7% |
| BY RELIGION | | | |
| Protestants | 75% | 19% | 6% |
| Catholics | 63 | 28 | 9 |
| Non-church members | 78 | 15 | 7 |
| (Canada June 3 '44) (CIPO) | | | |
| Quebec | 40% | 52% | 8% |
| Rest of Canada | 76 | 20 | 4 |

**42.** (US July 18 '44) A Swedish newspaperman says the Germans are now building robot bombs which can hit cities on our east coast. Do you believe this is true? (AIPO)

Yes 20% No 61% Undecided 19%

**43.** (US July 18 '44) Do you think that in another twenty-five years such flying robot bombs will be able to fly across the ocean? (AIPO)

Yes 70% No 10% Undecided 20%

**44.** (US July 19 '44) Do you think that in another ten years such flying bombs will be able to fly across the ocean? (AIPO)

Yes 62% No 19% Undecided 19%

**45.** (Great Britain Aug '44) Do you find that the flying bombs are more or less trying than the blitz of 1940–1941? (BIPO)

| | *More* | *Less* | *Don't know* | *No reply* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 44% | 27% | 17% | 12% |

BY SEX

| | More | Less | Don't know | No reply |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 37% | 32% | 18% | 13% |
| Women | 50 | 22 | 16 | 12 |

BY AGE

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 21–29 years | 40% | 35% | 11% | 14% |
| 30–49 years | 43 | 28 | 18 | 11 |
| 50 years and over | 46 | 22 | 17 | 15 |

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Higher | 33% | 33% | 20% | 14% |
| Middle | 40 | 37 | 12 | 11 |
| Lower | 46 | 23 | 18 | 13 |

(Nov 27 '44)

BY SEX

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 43% | 36% | 21% |
| Women | 57 | 25 | 18 |

**46.** (Sweden Feb '45) Do you think it right that the Swedish air force shoots down allied airplanes passing over Swedish territory, or do you think that the air force should not interfere? (SGI)

| | Right to interfere | Wrong to interfere | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 33% | 18% |

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Upper class | 66% | 26% | 8% |
| Middle class | 50 | 32 | 18 |
| Workers | 46 | 35 | 19 |

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| North Sweden | 63% | 22% | 15% |
| Dalärna | 45 | 37 | 18 |
| Mälar district | 54 | 30 | 16 |
| Stockholm | 55 | 34 | 11 |
| East Gotland | 50 | 24 | 26 |
| Skåne | 39 | 41 | 20 |
| Bovä | 37 | 46 | 17 |

**47.** (Sweden Feb '45) What about German planes (do you think it right that the Swedish air force shoots them down, or do you think that the air force should not interfere)? (SGI)

| | Right to interfere | Wrong to interfere | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 71% | 12% | 17% |

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Upper class | 76% | 13% | 11% |
| Middle class | 70 | 13 | 17 |
| Workers | 71 | 12 | 17 |

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| North Sweden | 80% | 7% | 13% |
| Dalärna | 73 | 12 | 15 |
| Mälar district | 74 | 11 | 15 |
| Stockholm | 80 | 10 | 10 |
| East Gotland | 66 | 10 | 24 |
| Skåne | 59 | 20 | 21 |
| Bovä | 70 | 14 | 16 |

**48.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The German public was asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: A man does not improve his character through bombarding or shelling an unfortified place. (OMGUS)

| | Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amzone | 59% | 36% | 5% |
| Berlin | 71 | 27 | 2 |

## Atrocities

**1.** (US Dec 10 '40) Have you read or heard about the speech of a Nazi official published within the last week which said that the Germans plan to make slaves of the people in Europe and to control American industry and trade? (OPOR)

Yes 33% No 67%

Do you believe the Germans plan to do this? Asked of the 33% of the sample who had heard of the Nazi official's speech.

Yes 80% No 20%

**2.** (Great Britain Feb '44) The Russians have tried Germans and executed them for atrocities. Should we do the same now with any enemies who are known to be responsible for atrocities and are in our hands? (BIPO)

Yes 57% No 32% Don't know 11%

**3.** (US Sept '44) Do you think we should blame the German people themselves, or the Nazi leaders, or both the people and their leaders for the cruelties in this war? (NORC)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | German people | 2% |
| | Nazi leaders | 58 |
| | Both | 38 |
| | Don't know | 2 |
| (July '45) | German people | 4% |
| | Nazi leaders | 42 |
| | Both | 52 |
| | Don't know | 2 |

**4.** (US Nov 15 '44) Do you believe the stories that the Germans have murdered many people in concentration camps are true or not true? (AIPO)

| | True | Not true | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 76% | 12% | 12% |

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| New England | 80% | 9% | 11% |
| Middle Atlantic | 73 | 15 | 12 |
| East central | 75 | 13 | 12 |
| West central | 73 | 14 | 13 |
| South | 77 | 9 | 14 |
| Far West | 84 | 5 | 11 |

(Canada Jan 3 '45) (CIPO)

| | | | | Qualified |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 71% | 11% | 11% | 7% |

BY PROVINCE

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Quebec | 58% | 22% | 9% | 11% |
| Ontario | 77 | 5 | 11 | 7 |

Nobody knows how many may have been murdered, but what would be your best guess? Asked of the 76% of the Nov 15 '44 sample who believed stories of German murders of concentration camp inmates.

| | |
|---|---|
| 100 thousand or less (including answers of "thousands") | 27% |
| Over 100 thousand to 500 thousand | 5 |
| 500 thousand to 1 million (includes answers "hundreds of thousands") | 1 |
| 1 million | 6 |
| 2 million to 6 million | 8 |
| 6 million or more | 4 |
| No opinion | 25 |

What do you think should be done to punish the Germans found guilty of these charges? Asked of the 76% of the Nov 15 '44 sample who believed that the Germans had murdered many people in concentration camps.

| | |
|---|---|
| Death penalty | 49% |
| Court trial, court martial | 13 |
| Treated as they treated victims, punished according to extent of crimes | 12 |
| Punished; no specific means | 9 |
| Imprisoned, solitary confinement, life imprisonment | 9 |
| Tortured | 3 |
| Punish short of death | * |
| Turn over to victims, to Russia, etc. Make slaves of them | 1 |
| Justice, fair treatment, convert, let live, educate | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**5.** (US Dec '44) Do you think the German people should be blamed for the cruelties to religious groups, the mass killings in occupied countries, and the tortures in concentration camps? (NORC)

Yes 40% No 55% Don't know 5%

**6.** (US Apr 4 '45) After the war, what do you think should be done with members of the Nazi party who defend themselves by claiming they committed crimes under orders of higher-ups in the party? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Kill them | 19% |
| Imprison them | 42 |
| Try, punish if found guilty | 19 |
| Attempt re-education | 3 |
| Do nothing | 2 |
| No opinion | 15 |

**7.** (US May 2 '45) What do you think of the reports that the Germans have killed many people in concentration camps [prisoner of war camps] or let them starve to death—are they true of not true? (AIPO)

| | *Concentration camps* | *Prison camps* |
|---|---|---|
| True | 84% | 87% |
| Probably true | — | 1 |
| Partly true, exaggerated | 9 | 6 |
| Believe some, doubt others | — | * |
| Doubtful, hard to believe | 1 | 1 |
| Untrue | 2 | 3 |
| Didn't say | 3 | 3 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**8.** (US May 2 '45) Nobody knows how many have been killed or starved to death [in German concentration camps], but what would be your best guess? (AIPO)

Median = 1,000,000 people.

**9.** (Sweden June '45) Do you think that the German people, as a whole, knew about the German concentration camps? (SGI)

| | *Whole German nation knew* | *A large part didn't know* | *Most Germans didn't know* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 5% | 17% | 71% | 7% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 5% | 18% | 71% | 6% |
| Women | 5 | 16 | 70 | 9 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 4% | 16% | 75% | 5% |
| Middle class | 4 | 16 | 74 | 6 |
| Workers | 7 | 19 | 67 | 7 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 6% | 17% | 71% | 6% |
| 30–49 years | 6 | 17 | 70 | 7 |
| 50–64 years | 4 | 20 | 68 | 8 |
| 65 years and over | 3 | 12 | 75 | 10 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| North Sweden | 6% | 17% | 70% | 7% |
| Dalärna | 2 | 10 | 83 | 5 |
| Mälar district | 4 | 17 | 74 | 5 |
| Stockholm | 11 | 21 | 64 | 4 |
| East Gotland | 3 | 14 | 76 | 7 |
| Skåne | 5 | 20 | 69 | 6 |
| Bovä | 6 | 20 | 61 | 13 |

**10.** (US July '45) Do you think we should blame the Japanese people themselves, or the military leaders, or both the people and their leaders for the cruelties in this war? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Japanese people | 3% |
| Military leaders | 40 |
| Both people and leaders | 54 |
| Don't know | 3 |

**11.** (US Dec '45) Do you think that many, only a few, or practically none of the civilian population in Japan (Germany) knew about the atrocities in prison camps while the war was still going on? (FOR)

| | *Japan* | *Germany* |
|---|---|---|
| Many knew about atrocities | 36.8% | 48.1% |
| Only a few knew about atrocities | 44.6 | 38.3 |
| Practically none knew | 6.6 | 4.2 |
| Don't know | 12.0 | 9.4 |

**12.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The German public was asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: The horrors committed by the Germans are an invention of allied propaganda. (OMGUS)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amzone | 12% | 70% | 18% |
| Berlin | 18 | 76 | 6 |

**13.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The German people were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: Investigations have shown that the Germans tortured and murdered millions of helpless Europeans. (OMGUS)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amzone | 68% | 13% | 19% |
| (Dec 10 '46) | 18 | 78 | 4% |
| Berlin | 59 | 20 | 21 |

**14.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The German public was asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: Extermination of Jews, Poles, and other non-Aryans was not necessary for the security of the German people. (OMGUS)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amzone | 59% | 37% | 4% |
| Berlin | 85 | 15 | — |

## Australia

**1.** (Australia Oct '41) [Speaking generally] are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the present government is conducting our war effort? (APOP)

| | *Satisfied* | *Dissatisfied* | *Undecided* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 43% | 20% | 4% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Lowest income | 26% | 39% | 28% | 7% |
| Artisans, etc. | 32 | 43 | 21 | 4 |
| Better off | 35 | 55 | 18 | 3 |
| BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Capital cities | 33% | 42% | 20% | 5% |
| Other | 31 | 45 | 20 | 4 |
| Rural | 37 | 38 | 22 | 3 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Labor voters | 25% | 50% | 21% | 4% |
| Other voters | 40 | 37 | 19 | 4 |
| (Feb–Mar '42) | 56% | 28% | 16% | |
| (June '42) | 66 | 20 | 14 | |
| (Apr '43) | 58 | 33 | 9 | |

**2.** (Australia Nov '41) Is Australia doing enough towards winning the war? (APOP)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 42% | 16% |
| BY STATE | | | |
| New South Wales | 44% | 38% | 18% |
| Victoria | 43 | 41 | 16 |
| Queensland | 43 | 43 | 14 |
| Tasmania | 35 | 46 | 19 |
| South Australia | 32 | 49 | 19 |
| Western Australia | 37 | 51 | 12 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Labor voters | 47% | 38% | 15% |
| Other voters | 37 | 46 | 17 |

**3.** (Australia May–June '44) Of the things you are going short of, or doing without because of the war, which one thing do you miss the most? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Nothing much | 43% |
| Clothes | 17 |
| Butter | 12 |
| Meat, eggs, etc. | 8 |
| Motoring | 7 |
| Tobacco | 5 |
| Tea | 1 |
| Home life | 1 |
| House repairs | 1 |
| Overseas travel | 1 |
| Other answers | 4 |

## Canada

**1.** (US Nov 5 '41) Have you heard or read anything about Canada's war effort? (AIPO)

Yes 59% No 41%

**2.** (US Nov 5 '41) How do you feel about Canada's part in the war—do you feel that Canadians are doing their part to defeat Hitler? (AIPO)

Yes 44% No 10% No opinion 5%
Uninformed about Canada's war effort 41%

What aren't they [Canadians] doing [to defeat Hitler] that you think they should do? Asked of the 10% of the sample who thought the Canadians were not doing enough to defeat Hitler.

| | |
|---|---|
| Not sending enough aid (troops, war materials, etc.) to Britain | 5% |
| No compulsory draft | 2 |
| Requiring Britain to pay cash | 1 |
| Those who said Canada was not doing her part, but gave no reason or suggestion | 1 |
| Not producing as much as they should | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| | 11%* |

* Percentages add to more than 10 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (Canada May 27 '42) Do you think that a Japanese attack on Canada's west coast is likely within the next year? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Those for conscription | 63% | 32% | 5% |
| Those against conscription | 51 | 40 | 9 |
| Those voting "yes" in plebiscite | 61 | 33 | 6 |
| Those voting "no" in plebiscite | 50 | 42 | 8 |

**4.** (Canada May 30 '42) It has been said that quarreling among political parties has interfered with Canada's war effort. Do you agree or disagree? (CIPO)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 33% | 18% |
| BY PROVINCE | | | |
| Ontario | 53% | 34% | 13% |
| Quebec | 36 | 40 | 24 |
| Prairies | 53 | 31 | 16 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 49% | 36% | 15% |
| Women | 49 | 27 | 24 |

**5.** (US July 14 '42) Do you think Canada is doing all it [she] [possibly] can to win the war? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 60% | 23% | — | 17% |
| (Canada Aug '42) (CIPO) | 54 | 41 | 5% | — |
| BY LANGUAGE | | | | |
| French-speaking | 89% | 8% | 3% | |
| English-speaking | 44 | 50 | 6 | |
| (US May 12 '43) (AIPO) | 59% | 8% | 33% | |
| (Canada Oct 13 '43) (CIPO) | 71 | 21 | 8 | |
| BY LANGUAGE | | | | |
| French-speaking | 84% | 9% | 7% | |
| English-speaking | 67 | 26 | 7 | |
| (Canada June 17 '44) (CIPO) | 73% | 18% | 9% | |

(US May 12 '43) In what way would you say that Canada is not doing all it possibly can to win the war? Asked of the 8% of the sample who did not think Canada was doing all it possibly could to win the war. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hasn't sent enough men abroad, is not drafting for overseas duty | 18% |
| Isn't giving enough aid to England and other Allies, isn't using her resources to the fullest extent, not carrying her share of the war | 35 |
| Is not conscripting men to same extent that US is. We had conscription before Canada had it | 8 |
| Has not started to draft men for compulsory military service yet | 14 |
| Other reasons | 16 |

No special reason..... 19%
Is only interested in protecting Canada..... 4

114%*

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (US July 14 '42) Do you think Canada is working as hard as the United States to win the war? (AIPO)

Yes 58% No 27% Don't know 15%

**7.** (Canada Feb 17 '43) Would you say that, in general, Canada's war effort has been satisfactory or not satisfactory? (CIPO)

Satisfactory 70% Unsatisfactory 16% Qualified 6% Undecided 8%

**8.** (Canada Feb 17 '43) Do you think that people in Canada have been asked to make too many sacrifices for the war, or not enough? (CIPO)

Too many..... 12%
Not enough..... 45
About right..... 39
Undecided..... 4

**9.** (Canada Aug 25 '43) What do you most look forward to doing the day the war ends? (CIPO)

Celebrating; going wild; dancing in the streets; getting tight..... 23%
Thanking God it's over; quiet rejoicing; watching celebration..... 16
Preparing to welcome the boys back..... 5
Getting ready to return to prewar job; getting back to normal..... 4
Spending the day in bed; getting a well-earned rest..... 3
Taking a trip; vacationing..... 3
Getting married..... 1
Getting lots to eat; preparing to forget about rationing 1
Retiring from work..... 1
Miscellaneous..... 20
No opinion..... 23

**10.** (Canada Oct 16 '43) Of the things you are cutting down on, or doing without, because of the war, which do you miss the most? (CIPO)

Sugar..... 30%
Gas, cars, tires..... 13
Butter..... 10
Tea..... 10
Meat..... 4
Liquor, beer..... 3
Coffee..... 2
Miscellaneous..... 21
Nothing..... 21

114%*

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents mentioned more than one item.

**11.** (Canada July 21 '45) In the war with Japan, do you feel that Canada is doing all she should, or do you think she should do more? (CIPO)

| | *Doing all necessary* | *Should do more* | *Doing too much* | *Qualified* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total.. | 67% | 17% | 6% | 3% | 7% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Liberals..... | 75% | 12% | 5% | 3% | 5% |
| Progressive Conservatives.... | 59 | 28 | 2 | 5 | 6 |
| CCF..... | 66 | 18 | 5 | 5 | 6 |

**12.** (Canada Aug 25 '45) As you know, there have been quite a few shortages in Canada of such things as coal, and certain kinds of food and clothing. Do you think things will be easier to get this winter than last, harder to get, or just about the same? (CIPO)

Easier..... 7%
Harder..... 51
About the same..... 34
Undecided..... 7
Qualified..... 1

## Casualties

**1.** (US June 24 '41) If we go into the war, would you say that we will have more soldiers and sailors killed, or fewer, than in the First World War? (AIPO)

More..... 45%
About the same..... 9
Fewer..... 31
Don't know..... 15

**2.** (US Dec 24 '41) Which of these statements comes closest to how you think the government should handle news of any losses suffered by our armed forces? Each respondent was given a card with the three alternatives on it. (NORC)

Not release news of such losses at all because it might encourage the enemy and discourage our own people.. 10%
Hold up bad news of this kind at least until some good news can be released with it..... 13
Release news about such losses as soon as they are confirmed, so long as the news doesn't actually help the enemy..... 73
Don't know..... 4

**3.** (US May 15 '45) Which of these two plans do you think we should follow in our war with Japan—try to end the war quickly even if it means greater loss of American life, or take more time to end the war, in order to keep down the loss of American life, or try to end the war quickly in order to save more lives? (AIPO)

End war quickly despite casualties..... 9%
Take time and save lives..... 79
End war quickly and save lives..... 4
No opinion..... 8

**4.** (US May 15 '45) Which of these two plans do you think we should follow in our war with Japan—take more time to end the war in order to keep down the loss of American life, or try to end the war quickly even if it means greater loss of American life, or try to end the war quickly in order to save lives? (AIPO)

Take time and save lives..... 73%
End war quickly despite casualties..... 14
End war quickly and save lives..... 7
No opinion..... 6

**5.** (US June '45) Which do you think would result in fewer men getting killed or wounded in fighting the war against Japan: to throw everything we have against Japan's homeland and try to conquer it in a hurry, or to take more time to try to weaken her by conquering one by one the places she controls outside of Japan proper? (FOR)

Conquer in a hurry..... 33.3%
Take more time..... 43.0
No difference..... 7.0
Don't know..... 16.7

**6.** (US Oct 17 '45) How many American soldiers, sailors, and airmen were killed in the war—just your best guess? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 100,000 | 6% |
| 100,000 to under 200,000 | 9 |
| 200,000 to under 250,000 | 7 |
| 250,000 to 260,000 (correct answer) | 8 |
| Over 260,000 to 300,000 | 7 |
| Over 300,000 to under 500,000 | 5 |
| 500,000 | 10 |
| Over 500,000 to under 750,000 | 3 |
| 750,000 to under 1,000,000 | 4 |
| 1,000,000 to under 1,500,000 | 14 |
| 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 | 6 |
| Over 2 million | 5 |
| Don't know | 16 |

Median: Over 300,000 to under 500,000

**7.** (US Oct 17 '45) How many [American soldiers, sailors, and airmen] were wounded? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 200,000 | 7% |
| 200,000 to under 500,000 | 6 |
| 500,000 to under 600,000 | 7 |
| 600,000 to 700,000 (correct answer) | 5 |
| Over 700,000 to 800,000 | 7 |
| Over 800,000 to under 1,000,000 | 2 |
| One million | 22 |
| One and a half million | 7 |
| Two million | 8 |
| Two to four million | 6 |
| Over four million | 3 |
| Don't know | 20 |

Median = one million

**8.** (US Oct 17 '45) Were the number of killed and wounded more than you expected when the war started, or less? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 38% |
| Less | 42 |
| Same | 6 |
| No opinion | 14 |

**9.** (US Oct 17 '45) Were there more Americans killed in this war or in the last war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| This war | 87% |
| Last war | 6 |
| No opinion | 7 |

## Causes

**1.** (US Dec 13 '37) Would you like to see the United States send more warships to China, or should it withdraw those now there? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Send more | 15% |
| Withdraw all | 61 |
| Make no change | 24 |
| No answer | (3) |

**2.** (US Dec 28 '37) Which policy should the government follow with regard to American citizens in China—warn them to leave, and withdraw our soldiers and naval forces, or continue to maintain the present armed forces in China for their protection? (AIPO)

| | *Withdraw* | *Stay* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 70% | 30% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 64% | 36% |
| Middle Atlantic | 65 | 35 |
| East central | 71 | 29 |
| West central | 77 | 23 |
| South | 74 | 26 |
| Rocky Mountain | 66 | 34 |
| Pacific coast | 65 | 35 |

**3.** (Great Britain Jan '38) If there is another serious incident with the Japanese in China, would you be in favor of war against Japan? (BIPO)

Yes 19% No 40% No opinion 41%

**4.** (US Apr '38) In view of the recent Japanese attacks upon Americans in China, do you think we should withdraw entirely from China or that we should take steps to make them respect our right? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Withdraw | 53.9% |
| Take steps | 29.9 |
| Neither | 5.1 |
| Don't know | 11.1 |

If Japan went too far in trampling on our rights in the Orient, would you favor declaring war upon Japan? Asked of the 35% of the sample who thought that the United States should take steps to make Japan respect her rights or that she should neither withdraw from China nor take steps to make Japan respect her.

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 45.9% | 45.0% | 9.1% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 58.8% | 34.4% | 6.8% |
| Women | 29.2 | 58.7 | 12.1 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 45.3% | 48.3% | 6.4% |
| Poor | 54.1 | 38.3 | 7.6 |

**5.** (US July '38) Which of the recent foreign military aggressions disturbed you most? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Japan's invasion of China | 29.4% |
| Germany's seizure of Austria | 22.8 |
| Outside intervention in Spain | 10.3 |
| The Russian treason trials | 2.7 |
| None | 21.3 |
| All | .6 |
| Don't know | 12.9 |

**6.** (US Jan '39) Which of these four statements comes closest to describing what you think was the real issue in the recent crisis over Czechoslovakia? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Hitler's desire to rule Europe | 49.2% |
| Germany's desire for Czech natural resources | 24.9 |
| The desire to bring all Germans under one flag | 12.1 |
| Mistreatment of the Sudeten Germans by the Czechs | 2.4 |
| Other (including "desire to recover territory lost through Versailles Treaty") | 1.7 |
| Don't know | 9.7 |

**7.** (US Jan '39) With which one of these four statements about the actions of England and France in the recent Czechoslovakian crisis do you come closest to agreeing? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| They should be strongly condemned | 8.3% |
| They made a foolish, shortsighted choice | 19.1 |
| It was too bad, but it was the best thing to do under the circumstances | 47.0 |
| Their actions were highly commendable | 11.6 |
| Don't know | 14.0 |

**8.** (US Jan '39) If there had been a general war in Europe [at the time of the Munich crisis] do you think the United States would eventually have been drawn in? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 76.2% | 14.6% | 9.2% |

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| *People who answered that the issue was* | | | |
| Mistreatment of Sudetens | 67.7% | 20.2% | 12.1% |
| Hitler's desire to rule | 79.7 | 13.3 | 7.0 |
| Czech natural resources | 77.6 | 14.8 | 7.6 |
| Bringing the Germans under one flag | 75.7 | 16.7 | 7.6 |
| Don't know | 58.5 | 16.4 | 25.1 |
| *People who answered that the Peace of Munich* | | | |
| Should be condemned | 76.8 | 17.3 | 5.9 |
| Was a foolish choice | 78.4 | 15.5 | 6.1 |
| Was best under the circumstances | 79.4 | 13.3 | 7.3 |
| Was highly commendable | 75.5 | 17.4 | 7.1 |
| Don't know | 63.2 | 14.3 | 22.5 |

**9.** (US Jan 10 '39) If there is such a [European] war [this year] which country do you think will be responsible for starting it? (AIPO)

| | Germany | Italy | Germany and Italy | Italy and Germany and other nations | Neither Germany nor Italy | | Other nations | No answer |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 62% | 12% | 20% | — | — | | 6% | — |
| (May 2 '39) | 51 | 1 | 32 | 9% | 7% | = 100% | — | 18% |

**10.** (US Mar 21 '39) Do you think England and France treated Germany fairly in the years following the World War? (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 40%

**11.** (US June 29 '39) Please look at this card and tell me how far you think the United States government should go to protect American interests in China. (AIPO)

| | Fight | Stop shipments | Protest | Do nothing |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 6% | 51% | 18% | 25% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England | 7% | 44% | 15% | 34% |
| Mid-Atlantic | 4 | 49 | 20 | 27 |
| East central | 5 | 50 | 17 | 28 |
| West central | 7 | 46 | 18 | 29 |
| South | 11 | 50 | 18 | 21 |
| West | 9 | 61 | 15 | 15 |

**12.** (Great Britain July '39) How far should Britain go at the present time to defend her interests in China: fight Japan if necessary, forbid all trade between Britain and Japan, supply credits and munitions to China, withdraw our ambassador as a protest, or do nothing? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Fight | 22% |
| Forbid | 37 |
| Supply | 17 |
| Withdraw | 9 |
| Do nothing | 15 |

**13.** (France July '39) Do you think that, if Germany tries to seize Danzig, we should stop them, by force if necessary? (FIPO)

| | Yes | No | No answer |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 76% | 17% | 7% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 79% | 14% | 7% |
| 30–39 years | 72 | 24 | 4 |
| 40–49 years | 71 | 20 | 9 |
| 50–59 years | 79 | 16 | 5 |
| 60 years and over | 82 | 10 | 8 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Agriculture | 73% | 17% | 10% |
| Industry and transportation | 76 | 17 | 7 |
| Business | 77 | 18 | 5 |
| Professions | 78 | 18 | 4 |

**14.** (France July '39) Do you think that France and England should energetically resist further Japanese penetration into China? (FIPO)

| | Yes | No | No answer |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 80% | 13% | 7% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 88% | 12% | — |
| 30–39 years | 76 | 17 | 7% |
| 40–49 years | 75 | 17 | 8 |
| 50–59 years | 79 | 13 | 8 |
| 60 years and over | 77 | 10 | 13 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Agriculture | 81% | 11% | 8% |
| Industry and transportation | 82 | 11 | 7 |
| Business | 82 | 13 | 5 |
| Professions | 75 | 18 | 7 |

**15.** (US Aug 17 '39) Do you think Poland should go to war with Germany in case Danzig votes to return to Germany? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 32% |
| No | 37 |
| No opinion | 30 |
| No answer | 1 |

**16.** (Aug 30 '39) Which country or countries do you consider responsible for causing the present war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany | 82% |
| England and/or France | 3 |
| Poland | 1 |
| Versailles Treaty | 3 |
| Others | 5 |
| No opinion | 6 |

**17.** (Great Britain Sept '39) Do you feel that our enemy is the German people [as a whole] or simply the Hitler [Nazi, German] government? (BIPO)

| | German people | Government | Don't know | Both |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 7% | 90% | 3% | — |
| (Great Britain May '40) (BIPO) | 45 | 51 | 4 | — |
| (Great Britain Nov '40) (BIPO) | 52 | 48 | — | — |
| (US Feb 3 '42) (AIPO) | 6 | 75 | 6 | 13% |
| (US May 21 '42) (AIPO) | 6 | 79 | 3 | 12 |
| (US June 17 '42) (OPOR) | 6 | 74 | 3 | 17 |
| (US July 15 '42) (OPOR) | 5 | 74 | 3 | 18 |
| (US Nov 17 '42) (AIPO) | 6 | 74 | 2 | 18 |
| (Great Britain Apr 4 '43) (BIPO) | 41 | 51 | 8 | — |
| (US Sept 28 '43) (AIPO) | 10 | 66 | 4 | 20 |
| (US Oct 6 '43) (AIPO) | 11 | 65 | 3 | 21 |
| (US Feb 20 '45) (AIPO) | 12 | 64 | 3 | 21 |

Why? Asked of the 5% of the July 15 '42 sample who felt that our chief enemy was the German people as a whole rather than the German government.

| | |
|---|---|
| People are as much to blame as the leaders | 9% |
| They put Hitler in power | 6 |
| They are behind government | 39 |
| German people are naturally or always have been warlike | 28 |
| Other irrelevant comments | 17 |
| No answer | 1 |

Why? Asked of the 74% of the July 15 '42 sample who felt that our chief enemy was the German government rather than the German people.

| | |
|---|---|
| People are forced by their leaders to fight | 33% |
| Government wants war | 17 |
| Nazi party wants to rule the world | 5 |
| People have been misled | 8 |
| General dislike of Hitler and Nazi party and leaders | 13 |
| Government doesn't represent the people | 8 |
| People are good people | 6 |
| People are easily led | 4 |
| Other irrelevant comments | 3 |
| No answer | 3 |

**18.** (US Sept 22 '39) Which of these statements do you think is closer to the truth: The present war in Europe is just another struggle between the European nations for power and wealth, or the present war in Europe is just a struggle of democracy against the spread of dictatorship? (AIPO)

Power struggle 50% Democracy vs dictatorship 50% = 100%
Don't know and both 13%

**19.** (Great Britain Oct '39) Should Great Britain and France draw up and publish their war aims? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 44% |
| No | 12 |
| Already explicit enough | 29 |
| Don't know | 15 |

**20.** (US Nov 8 '39) Do you think England and France should explain more fully just what they are fighting for, or do you think that they have already made their war aims clear enough? (AIPO)

Explain more fully 38% Clear enough now 62% = 100%
Don't know 16%

**21.** (US Nov 8 '39) Do you think England and France have made it clear what they are fighting for? (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 43% = 100% No opinion 12%

**22.** (US Dec '39) Which of these reasons comes closest to describing your own ideas as to the real cause of the present European war? (Please select only one most important reason if you can, but two if absolutely necessary.) (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| The German people always want to have their own way, even if that brings a war | 6.0% |
| Hitler's greed for land and lust for power | 54.0 |
| Germany's (or Hitler's) desire to regain all possessions lost in the last war | 19.5 |
| The Treaty of Versailles—it was unfair to Germany | 10.2 |
| England and France are trying to keep Germany from becoming a really strong power | 6.0 |
| The same old hatred between the peoples of Europe | 10.5 |
| The overpopulation of Europe—a war is needed to thin them out | 1.5 |
| Other | 2.8 |
| Don't know | 4.9 |
| | 115.4%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one reason.

**23.** (US Mar 8 '40) Which of these two statements do you think is closer to the truth: England and France are now fighting mainly to keep their power and wealth, or England and France are now fighting mainly to preserve democracy against the spread of dictatorship? (OPOR)

| | *Power and wealth* | *Democracy* | *Both* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 36% | 40% | 18% | 6% |
| (May 29 '40) (AIPO) | 30 | 35 | 27 | 8 |

**24.** (US July 20 '40) Do you think the United States should let Japan get control of China, or do you think that we should risk a war with Japan to keep the Japanese from controlling China? (OPOR)

| | *Let Japan control* | *Risk war* | *No opinion* | *Other* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 46% | 12% | 25% | 16% | 1% |
| (Sept 30 '40) (AIPO) | 41 | 39 | 26 | 20 | — |

**25.** (US Sept '40) Should the United States take steps now to keep Japan from becoming more powerful, even if this means risking a war with Japan? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46% | 54% = 100% | 17% |
| (July 10 '41) (OPOR) | 51 | 31 | 18 = 100% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 53% | 30% | 17% |
| East central | 46 | 37 | 17 |
| West central | 42 | 37 | 21 |
| South | 60 | 16 | 24 |
| West | 55 | 32 | 13 |
| (Aug 19 '41) (AIPO) | | | |
| National total | 70% | 18% | 12% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 72% | 16% | 12% |
| East central | 61 | 24 | 15 |
| West central | 64 | 21 | 15 |
| South | 76 | 11 | 13 |
| West | 76 | 14 | 10 |
| (Oct 22 '41) (AIPO) | | | |
| National total | 64% | 25% | 11% |
| (Nov 19 '41) (OPOR) | 64 | 23 | 13 |
| (Nov 25 '41) (AIPO) | 69 | 20 | 11 |

**26.** (US Nov '40) Do you think the time has come for us to take strong measures against Japan? (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49.4% | 24.2% | 26.4% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 56.4% | 27.1% | 16.5% |
| Women | 42.4 | 21.4 | 36.2 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Pacific coast | 53.0% | 18.1% | 28.9% |
| West north central | 42.9 | 24.5 | 32.6 |

Even military measures? Asked of the 49.4% of the total sample who thought the time had come to take strong measures against Japan.

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 55.7% | 32.5% | 11.8% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 60.8% | 31.0% | 8.2% |
| Women | 48.9 | 34.6 | 16.5 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Pacific coast | 62.0% | 21.6% | 16.4% |
| West north central | 50.4 | 34.7 | 14.9 |

**27.** (Great Britain Nov '40) Do you think the government should draw up and publish our war aims? (BIPO)

Yes 42% No 35% Don't know 23%

**28.** (US Jan 28 '41) Which of these two statements do you think is closer to the truth? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| England is now fighting mainly to keep her power and wealth | 28% |
| England is fighting mainly to preserve democracy against the spread of dictatorship | 37 |
| Both | 30 |
| No opinion | 5 |

**29.** (US Jan 29 '41) Which of these two statements do you think is closer to the truth? (OPOR)

| | *Jan 29 '41* | *July 10 '41* |
|---|---|---|
| England is now fighting (mainly) to preserve democracy against the spread of dictatorship | 31% | 37% |
| England is now fighting (mainly) to keep her powet and wealth | 33 | 31 |
| Both | 32 | 28 |
| No opinion | 4 | 4 |

**30.** (US Feb 14 '41) Do you think the United States should risk war with Japan, if necessary, in order to keep Japan from taking the Dutch East Indies and Singapore? (AIPO)

Yes 40% No 39% No opinion 21%

**31.** (Great Britain Mar '41) If the Japanese attempt to seize either our colonies or any of the colonies of our Allies in the Far East, should we go to war with them? (BIPO)

Yes 64% No 12% Don't know 24%

**32.** (US Mar 12 '41) Do you think the United States should go to war only after it has actually been invaded, or do you think that there are times when we should fight before we are invaded? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Fight only if invaded | 26% |
| Fight before invasion | 67 |
| No answer | 1 |
| No opinion | 6 |

**33.** (US Apr 8 '41) If Japan attacks Singapote, should we send part of our navy there to help Britain? (AIPO)

Yes 38% No 43% No opinion 19%

**34.** (US Apr 8 '41) If Japan attacks the Philippine Islands, should we declare war on Japan? (AIPO)

Yes 68% No 20% No opinion 12%

**35.** (US Apr 8 '41) If Japan attacks Hawaii, should we declare war on Japan? (AIPO)

Yes 74% No 12% No opinion 14%

**36.** (Great Britain June '41) What do you think we are fighting for? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Freedom, liberty, and democracy | 46% |
| To stop Fascism, Hitlerism, Nazism, aggression | 14 |
| It is Britain versus Germany; we are fighting to keep what we've got; it's them or us | 8 |
| For a better world; for lasting peace | 7 |
| For our existence, our lives | 5 |
| For capitalism; power for a few; imperialism | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 9 |
| No opinion | 7 |

**37.** (Great Britain June '41) Are we going about it (the war) the right way? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Of those believing that we were fighting for "Freedom, liberty, and democracy," "a better postwar world," and "to free the small nations" | 73% | 27% |
| Of those saying that it was "Britain versus Germany" or that we were fighting "to keep what we've got," "it's them or us" or "for our existence, our lives" | 54 | 46 |
| Of those saying "to stop Fascism, Hitlerism, Nazism, aggression" | 69 | 31 |

**38.** (US July 22 '41) Do you think the United States should go to war with Japan, if that is the only way to keep Japan from taking British, French and Dutch possessions in the South Pacific? (AIPO)

Yes 46% No 40% No opinion 14%

**39.** (US July 29 '41) Do you think the United States should go to war with Japan, if that is the only way to keep Japan from seizing the Dutch East Indies and Singapore? (AIPO)

Yes 52% No 35% No opinion 13%

**40.** (US Aug 26 '41) If the Japanese sink American ships carrying gasoline to Russia, should we go to war against Japan? (AIPO)

Yes 49% No 41% No opinion 10%

**41.** (US Nov 19 '41) Do you feel that you have a clear idea of what the war is all about (that is, what we are fighting for)? (OPOR)

Yes 50% No . 47% No opinion 3%

What would you say the war is all about? Asked of the 50% of the sample who felt that they had a clear idea of what the war is all about.

| | |
|---|---|
| War between two idologies | 3% |
| It is Hitler's war; the Nazis' war | 14 |
| Germany wants to achieve her objectives through this war | 14 |
| It is a war for the defeat of anti-democratic forces | 2 |
| Race doctrines have caused this war | 1 |
| Great Britain is responsible for the war | 1 |
| It is an economic war | 8 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 |

(US Mar 26 '42) Do you feel that you have a clear idea of what the war is all about? (OPOR)

Yes 48% No 47% Qualified answer 5%

Briefly, what would you say the war is all about? Asked of the 53% of the sample who said they had a clear idea of what the war was all about, or who gave a qualified answer.

| | |
|---|---|
| Ideological interpretations | 13% |
| Economic interpretations | 7 |
| War for power | 25 |
| Someone is to blame for the war | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| No comment | 1 |
| Words but no interpretation | 1 |

(US June 9 '42) Do you feel that you have a clear idea of what the war is all about [that is, what we are fighting for]? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 53% | 47% | 7% |
| (July 15 '42) (OPOR) | 64 | 29 | — |

What do you think we are fighting for? Asked of the 64% of the July 15 '42 sample who felt that they had a clear idea of what we were fighting for.

| | |
|---|---|
| Ideological aims | 27% |
| For America | 3 |
| Global aims | 9 |
| Economic and political power | 5 |
| Religious interpretation | 1 |
| War of survival | 16 |
| Peace | 3 |
| Get rid of Nazism | 4 |
| Other | 1 |
| | 69%* |

* Percentages add to more than 64 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Dec 2 '42) Do you feel that you have a clear idea of what this war is all about—that is, what we [the United States is] are fighting for? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 68% | 32% | |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper income group | 80% | 20% | |
| Middle income group | 69 | 31 | |
| Lower income group | 65 | 35 | |
| (Great Britain Jan 24 '43) (BIPO) | | | |
| National total | 78% | 22% | |
| (US Feb 6 '43) (NORC) | 75 | 22 | 3% |
| (US Mar 29 '44) (AIPO) | 59 | 41 | |

What? Asked of the 75% of the Feb 6 '43 sample who felt that they had a clear idea of what the United States was fighting for in this war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Freedom, liberty, rights (general) | 16% |
| Democracy (general) | 12 |
| Freedom and democracy for the world | 11 |
| Freedom for United States | 9 |
| To preserve our way of life | 5 |
| Freedom of religion or worship | 4 |
| Freedom of speech or press or thought | 4 |
| Four freedoms | 3 |
| Freedom from want or fear | 1 |
| Peace (general) | 3 |
| World peace | 2 |
| Peace forever | 3 |
| Fighting against fascism | 6 |
| Fighting in self-protection or self-defense | 14 |
| Trade, money, power | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 100%* |

* Percentages add to more than 75 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**42.** (Dec 10 '41) Why do you think Japan is fighting the United States—what are the underlying reasons? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer and don't know | 12% |
| Urged by Germany | 48 |
| Wants control of Orient | 30 |
| Needs raw materials | 5 |
| Our embargo | 5 |
| Jealous of United States' power | 2 |
| Hard feelings | 3 |
| Our aid to China | 4 |
| Desperation | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 6 |
| | 116%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**43.** (US Dec 18 '41) Do you think President Roosevelt did everything he should have to prevent war with Germany? (AIPO)

Yes 76% No 16% No opinion 7% No answer 1%

**44.** (US Jan 23 '42) In the war with Japan, do you feel that our chief enemy is the Japanese people as a whole, or the Japanese government? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with the order reversed, i.e.: Japanese government or the Japanese people as a whole. Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| People | 10% |
| Government | 64 |
| Don't know | 8 |
| Both | 16 |
| Other (including Germany, which uses Japan as a pawn) | 2 |

(June 17 '42) (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| People | 10% |
| Government | 63 |
| Both | 23 |
| Don't know | 4 |

**45.** (US Feb '42) Which of these statements comes closest to your idea of the main reason why Japan attacked us: (FOR)

| | *National total* | *Pacific coast* |
|---|---|---|
| It was an insane act on the part of Japan to save face (or what she considers her national honor) | 5.0% | 5.0% |
| The Japanese have always intended to fight us and thought that now was a good time because of the European war | 18.7 | 20.9 |
| The Japanese government is doing its part as Hitler's ally, and its move was part of German strategy | 68.5 | 70.4 |
| Other | 0.6 | 1.8 |
| Don't know | 7.2 | 1.9 |

**46.** (Feb 14 '42) What do you think the United States (England, Russia) is really fighting for in this war? (NORC)

| | *Sympathetic* | *Unsympathetic* | *An ideal* | *Self-defense* | *To defend power* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| United States | 86% | 8% | 63% | 21% | — | 7% | = 185%* |
| England | 63 | 22 | 32 | 31 | 16% | 16 | = 180* |
| Russia | 63 | 15 | 15 | 49 | — | 23 | = 165* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**47.** (Great Britain May '42) What do you think is the main cause of this war? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| German aggression and desire for world domination | 40% |
| Greed on the part of all nations, vested interests, struggle for markets; capitalism and imperialism | 29 |
| Insufficiently drastic handling of Germany after last war; the League of Nations was a failure | 7 |
| Appeasement, unpreparedness and slackness on part of the democracies | 10 |
| Lack of Christianity | 2 |
| Miscellaneous, don't know, no answer | 12 |

**48.** (US Aug '42) What are we fighting this war for? Asked of a national cross-section of high-school students. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Freedom—liberty | 45.1% |
| Democracy—American ideals | 26.9 |
| To stop Fascism, Nazism | 18.7 |
| Peace | 9.0 |
| To protect this country | 7.9 |
| Because we were attacked | 1.3 |
| | 108.9%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**49.** (US Nov '42) What do you really think we are fighting this war for? Asked of a national cross-section of high-school students. (FOR)

| | *Want to keep on fighting* | *Want peace now* |
|---|---|---|
| Liberty, freedom, democracy, American ideals, etc | 70.7% | 49.3% |
| Because attacked, to stop Hitler and Japan, to protect our country | 17.3 | 14.9 |
| Peace | 10.8 | 12.3 |
| To get rid of dictatorship, Hitlerism, Nazi ideas | 11.1 | 3.6 |
| World freedom, to make world a better place, free conquered countries | 10.9 | 2.0 |
| For England, for power, territory, money interests | 1.8 | 7.3 |
| Other | 10.8 | 17.9 |
| Don't know | 2.3 | 13.8 |
| | 135.7%* | 121.1%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**50.** (US Aug 25 '42) The United States is fighting this war because. . . . (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Freedom and democracy throughout the world have been threatened | 27% |
| Our freedom and democracy are endangered | 32 |
| We were attacked and must fight to defend our country and possessions | 11 |
| Germany and Japan must be defeated and their systems of government overthrown | 6 |
| We want to establish world peace | 3 |
| The capitalists got us into it | 2 |
| England needed our help—she could not win alone | 2 |
| The last war was not properly settled | 1 |
| The politicians got us into it | 1 |
| Miscellaneous reasons | 7 |
| Non-specific answers: we had to, forced into it | 9 |
| No opinion | 5 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**51.** (US Apr 6 '43) What do you think are the chief things Britain is fighting for? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Self-defense: | |
| Self-preservation and survival | 37% |
| To defend the empire | 22 |
| Idealistic reasons: | |
| Freedom, democracy, peace (general) | 21 |
| Her own freedom | 16 |
| Defeat of totalitarianism | 6 |
| Four Freedoms | 1 |
| Power or prestige | 8 |
| Economic reasons | 4 |
| Imperialism and gain | 3 |
| Skeptical answers | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 8 |
| | 127%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**52.** (US Apr 6 '43) What do you think are the chief things America is fighting for? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Idealistic reasons: | |
| Freedom, democracy, peace (general) | 40% |
| For our own freedom | 31 |
| Four Freedoms | 5 |
| Humanitarian reasons—to help others | 8 |
| For defeat of totalitarianism | 7 |
| Self-defense | 27 |
| Economic reasons | 4 |
| Power and prestige | 2 |
| Imperialism and gain | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Skeptical answers | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 2 |
| | 129%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one reply.

**53.** (US Apr 6 '43) Can you think of any ways in which Britain is to blame for this war? (NORC)

Yes 39% No 61% No opinion *

* Less than 0.5%.

How? Asked of the 39% of the sample who could think of ways in which Britain was to blame for this war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Appeasement | 17% |
| Lack of isolationism | 11 |
| Mishandling of the last peace | 9 |
| Actively helping rearmament | 3 |
| Lack of preparedness | 2 |
| Not going far enough in the prosecution of the last war | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 46%* |

* Percentages add to more than 39 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**54.** (US Apr 6 '43) Can you think of any ways in which the United States is to blame for this war? (NORC)

Yes 35% No 65% No answer *

* Less than 0.5%.

How? Asked of the 35% of the sample who could think of ways in which the United States was to blame for this war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Not going far enough in the prosecution of the last war | 3% |
| Lack of cooperation after the last war | 10 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Isolationism: | |
| Lack of preparedness | 5% |
| Our isolationism led us to condone the growth of Fascism | 4 |
| Tariff barriers | 1 |
| Too strict with Japanese | 1 |
| General mentions | 5 |
| Lack of isolationism: | |
| Lack of isolationism (general) | 5 |
| Actively helping Axis to rearm | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 40%* |

* Percentages add to more than 35 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**55.** (US Feb '44) Do you think the way we treated Germany after the First World War had anything to do with starting this war? (NORC)

Yes 49% No 37% Don't know 14%

In what way? Asked of the 49% of the sample who thought that Germany's treatment after the First World War was a factor in causing World War II.

| | |
|---|---|
| Didn't finish the job last time | 5% |
| Peace terms were too lenient | 2 |
| Enforcement was too lax, they armed and grew too powerful | 18 |
| Peace treaty was unfair, reparations too heavy, couldn't make decent standard of living, gave Hitler a chance | 10 |
| We took land that we shouldn't have taken | 2 |
| Created a spirit of revenge, general bad feelings over peace | 5 |
| We didn't carry our responsibility, didn't join the League | 3 |
| Other | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 2 |

**56.** (Canada Nov 4 '44) Do you think it is the German people themselves that make Germany go to war, or do you think it is because they have warlike leaders? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| German people | 25% |
| Some German people | 11 |
| Leaders | 57 |
| Undecided | 7 |

**57.** (Netherlands July '45) Do you hold the entire German nation or only the Nazis responsible for the torments our nation has been put to? Asked in the three western provinces only. (NFS)

German nation 38% Nazis only 57%
No opinion and other 5%

**58.** (Germany Oct 26 '45) Do you think there is any truth in the following statement? All the German people are responsible for the war because they permitted a government to assume power which wanted to plunge the entire world into war. (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 19% | 73% | 7% | 1% |
| (Nov 19 '45) | 23 | 68 | 9 | — |
| (Dec 27 '45) | 20 | 76 | 4 | — |
| (June 7 '46) | 15 | 79 | 6 | — |

**59.** (US Jan '46) Do you think that we did or did not deliberately provoke Japan into making war against us? (FOR)

| | *Did* | *Did not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 14.0% | 70.6% | 15.4% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| West coast | 22.1% | 69.0% | 9.9% |
| Southwest | 2.8 | 85.5 | 11.7 |

**60.** (Hungary Jan '46) In what order do Hungary and its neighboring Danubian countries share the war guilt? (HIPOR)

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | *Slovakia* % | *Roumania* % | *Croatia* % | *Bulgaria* % | *Austria* % | *Hungary* % | *Other, undecided* % | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Budapest | 74.2 | 80.6 | 45.1 | 20.2 | 55.3 | 67.6 | 19.0 | = 362* |
| Trans Danubia | 67.2 | 88.7 | 21.5 | 17.4 | 33.0 | 58.5 | 24.6 | = 310.9* |
| Area between Danube & Tisza | 76.4 | 81.2 | 42.4 | 26.5 | 26.4 | 64.5 | 28.7 | = 346.1* |
| North | 56.3 | 86.9 | 28.6 | 10.3 | 37.1 | 57.6 | 20.8 | = 297.6* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because the respondents were asked to give more than one answer.

**61.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The German public was asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: The Versailles Treaty was so severe on Germany that it justified Germany's bringing on the second world war. (OMGSU)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amzone | 32% | 52% | 16% |
| Berlin only | 40 | 53 | 7 |

Was the harshness of this treaty one provocation for this war? Asked of the 68% of the sample who did not think the Versailles Treaty's harshness gave the Germans the right to begin World War II.

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Amzone | 7% | 68% | 25% | * |
| Berlin only | 25 | 36 | 7 | * |

**62.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The German public was asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: Nothing can justify Germany's second World War. (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amzone | 47% | 38% | 15% |
| Berlin only | 50 | 48 | 2 |

**63.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The German public was asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: This war was caused by a conspiracy between the international bankers and Communists. (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amzone | 18% | 62% | 20% |
| Berlin only | 21 | 71 | 8 |

**64.** (US Sept '46) Do you think we fought in World War II only because we were attacked at Pearl Harbor, or do you think there were some other reasons why we fought? (NORC)

Pearl Harbor only 29% Other reasons 61% Don't know 10%

What reasons are you thinking of? Asked of the 61% of the sample who thought we fought World War II for other reasons than Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor.

| | |
|---|---|
| Prevent world aggression, guarantee Four Freedoms to all | 14% |
| Prevent aggression of United States soil | 8 |
| We had to help England and Russia and all allies | 10 |
| England dragged us in, resentment toward England | 4 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Circumstances accumulated, bound to come, World War I never settled | 6% |
| Protect foreign investments, overcome depression, world trade | 12 |
| Our government was preparing, foreign entanglements | 10 |
| Roosevelt | 1 |
| Germany, Japan planned long time | 3 |
| Miscellaneous, not elsewhere classifiable | 2 |
| Don't know | 4 |
| | 74%* |

* Percentages add to more than 61 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**65.** (Germany Oct 4 '46) Many people maintain the entire German people are guilty of the war for having brought into power a government which wanted to get the whole world into war. Do you believe that the German people are guilty on this basis? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 5% |
| No | 92 |
| No opinion | 3 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**66.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Do you believe that the German people are guilty for the war because they let a government come to power which wanted to bring war upon the world? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, in part | 28% |
| No | 67 |
| No opinion | 5 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**67.** (Germany Dec 10 '46) Did Germany attack Poland because she wanted to protect the Germans living there from Polish mistreatment? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 21% |
| No | 46 |
| No opinion | 33 |
| No answer | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

## Children

**1.** (US Jan 20 '39) It has been proposed that the government permit 10,000 refugee children from Germany to be brought into this country and taken care of in American homes. Do you favor this plan? (AIPO)

Yes 26% No 66% No opinion 8%

**2.** (US Jan 20 '39) It has been proposed to bring to this country 10,000 refugee children from Germany—most of them Jewish—to be taken care of in American homes. Should the government permit these children to come in? (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 61% No opinion 9%

## China and Japan

**1.** (US Aug 2 '37) In the present fight between Japan and China, are your sympathies with either side? (AIPO)

Yes 45% No 55%

Which side [are your sympathies on in the present fight between Japan and China]?

| | *Neither* | *China* | *Japan* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 43% | 2% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 54% | 45% | 1% |
| Middle Atlantic | 50 | 48 | 2 |
| East central | 58 | 40 | 2 |
| West central | 56 | 41 | 3 |
| South | 66 | 32 | 2 |
| Rocky Mountain | 44 | 53 | 3 |
| Pacific coast | 53 | 45 | 2 |

**2.** (US Oct 4 '37) In the present fight between China and Japan, are your sympathies with China, Japan or neither side? (AIPO)

| | *China* | *Japan* | *Neither* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 59% | 1% | 40% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 62% | 1% | 37% |
| Middle Atlantic | 64 | 1 | 35 |
| East central | 52 | 1 | 47 |
| West central | 54 | 1 | 45 |
| South | 57 | 1 | 42 |
| Rocky Mountain | 63 | 2 | 35 |
| Pacific coast | 73 | 2 | 25 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democratic voters | 59% | 1% | 40% |
| Republican voters | 64 | 1 | 35 |
| Third party voters | 56 | 1 | 43 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Urban dwellers | 62% | 1% | 37% |
| Small town dwellers | 61 | 1 | 38 |
| Farm dwellers | 50 | 1 | 49 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Better than average | 76% | 2% | 22% |
| Average | 64 | 1 | 35 |
| Below average | 54 | 1 | 45 |
| Poor | 50 | 1 | 49 |
| Relief | 49 | 1 | 50 |

Is your sympathy for China great enough to keep you from buying goods made in Japan? Asked of the 59% of the sample whose sympathies are with China in the present fight between China and Japan.

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 37% | 63% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 44% | 56% |
| Middle Atlantic | 47 | 53 |
| East central | 30 | 70 |
| West central | 28 | 72 |
| South | 30 | 70 |
| Rocky Mountain | 39 | 61 |
| Pacific coast | 50 | 50 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democratic voters | 40% | 60% |
| Republican voters | 39 | 61 |
| Third Party voters | 32 | 68 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | |
| Urban dwellers | 41% | 59% |
| Small town dwellers | 35 | 65 |
| Farm dwellers | 27 | 73 |

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Better than average | 48% | 52% |
| Average | 41 | 59 |
| Below average | 33 | 67 |
| Poor | 32 | 68 |
| On relief | 34 | 66 |

**3.** (US May 19 '39) In the present war between Japan and China, which side do you sympathize with? (AIPO)

| | *Japan* | *China* | *Neither* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 2% | 74% | 24% |
| (Feb 20 '40) | 2 | 77 | 13 |

**4.** (US Feb 20 '40) In the present war between Japan and China, which side do you want to see win? (AIPO)

Japan 2% China 76% Neither 22%

## Civilian Relief

**1.** (Sweden Feb '43) Have you or your family contributed toward helping our northern neighbor lands? (SGI)

| | *Cash* | *Goods* | *"Godchild"* | *Child in home* | *Work* | *Not at all* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 62% | 15% | 5% | 2% | 8% | 24% | = 116%* |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | |
| Upper | 81% | 33% | 20% | 7% | 4% | 6% | = 151%* |
| Middle | 76 | 20 | 8 | 3 | 4 | 16 | = 127* |
| Workers | 54 | 9 | 2 | 1 | 12 | 32 | = 110* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (Sweden Dec '44) Do you think that the Swedish government has done all it can in the question of the distress in northern Norway, or do you think that the government, through conferences, could put still harder pressure on the Germans in order to make more help possible? (SGI)

| | *Done all possible* | *Could put on more pressure* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46% | 23% | 31% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 48% | 29% | 23% |
| Women | 43 | 16 | 41 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 53% | 19% | 28% |
| Middle class | 48 | 20 | 32 |
| Workers | 43 | 25 | 32 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Country | 45% | 20% | 35% |
| Town | 46 | 27 | 27 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| North Sweden | 44% | 26% | 30% |
| Dalärna | 42 | 26 | 32 |
| Mälar district | 42 | 26 | 39 |
| Stockholm | 48 | 23 | 29 |
| East Gotland | 52 | 19 | 29 |
| Skåne | 51 | 17 | 32 |
| Bovä | 40 | 30 | 30 |

**3.** (Hungary May '46) What should decide the distribution of presents received from foreign relief? (HIPOR) Asked in Budapest and suburbs.

| | FIXED INCOME | | FREE INCOME | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* |
| Need, merit | 32.2% | 38.0% | 33.9% | 33.6% |
| Children | 14.5 | 16.3 | 18.0 | 20.5 |
| Old persons | 6.0 | 6.2 | 7.4 | 6.2 |
| Sick persons | 6.1 | 6.9 | 7.1 | 6.6 |
| Poor | 13.8 | 15.0 | 18.2 | 13.2 |
| Workers only | 17.1 | 8.3 | 4.9 | 10.0 |
| Everybody equally | 3.2 | 3.4 | 4.9 | 3.0 |
| Other, no answer | 7.1 | 5.9 | 5.6 | 6.9 |

**4.** (Hungary May '46) Who should be entrusted with the fair distribution [of foreign relief articles]? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

| | FIXED INCOME | | FREE INCOME | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* |
| Public administration | 29.2% | 30.1% | 29.1% | 28.4% |
| Charitable institutions, churches | 36.8 | 33.4 | 39.3 | 38.8 |
| Political parties | 3.2 | 5.1 | 4.4 | 3.3 |
| Special organization, foreign or home institutions | 26.3 | 26.3 | 22.0 | 25.0 |
| Other, no answer | 4.5 | 5.1 | 5.2 | 4.5 |

**5.** (Hungary May '46) What does Hungary need most from foreign relief action? Asked in Budapest and suburbs. (HIPOR)

| | FIXED INCOME | | FREE INCOME | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Men* | *Women* | *Men* | *Women* |
| Shoes | 8.3% | 8.4% | 6.9% | 4.9% |
| Clothing | 42.0 | 43.6 | 44.3 | 36.3 |
| Food | 38.1 | 34.6 | 33.1 | 40.0 |
| Medicine | 4.5 | 4.4 | 2.3 | 4.2 |
| Money, loan, credit | 2.2 | 1.2 | 2.1 | 2.3 |
| Soap | 0.2 | 0.1 | — | — |
| Books | 0.1 | — | 0.7 | 0.3 |
| Tobacco, cigarettes | 0.7 | 2.0 | 1.4 | 0.6 |
| Agricultural equipment | — | — | 0.2 | — |
| Livestock | 0.3 | — | — | 1.3 |
| Industrial articles, machines, vehicles | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.7 | — |
| Everything | 2.9 | 3.8 | 2.7 | 6.0 |
| Other, no answer | 0.5 | 1.6 | 5.6 | 4.1 |

**6.** (Hungary Oct '46) Have you or your family turned to the Red Cross for help since the outbreak of war? (HIPOR)

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Other, no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Well off | 38.8% | 60.3% | 0.9% |
| Middle class | 38.1 | 60.6 | 1.3 |
| Poor | 40.9 | 56.6 | 2.5 |

**7.** (Hungary Oct '46) What kind of help would you approve of giving to the Red Cross? (HIPOR)

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Charity of society* | *State support* | *Both* | *Other, no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Well off | 32.2% | 33.0% | 32.6% | 2.2% |
| Middle class | 26.4 | 38.4 | 32.3 | 2.9 |
| Poor | 30.9 | 41.8 | 23.6 | 3.7 |

## Congresses, Conferences, etc.

**1.** (US Apr 19 '39) Do you approve or disapprove of President Roosevelt's action in sending his message to Hitler and Mussolini, suggesting a conference to settle Europe's war problems? (AIPO)

Approve 57% Disapprove 36% No opinion 7%

**2.** (US Aug 26 '41) Have you heard or read about the eight-point program which Roosevelt and Churchill drew up at their recent meeting? (AIPO)

Yes 75% No 25%

In general, what do you think of the program [drawn up by Roosevelt and Churchill at their recent meeting]? Asked of the 75% of the sample who had heard or read about Roosevelt's and Churchill's eight-point program.

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve, good thing | 19% |
| Mild approval | 17 |
| Approve in part | 2 |
| Good if it works | 4 |
| Nothing new, repetition of Wilson's Fourteen Points | 2 |
| Impractical | 3 |
| General disapproval | 6 |
| Opposed to involvement | 2 |
| Too soon for plans to be made | 1 |
| Roosevelt takes things too much into his own hands | 1 |
| Just a blind for real purpose of meeting | 2 |
| No answer and no opinion | 16 |

**3.** (Great Britain Aug 30 '41) Are you pleased or disappointed with the results of the Roosevelt-Churchill meeting in the Atlantic? (BIPO)

Pleased 58% Disappointed 22% No opinion 20%

**4.** (US Oct '41) Do you think it was a good idea or a bad idea for President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill to have their recent meeting? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good | 54.7% |
| Part good, part bad | 6.6 |
| Bad | 12.8 |
| Don't know | 25.9 |

**5.** (US Jan 23 '42) Have you heard or read about the Atlantic Charter? (AIPO)

Yes 21% No 79%

Did you hear or read about the meeting between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, held at sea last summer? Asked of the 79% of the sample who had not heard or read about the Atlantic Charter.

Yes 64% No 15%

**6.** (US Jan 23 '42) Can you tell me briefly any of the main provisions of the Atlantic Charter? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No | 79% |
| Yes, one correct provision named | 3 |
| Two to four correct provisions named | 1 |
| No provisions named, but answer generally correct | 6 |
| Incorrect provision | 1 |
| Those who said they could name a provision but didn't give any answer | 10 |

**7.** (US Feb 14 '42) Have you heard or read anything about the Pan-American confetence of nations which was held recently in Rio (Brazil)? (NORC)

Yes 53% No 46% Don't know 1%

In general, would you say the results of the conference were satisfactory or unsatisfactory to the United States? Asked of the 53% of the sample who had heard or read something about the Pan-American conference of nations held in Brazil.

| | |
|---|---|
| Satisfactory | 31% |
| Unsatisfactory | 6 |
| Partially satisfactory, partially unsatisfactory | 10 |
| Don't know | 6 |

**8.** (US July 1 '42) Have you ever heard of the Four Freedoms? (NORC)

Yes 35% No 61% Don't know 4%

Do you happen to remember what they are? Asked of the 35% of the sample who had heard of the Four Freedoms.

| | |
|---|---|
| Freedom of speech | 23% |
| Freedom of religion | 22 |
| Freedom from fear | 5 |
| Freedom from want | 5 |
| | 55%* |

* Percentages add to more than 35 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (Canada Jan 23 '43) Do you by any chance recall who drew up the Atlantic Charter? (CIPO)

BY EDUCATION

| | *Roosevelt and Churchill* | *Roosevelt* | *Churchill* | *Don't know or wrong* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Public school | 46% | 3% | 2% | 49% |
| High school | 65 | 2 | 1 | 32 |
| College | 85 | 2 | * | 13 |

* Less than 1%

**10.** (Canada Jan 23 '43) Do you by any chance remember any of the war aims included in this [Atlantic] Charter? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Freedom from fear | 3% |
| Freedom from want | 4 |
| Freedom of speech | 4 |
| Freedom of religion | 5 |
| No territorial gains | * |
| Self-determination of nations | 2 |
| Free access to trade, etc. | 4 |
| Social security | * |
| Freedom of the seas | 2 |
| Disarm aggressor nations | * |
| Could name no war aims | 86 |
| | 110%** |

* Less than 1%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents named more than one war aim.

**11.** (US Nov '43) Did you know that the United States, Great Britain, and Russia held a conference in Moscow recently? (NORC)

Yes 80% No 20%

Will you tell me, in general, some of the things that were decided at this conference? Asked of the 80% of the sample who knew of the Moscow conference.

Right 41% Wrong 9% Don't know 30%

Do you think all three countries will stick to these agreements after the war? Asked of the 80% of the sample who knew of the Moscow conference.

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 45% |
| No | 18 |
| No answer | 3 |
| Don't know | 14 |

Which countries do you think might not [stick to these agreements after the war]? Asked of 32% of the sample who had heard of the Moscow conference and did not think that all three countries would stick to the agreements or didn't know whether they would or not.

| | |
|---|---|
| United States | 3% |
| Great Britain | 10 |
| Russia | 22 |
| Don't know and no answer | 5 |
| | 40%* |

* Percentages add to more than 32 because some respondents named more than one country.

**12.** (US Nov 9 '43) Have you read or heard reports about the meeting of England, Russia, China, and the United States in Moscow? (AIPO)

Yes 77% No 23%

Did the Moscow conference produce greater or smaller results than you expected? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who had read or heard reports about the Moscow conference.

| | |
|---|---|
| Greater | 48% |
| Same | 13 |
| Smaller | 8 |
| No opinion | 31 |

**13.** (US Nov 9 '43) At Moscow the Allies agreed that after the war they would continue the cooperation established during the war. Do you expect that they will be able to work together after the war? (AIPO)

Yes 54% No 26% No opinion 20%

**14.** (US Nov 15 '43) By the way, have you heard or read anything about the recent conference in Moscow between the United States, Russia, and England? (NORC)

Yes 71% No 29% No answer *

* Less than 0.5%.

Do you think this conference was a success from the point of view of the United States, or not? Asked of the 71% of the sample who had heard or read something about the recent conference in Moscow between the United States, Russia and England.

| | |
|---|---|
| Success | 45% |
| Partly a success, partly not | 7 |
| Not a success | 3 |
| Don't know | 16 |

What are some of the things that were decided? Asked of the 71% of the sample who had heard or read something about the recent conference in Moscow between the United States, Russia and England.

| | |
|---|---|
| Unconditional surrender | 6% |
| No separate peace | 6 |
| Punishment of war criminals | 2 |
| Organization of nations after the war | 1 |
| Enforcement of peace | 1 |
| Liberation of Austria | 1 |
| Destruction of Fascism in Italy | * |
| Guarantee of peace and security pending international organization | * |
| No unilateral military action by an allied country | * |
| General unspecific | 15 |
| Miscellaneous (specific) | 15 |
| Reserve judgment | 4 |
| Don't know | 28 |
| | 79%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 71% because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**15.** (Great Britain Nov 20 '43) Did the Moscow conference produce greater results than you expected or smaller results than you expected? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Greater | 28% |
| About expected | 32 |
| Less | 8 |
| Don't know | 32 |

**16.** (US Feb 20 '45) Have you heard or read about the recent Crimean conference between Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt? (AIPO)

Yes 70% No 30%

On the whole, is your opinion of what was accomplished at the conference favorable or unfavorable? Asked of the 70% of the sample who had heard or read about the Crimean conference.

| | *Favorable* | *Unfavorable* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 61% | 9% | 30% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Roosevelt voters | 70% | 6% | 24% |
| Dewey voters | 55 | 12 | 33 |

**17.** (US Apr 4 '45) Have you heard or read anything about the San Francisco conference to be held this month? (AIPO)

Yes 70% No 30%

Will you tell me what the purpose of the [San Francisco] conference is? Asked of the 70% of the sample who had heard or read of the San Francisco conference.

| | |
|---|---|
| Work out peace terms; dispose of the Axis | 41% |
| Create machinery for world league; establish basis for permanent peace | 34 |
| Discuss postwar plans; settle economic questions; trade problems, etc | 11 |
| Make plans for finishing the war | 2 |
| Settle boundary disputes | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Don't know | 17 |
| | 109%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

Will you tell me what problems are to be discussed at it [the San Francisco conference]? What do you hope it will accomplish? Asked of the 70% of the sample who had heard or read of the San Francisco conference.

| | *Problems to be discussed* | *Hope conference will accomplish* |
|---|---|---|
| Make peace terms; peace | 12% | 22% |
| Create a union of all nations; set up machinery for world organization; agree on votes of assembly | 23 | 16 |
| Postwar plans; successful solution of world problems | 4 | 4 |
| Make a lasting peace; avoid future wars | 5 | 35 |
| Friendship; cooperation; unity; adjust differences | 1 | 10 |
| Disposition of Axis nations; division of Germany and Japan, occupation of them; disarmament; our treatment of them | 17 | 3 |
| Completion of war against Axis; determine if Russia will enter Japanese war | 2 | 1 |
| Economic security; settle trade problems; monetary system | 10 | 3 |
| Rehabilitation; build up other countries and governments of liberated countries | 9 | 2 |
| Establish four freedoms or any of them | 1 | 1 |
| Union of Big Four or Big Three | 1 | 1 |

| | *Problems to be discussed* | *Hope conference will accomplish* |
|---|---|---|
| Boundary and territorial settlements of all countries | 15% | 2% |
| Punish Axis nations; destroy them | * | 1 |
| Food shortages of world; clothing shortages | 2 | * |
| Miscellaneous | 3 | 1 |
| Didn't say | 33 | 13 |
| | 138%** | 115%** |

* Less than 1%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

Do you think it will accomplish these things? Asked of a national cross-section of people who knew what the general purpose of the San Francisco conference was.

Yes 45% No 28% Don't know 27%

**18.** (France Apr 16 '45) Do you think it advantageous to France to participate in the San Francisco conference, even though as an invited rather than an inviting power? (FIPO)

Yes 36% No 31% No opinion 33%

**19.** (US May 15 '45) Have you followed the [radio and newspaper] reports of the [discussions at the] San Francisco conference? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| | 51% | 49% |
| (May 29 '45) | 52 | 48 |

On the whole, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the progress that has been made to date? Asked of the sample who had followed the discussions of the San Francisco conference.

| | *Satisfied* | *Dissatisfied* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| (May 15 '45) | 26% | 19% | 6% |
| (May 29 '45) | 27 | 18 | 7 |

(Sweden June '45) Have you followed the events of the San Francisco conference closely? (SGI)

| | *Followed closely* | *Read only some of it* | *Not followed* | *Not heard of it* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 9% | 40% | 49% | 2% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 19% | 56% | 24% | 1% |
| Middle class | 10 | 42 | 46 | 2 |
| Workers | 7 | 37 | 54 | 2 |

Are you satisfied with the results of the [San Francisco] conference? Asked of the 49% of the sample who had followed the events of the conference closely or had read some of the accounts of it.

Yes 22% No 48% Don't know 30%

(Australia June to July '45) Have you followed the reports of the San Francisco conference? (APOP)

Yes 42% No 58%

Are you satisfied—or dissatisfied—with what has been done at the [San Francisco] conference? Asked of the 42% of the sample who had followed the discussions of the conference.

Satisfied 20% Dissatisfied 12% No opinion 10%

(Denmark July 15 '45) Have you followed the news about the San Francisco conference in the papers and on the radio? (DGI)

Yes 52.1% No 47.9%

Are you satisfied with the results of the [San Francisco] conference?

Yes 46.5% No 18.3% Don't know 35.2%

**20.** (Great Britain June '45) Mr. Attlee has been asked by Mr. Churchill to go to the meeting of the Big Three after the election. Do you approve or disapprove of the invitation? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 80% | 10% | 10% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 83% | 12% | 5% |
| Women | 77 | 9 | 14 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 77% | 8% | 15% |
| 30–49 years | 82 | 10 | 8 |
| 50 years and over | 79 | 11 | 10 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 81% | 11% | 8% |
| Middle | 83 | 13 | 4 |
| Lower | 80 | 9 | 11 |

**21.** (Great Britain June '45) Should Sir Archibald Sinclair, the leader of the Liberal party, also be invited to go with Mr. Churchill [to the meeting of the Big Three]? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 27% | 18% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 57% | 31% | 12% |
| Women | 53 | 22 | 25 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 55% | 21% | 24% |
| 30–49 years | 57 | 27 | 16 |
| 50 years and over | 51 | 28 | 21 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher | 50% | 41% | 9% |
| Middle | 63 | 27 | 10 |
| Lower | 52 | 26 | 22 |

**22.** (Canada June 20 '45) As you know, the United Nations are meeting in San Francisco to try to set up an organization which will help to keep the peace. As things look now, are you more confident or less confident than you were before the conference started that it will be successful? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 40% |
| Less | 15 |
| Same | 22 |
| Undecided | 23 |

**23.** (US Aug '45) From everything that you have heard so far, do you think the conference at San Francisco has been a great success, that it has accomplished some good but not as much as it should have, or that on the whole it has been disappointing? (FOR)

BY PREFERENCE IN FOREIGN POLICY

| | *Great success* | *Some good* | *Disappointing* | *Don't know* | *Hadn't heard of Conference* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No alliances | 6.2% | 35.3% | 26.9% | 26.3% | 5.3% |
| Separate alliances | 10.7 | 42.8 | 17.6 | 23.9 | 5.0 |
| International organization | 8.0 | 63.9 | 16.3 | 10.9 | .9 |

**24.** (Australia Aug '45) Have you followed reports of the World Charter, drawn up at the San Francisco conference, and now awaiting approval by world governments? The third of the men and the quarter of the women answering yes were asked: Do you think Australia should or should not agree to be bound by the provisions of the Charter? (APOP)

BY SEX

| | *Ratify Charter* | *Don't ratify* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 84% | 10% | 6% |
| Women | 72 | 10 | 18 |

**25.** (US Oct 17 '45) Have you heard or read anything about the recent London conference of Foreign Ministers from England; Russia, China, the United States, and France? (AIPO)

Yes 46% No 54%

Do you think it was a success or a failure? Asked of the 46% of the sample who knew of the recent London conference.

Success 6% Failure 27% Don't know 13%

**26.** (Hungary Dec 20 '45) What do you expect from the Moscow conference? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Agreement | 57% |
| No solution | 19 |
| Conflict | 13 |
| Couldn't answer | 11 |

**27.** (Hungary May '46) A national cross-section of Hungarians was asked whether or not they thought the Paris conference would be effective. Results follow. (HIPOR)

Yes 67% No 28% Uncertain 5%

**28.** (France July 1 '46) Which of the four ministers, in your opinion, did most for the cause of peace [at the conference of Foreign Ministers in London]? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| French minister (Bidault) | 33% |
| Russian minister (Molotov) | 7 |
| American minister (Byrnes) | 6 |
| British minister (Bevin) | 2 |
| No opinion | 52 |

**29.** (France July 1 '46) Do you think the results [of the London conference] were satisfactory? (FIPO)

Yes 3% No 57% No opinion 40%

**30.** (France July 1 '46) The Paris conference (April 25 to May 16) which brought together the foreign ministers of the United States, England, France, and Russia has just ended. Have you followed the reports of the conference? (FIPO)

Yes, regularly 28% Yes, a little 38% Not at all 34%

**31.** (Germany July 25 '46) Have you been following the news reports of the Paris conference of Foreign Ministers? (OMGUS)

Yes 37% No 63% No answer *

* Less than 0.5%.

In your opinion, what was the most important outcome of this conference? Asked of the 37% of the sample who had followed the reports of the Paris conference.

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 1% |
| Summoning of Peace conference; discussion of peace treaties | 11 |
| Question of German economic unity; unification of German economy | 3 |
| Elimination of zonal borders in Germany | 3 |
| Other countries to be satisfied first; discussions about Italy; peace treaties with Balkan states | 3 |
| Russia's attitude toward Ruhr question; Ruhr and Saar districts to remain with Germany | 2% |
| Allies agreed on some points | 2 |
| No agreement as far as Germany is concerned | 6 |
| Other | * |
| Don't know, cannot judge | 7 |
| | 38%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 37 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

Do you consider this conference a success or a failure? Asked of the 37% who had followed reports of the Paris conference.

Success 20% Failure 10% No opinion 6% No answer 1%

What importance has this conference for you as a German citizen? Asked of the 37% of the sample who had followed reports of the conference.

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 1% |
| A step toward a peace treaty and peace for Germany | 7 |
| Our future depends on it: it is a question of life and death for Germany | 14 |
| Unification of German economy | 3 |
| Conference was of no importance for us as German citizens | 5 |
| Other | 1 |
| Don't know, no opinion | 5 |
| Allies don't agree; Russia unwilling to cooperate | 1 |

Do you consider this conference of importance to you as a German citizen? Asked of the 63% of the sample who had not followed reports of the Paris conference.

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 2% |
| Very important | 5 |
| Important | 22 |
| Not important at all | 3 |
| No opinion | 31 |

**32.** (Germany July 25 '46) Did you hear or read about Mr. Molotov's speech on the future of Germany, at the conclusion of the conference? (OMGUS)

Yes 24% No 76% No answer *

* Less than 0.5%.

What do you think about Russia's intentions concerning the future of Germany as expressed by Mr. Molotov in his speech? Asked of the 24% of the sample who had heard or read about Molotov's speech.

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | * |
| Russia wants to bolshevize Europe, wants position of supreme power over entire Europe | 2% |
| Russia wants to introduce Bolshevism into Germany | 3 |
| Russia wants Ruhr district to remain with Germany | 2 |
| Molotov's views on Germany are sensible | 3 |
| Doubt Molotov's sincerity; don't think much of it; it is politics | 12 |
| Russia is top dog; is opposed to any proposition the other might make | 2 |
| Reparations too high | * |
| Too early yet to judge | 2 |
| | 26%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 24 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**33.** (Netherlands Sept '46) Do you follow the news (in your paper, on the wireless) about the Paris peace conference? (NIPO)

Yes 61% No 39%

**34.** (Netherlands Sept '46) Which representative do you think is doing the best job on the Paris peace conference? (NIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| This conference is all nonsense; not interested, etc. | 2% |
| Don't know | 51 |
| Byrnes, the US representative or delegation | 17 |
| Bevin, the British representative or delegation | 10 |
| Evatt, the Australian representative or delegation | 7 |
| Molotov, the Russian representative or delegation | 6 |
| Boetzelaar, the Netherland representative or delegation | 4 |
| Bidault, the French representative or delegation | 3 |

**35.** (Netherlands Sept 5 '46) At this moment the Netherlands is taking part in the big peace conference in Paris. In your opinion, what should out country try to achieve there? (NIPO)

| | *National total* | | BY SEX *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Permanent peace, no more war | 16% | | | |
| Better international relations | 6 | | | |
| Just peace for all countries | 4 | 27% | 29% | 26% |
| Disarmament, abolish atomic bombs | 1 | | | |
| Reparation, get back German loot | 12 | 21 | 26 | 15 |
| Annexation German territory | 9 | | | |
| Bigger say for small nations, decent place in world politics for Netherlands | 12 | | 16 | 8 |
| Keep Netherlands Indies, solve Indonesian problem | 2 | | 3 | 1 |
| Punish Germany and Japan, keep them under control | 2 | | 3 | 1 |
| Enlarge migration possibilities | 1 | | 1 | 0.5 |
| Miscellaneous | 12 | | 12 | 12 |
| Don't know | 28 | | 19 | 39 |
| | 105%* | | 109%* | 102.5%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one reply.

## Contributions

**1.** (US Aug 29 '42) Has anyone asked you, personally, to contribute money to the Army Relief Fund, the Navy Relief Fund, or the USO? (NORC)

Yes 37% No 63%

**2.** (US Aug 29 '42) Have you ever contributed any money to any of these funds [Army Relief Fund, Navy Relief Fund, USO]? (NORC)

Yes 57% No 43%

## Displaced Persons

**1.** (US July '44) A national cross-section of college students was confronted with the following statement and asked whether or not they approved of it. If, after the war, resettlement of South and Central Europeans should be necessary, I would be willing to have my community accept a number of them even if it involved some inconvenience and sacrifice. (FOR)

Approve 60% Uncertain 24% Disapprove 16%

**2.** (Germany Dec 1 '45) What do you think of so many Germans coming from the East, from Czechoslovakia and from Austria into Germany? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany will become terribly overcrowded and the food situation will become much worse | 32% |
| It's unjust | 13 |
| It's unjust to drive them from purely German territories like East Prussia, Pomerania and Silesia | 3% |
| Nazi response (we are a people without space, these lands belong to Germany, etc.) | 2 |
| Germans did the same thing | 8 |
| We must help them | 15 |
| Does not realize that evacuation was forced | 4 |
| Bavaria will suffer most | 1 |
| Doesn't care | 27 |
| They can be accommodated (with help of US) | 1 |
| Those poor people; it's awful | 12 |
| Other | 9 |
| | 127%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (Germany Dec 1 '45) What should be done with the former slave workers who are still in Germany? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Send them home | 84% |
| Put them to work | 4 |
| Let the Americans take care of them | * |
| Let the good ones stay | 34 |
| Other | 3 |
| No answer | 1 |
| Don't know, no opinion | 3 |
| | 129%** |

* Less than 1%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**4.** (Germany Dec 6 '45) Are the foreign workers treated better as regards provisions and housing than the Germans? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 36% |
| Worse | — |
| The same | 29 |
| No opinion | 34 |
| No answer | 1 |

**5.** (Germany Dec 6 '45) In your opinion should the foreign workers have more provisions and better housing than the Germans? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 12% |
| No | 80 |
| No opinion | 6 |
| No answer | 2 |

**6.** (Germany Dec 6 '45) Do you think that the foreign workers have been forced to come to Germany or that they came voluntarily? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Forced to come | 32% |
| Came voluntarily | 12 |
| No opinion | 10 |
| Partly | 46 |

**7.** (Germany Dec 6 '45) Are you of the opinion that a large number of the foreign workers were not well treated by the Nazis? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Well treated | 41% |
| Not well treated | 29 |
| Partly | 8 |
| No opinion | 21 |
| No answer | 1 |

**8.** (Germany Dec 6 '45) Were there, in this community or region, any sort of difficulties with the foreign workers? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 30% |
| No | 56 |
| No opinion | 14 |

**9.** (Hungary Jan '46) Do you approve of repatriation of the Suabian population; or do you want stricter or milder measures? (HIPOR)

| | *Approve* | *Stricter measures expected* | *Milder measures* | *Other, no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY CLASS AND SEX | | | | |
| Total | 42.8% | 35.1% | 20.0% | 2.1% |
| Educated men | 42.1 | 34.6 | 18.8 | 4.5 |
| Educated women | 47.4 | 27.7 | 22.5 | 2.4 |
| Small bourgeoisie men | 37.6 | 44.3 | 15.4 | 2.7 |
| Small bourgeoisie women | 48.6 | 28.8 | 22.0 | 0.6 |
| Worker men | 46.7 | 33.6 | 17.4 | 2.3 |
| Worker women | 36.5 | 34.9 | 26.6 | 2.0 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION AND TYPE OF COMMUNITY | | | | |
| Trans Danubia area—town | 34.8% | 24.7% | 34.3% | 6.2% |
| Trans Danubia—village | 32.7 | 30.6 | 27.4 | 9.3 |
| Between Danube and Tisza —town | 59.3 | 13.6 | 11.8 | 15.3 |
| Between Danube and Tisza —village | 51.9 | 18.2 | 12.1 | 17.8 |
| North—town | 52.6 | 18.7 | 11.4 | 17.3 |
| North—village | 53.3 | 18.1 | 10.1 | 18.5 |
| Total—town | 45.0 | 20.0 | 24.0 | 11.0 |
| Total—village | 43.0 | 22.0 | 20.0 | 15.0 |

**10.** (Germany Mar 22 '46) Are there any German refugees from the east in this community? Asked of 86% of a sample who were "regular residents." (OMGUS)

Yes 52% No 20% Don't know 12% No answer 2%

**11.** (Germany Mar 22 '46) Do you think the refugees from the east, from Czechoslovakia and from Austria will get along with the people here? (OMGUS)

Yes 42% No 21% No opinion, can't say 20% No answer 3%

**12.** (Germany Mar 22 '46) As you know, many Germans come to Western Germany from Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Austria. Have you any information as to the total number of evacuees coming to the American zone? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 100,000 | 1% |
| 100,000 to 499,000 | 11 |
| 500,000 to 999,000 | 12 |
| 1,000,000 to 2 million | 21 |
| 2–3 million | 8 |
| 3–4 million | 2 |
| 4 million and over | 3 |
| Know only own area, can't estimate for whole zone | 1 |
| Don't know, can't say, can't estimate | 36 |
| No answer | 5 |

**13.** (Germany Mar 22 '46) Apart from the war, whom or what do you consider responsible for the great number of evacuees? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Our last system; Hitler; Nazis are to blame for all misery; bad occupation policy of the Nazis | 29% |
| The feeling against Germany; the hatred of the Germans; only because they are Germans—no real reason; the anti-German attitude of the surrounding countries; everybody hates the Germans, can't imagine why | 10 |
| Because we lost the war; hatred and revenge; because of the war; we are hated by everybody | 22 |
| The government of these countries that are throwing people out; the Poles, Czechs, etc. are bitter toward Germans | 14 |
| The Allies; the Potsdam declaration | 5 |
| We ourselves are guilty; it's our fault | 1 |
| Food shortage—problem of feeding them | 2% |
| To avoid a war | 1 |
| Don't know, can't say, no opinion | 13 |
| To return the countries to their own | 1 |
| No answer | 12 |

Apart from the war, what is the essential reason why those people are evacuated?

| | |
|---|---|
| Worry about German minority | 2% |
| The other countries are nationalistic; don't want foreigners around | 6 |
| For political reasons—to get rid of Communists | 3 |
| Need the space for their own people | 2 |
| They want space for their own people | 1 |
| So that all Germans will be in Germany | 1 |
| Don't know, can't say, no opinion | 8 |
| No answer | 77 |

Do you believe the evacuation of those people to be justified or unjustified?

| | |
|---|---|
| Justified | 14% |
| Unjustified | 72 |
| Partly justified or partly unjustified | 2 |
| No opinion | 12 |

Why? Asked of 14% of the sample who thought the evacuation justified.

| | |
|---|---|
| To make up for Hitler's crazy policies; because we lost the war, we've got to take these measures upon ourselves | 4% |
| We would have done the same | 2 |
| Gotta be done to get rid of PG's | 1 |
| We must help these people; they are all our brothers and we must help them | 6 |
| Only for those who went there willingly | 1 |

Why? Asked of 72% of the sample who thought the evacuation unjustified.

| | |
|---|---|
| Not fair to kick people out of house and home; unchristian to make so many people homeless; many have lived there for centuries | 47% |
| Germany will be even more thickly populated as a result of this; these countries have enough space and food for these people—we don't | 9 |
| Not all Germans are guilty; it's not everybody's fault that there was a war | 14 |
| The world is open to everybody | 1 |
| Yes, but send back all foreigners now in Germany | 2 |

**14.** (Germany Mar 22 '46) In your view, who should be responsible for the care of those people (evacuees)? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| The Germans; Germany; each community must help; those who receive them | 40% |
| The Nazis; PG's; Hitler's gang | 7 |
| The Americans | 7 |
| The Allies, UNRRA, UN | 7 |
| Countries that chased them out | 7 |
| Germany and the countries that kicked them out | 12 |
| Germany and the Americans, Allies | 11 |
| The whole world, those who started the war themselves | 4 |
| Don't know, can't say, no opinion | 12 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 108%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

Why?

| | |
|---|---|
| Everybody must help—can't let them starve, got to help, otherwise no one will | 6% |
| It is our duty, our responsibility; Germany's business since they are Germans too; it's not an American or foreign responsibility | 27 |

Because we are all in some way guilty; because we lost the war ... 12%
We are not in a position to help; we are poor; we are innocent and also poor; because they are not at home and have their possessions—so don't need anything ... 24
They ordered the evacuation; they brought these difficulties on Germany, they are responsible ... 13
Don't know, can't say ... 1
No answer ... 17

**15.** (Germany Mar 22 '46) Should equal rights be given to the evacuees to participate in politics and elections, just like the rest of the population, or should their political rights be limited? (OMGUS)

No curtailment ... 74%
Should be curtailed ... 17
Don't know, can't say, no opinion ... 8
No answer ... 1

For how long [should the political rights of the evacuees be limited]? Asked of 17% of the sample who thought the political rights of the evacuees should be limited.

One half to 1 year ... 4%
2 to 3 years ... 3
4 to 5 years ... 1
10 years ... *
For a few years (unspecified) ... *
Till they prove themselves; till they prove themselves politically fit; till the political thinking is no longer immature ... 6
Until living conditions are better ... 1
Till their political thinking is no longer threatened by Communism ... *
As long as they remain here ... *
No answer ... 1

* Totals 1%.

**16.** (Germany Mar 22 '46) Should an opportunity be given to the evacuees to secure a good position or to make themselves independent, or should those better positions and independent professions mainly be reserved for the local population? (OMGUS)

Equal opportunity ... 81%
Reserved for local population ... 14
No opinion ... 4
No answer ... 1

**17.** (Finland Apr 12 '46) Do you think that the arrangements made for and benefits given to displaced persons, considering the circumstances, have been good, good enough, or bad? (FGI)

| | *Good* | *Good enough* | *Bad* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 16% | 59% | 12% | 13% |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | | |
| Rural | 16% | 61% | 11% | 12% |
| Urban | 15 | 54 | 15 | 16 |

**18.** (Germany Aug 9 '46) We should like to know if you have any criticisms about the following items, for often criticism is worth more than praise. Are you satisfied, not quite satisfied, or not at all satisfied with government welfare measures for the evacuees? (OMGUS)

Satisfied ... 50%
Not quite satisfied ... 18
Not at all satisfied ... 11
No opinion ... 21

**19.** (US Sept 25 '46) About a million Polish people, Jews, and other displaced persons must find new homes in different countries. Do you think the United States should take any of these displaced persons? (AIPO)

Yes 43% No 50% No opinion 7%

How many of these one million Poles, Jews, and other displaced persons should this country take in? Asked of 43% of the sample who thought the United States should take some of the displaced persons.

Under 25,000; under 2½% ... 5%
25,000 to under 50,000; 2½ to under 5% ... 1
50,000; 5% ... 8
Over 50,000 to 100,000; over 5% to 10% ... 4
Over 100,000 to under 250,000; over 10% to under 25% ... 2
250,000; 25%; ¼ of total ... 5
Over 250,000 to under 333,333; over ¼ to ⅓; 25% to under 33⅓% ... 1
333,333; ⅓; 33⅓% ... 2
500,000; ½; 50% ... 4
Over 500,000; over ½ ... 1
Miscellaneous ... 6
No answer ... 4

**20.** (US Sept 25 '46) About a million Polish people, Jews, and other displaced persons must find new homes in different countries. Do you think the United States should let any of these displaced persons enter this country? (AIPO)

Yes 36% No 58% No opinion 6%

How many of these one million Poles, Jews and other displaced persons should we let enter this country? Asked of 36% of the sample who thought the United States should let displaced persons enter this country.

Under 25,000; under 2½% ... 5%
25,000 to under 50,000; 2½ to under 5% ... 1
50,000; 5% ... 6
Over 50,000 to 100,000; over 5% to 10% ... 4
Over 100,000 to under 250,000; over 10% to under 25% ... 2
250,000; 25%; ¼ of total ... 5
Over 250,000 to under 333,333; over ¼ to ⅓; 25% to under 33⅓% ... *
333,333; ⅓; 33⅓% ... 2
500,000; ½; 50% ... 4
Over 500,000; over ½ ... 2
Miscellaneous ... 3
No answer ... 2

* Less than 0.5%.

**21.** (Germany Nov 25 '46) Do you consider the evacuation of people from Czechoslovakia and Hungary as justified or unjustified? (OMGUS)

Just 3% Unjust 91% No opinion 6%

## Duration (Europe)

**1.** (US Jan 25 '37) Do you think a war in Europe today would last as long as the World War? (AIPO)

Yes 24% No 55% No opinion 21%

How long do you think it will last? Asked of 55% of the sample who thought a war in Europe today would not last as long as the World War.

Under 6 months ... 1%
6 months to 1 year ... 3
1 year ... 6
2 years ... 9
3 years ... 2
4 years or over ... 2
No opinion ... 32

**2.** (US Sept 17 '39) About how long do you think the present war will last? (AIPO)

Less than 1 year 49% More than 1 year 51%

**3.** (Great Britain Sept '39) How much longer do you think the war will last? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 6 months | 16% |
| 7–11 months | 10 |
| 1 year | 12 |
| 1 year and 6 months | 44 |
| 2 years | 21 |
| 1½ to 1 year and 11 months | 1 |
| 2 years and 6 months | 2 |
| 3 years | 20 |
| Indefinite | 14 |

**4.** (Great Britain Dec '39) How long do you think the war will continue from now? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 12% |
| 6–12 months | 18 |
| 12–18 months | 7 |
| 18–24 months | 18 |
| 2–3 years | 17 |
| Over 3 years | 13 |
| No opinion | 15 |

**5.** (US Jan 30 '40) What is your guess on how long the present war between Germany, and England and France will last? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 1 year | 6% |
| 12–18 months | 18 |
| 19–24 months | 21 |
| 3 years | 13 |
| 4 years | 8 |
| 5 years and over | 12 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 |
| Don't know | 15 |

**6.** (US Dec 16 '40) How much longer do you think the war between Germany and England will last? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 3% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 9 |
| 1 year to 1½ years | 18 |
| 1½ to 2 years | 7 |
| 2 years to 2½ years | 18 |
| 2½ to 3 years | 3 |
| 3 years to 4 years | 7 |
| 4 years to 5 years | 2 |
| 5 years or more | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 12 |
| No answer | 18 |

Median = 1½ years up to but not including 2 years

**7.** (Great Britain Jan '41) How long do you think the war will last? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 7% |
| 6–12 months | 23 |
| 12–18 months | 8 |
| 1½ to 2 years | 18 |
| 2–3 years | 8 |
| Over 3 years | 7 |
| Don't know | 29 |

**8.** (US Dec '41) Regardless of what you hope, how long do you think the war will last? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 6 months | 0.9% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 4.6 |
| 1–2 years | 14.5 |
| 2–5 years | 37.8 |
| 5–10 years | 9.7% |
| 10 years and over | 2.7 |
| Depends on what the US does | 5.9 |
| Depends on what Soviet Russia does | 1.4 |
| Depends on other factors | 1.1 |
| Don't know | 22.0 |
| | 100.6%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (Great Britain Feb '42) Do you think Russia will beat Germany this year? (BIPO)

Yes 39% No 31% Don't know 30%

**10.** (Great Britain Apr '42) Do you think it is possible for the Allies to defeat Germany this year? (BIPO)

Yes 41% No 40% Don't know 19%

**11.** (Great Britain May '42) Do you think it is possible for the Allies to beat Germany this year? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 52% | 24% | 24% |
| (June 10 '43) | 42 | 40 | 18 |

**12.** (US May 30 '42) How much longer do you think the war with Germany will last? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than one year | 12% |
| One year | 18 |
| Between 1 and 2 years | 10 |
| Two years | 17 |
| Over 2 years to 3 years | 10 |
| Over 3 years to 5 years | 7 |
| Over 5 years | 1 |
| No opinion | 25 |

Median = 1.20 years

(US Jan 13 '43) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Within a year | 64% |
| 1–2 years | 24 |
| 2–5 years or more | 8 |
| No opinion | 4 |

Median = 1 year

(US Feb 26 '43) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Within a year | 66% |
| 1–2 years | 23 |
| 2–5 years or more | 6 |
| No opinion | 5 |

Median = 1 year

(US June 25 '43) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Within a year | 68% |
| 1–2 years | 26 |
| 2–5 years or more | 6 |

Median = 1 year

(US Oct 6 '43) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Will be over: | |
| this year | 8% |
| in first half of 1944 | 31 |
| in last half of 1944 | 34 |
| in first half of 1945 | 6 |
| in last half of 1945 | 12 |
| sometime during 1946 | 3 |
| later than 1946 | 2 |
| No opinion | 4 |

Median = 1 year

(US Jan 22 '44) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| First half of 1944 | 12% |
| Last half of 1944 | 46 |
| In 1945 | 31 |
| In 1946 | 5 |
| In 1947 or later | 1 |
| Undecided | 5 |

(US Mar 31 '44) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| First half of 1944 | 2% |
| Last half of 1944 | 31 |
| First half of 1945 | 39 |
| Last half of 1945 | 7 |
| Sometime in 1946 | 12 |
| 1947 or later | 2 |
| No opinion | 7 |

Median = 1 year

(US July 7 '44) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1944 | 59% |
| First half of 1945 | 28 |
| Last half of 1945 | 3 |
| In 1946 or later | 6 |
| Unwilling to guess | 4 |

Median = 6 months

(US Aug 29 '44) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 month | 24% |
| 2 months | 25 |
| 3 months | 17 |
| 4 months | 11 |
| 5 months | 2 |
| 6 months | 8 |
| 7 months | 1 |
| 8 months | 1 |
| 9 months through 11 months | 1 |
| 1 year | 4 |
| Over 1 year | 2 |
| Undecided | 4 |

(US Sept 6 '44) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 1 month | 5% |
| 1 month | 18 |
| 2 months | 25 |
| 3 months | 19 |
| 4 months | 9 |
| 5 months | 2 |
| 6 months | 9 |
| More than 6 months | 7 |
| No opinion | 6 |

(US Sept 12 '44) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 month | 19% |
| 2 months | 23 |
| 3 months | 19 |
| 4 months | 9 |
| 5 months | 2 |
| 6 months | 13 |
| 7 months through 11 months | 3 |
| 1 year | 5 |
| Over one year | 2 |
| Undecided | 5 |

(US Oct 6 '44) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 1 month | *% |
| 1 month | 4 |
| 2 months | 11 |
| 3 months | 18 |
| 4 months | 7 |
| 5 months | 4 |
| 6 months | 27% |
| 7 months | 2 |
| 8 months | 4 |
| 9 months through 11 months | 4 |
| 1 year | 13 |
| Over 1 year | 6 |

* Less than 0.5%.

(US Nov 24 '44) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 1 month | 1% |
| 1 month | 3 |
| 2 months | 9 |
| 3 months | 15 |
| 4–5 months | 9 |
| 6 months | 26 |
| More than 6 months | 28 |
| No opinion | 9 |

(US Jan 19 '45) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 months or less | 4% |
| 4–5 months | 4 |
| 6 months | 19 |
| More than 6 months | 64 |
| No opinion | 9 |

(US Feb 20 '45) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 month | 6% |
| 2 months | 12 |
| 3 months | 17 |
| 4 months | 9 |
| 5 months | 5 |
| 6 months | 24 |
| 7 through 10 months, by end of 1945 | 8 |
| 11 or 12 months, one year | 11 |
| Over 1 year | 5 |
| Don't know | 3 |

Median = 5 months

(Canada Jan 2 '43) How much longer do you think the war with Germany will last? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 months or less | 1% |
| 3–6 months | 4 |
| 6 months to 1 year | 34 |
| 2 years | 40 |
| 3 years or more | 15 |
| No opinion | 6 |

(Canada June 26 '43) (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| This year | 9% |
| First half of 1944 | 38 |
| Last half of 1944 | 11 |
| 1945 or later | 34 |
| No opinion | 8 |

Median = 19 months

(Canada Dec 1 '43) (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| This year | 1% |
| First half of 1944 | 26 |
| Last half of 1944 | 44 |
| 1945 or later | 26 |
| No opinion | 3 |

(Canada Apr 15 '44) (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| First half of 1944 | 2% |
| Last half of 1944 | 23 |
| First half of 1945 | 36 |
| Last half of 1945 | 9 |
| In 1946 | 21 |
| In 1947 or later | 5 |
| Couldn't guess | 4 |

(Canada Sept 23 '44) (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| End of September | 19% |
| End of October | 22 |
| End of November | 19 |
| End of December | 11 |
| By end of June 1945 | 20 |
| Longer | 7 |
| No opinion | 2 |

(Canada Jan 31 '45) (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 months or less | 6% |
| 3–6 months | 26 |
| 7–9 months | 11 |
| 10–12 months | 37 |
| Over 12 months | 17 |
| No guess | 3 |

**13.** (Sweden Oct '42) Do you think that the European war will end next year or last longer? (SGI)

| | *End in 1943* | *Last longer* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 44% | 29% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 29% | 46% | 25% |
| Women | 25 | 41 | 34 |

**14.** (US Jan '43) About how much longer do you think the war with Germany will last from now? Just your own best guess. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Up to 6 months | 12.4% |
| Up to 1 year | 47.6 |
| Up to 2 years | 24.7 |
| Up to 3 years | 4.0 |
| Up to 4 years | 0.8 |
| Up to 5 years | 0.9 |
| Over 5 years | 0.4 |
| Don't know | 9.2 |

(Apr '43)

| | |
|---|---|
| Up to 6 months | 7% |
| Up to 1 year | 33 |
| Up to 2 years | 36 |
| Up to 3 years | 8 |
| Up to 4 years | 3 |
| Up to 5 years | 2 |
| Over 5 years | 1 |
| Don't know | 10 |

(June '43)

| | |
|---|---|
| Up to 6 months | 16% |
| Up to 1 year | 43 |
| Up to 2 years | 25 |
| Up to 3 years | 4 |
| Up to 4 years | 2 |
| Up to 5 years | 1 |
| Over 5 years | 1 |
| Don't know | 8 |

(Sept '43)

| | |
|---|---|
| Up to 6 months | 28% |
| Up to 1 year | 44 |
| Up to 2 years | 15 |
| Up to 3 years / Up to 4 years / Up to 5 years / Over 5 years | 4 |
| Don't know | 9 |

(Nov '43)

| | |
|---|---|
| Up to 3 months | 8% |
| 3–4 months | 26 |
| 7–12 months | 38 |
| 2 years | 13 |
| 3 years and over | 4 |
| Don't know | 11 |

**15.** (US Jan '43) About how much longer do you think the war with Italy will last from now? Just your own best guess. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Up to 6 months | 42.1% |
| Up to 1 year | 32.1 |
| Up to 2 years | 10.2 |
| Up to 3 years | 1.5 |
| Up to 4 years | 0.3 |
| Up to 5 years | 0.3 |
| Over 5 years | 0.2 |
| Don't know | 13.3 |

(Apr '43)

| | |
|---|---|
| Up to 6 months | 33% |
| Up to 1 year | 30 |
| Up to 2 years | 15 |
| Up to 3 years | 4 |
| Up to 4 years | 1 |
| Up to 5 years | 1 |
| Over 5 years | * |
| Don't know | 16 |

* Less than 0.5%.

(June '43)

| | |
|---|---|
| Up to 6 months | 69% |
| Up to 1 year | 16 |
| Up to 2 years | 4 |
| Up to 3 years | 1 |
| Up to 4 years | * |
| Up to 5 years | * |
| Over 5 years | * |
| Don't know | 10 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**16.** (Canada Jan 2 '43) How much longer do you think the war with Italy will last? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 months or less | 17% |
| 3–6 months | 26 |
| 6 months to 1 year | 39 |
| 2 years | 10 |
| 3 years or more | 1 |
| No opinion | 7 |

**17.** (US June '43) Regardless of what you hope, about how long from now do you think the war in Europe will last? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 6 months | 1.5% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 15.2 |
| 1–2 years | 33.1 |
| 2–3 years | 26.7 |
| 3 years or more | 12.4 |
| Don't know | 11.1 |

(Jan '45)

| | |
|---|---|
| Till the end of 1944 | 5.0% |
| Into 1945, but not past next fall | 57.5 |
| About 1 year | 19.5 |
| Over 1 year | 10.1 |
| Don't know | 7.9 |

**18.** (US Aug 27 '43) About how much longer do you think the war with Germany will last? Just your best guess. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 18% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 49 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 20 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 4 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 1 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 1 |
| Over 5 years | * |
| Don't know | 7 |

* Less than 0.5%.

(Oct 2 '43)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 24% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 46 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 17 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 2 |
| 37 months to 4 years | * |
| 49 months to 5 years | * |
| Over 5 years | 1 |
| Don't know | 10 |

* Less than 0.5%.

(Nov 15 '43)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 21% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 46 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 16 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 2 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 1 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 1 |
| Over 5 years | * |
| Don't know | 13 |

* Less than 0.5%.

(Jan 21 '44)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 3 months | 1% |
| 3–6 months | 25 |
| 7–9 months | 10 |
| 10 months to 1 year | 35 |
| 13–18 months | 4 |
| 19 months to 2 years | 8 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 1 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 1 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 1 |
| Over 5 years | — |
| Don't know | 14 |

(Feb '44)

| | |
|---|---|
| Up to 3 months | 2% |
| 4–6 months | 16 |
| 7–12 months | 53 |
| 1–2 years | 20 |
| 2–3 years | 2 |
| 3–4 years | 1 |
| 4–5 years | — |
| Over 5 years | 1 |
| Don't know | 5 |

(Apr 8 '44)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 3 months | 1% |
| 3–6 months | 21 |
| 7–9 months | 13 |
| 10 months to 1 year | 34 |
| 13–18 months | 7 |
| 19 months to 2 years | 12 |
| Over 2 years to 3 years | 3 |
| Over 3 years to 4 years | 1 |
| Over 4 years to 5 years | * |
| Over 5 years | * |
| Don't know | 8 |

* Less than 0.5%.

(June 23 '44)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 3 months | 4% |
| 3 months to 6 months | 52 |
| 7–9 months | 7 |
| 10 months to 1 year | 20 |
| 13–18 months | 3 |
| 19 months to 2 years | 5 |
| Over 2 years to 3 years | 1 |
| Over 3 years to 4 years | * |
| Over 4 years to 5 years | * |
| Over 5 years | * |
| Don't know | 8 |

* Less than 0.5%.

(Sept '44)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 month | 12% |
| 2 months | 24 |
| 3 months | 23 |
| 4 months | 9 |
| 5 months | 2 |
| 6–11 months | 18 |
| 1 year to 23 months | 7 |
| 2 years to 35 months | 1 |
| 3 years to 47 months | * |
| 4 years to 59 months | * |
| 5 years and over | * |
| Don't know, refuse to guess, can't say, give up, depends on election | 4 |

**19.** (Great Britain Sept '43) How long do you think that the war in Europe is likely to continue from now? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 6 months | 18% |
| 1 year | 43 |
| 18 months | 18 |
| 2 years | 16 |
| 3 years | 3 |
| Longer | 2 |

**20.** (Great Britain Dec '43) How long do you think the war with Germany will last from now? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 months | 7% |
| 6 months | 29 |
| 9 months | 24 |
| 1 year | 32 |
| 2 years | 7 |
| 3 years | 1 |

**21.** (Sweden Dec '43) When do you think the war in Europe will be over? (SGI)

| | *Before mid-summer 1944* | *Before new year 1945* | *Within 2 years* | *Within 5 years* | *Longer* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 19% | 35% | 15% | 3% | 1% | 27% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | |
| Men | 20% | 43% | 16% | 3% | 1% | 17% |
| Women | 18 | 28 | 13 | 3 | 2 | 36 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | | |
| Stockholm | 24% | 35% | 11% | 5% | 1% | 24% |
| North Sweden | 20 | 29 | 8 | 2 | 1 | 40 |
| Dalärna | 11 | 52 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 24 |
| Mälar district | 21 | 34 | 17 | 3 | 2 | 23 |
| West Gotland | 22 | 36 | 16 | 4 | 2 | 20 |
| East Gotland | 11 | 32 | 17 | 3 | 1 | 36 |
| Skåne | 22 | 38 | 18 | 3 | 1 | 18 |

**22.** (Great Britain Mar '44) Do you think the war against Germany will end this year? (BIPO)

Yes 38% No 45% Don't know 17%

**23.** (Great Britain Apr '44) When do you think the war against Germany will end? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 months | 5% |
| 6 months | 19 |
| 9 months | 20 |
| 1 year | 36 |
| 2 years | 13 |
| 3 years or more | 2 |
| Don't know | 5 |

**24.** (Great Britain June '44) When do you think the war with Germany will end? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 months | 8% |
| 6 months | 30 |
| 9 months | 21 |
| 1 year | 29 |
| 2 years | 8 |
| 3 years or more | 2 |
| Don't know | 2 |

**25.** (Canada June 8 '44) Once the invasion of Europe starts, how long do you think it will take the Allies to defeat Germany? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| By end of Aug '44 | 12% |
| By end of Dec '44 | 23 |
| By end of June '45 | 27 |
| By end of Dec '45 | 7 |
| Longer | 15 |
| Couldn't guess | 16 |

**26.** (Great Britain Aug '44) How long do you think the war against Germany will last? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 months | 37% |
| 6 months | 31 |
| 9 months | 12 |
| 1 year | 13 |
| 2 years | 2 |
| 3 years or more | 1 |
| Don't know | 4 |

**27.** (France Oct 1 '44) When do you think the European war will end? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians) (FIPO)

| | *Aug 28 '44* | *Sept 11 '44* |
|---|---|---|
| End of Sept at latest | 7% | 4% |
| End of Oct at latest | 24 | 20 |
| End of Nov at latest | 26 | 32 |
| End of Dec at latest | 23 | 27 |
| In 1945 or later | 17 | 15 |
| Don't know | 3 | 2 |

(Nov 16 '44)

| | |
|---|---|
| Before the end of the winter | 30% |
| Spring of 1945 at latest | 37 |
| Summer of 1945 at latest | 14 |
| Fall of 1945 at latest | 4 |
| End of 1945 | 6 |
| Later | 2 |
| No opinion | 7 |

(Mar 1 '45) Asked of a national cross-section.

| | |
|---|---|
| Mar '45 at the latest | 4% |
| June '45 at the latest | 18 |
| Sept '45 at the latest | 33 |
| Dec '45 at the latest | 27 |
| In 1946 at the latest | 10 |
| No answer | 8 |

**28.** (Great Britain Nov '44) How long do you think the war is likely to last? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 months | 17% |
| 6 months | 39 |
| 9 months | 25 |
| 1 year | 14 |
| 2 years | 2 |
| 3 years or more | — |
| Don't know | 3 |

**29.** (France Jan 16 '45) When do you think the war in Europe will be over? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Dec '44 at the latest | 2% |
| Mar '45 at the latest | 10 |
| June '45 at the latest | 37 |
| Sept '45 at the latest | 31 |
| Dec '45 at the latest | 14 |
| In 1946 or later | 3 |
| No opinion | 3 |

**30.** (France May 16 '45) When will the war be over in Europe? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Apr '45 at the latest | 22% |
| May '45 at the latest | 27 |
| Aug '45 at the latest | 39 |
| In the fall of 1945 at the latest | 6 |
| Later than the fall of 1945 | 3 |
| No answer | 3 |

## Duration (Europe and Japan)

**1.** (Great Britain Dec 19 '41) How long do you think the war will last from now? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 5% |
| 6–12 months | 15 |
| 12–18 months | 13 |
| 18 months to 2 years | 29 |
| 2–3 years | 18 |
| 3 years | 16 |
| Don't know | 4 |

(Sept 20 '42)

| | |
|---|---|
| Up to 6 months | 8% |
| 1 year | 25 |
| 18 months | 15 |
| 2 years | 24 |
| 3 years | 10 |
| Longer | 9 |
| Don't know | 9 |

(Dec 27 '42)

| | |
|---|---|
| 6 months | 14% |
| 1 year | 35 |
| 18 months | 21 |
| 2 years | 19 |
| 3 years | 5 |
| Longer | 3 |
| Don't know | 3 |

Have your views changed on this recently?

Yes 44% No 56%

(Apr '43) How long do you think the war will last from now?

| | |
|---|---|
| 6 months | 7% |
| 1 year | 27 |
| 18 months | 22 |
| 2 years | 26 |
| 3 years | 9 |
| Longer | 6 |
| Don't know | 3 |

**2.** (US Dec 24 '41) Regardless of what you hope, do you think the war will be a long or a short war? (NORC)

Long 65% Short 24% Depends 2% Don't know 9%

About how short? About how long? Asked of 89% of the sample who thought that the war would be long or short.

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 1% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 13 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 27 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 26 |
| 4 years | 13 |
| 5 years | 9 |
| Over 5 years | 6 |
| Don't know | 5 |

**3.** (US Jan 5 '42) Regardless of what you hope, about how long do you think the war will last? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 3% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 9 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 33 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 22 |
| 4 years | 13 |
| 5 years | 10 |
| Over 5 years | 5 |
| Don't know | 5 |

**4.** (US Jan 6 '42) About how much longer do you think the war will last? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 2 years | 21% |
| 2 years | 29 |
| 3 years | 16 |
| 3 years and more | 22 |
| No opinion | 12 |

Median = 2.16 years

(Jan 28 '42) (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 1% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 12 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 26 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 16 |
| 3–4 years | 9 |
| 4–5 years | 10 |
| Over 5 years | 6 |
| Don't know | 20 |

(Feb 14 '42) (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 1% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 7 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 20 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 21 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 10 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 12 |
| Over 5 years | 13 |
| Don't know | 16 |

(Mar 2 '42) (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| 6 months to 1 year | 8% |
| 13 months to 2 years | 22 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 20 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 10 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 11 |
| Over 5 years | 8 |
| Don't know | 21 |

(Mar 10 '42) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 2 years | 15% |
| 2 years | 22 |
| 3 years | 16 |
| 3 years and over | 28% |
| No answer | 19 |

Median = 2.82 years

(Mar 26 '42) (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| 6 months or less | 1% |
| 7 months to 1 year | 12 |
| 1–2 years | 24 |
| 2–3 years | 18 |
| 3–4 years | 7 |
| 4–5 years | 10 |
| More than 5 years, less than 10 | 4 |
| 10 years plus | 2 |
| Indefinitely | * |
| No opinion | 22 |

* Less than 0.5%.

(Mar 28 '42) (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 1% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 12 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 24 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 18 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 8 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 8 |
| Over 5 years | 7 |
| Don't know | 22 |

(Apr 28 '42) (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 2% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 20 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 28 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 16 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 5 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 6 |
| Over 5 years | 5 |
| Don't know | 18 |

(May 6 '42) (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 2% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 22 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 29 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 15 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 6 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 6 |
| Over 5 years | 3 |
| Don't know and no answer | 17 |

(May 21 '42) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 2 years | 35% |
| 2 years | 26 |
| 3 years | 14 |
| More than 3 years | 15 |
| Others and no answer | 10 |

Median = 2.0 years

(May 30 '42) (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 3% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 23 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 33 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 14 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 5 |
| 49 months to 5 y ars | 4 |
| Over 5 years | 2 |
| Don't know | 16 |

(July 29 '42) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 1 year | 5% |
| 1 year | 15 |
| Between 1 and 2 years | 7 |
| 2 years | 25 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Between 2 and 3 years | 5% |
| 3 years | 16 |
| Between 3 and 5 years | 10 |
| 5 years or more | 17 |

Median = 2.20 years

**5.** (US Feb '42) How much longer do you think the war will last from now? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 1 year | 8% |
| 1–2 years | 24 |
| 2–3 years | 16 |
| More than 3 years | 34 |
| Declined to guess | 18 |

**6.** (US May '42) It took us a year and a half after our entry into the last war to win it. Do you feel it will take more time, less time, or about the same time to win this war? Those respondents who thought it would take more time were asked: About how long do you feel it will take? (FOR)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Less (than a year and a half) | | 9.9% |
| About the same length of time | | 11.1 |
| More time | | 67.8 |
| 1½ to 2 years | 6.5% | |
| 2–3 years | 23.4 | |
| 3–4 years | 17.0 | |
| 4–5 years | 11.0 | |
| 5–7 years | 3.9 | |
| 7–10 years | 1.4 | |
| 10 years and over | .4 | |
| Don't know how much longer | 4.2 | |
| Don't know about length of war | | 11.2 |

**7.** (US May '42) How much longer do you think the war will last from now? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Up to 1 year | 26% |
| Up to 2 years | 29 |
| Up to 3 years | 11 |
| Up to 5 years | 10 |
| Don't know | 24 |

Median = 1.5 years

(Great Britain June '42) (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 6 months | 11% |
| 1 year | 28 |
| 18 months | 22 |
| 2 years | 21 |
| 3 years | 7 |
| Longer | 5 |
| Don't know | 6 |

**8.** (US June 20 '42) About how much longer do you think the war will last? Just your best guess. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 2% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 17 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 29 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 16 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 7 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 7 |
| Over 5 years | 5 |
| Don't know | 17 |

(June 26 '42)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 2% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 16 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 25 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 17 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 7 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 10 |
| Over 5 years | 4 |
| Don't know | 19 |

(July 1 '42)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 2% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 14 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 27 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 20 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 9 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 10 |
| Over 5 years | 5 |
| Don't know | 13 |

(July 11 '42)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 2% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 16 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 28 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 18 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 8 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 7 |
| Over 5 years | 5 |
| Don't know | 16 |

(July 18 '42)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 2% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 15 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 30 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 19 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 6 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 8 |
| Over 5 years | 5 |
| Don't know | 15 |

(July 31 '42)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 3 years | 62% |
| 37 months to 4 years | 8 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 9 |
| Over 5 years | 9 |
| Don't know | 12 |

(Aug 21 '42)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 2% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 15 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 27 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 17 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 8 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 9 |
| Over 5 years | 6 |
| Don't know | 16 |

(Aug 29 '42)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 2% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 17 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 30 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 19 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 9 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 8 |
| Over 5 years | 4 |
| Don't know | 11 |

(Sept 24 '42)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 2% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 15 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 28 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 18 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 7 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 8 |
| Over 5 years | 4 |
| Don't know | 18 |

(Oct 21 '42)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 1% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 15 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 32 |

| | |
|---|---|
| 25 months to 3 years | 19% |
| 37 months to 4 years | 7 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 7 |
| Over 5 years | 5 |
| Don't know | 14 |

(Nov 3 '42)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 4% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 29 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 30 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 15 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 4 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 4 |
| Over 5 years | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 12 |

(Nov 19 '42)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 5% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 32 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 35 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 13 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 4 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 2 |
| Over 5 years | 2 |
| Don't know | 7 |

(Nov 27 '42)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 4% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 28 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 33 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 14 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 4 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 3 |
| Over 5 years | 2 |
| Don't know | 12 |

(Jan 11 '43)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 3% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 34 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 34 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 11 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 3 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 2 |
| Over 5 years | 1 |
| Don't know | 12 |

(June 18 '43)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 4% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 24 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 35 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 15 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 5 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 4 |
| Over 5 years | 2 |
| Don't know | 11 |

(July 23 '43)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 4% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 24 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 31 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 16 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 6 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 4 |
| Over 5 years | 3 |
| Don't know | 12 |

**9.** (US July 18 '42) You said you thought the war would last ———. Suppose Germany defeats Russia this summer, how long do you think the war will last? (NORC)

Shorter 6% Same length 16% Longer 50%
Don't know 28%

**10.** (Great Britain June 10 '43) Do you think that the war will actually end this year? (BIPO)

Yes 14% No 69% Don't know 17%

**11.** (Denmark Apr '44) When do you think the war will end? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1944 | 31.0% |
| 1945 | 11.6 |
| 1946 | 3.2 |
| 1947–1950 | 0.8 |
| Don't know | 53.4 |

**12.** (Sweden June '44) When do you think the war will be over? (SGI)

| | *Nat. total* | *Men* | *Women* | *Farmers* | *Others* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| In 1944 | 20% | 21% | 20% | 12% | 24% |
| Before midsummer 1945 | 16 | 20 | 12 | 14 | 17 |
| Second part of 1945 | 14 | 18 | 11 | 16 | 13 |
| In 1946 | 7 | 8 | 6 | 8 | 7 |
| Within 5 years | 6 | 7 | 4 | 7 | 5 |
| Over 5 years | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| Don't know | 34 | 23 | 44 | 39 | 31 |

## Duration (Japan)

**1.** (US Dec 10 '41) If the United States goes to war against Japan, do you think it will be a long war, or a short one? (AIPO)

Long 21% Short 59% Don't know 20%

**2.** (US Dec 10 '41) Do you think the war against Japan will be a long war, or a short one? (AIPO)

Long 50% Short 35% Don't know 15%

**3.** (US Feb '42) Do you think the war with Japan will be a long one or a short one? (FOR)

| | *Long* | *Short* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 52.5% | 32.5% | 15.0% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Pacific coast | 55.4% | 33.2% | 11.4% |

**4.** (Canada Feb 4 '42) How long do you think it will take for the Allies to defeat the Japanese? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 2 years or more | 45% |
| 1–2 years | 30 |
| Less than 1 year | 11 |
| Undecided or unwilling to guess | 14 |

**5.** (US May 30 '42) How much longer do you think the war with Japan will last? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 1 year | 20% |
| 1 year | 22 |
| Between 1 and 2 years | 7 |
| 2 years | 17 |
| Over 2 to 3 years | 7 |
| Over 3 to 5 years | 5 |
| Over 5 years | 1 |
| No opinion | 21 |

Median = 1 year and 11 months

(US Jan 13 '43) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Within a year | 40% |
| 1–2 years | 33 |
| 2–5 years or more | 20 |
| No opinion | 7 |

Median = 1–2 years

(US Feb 26 '43) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Within a year | 24% |
| 1–2 years | 42 |
| 2–5 years | 25 |
| No opinion | 9 |

Median = 2 years

(US June 25 '43) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Within a year | 27% |
| 1–2 years | 41 |
| 2–5 years or more | 32 |

Median = 2 years

(US Aug 13 '43) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Will be over this year | 1% |
| In first half of 1944 | 6 |
| In last half of 1944 | 17 |
| First half of 1945 | 9 |
| Last half of 1945 | 27 |
| Sometime during 1946 | 19 |
| Later than 1946 | 16 |
| No opinion | 5 |

Median = 2 years

(US Oct 6 '43) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1943 | 1% |
| First half of 1944 | 7 |
| Last half of 1944 | 20 |
| In 1945 | 40 |
| Later than 1945 | 25 |
| Unwilling to guess | 7 |

(US Jan 22 '44) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| First half of 1944 | 1% |
| Last half of 1944 | 5 |
| In 1945 | 33 |
| In 1946 | 33 |
| In 1947 or later | 20 |
| Undecided | 8 |

(US Mar 1 '44) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1944 | 6% |
| In 1945 | 33 |
| In 1946 | 32 |
| 1947 or later | 21 |
| No opinion | 8 |

Median = 2 years

(US July 7 '44) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1944 | 14% |
| In 1945 | 49 |
| In 1946 | 21 |
| In 1947 or later | 11 |
| Unwilling to guess | 5 |

Median = 1½ years

(US Sept 30 '44) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1944 | 4% |
| In 1945 | 60 |
| In 1946 | 28 |
| In 1947 or later | 8 |

(US Feb 20 '45) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 months and under | 2% |
| 4–5 months | 2 |
| 6 months | 5 |
| 7–10 months | 7 |
| 12 months or 1 year | 30 |
| 1½ years | 16 |
| 2 years | 24 |
| 2½ years | 2% |
| 3 years | 5 |
| Over 3 years | 3 |
| Don't know | 4 |

Median = 1½ years

(US July 20 '45) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Until end of 1945 | 20% |
| First half of 1946 | 42 |
| Last half of 1946 | 12 |
| 1947 or later | 20 |
| Unwilling to guess | 6 |

Median = 1 year

(Canada Jan 2 '43) (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 months or less | 1% |
| 3–6 months | 3 |
| 6 months to 1 year | 21 |
| 2 years | 40 |
| 3 years or more | 26 |
| No opinion | 9 |

Median = 2.1 years

(Canada June 26 '43) (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| This year | 3% |
| First half of 1944 | 17 |
| Last half of 1944 | 9 |
| 1945 or later | 61 |
| No opinion | 10 |

(Canada Dec 1 '43) (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| First half of 1944 | 3% |
| Last half of 1944 | 19 |
| 1945 or later | 72 |
| No opinion | 6 |

(Canada Apr 15 '44) (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Will end in 1944 | 3% |
| In 1945 | 26 |
| In 1946 | 33 |
| In 1947 or later | 31 |
| Couldn't guess | 7 |

(Canada Sept 23 '44) (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| End of year | 6% |
| End of June 1945 | 23 |
| End of 1945 | 34 |
| Longer | 34 |
| No opinion | 3 |

(Canada Jan 31 '45) (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 6 months | 2% |
| 9 months | 1 |
| 12 months | 16 |
| 18 months | 12 |
| 24 months | 35 |
| Over 2 years | 30 |
| No guess | 4 |

6. (US Jan '43) About how much longer do you think the war with Japan will last from now? Just your own best guess. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Up to 6 months | 4.0% |
| Up to 1 year | 21.7 |
| Up to 2 years | 35.0 |
| Up to 3 years | 15.6 |
| Up to 4 years | 5.1 |
| Up to 5 years | 3.7 |
| Over 5 years | 2.1 |
| Don't know | 12.8 |

(Apr '43)

| | |
|---|---|
| Up to 6 months | 2% |
| Up to 1 year | 13 |
| Up to 2 years | 32 |
| Up to 3 years | 21 |
| Up to 4 years | 8 |
| Up to 5 years | 6 |
| Over 5 years | 4 |
| Don't know | 14 |

(June '43)

| | |
|---|---|
| Up to 6 months | 4% |
| Up to 1 year | 15 |
| Up to 2 years | 35 |
| Up to 3 years | 19 |
| Up to 4 years | 6 |
| Up to 5 years | 5 |
| Over 5 years | 4 |
| Don't know | 12 |

(Aug 27 '43)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 3% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 18 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 38 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 17 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 5 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 5 |
| Over 5 years | 3 |
| Don't know | 11 |

(Sept '43)

| | |
|---|---|
| Up to 6 months | 3% |
| Up to 1 year | 23 |
| Up to 2 years | 37 |
| Up to 3 years | 13 |
| Up to 4 years / Up to 5 years / Over 5 years | 10 |
| Don't know | 14 |

(Oct 2 '43)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 6 months | 2% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 17 |
| 13 months to 2 years | 40 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 18 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 5 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 3 |
| Over 5 years | 2 |
| Don't know | 13 |

(Nov '43)

| | |
|---|---|
| Up to 3 months | 1% |
| 4–6 months | 3 |
| 7–12 months | 22 |
| 2 years | 35 |
| 3 years | 12 |
| 4 years | 5 |
| 5 years and over | 6 |
| Don't know | 16 |

(Jan 21 '44)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 3 months | — |
| 3–6 months | 2% |
| 7–9 months | 2 |
| 10 months to 1 year | 16 |
| 13–18 months | 10 |
| 19 months to 2 years | 26 |
| 25 months to 3 years | 15 |
| 37 months to 4 years | 4 |
| 49 months to 5 years | 4% |
| Over 5 years | 2 |
| Don't know | 19 |

(Feb '44)

| | |
|---|---|
| Up to 3 months | 1% |
| 4–6 months | 4 |
| 7–12 months | 22 |
| 1–2 years | 42 |
| 2–3 years | 15 |
| 3–4 years | 4 |
| 4–5 years | 3 |
| Over 5 years | 2 |
| Don't know | 7 |

(Apr 8 '44)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 3 months | * |
| 3–6 months | 4% |
| 7–9 months | 3 |
| 10 months to 1 year | 17 |
| 13–18 months | 12 |
| 19 months to 2 years | 28 |
| Over 2 years to 3 years | 15 |
| Over 3 years to 4 years | 4 |
| Over 4 years to 5 years | 4 |
| Over 5 years | 2 |
| Don't know | 11 |

(June 23 '44)

| | |
|---|---|
| Under 3 months | 1% |
| 3–6 months | 11 |
| 7–9 months | 6 |
| 10 months to 1 year | 27 |
| 13–18 months | 14 |
| 19 months to 2 years | 18 |
| Over 2 years to 3 years | 8 |
| Over 3 years to 4 years | 2 |
| Over 4 years to 5 years | 1 |
| Over 5 years | 1 |
| Don't know | 11 |

(Sept '44)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 month | * |
| 2 months | 1% |
| 3 months | 2 |
| 4 months | 1 |
| 5 months | 1 |
| 6–11 months | 19 |
| 1 year to 23 months | 48 |
| 2 years to 35 months | 16 |
| 3 years to 47 months | 3 |
| 4 years to 59 months | 1 |
| 5 years and over | 2 |
| Don't know, refuse to guess, can't say, give up, depends on election | 6 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**7.** (US June '43) Regardless of what you hope, about how long from now do you think the war in Asia will last? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 6 months | .7% |
| 6 months to 1 year | 6.5 |
| 1–2 years | 19.2 |
| 2–3 years | 24.7 |
| 3 years or more | 27.2 |
| Don't know | 21.7 |

**8.** (Great Britain July 12 '43) How long do you think it will take to beat Japan after Germany has been defeated? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Up to 6 months | 17% |
| 1 year | 27 |
| 18 months | 13 |
| 2 years | 19 |
| 3 years | 6 |
| Longer | 6 |
| Don't know | 12 |

**9.** (Great Britain Sept '43) How long do you think that the war in the Far East is likely to continue from now? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 6 months | 4% |
| 1 year | 15 |
| 18 months | 20 |
| 2 years | 30 |
| 3 years | 19 |
| Longer | 12 |

**10.** (Great Britain Dec '43) How long do you think the war with Japan will last from now? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 months | — |
| 6 months | 4% |
| 1 year | 18 |
| 18 months | 25 |
| 2 years | 32 |
| 3 years | 13 |
| Longer | 8 |

**11.** (France Oct 16 '44) When do you think the Far Eastern war will end? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| During 1945 at the latest | 61% |
| In 3 years at the latest | 16 |
| In more than 3 years | 3 |
| Don't know | 20 |

**12.** (Great Britain Nov '44) How long do you think the war is likely to last? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 months | 3% |
| 6 months | — |
| 9 months | — |
| 1 year | 40 |
| 2 years | 40 |
| 3 years or more | 12 |
| Don't know | 5 |

**13.** (US Jan '45) About how long from now do you think the war in the Pacific will last? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Till the end of 1944 | .2% |
| Into 1945, but not past next fall | 11.9 |
| About a year | 18.8 |
| Over a year | 56.6 |
| Don't know | 12.5 |

**14.** (France Mar 1 '45) When do you think the Far Eastern war will be over? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| June 1945 at the latest | 2% |
| December 1945 at the latest | 9 |
| December 1946 at the latest | 35 |
| December 1947 at the latest | 16 |
| December 1948 at the latest | 6 |
| Later than 1948 | 4 |
| No answer | 28 |

**15.** (France May 16 '45) When will the war be over in Asia? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Fall of 1945 at the latest | 32% |
| In 1946 at the latest | 47 |
| In 1947 at the latest | 6 |
| Later than 1947 | 3 |
| No answer | 12 |

**16.** (US May 17 '45) After the end of the German war how much longer do you think it will probably be before Japan surrenders or is occupied? (NYHT)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 1 year | 24.6% |
| About 1 year | 24.5 |
| Between 1½ and 2 years | 25.3 |
| Between 2½ and 3 years | 5.8 |
| Over 3 years | 3.7 |
| Don't know | 16.1 |

**17.** (US July '45) Opinions of American public on how long the Pacific war will last: (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Japan will give up before she is beaten as Germany was | 26.9% |
| Japan will fight on | 62.2 |
| Don't know | 10.9 |

## Evacuation of Civilians

**1.** (Great Britain Oct '39) Should the evacuation of children be made compulsory? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *N* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 46% | 11% |
| Parents of children who are or could be evacuated | 42 | 50 | 8 |
| All others | 47 | 40 | 13 |

**2.** (Great Britain Oct '39) Do you think the government's decision to compel parents to pay something for the upkeep of evacuated children is fair or unfair? (BIPO)

| | *Fair* | *Unfair* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 76% | 18% | 6% |
| Parents of children who are or could be evacuated | 70 | 25 | 5 |
| All others | 76 | 17 | 7 |

Do you think parents will pay or will bring their children home?

| | *Pay* | *Home* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 32% | 38% | 30% |
| Parents of children who are or could be evacuated | 37 | 42 | 21 |
| All others | 30 | 37 | 33 |

**3.** (Great Britain Feb '40) The government's new evacuation scheme is to send children into the country as soon as bombing of the civilian population starts. Parents must promise to leave their children in the country until the government says that it is safe to bring them back. Are you willing to let your children go away under this scheme? Asked of a national cross-section of parents of children who are or could be evacuated. (BIPO)

Yes 30% No 34% Away already 25% Don't know 11%

**4.** (Great Britain Feb '40) Are you in favor of billeting evacuated school children in private houses or should the government house them together in such places as permanent school camps, which could be used all the year round? (BIPO)

Billeting 25% Camps and other suitable buildings 72% Don't know 3%

**5.** (Great Britain July '40) Do you approve or disapprove of the proposal to evacuate children (British) to the Dominions and the United States? (BIPO)

Yes 56% No 30% Don't know 14%

**6.** (Great Britain Nov '40) Are you in favor of compulsory evacuation from dangerous areas of: aged and infirm, children and nursing mothers, housewives? (BIPO)

| | Yes | Yes Qualified | No | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aged and infirm | 59% | 21% | 14% | 6% |
| Children and nursing mothers | 65 | 20 | 11 | 4 |
| Housewives | 15 | 18 | 54 | 13 |

## Finance

**1.** (US Sept 19 '37) Should American banks lend money to Japan and China during the present war? (AIPO)

Yes 5% No 95%

**2.** (US Apr 19 '39) We are prevented by law from lending money to foreign countries whose war debts are not paid up to date. Do you think we should change this law so that we might lend money to England and France, if there is another war in Europe? (AIPO)

Yes 21% No 79%

**3.** (US May 14 '39) In case Germany and Italy go to war against England and France, should we lend money to England and France to buy airplanes and other war materials in this country? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 31% | 69% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 18% | 82% |
| Middle Atlantic | 34 | 66 |
| East central | 30 | 70 |
| West central | 21 | 79 |
| South | 45 | 55 |
| West | 33 | 67 |

**4.** (US June 4 '39) If England and France pay something on the war debts they now owe us, should the United States lend them more money? A comparable cross-section was asked: If England and France get into a European war, and at that time start paying something on the war debts they now owe us, should the United States lend them more money? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 21% No 79%

**5.** (US Sept 24 '39) If the Neutrality Law is changed should England and France be required to pay cash for goods or should we give them credit if they cannot pay cash? (AIPO)

Pay cash 90% Receive credit from US 10%
No opinion (3%)

**6.** (US Dec '39) Under the Johnson Act now in force, this country is forbidden to lend money to any of the countries whose debts to us have not been paid. England and France are among those countries. Do you think the Johnson Act should be repealed, so that we might lend money to England and France to buy supplies here? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 11.5% |
| Only if it looks as if Allies were losing | 12.3 |
| No | 68.1 |
| Don't know | 8.1 |

**7.** (US Dec 22 '39) Should the United States government lend Finland $60,000,000 to buy war supplies in this country? (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 39% = 100% No opinion 12%

**8.** (US Dec 22 '39) Should the United States government lend Finland money to buy war supplies in this country? (AIPO)

Yes 65% No 35% = 100% No opinion 9%

**9.** (US Dec 22 '39) Should the United States government lend money to England and France to buy war supplies in this country? (AIPO)

Yes 18% No 82% = 100% No opinion 9%

**10.** (US Dec 22 '39) If England and France pay something on the war debts they now owe us, should the United States government lend them money to buy war supplies in this country? (AIPO)

Yes 25% No 75% = 100% No opinion 8%

**11.** (US Jan 10 '40) Congress will soon vote on whether or not the United States government should lend Finland $60,000,000 to help her in her war against Russia. Do you approve or disapprove of lending Finland this money? (AIPO)

Approve 55% Disapprove 39% No opinion 6%

Would you approve lending a smaller sum [to Finland]? Asked of 45% of the sample who either disapproved or had no opinion on the subject of the United States government lending Finland $60,000,000 to help her in her war against Russia.

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes: | |
| No amount named | 2% |
| 1–5 million | 1 |
| 6–10 million | 1 |
| 10 million | 1 |
| 11–15 million | 1 |
| 16–20 million | 1 |
| 25 million | 1 |
| 30 million and over | 2 |
| No | 28 |
| No answer | 7 |

**12.** (US Feb 7 '40) Some members of Congress favor our government lending Finland money to buy farm products and other non-military supplies in this country. Others say this might get us into war. Do you think the government should lend money to Finland or should not lend money to Finland? (AIPO)

Should lend 58% Should not lend 42%

Do you think the United States government should lend money to Finland for airplanes, arms, and other war materials? Asked of 58% of the sample who thought our government should lend money to Finland. A comparable cross-section was asked: Would you favor the United States government lending money to Finland for airplanes, arms, and other war materials? Results were combined.

Yes 39% No 61% = 100% Don't know 12%

**13.** (US Mar 4 '40) If it looked as though England and France would lose the war unless we loaned them money to buy war supplies here, would you be in favor of our government lending them money? (AIPO)

Yes 55% No 45%

**14.** (US Mar 4 '40) Would you approve or disapprove of letting Finland raise money for her war against Russia by selling bonds to America? (AIPO)

| | Approve | Disapprove |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 73% | 27% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 72% | 28% |
| Republicans | 75 | 25 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 73% | 27% |
| East central | 74 | 26 |
| West central | 70 | 30 |
| South | 80 | 20 |
| West | 69 | 31 |

**15.** (US Feb 20 '40) Some members of Congress favor our government lending China money to buy farm products and other non-military supplies in this country. Others say this might get us into war. Do you think the government should lend money to China, or should not lend money to China? (AIPO)

Should lend 34% Should not lend 52% Don't know 14%

**16.** (US Mar 26 '40) If it appears that Germany is defeating England and France, how far do you think the United States should go in helping England and France? Should we let them buy goods here on credit supplied by our government? (AIPO)

Yes 34% No 66% = 100% No opinion 8%

**17.** (US Apr 28 '40) Should the United States lend money to Norway (and Sweden) to buy war supplies in this country? (AIPO)

Yes 43% No 57%

**18.** (US May 24 '40) If during the next year England and France are unable to pay cash for materials bought in this country, should we sell them goods on credit? A comparable cross-section was asked: If during the next year England and France are unable to pay cash for materials bought in this country, should we let them buy goods here on credit supplied by our government? The results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 34% No 66%

**19.** (Great Britain May '40) Do you think our present war expenditure is sufficient, too small, or too great? (BIPO)

Sufficient 32% Too small 20% Too great 15%
Don't know 33%

**20.** (US May 24 '40) If England and France are unable to pay cash for airplanes they buy in this country, do you think we should sell them planes on credit supplied by our government? (AIPO)

Yes 51% No 49% = 100% No opinion 6%

**21.** (US Nov 20 '40) The Johnson Act prevents any country which has stopped paying interest on its debt of the last World War from borrowing money in the United States. Would you approve of changing this law so that England and France could borrow money from our government? (AIPO)

Yes 35% No 65%

**22.** (US July 20 '40) In order to help England, should the law be changed so that England could borrow money from our government to buy more food and war materials in this country? (OPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *Don't know* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 42% | 47% | | 10% | 1% |
| (Oct 9 '40) (AIPO) | 49 | 51 | = 100% | 14 | — |

**23.** (US Aug 22 '40) In order to help England should the law [Neutrality Law] be changed so that England could borrow money from our government to buy more food and war materials in this country? (AIPO)

Yes 44% No 43% Don't know 13%

**24.** (US Nov 20 '40) The Johnson Act prevents any country which has stopped paying interest on its debt of the last World War from borrowing money in the United States. Would you approve of changing this law so that England could borrow money from our government? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 54% | 46% | | |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democrats | 60% | 40% | | |
| Republicans | 47 | 53 | | |
| (Dec 20 '40) | | | | |
| National total | 55% | 45% | = 100% | 9% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 57% | 43% | | |
| East central | 49 | 51 | | |
| West central | 49 | 51 | | |
| South | 69 | 31 | | |
| Far West | 57 | 43 | | |
| (Jan 9 '41) | | | | |
| National total | 43% | 47% | | 10% |

**25.** (US Oct 5 '40) If England is unable to pay cash for airplanes bought in this country, do you think we should sell them planes on credit supplied by our government? (AIPO)

Yes 62% No 38% = 100% No opinion 9%

**26.** (US Nov 29 '40) Do you think the United States should lend money to Greece for the purchase of arms, airplanes, and other war materials? (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 40% = 100% No opinion 15%

**27.** (US Nov 30 '40) Have you ever heard of the Johnson Act? (AIPO)

Yes 51% No 49%

What is the principal thing that the Johnson Act does? Asked of 51% of the sample who had heard of the Johnson Act.

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct answer | 27% |
| Doubtful answer | 3 |
| Incorrect answer | 3 |
| Don't know | 18 |

Do you favor repealing the Johnson Act? Asked of 51% of the sample who had heard of the Johnson Act.

Yes 26% No 31% Undecided 43%

**28.** (Great Britain Apr '41) Do you think that the new budget spreads the cost of the war fairly? (BIPO)

Yes 57% No 24% Don't know 19%

**29.** (US July 16 '41) If we go into the war, would you say that it will cost our country more money, or less money than the First World War? (AIPO)

More 87% About the same 5% Less 1% Don't know 7%

**30.** (US Sept 27 '41) If Russia is unable to pay cash for war materials bought in this country, do you think we should sell them materials on credit supplied by our government? (AIPO)

Yes 49% No 44% No opinion 7%

**31.** (Australia Oct '41) How would you prefer to pay for the war: by heavier taxes or by a rise in the cost of living? (APOP)

| | *Prefer heavier taxes* | *Prefer higher living costs* | *No preference and no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 50% | 11% | 39% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Well-to-do | 53% | 15% | 32% |
| Comfortably off | 55 | 13 | 32 |
| Artisans, etc | 48 | 9 | 43 |
| Lowest incomes | 39 | 10 | 51 |

BY POLITICS

| | *Prefer heavier taxes* | *Prefer higher living costs* | *No preference and no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Labor voters | 43% | 10% | 47% |
| Other voters | 57 | 12 | 31 |

**32.** (US Feb 3 '42) Some people say that when the war is over the British will not pay their debts to us. Do you agree, or disagree with this? (AIPO)

Agree 55% Disagree 19% Qualified answer 4%
No opinion 22%

**33.** (Canada Oct 7 '42) At present the government's policy is to try to pay about three quarters of the cost of the war out of its present income. Do you think this is a good policy or do you think more of this expense should be left to be paid after the war is over? (CIPO)

| | *Approve present policy* | *Pay more after war* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 67% | 20% | 13% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Liberals | 67% | 20% | 13% |
| Conservatives | 75 | 17 | 8 |

**34.** (US Mar 29 '44) What part or proportion of the cost of the war and other government expenses would you guess is being paid now by taxes? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 20% | 14% |
| 20% (1/5) | 6 |
| 25% (1/4) | 10 |
| 33 1/3% (1/3) | 9 |
| 40% (2/5) [Correct] | 5 |
| 50% (1/2) | 17 |
| 60% (3/5) | 4 |
| 66 2/3% (2/3) | 3 |
| 75% (3/4) | 5 |
| 80% (4/5) | 2 |
| Over 80% thru 99% | 2 |
| 100% (all of it) | 3 |
| No estimate | 20 |

Median = 40%

## Food Question

**1.** (US Apr 9 '39) If a war like this [England and France against Germany] develops, should the United States sell food to England and France, to Germany, or to neither side? (AIPO)

England and France 57% Neither 43%

**2.** (US Mar 12 '39) In case such a war breaks out [Germany and Italy vs. England and France] should we sell them [England and France] food supplies? A comparable cross-section was asked: In case such a war breaks out, how far should we go in helping England and France? Should we sell them food supplies? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 76% No 24%

**3.** (US Apr 9 '39) In case Germany and Italy go to war against England and France, how far should we go in helping England and France? Should we sell them food supplies? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 82% | 18% | |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 85% | 15% | |
| Republicans | 80 | 20 | |
| (July 8 '39) | | | |
| National total | 76% | 24% = 100% | 6% |

**4.** (US Aug 30 '39) How far should we go in helping England, France and Poland—should we sell them food supplies? (AIPO)

Yes 76% No 24% = 100% No opinion 6%

**5.** (US Sept 11 '39) What should be the policy of the United States in the present European war—should we sell food supplies to England and France? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 78% | 22% | — |
| (Sept 22 '39) | 79 | 21 = 100% | 4% |

**6.** (US Oct 8 '39) What should be the policy of the United States in the present war—should we sell food supplies? (AIPO)

Yes 82% No 18% = 100% No opinion 6%

**7.** (US July 31 '40) Do you think the United States should change the Neutrality Law to permit us to send food to England in our own ships? (AIPO)

Yes 26% No 61% Don't know 13%

**8.** (US Sept 2 '40) If there is starvation in France, Holland, and Belgium this winter, should the United States try to send food to these countries in our ships? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 38% | 62% = 100% | 10% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 37% | 63% | |
| East central | 41 | 59 | |
| West central | 38 | 62 | |
| South | 37 | 63 | |
| West | 38 | 62 | |

**9.** (US Sept 2 '40) Would you be willing to do this [send food to France, Holland and Belgium] even if some of this food might go to the Germans? (AIPO)

Yes 22% No 78%

**10.** (US Nov '40) One of Great Britain's weapons against Germany is a blockade to keep food and supplies out of Germany and the countries she has occupied. If this results in serious famine in these countries she has occupied, do you think we should or should not try to send food to them through the blockade? (FOR)

| | *Should* | *Shouldn't* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 19.1% | 67.0% | 13.9% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 12.9% | 78.0% | 9.1% |
| Poor | 21.3 | 59.1 | 19.6 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| West north central | 23.1% | 64.4% | 12.5% |
| East south central | 6.6 | 76.8 | 16.6 |

**11.** (US Feb '42) If, after the war, people in some of the countries in the world are starving, do you think the United States should help to feed the people in these countries? This question was asked supposing that the Allies win the war. (NORC)

Yes 80% No 7% Depends 11% Don't know 2%

How do you think this food should be paid for? Asked of 91% of the sample who thought that after the war the United States should help feed the starving people of the world, or who gave a qualified answer.

| | |
|---|---|
| By the people of the United States through taxes | 6% |
| By loans to the countries getting the food | 45 |
| By the people of the United States giving money—like through the Red Cross | 34 |
| Some other way | 8 |
| Don't know | 7 |

**12.** (US July 15 '42) On the whole, do you think the German people today are getting more food, or less food than they did at the time the war began? (OPOR)

More 6% Less 77% Same 7% Don't know 10%

**13.** (US Dec 2 '42) If we made peace with Italy, would you favor having the United States send food and other supplies to the Italian people to help them rebuild their country? A comparable cross-section was asked: If we made peace with Italy, would you favor the United States sending food and other supplies to the Italian people to help them rebuild their country? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 66% No 23% No opinion 11%

**14.** (Great Britain Dec 27 '42) If it is proposed to continue food rationing for some time after the war so that the people on the Continent may be fed, would you approve or disapprove? (BIPO)

Approve 79% Disapprove 12% Don't know 9%

**15.** (US Dec 30 '42) Do you happen to know whether we are shipping any food over to help feed England and Russia? (NORC)

Yes 74% No 1% Don't know 25%

(Jan 20 '43) Do you happen to know whether we are shipping any food over to help feed England and Russia? Asked of women only. (NORC)

Yes 80% No 1% Don't know 19%

**16.** (US Dec 30 '42) Do you think we ought to send food to England and Russia, even if it means rationing a lot more foods over here? (NORC)

Should 90% Should not 5% Don't know 5%

(Jan 20 '43) Asked of women only.

Should 84% Should not 8% Don't know 8%

**17.** (US Dec 30 '42) Do you happen to know whether we are sending any food to North Africa to feed the people of the countries we have occupied there? (NORC)

Yes 44% No 4% Don't know 52%

Do you approve or disapprove of our doing this? Asked of 44% of the sample who said the United States was sending food to North Africa to feed the people of the countries it had occupied there.

Approve 42% Disapprove 2% Don't know Less than 0.5%

Why do you think we're doing this? Asked of 44% of the sample who said the United States was sending food to North Africa.

| | |
|---|---|
| To win the people over to our side | 17% |
| Humanitarian reasons | 12 |
| Obligations of our Allies | 11 |
| Needs to our own troops | 4 |
| Winning the war | 3% |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 50%* |

* Percentages add to more than 44 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Do you think we should send food to North Africa to feed the people of the countries we have occupied there? Asked of 56% of the sample who said the United States was not sending any food to North Africa to feed the people of the countries occupied there, and those who didn't know whether the United States was sending food or not.

Yes 43% No 5% Don't know 8%

**18.** (US Jan '43) If the people in Germany (Japan) are starving right after the war, do you think the United States should sell them only what food they can pay for, or send them food as a gift if they can't pay, or not send them any food at all? (NORC)

| | *Germany* | *Japan* |
|---|---|---|
| Sell (exchange) | 40.5% | 34.2% |
| Gift | 39.3 | 29.8 |
| None | 16.0 | 31.3 |
| Don't know | 4.2 | 4.7 |

**19.** (Sweden Apr '43) Would you be willing to continue food rationing for a short period after the war in order to counteract the condition of hunger in Norway and Finland? (SGI)

| | *For Norway* | *For Finland* | *For both* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 7% | — | 76% | 7% | 10% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Upper class | 3% | — | 93% | 3% | 1% |
| Middle class | 6 | — | 78 | 6 | 10 |
| Workers | 9 | — | 72 | 8 | 11 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| North Sweden | 9% | 1% | 59% | 8% | 23% |
| Mälar district | 7 | — | 83 | 6 | 4 |
| West Gotland | 12 | — | 77 | 4 | 7 |
| East Gotland | 3 | — | 83 | 6 | 8 |
| Skåne | 4 | — | 76 | 12 | 8 |

**20.** (Sweden Apr '43) Would you be prepared to do this [continue food rationing for a short period after the war] for other European countries in distress? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 66% | 16% | 18% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 87% | 11% | 2% |
| Middle class | 67 | 16 | 17 |
| Workers | 63 | 16 | 21 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| North Sweden | 54% | 16% | 30% |
| Mälar district | 75 | 12 | 13 |
| West Gotland | 70 | 10 | 20 |
| East Gotland | 63 | 21 | 16 |
| Skåne | 61 | 26 | 13 |

**21.** (US Apr 27 '43) In order to interest the German people in asking for peace terms now, would you favor or oppose having the Office of War Information broadcast the following offer: to send food free when they are ready to talk peace? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Favor | 29% |
| Oppose | 61 |
| No opinion | 10 |

**22.** (US May 7 '43) About what part of our total food supply would you suppose is going for direct war purposes this year—that is, to our armed forces and to our Allies? A half, a fourth, a tenth, or less than that? Asked of women only. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Half | 51% |
| Fourth | 23 |
| Tenth | 3 |
| Less than a tenth | 1 |
| Don't know | 22 |

**23.** (US May 7 '43) Do you think we're sending too much food to our Allies, about the right amount, or too little? Asked of women only. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Too much | 8% |
| About right amount | 57 |
| Too little | 13 |
| Don't know | 22 |

**24.** (US May 7 '43) Do you think the amount of food we send to our Allies is more, or less, than the amount of food going to our own Army and Navy? Asked of women only. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 13% |
| About the same | 14 |
| Less | 38 |
| Don't know | 35 |

A lot more, or only a little more? Asked of 13% of the sample who thought the amount of food going to our Allies was more than the amount sent to our own army and navy.

Lot 5% Little 6% Don't know 2%

A lot less, or only a little less? Asked of 38% of the sample who thought the amount of food we send our Allies was less than the amount going to our own army and navy.

Lot 13% Little 18% Don't know 7%

**25.** (US June '43) People who think they've found out why the League of Nations failed are now preparing for a new union of nations, if we win the war. Nobody can say for sure whether a new union would end all wars or only lead to worse ones. In order to try out a union of nations as a possible way of preventing wars, would you yourself be willing or not willing to stay on a rationing system in this country for about five years to help feed the starving people in other countries? (NORC)

Willing 86% Not willing 11% Don't know 3%

**26.** (Sweden Oct '43) If Finland withdrew from the war and thus was left without provisions from Germany, do you think that Sweden should give her some of its food reserves, even if this meant smaller rations for Sweden for perhaps about four months? (SGI)

| | *Help for Finland* | *No help* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 68% | 16% | 16% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 84% | 8% | 8% |
| Middle class | 74 | 10 | 16 |
| Workers | 64 | 20 | 16 |
| Working parties | 69 | 18 | 13 |
| Wealthy | 75 | 9 | 16 |

**27.** (US Oct 22 '43) From what you know, are we sending any food to the people in the countries we have occupied, like Sicily? Asked of women only. (NORC)

Yes 70% No 2% Don't know 28%

**28.** (US Oct 22 '43) Do you think we should send food to these people in the countries we have occupied? Asked of women only. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 71% |
| No | 3 |
| Depends | 19 |
| Don't know | 7 |

Why? Asked of 71% of the sample who thought we should send food to the people in countries we had occupied.

| | |
|---|---|
| Humanitarian reasons (they need it) | 39% |
| We are better off than they are | 8 |
| It's clever diplomacy (will win friends) | 6 |
| They are helping us—are our allies | 5 |
| It will help win the war | 5 |
| Will lessen postwar reconstruction problem | 4 |
| We are responsible for them (our duty) | 4 |
| A Christian duty | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 2 |
| | 78%* |

* Percentages add to more than 71 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**29.** (US Oct 22 '43) Do you think we should send food supplies to the British? Asked of women only. (NORC)

Yes 73% No 16% Don't know 11%

Why not? Asked of 16% of the sample who thought we should not send food supplies to the British.

| | |
|---|---|
| They should be able to take care of themselves | 10% |
| We've done too much already | 1 |
| We haven't enough ourselves | 1 |
| Misuse of lend-lease | 1 |
| Other countries need it more | 1 |
| Let them fight their own war | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | * |
| | 17%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 16 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**30.** (US Oct 22 '43) Should we send food supplies to the Russians? Asked of women only. (NORC)

Yes 79% No 8% Don't know 13%

Why not? Asked of 8% of the sample who thought we should not send food supplies to the Russians.

| | |
|---|---|
| They should be able to take care of themselves | 4% |
| No, because we will need it ourselves | 2 |
| They can't be trusted | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | * |
| | 9%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 8 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**31.** (US Oct 22 '43) About what part of our total food supply would you suppose is going for direct war purposes this year—that is, to our armed forces and to our Allies? A half, a fourth, a tenth, or less than that? Asked of women only. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Half | 37% |
| Fourth | 26 |
| Tenth | 7 |
| Less than tenth | 2 |
| Don't know | 28 |

**32.** (Canada Oct 30 '43) After the war, would you approve or disapprove if Canada, along with the United Nations, were to give food supplies free to the people of Germany and Japan, until they get on their feet, even if this means that rationing will have to be continued in Canada? (CIPO)

Approve 33% Disapprove 59% No opinion 8%

**33.** (US Dec 31 '43) For a year or two after the war, should people in the United States continue to put up with shortages of butter, sugar, meat, and other rationed food products in order to give food to people who need it in Europe? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Qualified* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 67% | 21% | 4% | 8% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 62% | 26% | 5% | 7% |
| Women | 71 | 16 | 4 | 9 |

**34.** (US Nov 23 '43) Would you favor this plan [sending food to needy countries in Europe] if it required higher taxes for everyone? (AIPO)

Yes 56% No 31% Don't know 13%

**35.** (Great Britain Dec '43) If food rationing is continued after the war so that people on the Continent can be fed, would you agree or disagree? (BIPO)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 85% | 9% | 6% |
| (Oct '44) | 71 | 22 | 7 |

**36.** (Canada Jan 5 '44) For a year or two after the war, should people in Canada continue to put up with shortages of butter, sugar, meat and other rationed foods in order to give food to people who need it in Europe? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 70% |
| No | 18 |
| No opinion | 7 |
| Qualified answer | 5 |

**37.** (US Jan 15 '44) From what you know, are we sending any food to our Allies or to the people in the countries we have occupied? (NORC)

Yes 86% No 1% Don't know 13%

Are we sending any food to them that you think we should not be sending? Asked of 86% of the sample who thought we were sending food to our Allies and to the people in the countries we had occupied.

Yes 9% No 75% No answer 2%

**38.** (US Jan 15 '44) As things are now, if we only had enough food for one of the countries on this list, which one should we send it to? (NORC)

| | *First choice* | *Last choice* |
|---|---|---|
| China | 41% | 3% |
| England | 18 | 15 |
| France | 2 | 14 |
| Greece | 5 | 5 |
| India | 3 | 10 |
| Russia | 12 | 11 |
| Sicily | 3 | 10 |
| Don't know | 15 | 31 |
| None | 1 | |
| | 99%* | |

* Asked of 99% of the sample who made a first choice.

**39.** (US Feb 12 '44) Should the United States send food by neutral Swedish ships to the children of France, Belgium, Holland, and other countries now occupied by German troops? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 65% | 22% | 13% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 62% | 26% | 12% |
| Women | 67 | 18 | 15 |

**40.** (Australia June '44) It has been suggested we should reduce our butter ration from 1 lb. to ¾ lb. a fortnight, so that more can be sent to England. Do you favor or oppose that reduction? (APOP)

Favor 51% Oppose 45% Undecided 4%

**41.** (Canada Aug 27 '44) The United Nations have made plans for supplying food and other material to friendly countries as they are released from German occupation. Do you think this organization should also supply the Germans as the Allies occupy German territory? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should | 44% |
| Should not | 41 |
| Undecided | 9 |
| Qualified | 6 |

**42.** (Sweden Dec '44) Do you think that Sweden should help the distressed population in northern Norway as much as possible, even if it means reducing rations, or should we help them just so much that we need not reduce rations, or should we not help them at all? (SGI)

| | *All the help possible* | *Not so that Sweden suffers* | *No help at all* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 81% | 16% | 1% | 2% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 79% | 17% | 1% | 3% |
| Women | 83 | 14 | — | 3 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 89% | 10% | — | 1% |
| Middle class | 83 | 14 | 1% | 2 |
| Workers | 79 | 18 | 1 | 2 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | | |
| Town | 86% | 11% | 1% | 2% |
| Country | 78 | 19 | 1 | 2 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| North Sweden | 84% | 13% | 1% | 2% |
| Dalärna | 82 | 17 | — | 1 |
| Mälar district | 73 | 21 | 2 | 4 |
| Stockholm | 85 | 12 | 1 | 2 |
| East Gotland | 77 | 20 | 1 | 2 |
| Skåne | 81 | 18 | — | 1 |
| Bovä | 87 | 10 | — | 3 |

**43.** (US Apr 25 '45) For a year after the war in Europe is over, should people in the United States continue to put up with present shortages of butter, sugar, meat, and other rationed food products in order to give food to people who need it in Europe? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 65% | 27% | 8% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 61% | 32% | 7% |
| Women | 69 | 22 | 9 |

**44.** (US Apr 25 '45) For two years after the war in Europe is over, should people in the United Stares continue to put up

with present shortages of butter, sugar, meat, and other rationed food products in order to give food to people who need it in Europe? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 57% | 36% | 7% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 53% | 41% | 6% |
| Women | 60 | 32 | 8 |

**45.** (US June 17 '45) Do you think many people in Europe will starve this year unless we send them food? (AIPO)

Yes 70% No 23% No opinion 7%

**46.** (US June 17 '45) Do you think there is enough food in this country to keep Europeans from starving and still not reduce the amount people eat here? (AIPO)

Yes 35% No 56% No opinion 9%

**47.** (US Mar 10 '46) If necessary would you and your family be willing to eat about one-fifth less than you are now eating in order to send more food to Europe? (AIPO)

Yes 70% No 23% No opinion 7%

**48.** (US June 17 '45) Would you be willing to continue to put up with present shortages of butter, sugar, meat, and other rationed food products in order to give food to people who need it in Europe? (AIPO)

Yes 85% No 12% No opinion 3%

## France

**1.** (US Sept 11 '39) Do you think most of the people of France approve or disapprove of the present war? (AIPO)

Approve 44% Disapprove 44% No opinion 12%

**2.** (US July 3 '40) Do you think the French should have given in to Hitler when they did, or do you think they should have continued to fight? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should have given in | 37% |
| Should have continued fighting | 47 |
| No opinion | 16 |

**3.** (US Aug '40) Some are saying the French let the British down and others are saying the British let the French down. What do you think? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| British let the French down | 27.8% |
| French let the British down | 13.0 |
| Let each other down | 11.4 |
| Neither | 28.1 |
| Don't know | 19.7 |

**4.** (US Aug 17 '43) In the war between Britain and Germany, do you think the Vichy French government is helping one side, rather than the other? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, helping Germany | 58% |
| Yes, helping Britain | 4 |
| No, neutral | 13 |
| No opinion | 25 |

**5.** (Great Britain June '42) Do you think that the French people would welcome and assist British troops invading France, or would they resist them? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Welcome | 68% |
| Resist | 4 |
| Do nothing | 13 |
| Don't know | 15 |

**6.** (France Oct 1 '44) Which of the events of the last few days (Liberation of Paris) has caused you the greatest joy? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| The arrival of the allied forces and the announcement of this arrival | 58% |
| Political liberation, the popular uprising | 13 |
| The departure of the Germans | 12 |
| The patriotic manifestations | 5 |
| The German capitulation of August 25 | 2 |
| Other events | 9 |
| No answer | 1 |

**7.** (France Oct 1 '44) Who were the persons taking pot shots at people after the German surrender of Paris? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Vichy militia | 68% |
| German men and women | 66 |
| Frenchmen other than militia, PPF, RNP, etc. | 32 |
| Strangers, madmen, fugitives from justice, etc. | 13 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 181%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

## Germany

**1.** (US Sept 11 '39) Do you think most of the people of Germany approve or disapprove of the present war? (AIPO)

Approve 23% Disapprove 64% No opinion 13%

**2.** (US Nov 15 '39) Do you think the German people are prepared to hold out as long as they did in the last war, or not as long? (AIPO)

Longer 19% Not as long 58% As long 23%

**3.** (US July 15 '42) Do you think most people in Germany are behind Hitler in this war? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 51% |
| No | 37 |
| No opinion | 11 |
| No answer | 1 |

Why do you think the people are not behind Hitler? Asked of 37% of the sample who thought that most people in Germany were not behind Hitler in the war.

| | |
|---|---|
| They don't believe in him; don't believe in Axis politics, are against his form of government | 7% |
| Their support of Hitler is only apparent, not real; they have to be forced to give their support | 12 |
| They don't want to fight, would like peace | 6 |
| They have human decency and Christian principles—don't like killing and cruelty of Nazi regime | 2 |
| Because of deprivations and discontent caused by the war | 3 |
| They realize that they will lose the war | 1 |
| They will revolt, or would if they could | 1 |
| Sabotage—rebelling, underground | * |
| Other | 3 |
| No answer | 2 |
| | 37%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to 37 although a few respondents gave more than one answer.

Why do you think the people are behind Hitler? Asked of 51% of the sample who thought that most people in Germany were behind Hitler in the war.

| | |
|---|---|
| They are forced to be; are afraid to be otherwise | 16% |
| They are taught to be; are propagandized | 7 |
| The government couldn't stay in power unless it was supported by the people | 7 |
| Because of Hitler's personal qualities of leadership | 3 |
| Common German aims: Deutschland uber Alles; he will put Germany on the map | 4 |
| He offers the only hope for victory; it's a war for survival | 4 |
| The Nazi regime has made social improvements; holds out promises for the future | 2 |
| Otherwise the Germans wouldn't have been so successful milirarily—still fighting | 5 |
| Germans warlike people | 1 |
| Other | 2 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 52%* |

* Percentages add to more than 51 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**4.** (US June 18 '43) The way things look now, do you think there is a good chance of the German people revolting against Hitler in the next year? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 48% |
| No | 34 |
| Depends | 5 |
| Don't know | 13 |

## Great Britain

**1.** (US Sept 11 '39) Do you think most of the people of England approve or disapprove of the present war? (AIPO)

Approve 43% Disapprove 45% No opinion 12%

**2.** (Great Britain Dec 13 '39) (In general) (on the whole) are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the government's conduct of the war? (BIPO)

| | *Satisfied* | *Dissatisfied* | *Don't know* | *Stop the war* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 61% | 18% | 10% | 11% |
| (Feb '40) | 59 | 19 | 13 | 9 |
| (June '41) | 58 | 30 | 12 | |
| (Oct '41) | 44 | 38 | 18 | |
| (Mar '42) | 35 | 50 | 15 | |
| (Apr '42) | 50 | 38 | 12 | |
| (May '42) | 63 | 24 | 13 | |
| (June '42) | 57 | 26 | 17 | |
| (July '42) | 42 | 41 | 17 | |
| (Aug 22 '42) | 45 | 38 | 17 | |
| (Sept 20 '42) | 41 | 37 | 22 | |
| (Oct '42) | 49 | 35 | 16 | |
| (Nov '42) | 75 | 17 | 8 | |
| (Dec 27 '42) | 75 | 19 | 6 | |
| (Jan 24 '43) | 72 | 20 | 8 | |
| (Apr 4 '43) | 76 | 15 | 9 | |
| (June 10 '43) | 75 | 13 | 12 | |
| (Nov 20 '43) | 74 | 17 | 9 | |
| (Jan 18 '44) | 69 | 16 | 15 | |
| (Mar '44) | 70 | 19 | 11 | |
| (Apr '44) | 75 | 16 | 9 | |
| (June '44) | 80 | 13 | 7 | |
| (Aug '44) | 79 | 13 | 8 | |
| (Sept '44) | 86 | 8 | 6 | |
| (Oct '44) | 81 | 12 | 7 | |
| (Jan '45) | 72 | 20 | 8 | |
| (Feb '45) | 77 | 14 | 9 | |
| (Mar '45) | 83 | 12 | 5 | |
| (Apr '45) | 86 | 9 | 5 | |
| (May '45) | 87 | 10 | 3 | |

**3.** (Great Britain Mar '40) (July '42) Has the war separated you from anyone that was dear to you, such as a member of your family, your fiancé(e) or sweetheart? (BIPO)

| | *Mar '40* | *July '42* |
|---|---|---|
| By evacuation | 6% | 8% |
| By service | 28 | 43 |
| By employment | 5 | 9 |
| Killed | 1 | 7 |
| No | 63 | 40 |
| | 103%* | 107%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents had been separated from more than one person dear to them.

**4.** (US Aug '40) As things look now, do you think that Germany will conquer the British Isles? (Regardless of what you hope.) (FOR)

Yes 37.5% No 39.8% Don't know 22.7%

**5.** (US Dec 16 '40) Do you think Germany will try to invade England within the next year? (AIPO)

Yes 76% No 13% No opinion 11%

(Great Britain Aug 22 '42) Do you believe that the Germans will try to invade this country this year? (BIPO)

Will 8% Will not 74% Don't know 18%

**6.** (US Jan 3 '41) If Germany tries to invade England within the next year, do you think she will be successful in conquering England? (AIPO)

Yes 11% No 74% Don't know 15%

**7.** (Great Britain Jan '41) (June '41) Do you think the Germans will try an invasion of this country during this year? (BIPO)

| | *Jan '41* | *June '41* |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 62% | 39% |
| No | 21 | 40 |
| Don't know | 17 | 21 |

**8.** (Great Britain Jan '41) Have you had any difficulty in getting anything you use apart from food? (BIPO)

Prices too high 16% None in shops 29% No 46%
Don't know 9%

**9.** (Great Britain Mar '41) (June '41) Do you think that Germany could win the war by defeating Great Britain in the Mediterranean and the Near East? (BIPO)

| | *Mar '41* | *June '41* |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 12% | 10% |
| No | 66 | 70 |
| Don't know | 22 | 20 |

**10.** (US Apr 8 '41) Do you think Britain will call for help from the American army before the war is over? (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 20% Already doing it 14% No opinion 9%

**11.** (Great Britain June '41) Do you think they [the Germans] would be defeated if they came [to invade England]? (BIPO)

Yes 82% No 4% Don't know 14%

**12.** (Great Britain Oct '41) Do you feel that Britain has (or has not) taken full advantage of the opportunities offered by the German attack on Russia? (BIPO)

| | *Has* | *Has not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '41 | 29% | 49% | 22% |
| Nov '41 | 35 | 32 | 33 |
| Sept 20 '42 | 28 | 44 | 28 |

**13.** (Great Britain Oct '41) Do you think that the Germans will or will not try an invasion of this country this winter or next spring? (BIPO)

Will 36% Will not 40% Don't know 24%

**14.** (Great Britain Oct '41) Do you think that they [the Germans] will be defeated if they come [to invade England]? (BIPO)

Yes 77% No 4% Don't know 19%

**15.** (US Nov 19 '41) Do you believe the British are doing all they possibly can to win the war? (OPOR)

Yes 60% No 34% No opinion 6%

What more do you think they could do? Asked of 34% of the sample who didn't think the British were doing all they could to win the war.

| | |
|---|---|
| They should take the initiative in fighting | 21% |
| They should stop waiting for US to get in | 5 |
| They should speed up production | 1 |
| They should get more help to Russia | 5 |
| They should become more efficient, cease muddling, cooperate within government | 1 |
| Other answers | 2 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 38%* |

* Percentages add to more than 34 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Feb 3 '42) Do you think the British are doing all they possibly can to win the war? (AIPO)

Yes 63% No 27% No opinion 10%

What more do you think they could do? Asked of 27% of the sample who thought the British were not doing all they could do to win the war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Fight an offensive battle—get in and fight | 9% |
| Send more of own men, depend less on other nations | 9 |
| Distribute materials and men in more adequate quantities to colonial possessions | 2 |
| Miscellaneous reasons | 5 |
| No reason | 2 |

(Feb 23 '42) Do you think the British are doing all they possibly can to win the war? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| (Feb 23 '42) (AIPO) | 49% | 33% | 18% |
| (Mar 10 '42) (AIPO) | 49 | 36 | 15 |
| (Mar 26 '42) (OPOR) | 51 | 38 | 11 |
| (Apr 30 '42) (AIPO) | 65 | 24 | 11 |
| (May 21 '42) (AIPO) | 63 | 28 | 9 |
| (June 3 '42) (OPOR) | 72 | 24 | 4 |

(June 3 '42) What more do you think they [British] should be doing? Asked of 24% of the sample who did not think the British were doing all they possibly could to win the war. (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should be doing more by themselves, without American pushing | 6% |
| They should open a second front | 11 |
| Arrange the disposal of their manpower and materials better | 3 |
| Should give India a chance to work out her own problems | 2 |
| Should throw out the Conservatives and give British labor more power | 1 |
| Are still not doing well, but getting better | 2 |
| They should help China more | 2% |
| No answer | 2 |
| | 29%* |

* Percentages add to more than 24 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(June 9 '42) Do you think the British are doing all they possibly can to win the war? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| (June 9 '42) (AIPO) | 73% | 18% | 9% |
| (June 25 '42) (OPOR) | 55 | 41 | 4 |
| (July 1 '42) (AIPO) | 58 | 33 | 9 |
| (Aug 13 '42) (AIPO) | 59 | 28 | 13 |
| (Aug 25 '42) (AIPO) | 65 | 21 | 14 |
| (Sep 15 '42) (AIPO) | 56 | 26 | 18 |
| (Sep 29 '42) (AIPO) | 60 | 23 | 17 |
| (Oct 13 '42) (AIPO) | 60 | 24 | 16 |
| (Oct 27 '42) (AIPO) | 64 | 23 | 13 |
| (Nov 10 '42) (AIPO) | 74 | 18 | 8 |
| (Nov 17 '42) (AIPO) | 74 | 17 | 9 |

**16.** (Great Britain Dec 19 '41) In the light of Britain's two years' war experience, what mistakes would you warn America to try to avoid? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Production. Lack of preparedness in planes, men, and munitions. Make sure you have enough munitions before starting an offensive. Air supremacy. Air protection for battleships. Mechanization of army | 35% |
| Overconfidence, complacency, underrating opponents | 20 |
| Take initiative, vigorous action, don't leave it to enemy to strike first | 9 |
| Proper use of man and woman power; immediate organization of industry; industrial conscription of men and women | 5 |
| Maximum war effort from the start; guard against apathy | 5 |
| Wrong people in important positions. Red tape and waste of time. Inefficient civil service. Get rid of the old men | 3 |
| Efficient air-raid shelters. ARP. Evacuation of children | 3 |
| Maintain efficient home defense, including aerodromes | 3 |
| Fifth column. Aliens. Ex-isolationists | 2 |
| Lack of cooperation between army, navy and air force | 2 |
| Efficient, up-to-date command of air force | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 11 |

**17.** (Great Britain Feb '42) In order to help the war effort, do you think it would be possible for you, personally, to make greater sacrifices than at present? (BIPO)

Yes 36% No 56% Don't know 8%

**18.** (Great Britain Mar '42) Do you think that our chances will be better this year—by remaining on the defensive or by developing offensive warfare? (BIPO)

Defensive 10% Offensive 67% Don't know 23%

**19.** (Great Britain May '42) How do you think Britain can best help to beat Germany this year? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Invading European continent | 32% |
| Helping USSR in every possible way | 14 |
| Bombing Germany | 21 |
| Improve production | 11 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 |
| Don't know and no answer | 15 |

**20.** (US July 1 '42) From what you have heard or read, how do you account for British defeats in North Africa? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Lack of men and material | 26% |
| Lack of competent leadership | 25 |
| Overconfidence | 5 |

| | |
|---|---|
| British won't fight; not good fighting, lack spirit | 8% |
| Brirish are too slow and unprepared, lethargic | 10 |
| Blundering and bad planning by government | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| No opinion | 33 |
| | 111%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Canada July 22 '42) (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Not enough men and equipment | 33% |
| German leaders and strategy were better | 32 |
| Allies unprepared | 8 |
| Allies overconfident | 3 |
| Lack of fighting spirit | 1 |
| Poor quality of equipment | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 15 |
| No opinion | 21 |
| | 116%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**21.** (Great Britain Aug 22 '42) Do you think that Britain is doing everything possible to win the war? (BIPO)

Yes 50% No 39% Don't know 11%

**22.** (Great Britain Dec 27 '42) Mr. Churchill says that if Germany is beaten first we shall continue to fight until Japan is defeated. Do you approve or disapprove of this course? (BIPO)

Approve 88% Disapprove 6% Don't know 6%

**23.** (Great Britain Apr 4 '43) What do you most look forward to doing on the day the war ends? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Celebrating, going wild, dancing in streets, getting drunk (5%) | 24% |
| Tearing down blackout, putting on the lights | 9 |
| Relaxing, well-earned rest, taking day off, staying in bed, doing nothing | 9 |
| Having back near relatives now evacuated or in forces, having family reunion | 9 |
| Feeling of relief; thanking heaven it's all over; rejoicing quietly, watching celebrarions | 9 |
| Travelling abroad, having holiday | 6 |
| Carrying on as usual | 4 |
| Going back to prewar job, prewar hours, resuming domestic duties | 4 |
| Going to church | 3 |
| Ending of wartime restrictions; feeling of having freedom again | 3 |
| Getting married | 1 |
| Retiring from work | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 6 |
| Don't know | 12 |

**24.** (US Apr 6 '43) Is Britain doing all she possibly can to win the war? (NORC)

Yes 77% No 10% Don't know 13%

**25.** (Great Britain June 10 '43) What do you think is the most important thing we have to do to beat Germany? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Second front; invade Germany; get to Berlin; defeat the German army in the field; attack at once | 39% |
| Continue or increase bombing of Germany; bomb factories, airfields, military targets | 27 |
| Destroy the U-boats | 6 |
| Break their morale | 3 |
| Blockade; starve them out | 2 |
| Go all out in production drive | 2 |
| Unity among the Allies | 2% |
| Foster revolution inside Germany | 1 |
| Good propaganda | 1 |
| Get rid of Hitler and Nazi party | 1 |
| Get Italy out of the war first | 1 |
| Help Russia with supplies | 1 |
| Go on as we are | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| Don't know | 8 |

**26.** (Great Britain Aug 22 '43) Are you satisfied with the government's conduct of the war? (BIPO)

Satisfied 81% Dissatisfied 12% Don't know 7%

**27.** (Great Britain Nov 3 '45) On the whole, do you think that shortages are greater or less now than they were a year ago? (BIPO)

| | *Greater* | *Same* | *Less* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 24% | 16% | 5% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 51% | 24% | 17% | 8% |
| Women | 59 | 24 | 15 | 2 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 21–29 years | 49% | 24% | 18% | 9% |
| 30–49 years | 56 | 24 | 16 | 4 |
| 50 years and over | 57 | 24 | 14 | 5 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Higher | 56% | 24% | 17% | 3% |
| Middle | 56 | 22 | 17 | 5 |
| Lower | 55 | 25 | 15 | 5 |

## Influence and Results

**1.** (US Feb 14 '42) Now assume the Allies have won the war, the Axis governments have been overthrown, and all conquered territories have been returned. Which of these statements comes closest to the way you think we ought to treat the Axis nations? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Do nothing more to them—just treat them like any other nation | 29% |
| Let them remain as nations but keep an army there to police them | 40 |
| Divide up their territory and destroy them as nations | 26 |
| Other | 2 |
| Don't know | 3 |

**2.** (US Dec 12 '44) Now that the Germans have been driven out of most of Italy and Greece, these countries have the problem of setting up new governments. Which of these two plans do you think we should follow in liberated countries like these? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Stay out of the politics of liberated countries and let their people work out the form of government they want | 57% |
| Actively support individuals or groups in liberated countries which we believe would set up the best government | 33 |
| No opinion | 10 |

**3.** (US Dec 12 '44) Now that the Germans have been driven out of most of Italy and Greece, these countries have the problem of setting up new governments. Which of these two plans do you think we should follow in liberated countries like these? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Let the politics of liberated countries strictly alone and allow their people to work out the form of government they want | 62% |

Actively support individuals or groups in liberated countries which we would prefer as leaders of government in those countries ..... 26%
No opinion ..... 12

**4.** (US Dec 12 '44) Which of those plans [staying out of politics of liberated countries or actively supporting certain groups or individuals in these countries] do you think our government has actually followed in the liberated countries of Europe? (AIPO)

Stay out 46% Actively support 30% Don't know 24%

**5.** (US Dec 12 '44) Which plan [staying out of politics of liberated countries or actively supporting certain groups or individuals in these countries] has Great Britain been following? (AIPO)

Stay out 5% Actively support 71% Don't know 24%

Do you approve or disapprove of Britain doing this? Asked of 71% of the sample who thought Great Britain was actively supporting certain individuals or groups in liberated countries.

Approve 15% Disapprove 51% No opinion and no answer 5%

**6.** (US Dec 12 '44) Which plan [staying out of politics of liberated countries or actively supporting certain groups or individuals in these countries] do you think Russia has followed? (AIPO)

Stay out 18% Actively support 45% Don't know 37%

Do you approve or disapprove of Russia doing this? Asked of 45% of the sample who thought Russia was actively supporting certain individuals or groups in the liberated countries.

Approve 12% Disapprove 29% No opinion and no answer 4%

**7.** (France Mar 16 '45) Do you consider that there exist wide differences of opinion among the Allies on the policy to be followed in Greece? (FIPO)

Yes 54% No 15% No opinion 31%

**8.** (US Sept '46) Do you think the war helped to solve any of the problems the world faced before the war? (NORC)

Yes 24% No 63% Don't know 13%

What problems do you think the war helped to solve? Asked of 24% of the sample who thought the war helped to solve some of the problems the world faced before the war.

Stopped Fascism, Nazis, world conquest, Germany .... 13%
Science and medicine discoveries ..... 2
Employment, depression ..... 3
National, we can't stay isolationist ..... 2
Personal, people willing to share, get along with different races ..... 2
Miscellaneous ..... 1
Don't know ..... 2

25%*

* Percentages add to more than 24 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**9.** (US Sept '46) Would you say the war brought about any new problems for the world to solve that we wouldn't have if there hadn't been a war? (NORC)

Yes 77% No 12% Don't know 11%

What problems are you thinking of? Asked of 77% of the sample who felt the war brought about new problems for the world to solve that wouldn't have arisen otherwise.

Atom bomb, arming against atom ..... 21%
Territorial or boundary dispute, not specified ..... 3
World starvation ..... 14
Economic and social rehabilitation ..... 17
Russia, Communism ..... 7%
Policing Europe ..... 3
Political reorganization in Europe, Near East, Japan .. 3
International collaboration, how to keep peace ..... 10
Prices and wages, inflation, OPA ..... 10
Food shortages ..... 6
Housing shortages ..... 7
Other shortages ..... 3
General shortages, not specified ..... 4
Strikes, labor ..... 4
Unemployment, depression ..... 1
Our veterans ..... 4
Social delinquency ..... 4
Other problems ..... 6
Don't know ..... 3

130%*

* Percentages add to more than 77% because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## Influence and Results (Denmark)

**1.** (Denmark May 4 '46) Almost a year has passed since the liberation. Are you completely, fairly, or not at all satisfied with the development during this year? (DGI)

Completely satisfied ..... 15%
Fairly satisfied ..... 41
Dissatisfied ..... 33
Don't know ..... 11

**2.** (Denmark May 4 '46) What has disappointed you mostly during the time that has elapsed? (DGI)

Lack of commodities ..... 24%
Expurgation ..... 22
That there is no real peace ..... 7
Too much quarreling and narrow criticism .. 7
The sluggishness of everything ..... 5
The government ..... 3
Other replies ..... 32

**3.** (Denmark May 4 '46) What has pleased you most in the time that has elapsed? (DGI)

The peace ..... 22%
That we got rid of the Germans .... 16
The imported goods ..... 12
Freedom ..... 8
Liberation ..... 10
Other replies ..... 32

## Influence and Results (Germany)

**1.** (US Aug '41) Here are three statements that people are making about what Hitler will do if he defeats England. Which one are you most inclined to agree with? (FOR)

Hitler is only interested in forming a united Europe, and if he succeeds in defeating England he will not be interested in either North or South America ..... 6.6%
Hitler will never try to conquer by force any part of North or South America; and the most he would attempt would be to take away some of our South American trade ..... 14.5
Hitler won't be satisfied until he has tried to conquer everything including the Americas ..... 72.2
Don't know ..... 6.7

**2.** (US July '40) If Germany should win the war, which of these statements do you believe would be true, which false? (FOR)

| | *True* | *False* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| She will try to extend her influence in South America | 77.7% | 6.0% | 16.3% |
| She will interfere seriously with our vital interests in foreign trade | 73.8 | 10.8 | 15.4 |
| A victorious Germany would mean the end of religious freedom in Europe | 65.6 | 16.6 | 17.8 |
| She will try to seize territory on our side of the ocean | 63.1 | 22.0 | 14.9 |
| A German victory would be followed by world revolurion and confusion | 57.3 | 19.3 | 23.4 |
| She will actually attack us on our own territory as soon as possible | 45.2 | 38.6 | 16.2 |
| Germany will join with Japan in an effort to dominate the world | 42.6 | 26.5 | 30.9 |
| Fear of German attack would make us give up most of our liberties to dictatorship here | 27.7 | 52.0 | 20.3 |
| It will bring Europe under a strong and efficient government | 23.6 | 55.4 | 21.0 |
| In the long run it will make for a more peaceful Europe | 10.2 | 72.9 | 16.9 |
| It will bring about a fairer distribution of world's wealth and resources | 7.3 | 70.5 | 22.2 |

**3.** (US Feb 14 '41) If Germany loses the war, how do you think she should be treated? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Treated severely, more severely than Versailles, annihilated, isolated, full restitution required, as she treated Norway, Poland, etc., same as last rime, and (all others who think Germany should be treated severely) | 24% |
| Broken up into small states | 12 |
| Complete and permanent disarmament | 7 |
| Treated fairly, humanely, less severely than last time, set up as a democracy, do nothing ro her, same basis as before rhe war, and (all others who think Germany should be treated fairly) | 25 |
| Hitler etc. punished, but not the people | 7 |
| Closely controlled | 4 |
| Other answers | 3 |
| No answer | 18 |

**4.** (Great Britain Jan 16 '42) What do you think our feelings should be toward Germany after the war? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Exterminate the German people | 11% |
| Prevent Germany ever making war again: | |
| Keep Germany under control | 33 |
| Break Germany up | 8 |
| Exterminate Fascism, not Germany: | |
| Shoot Nazis; give the people a chance | 18 |
| Invite the Germans to our democratic world | 7 |
| Punish the Germans, but do not exact vengeance | 16 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| No comment | 3 |

**5.** (US Mar 26 '42) If we win the war, how do you think we should treat the people in Germany? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Treat them as ourselves, very kindly, the best we can, help them | 12% |
| Treat them fairly, like human beings, same as anybody else, same as after last war, kindly, treat them all right, forgive them | 40 |
| Don't punish them, treat them tolerantly, leniently, they are not to blame | 9 |
| Help most of them, those not guilty, punish them but not harshly | 1 |
| Treat them kindly but firmly | 4 |
| Re-educate them, train them in democracy, have to guide them | 4% |
| Disarm them, keep them weak | 7 |
| Put them in their place, keep them in subjection | 5 |
| Treat them harshly, give them a dose of their own medicine | 5 |
| More severe reprisals, e.g. lock them up, shoot them, etc. | 2 |
| Others | 6 |
| No opinion | 5 |

**6.** (US Mar 26 '42) If we win the war, how should we treat the Nazi leaders? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Forgive them, treat them all right | 3% |
| Keep them under control | 3 |
| Punish them, hold them responsible | 7 |
| Isolate them, exile them | 8 |
| Treat them harshly, give them a dose of their own medicine | 6 |
| Imprison them, intern them, lock them up | 17 |
| Kill them, get rid of them, liquidate them | 40 |
| Torture them | 3 |
| Depose them, take away their power | 3 |
| Other | 4 |
| No opinion | 5 |
| No answer | 1 |

**7.** (US June 9 '42) After the war is over, how should we treat the Nazi leaders in Germany? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| None of our affair—let their own people take care of them. We should stay out of European governments | 2% |
| They won't be alive to be treated. They will have committed suicide or someone will have killed them | 2 |
| Be lenient, not too hard on them | 2 |
| Court martial them, give them a fair trial, face a military tribunal | 2 |
| Isolate them, exile them, same as Kaiser | 2 |
| Imprison them—confine them | 31 |
| Torture them, make them suffer mentally and physically, persecute them | 2 |
| Kill them | 35 |
| Treat them as they have treated others, an eye for an eye, give them some of their own medicine | 5 |
| Other answers | 5 |
| No opinion | 12 |

(Feb 20 '45)

| | |
|---|---|
| Kill them all | 41% |
| Torture them | 7 |
| Exile them | 2 |
| Imprison them | 13 |
| Punish them severely | 18 |
| Bring them before a tribunal of the United Nations, try them and punish those found guilty | 10 |
| Be lenient with them, do unro them as we would have them do unto us | 3 |
| That's not our concern, leave it up to their own people | 1 |
| Undecided | 5 |

**8.** (US June 17 '42) If you were the one to decide, what would you do with Germany after she has been defeated? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Political change | 6% |
| Economic adjustment | 1 |
| Disarm them | 13 |
| League of Nations | 11 |
| Treat their leaders roughly | 6 |
| Territorial adjustment | 2 |
| Military rule | 6 |
| Eye for an eye | 19 |
| Annihilate | 10 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Pious phrases | 6% |
| Don't know | 19 |
| No answer | 2 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(US July 1 '42) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Eliminate Hitler and Nazi leaders | 11% |
| Destroy Germany | 14 |
| Divide Germany up | 10 |
| Put her under US rule | 3 |
| Put her under some outside rule | 6 |
| Control her by means of an army or inter-police force | 10 |
| Disarm her and never permit her to rearm | 15 |
| Be more severe than last time | 2 |
| Recognize her politically, establish a republic | 8 |
| Devise a peace which will eliminate the evils which cause wars | 1 |
| Apply the golden rule, no police force | 3 |
| Re-educate the people with different ideals | 4 |
| Give her economic aid | 1 |
| Help Germany, let them have the things they need | 2 |
| Supervision or control by United Nations | 2 |
| Keep her under control, under supervision, we should keep an eye on them | 4 |
| Take away conquered countries, take all acquired territory | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| No opinion | 15 |
| | 117%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(US July 15 '42) (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Annihilate them; wipe them out; shoot them | 9% |
| Divide Germany up; split her into parts | 16 |
| Disarm them; strip them of power; keep them down | 22 |
| Police them; army of occupation | 9 |
| Punish them; treat them severely | 4 |
| International control; control of United Nations or League of Nations | 12 |
| Punish the leaders; do away with them | 7 |
| Be kind to them; treat them fairly; a just peace | 6 |
| Economic and territorial adjustments; give them colonies and resources | 2 |
| Political adjustments; give them democracy; see that they have the right leaders | 9 |
| Take away conquered countries from Germany | 2 |
| Don't know | 12 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 113%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Canada Aug 12 '42) (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| End Germany as a nation | 38% |
| Put her in a strait jacket | 25 |
| End of Nazidom | 11 |
| Make a new Germany | 8 |
| Miscellaneous | 11 |
| No opinion | 7 |

(Canada Nov 1 '44) (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| End German nation | 42% |
| Strait jacket | 23 |
| End Nazi regime | 7 |
| Re-educate, etc | 9% |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| Undecided | 15 |

(Canada July 7 '45) (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Supervision: control | 35% |
| Destroy as a nation | 32 |
| Rehabilitate; education | 14 |
| Miscellaneous and undecided | 19 |

**9.** (US July 15 '42) When the war is over, how do you think we should treat the Nazi leaders? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Torture them; treat them cruelly; as badly as possible | 5% |
| Kill them; do away with them; liquidate them; shoot them | 44 |
| Imprison them, concentration camp; hard labor | 11 |
| Treat them harshly; punish them severely; treat them as they would us | 10 |
| Isolate them; exile them; get rid of them | 7 |
| Take their power away; keep them down and out of power; keep them under control | 6 |
| Treat them fairly; give them a fair trial; treat them all right | 4 |
| Treat them fairly, but make sure they are kept under control | 1 |
| Rehabilitate them | * |
| Other | 2 |
| Don't know | 8 |
| No answer | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**10.** (US July 15 '42) How should we treat the German people themselves [after the war]? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Keep them under control; keep them down; prevent rearming; police them | 14% |
| Isolate them; keep them by themselves | 1 |
| Treat them kindly, humanely; treat them like we would like to be treated; fairly | 34 |
| Reeducate them in democracy, in our way of life | 9 |
| Treat them well, but keep them under military supervision and control | 9 |
| Drastic steps—kill them, shoot them; as they treated other nations; scatter around world—divide up in small parts | 7 |
| Help them; help them reconstruct their country | 4 |
| Retribution; punish them; treat them severely | 4 |
| Reparations; make them pay for the damage they have done | 2 |
| Under government of UN; US | * |
| Other | 3 |
| No opinion | 10 |
| No answer | 3 |
| | 100%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to 100 although a few respondents gave more than one answer.

**11.** (US Apr 27 '43) In order to interest the German people in asking for peace terms now, would you favor or oppose having the Office of War Information broadcast the following offer to them: an equal standing with other nations in any post war union of nations? (AIPO)

Favor 37% Oppose 53% No opinion 10%

To punish only German leaders and not to punish the people?

Favor 76% Oppose 19% No opinion 5%

To try to protect the German people from being killed or injured by people of the countries Germany has occupied?

Favor 60% Oppose 29% No opinion 11%

To help restore the business life of Germany?

Favor 56% Oppose 31% No opinion 13%

**12.** (US June '43) If we win the war, which of these things comes closest to what you think should be done with Germany? (FOR)

| | BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *National total* % | *Well informed* % | *Poorly informed* % | *Uninformed* % |
| Set up a United Nations council to rule Germany for ten years or so, and eventually make her adopt a democratic government and see that she sticks to it | 36.9 | 48.4 | 37.7 | 25.7 |
| Bring to trial and execute all found to be leading Nazi officials | 31.5 | 43.1 | 31.9 | 20.6 |
| Make Germany use all her available men, money and materials to rebuild the damage done in other countries | 27.2 | 25.9 | 29.4 | 26.8 |
| Set up an international government to rule Germany for 100 years | 20.7 | 19.8 | 23.7 | 19.3 |
| Do nothing to Germany but see to it she stays within her own boundaries | 13.2 | 10.5 | 12.1 | 16.4 |
| Carve Germany up and divide her among some of the United Nations | 11.2 | 8.2 | 12.7 | 13.0 |
| Kill a Nazi for every person killed by the Germans in occupied countries | 3.7 | 3.4 | 2.7 | 4.7 |
| None or don't know | 6.9 | 3.3 | 4.1 | 12.3 |
| Percentages* | 151.3 | 162.5 | 154.3 | 138.8 |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because many respondents gave more than one answer.

**13.** (Great Britain Sept '43) At the end of the war what do you think should be done with the Axis leaders? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Should be shot | 40% |
| Should be put on trial and punished | 18 |
| Nothing horrible enough; torture them | 15 |
| Imprison; solitary confinement; exile | 11 |
| Hand them over to the Jews, Poles, etc. | 4 |
| Let them go; ignore them | 1 |
| They will not be found | 1 |
| Leave that to their own people | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| No comment; don't know | 4 |

**14.** (Australia Nov '43) What do you think we should do with Germany as a country after the war? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Police them | 14% |
| Disarm them | 10 |
| Allied control | 12 |
| British control | 4 |
| Eliminate Nazis | 4 |
| Cripple forever | 15 |
| Divide into states | 11 |
| Teach them democracy | 6 |
| Start afresh | 3 |
| Other answers | 4 |
| No opinion | 17 |

(US Nov 24 '43) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Strict supervision | 49% |
| Destroy completely | 21 |
| Rehabilitate | 19 |
| Do nothing | 4 |
| No opinion | 14 |
| | 107%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Canada Jan 8 '44) (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Supervision and control | 40% |
| Destroy her as a political entity; divide into small states | 35 |
| Rehabilitate; re-educate; encourage trade | 12 |
| Miscellaneous and no opinion | 13 |

(US Dec 20 '44) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Control and supervision by Allies, short of dismemberment of Germany | 32% |
| Destruction of Germany as a nation | 34 |
| Re-education and rehabilitation | 12 |
| Miscellaneous and no opinion | 22 |

(US Oct 17 '44) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Destroy her | 9% |
| Split her up | 9 |
| Occupy her | 5 |
| Severely penalized | 4 |
| Govern under Allied control | 11 |
| Police her | 9 |
| Disarm her | 22 |
| Change her political set-up | 3 |
| Isolate her | 1 |
| Anything to prevent another war | 3 |
| Restore her | 1 |
| Let people run their own countries | 4 |
| Give them a chance but supervise | 4 |
| Re-educate her | 3 |
| Turn it into farm | 1 |
| Nothing, leave her alone | 2 |
| Treat her fairly | 3 |
| No answer, don't know | 18 |
| | 112%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 since some respondents gave more than one answer.

(US May 28 '45) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Be lenient—rehabilitate, re-educate, encourage trade, start afresh | 8% |
| Supervise and control—police, disarm, eliminate Nazis, control heavy industries | 46 |
| Treat very severely—divide country into small states, destroy her as a political entity, cripple her | 34 |
| Miscellaneous and undecided | 12 |

**15.** (Great Britain Dec '43) What should the Allies do with Germany as a country after the war? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Occupation for a number of years, strict supervision | 29% |
| Breaking up into small states, destroy it as a country | 24 |
| Disarm them and make it impossible to make war again | 10 |
| Divide it among Russia, Poland, France, etc | 7 |
| Make sure they don't escape retribution, punish them | 2 |
| Make Germans rebuild devastated countries | 2 |
| Give people a chance to choose their own government | 6 |
| Stamp out present regime and re-educate people | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 9 |
| No answer, don't know | 7 |

**16.** (US Jan '44) We have listed a number of things here that might be done with Germany when we are victorious. Do you think the United Nations should or should not: (FOR)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Abolish the Nazi party? | 87.9% | 3.2% | 8.9% |
| Completely demobilize the German army and keep them from having any army again? | 77.2 | 13.0 | 9.8 |
| Govern Germany with an occupation force for several years? | 73.2 | 11.4 | 15.4 |
| Break Germany up into smaller states? | 29.5 | 40.5 | 30.0 |
| Prevent the Germans from rebuilding their steel, chemical, and automotive industries? | 30.9 | 52.8 | 16.3 |
| Make German labor rebuild devastated areas in other countries at the rate usually paid prisoners of war? | 46.1 | 31.9 | 22.0 |

Some feel that the best way to make Germany into a good nation is to govern her by an occupation force for at least ten years and maybe longer while others feel that Germany should be governed only until the Nazis are crushed and a new government set up. With which do you agree? Asked of 73.2% of the sample who thought the United Nations should govern Germany with an occupation force for several years.

| | |
|---|---|
| Govern for at least ten years | 40.1% |
| Govern only until Nazis are crushed | 28.2 |
| Don't know | 4.9 |

If a candidate for President said he thought Germany should not be governed by an occupation force for several years, but you agree with him on everything else, would you vote against him? Asked of 73.2% of the sample who thought the United Nations should govern Germany with an occupation force for several years.

| | |
|---|---|
| Would vote against | 20.4% |
| Would not vote against | 41.3 |
| Don't know | 11.5 |

If a candidate for President said he thought Germany should be governed by an occupation force for several years, but you agreed with him on everything else, would you vote against him? Asked of 11.4% of the sample who thought the United Nations should not govern Germany with an occupation force for several years.

| | |
|---|---|
| Would vote against | 1.7% |
| Would not vote against | 8.3 |
| Don't know | 1.4 |

(Mar '45) We have listed a number of things that might be done with Germany when we are victorious. Do you think the United Nations should or should not:

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Abolish the Nazi party? | 93.0% | 1.8% | 5.2% |
| Completely demobilize the German army and keep them from having an army again? | 84.7 | 9.3 | 6.0 |
| Govern Germany with an occupation force for several years? | 85.5 | 6.3 | 8.2 |
| Break Germany up into smaller states? | 40.5 | 33.7 | 25.8 |
| Make German labor rebuild devastated areas in other countries at the rate usually paid prisoners of war? | 62.4 | 21.8 | 15.8 |
| Prevent the Germans from rebuilding their steel, chemical, and automotive industries? | 43.0 | 41.0 | 16.0 |

**17.** (US Feb '44) If you had your say, how would we treat the people who live in Germany after this war? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Active assistance | 6% |
| Friendly attitude | 50 |
| Educate them | 9 |
| Put them on probation | 5 |
| Unfriendly attitude—isolation | 7 |
| Supervise government, industry, finance | 14 |
| Police them, military government | 6 |
| Punishment, torture | 6 |
| Extermination | 2 |
| Other | 1 |
| Disarmament | 10 |
| Don't know | 5 |
| | 121%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**18.** (US Feb '44) If the people in Germany had their say, do you think they might surrender sooner if they thought we would help them get their peacetime industries going again after the war? (NORC)

Yes 69% No 19% Qualified 1% Don't know 11%

**19.** (US Feb '44) Some people say that Germany should be divided up and given to other countries. Would you like to see this done after the war or not? (NORC)

Yes 25% No 63% Qualified 1% Don't know 11%

**20.** (Great Britain Aug '44) Do you think Hitler, Himmler, Goering, Goebbels, and the other chief Nazis should be punished or not punished? (BIPO)

Punished 97% Not punished 2% Don't know 1%

**21.** (Great Britain Aug '44) What should be done with members of the Gestapo, SS, and other German terrorist organizations against whom no specific charges of war crimes can be brought? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Shoot them with or without trial | 21% |
| Imprison them: solitary confinement | 14 |
| Put on trial and punished | 12 |
| Put to forced labor | 9 |
| Torture them; nothing horrible enough | 8 |
| Exiled | 6 |
| Hand them over to the Jews, Poles, or their own people | 5 |
| Re-educate them | 2 |
| Let them go; ignore them | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 12 |
| No answer | 10 |

**22.** (Great Britain Aug '44) Would you approve or disapprove of a plan which called for splitting up Germany permanently into a number of smaller German areas? (BIPO)

Approve 56% Disapprove 23% Don't know 21%

**23.** (Great Britain Aug '44) Would you approve or disapprove if the whole industrial area of the Ruhr and Rhineland—containing about 40% of Germany's industries—were taken away from Germany permanently and made into an international zone under international administration? (BIPO)

Approve 66% Disapprove 17% Don't know 17%

**24.** (US Aug 1 '44) Would you be in favor of reducing Germany to a third-rate nation after the war? (AIPO)

Yes 73% No 14% Don't know 13%

**25.** (US Aug 1 '44) Do you think the Allies should supervise the education and training of German youth after the war? (AIPO)

Yes 66% No 19% Undecided 15%

**26.** (Canada Oct 11 '44) If some neutral country should give refuge to Nazi leaders after the war, and try to protect them from the Allies, do you think the Allied countries should make an effort to get hold of these men, to try them, or do you think we should do nothing about it? (CIPO)

Try to get them 91% Do nothing 5% Uncertain 4%

How far do you think we should go in our efforts to get these men? Asked of 91% of the sample who thought that after the war the Allied countries should try to get hold of the Nazi leaders.

| | |
|---|---|
| Make war | 36% |
| Stop trade | 29 |
| Try persuasion | 14 |
| Other methods | 5 |
| Uncertain on method | 7 |

**27.** (France Oct 16 '44) Will it be necessary to dismember Germany? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

Yes 76% No 19% Don't know 5%

**28.** (France Oct 16 '44) Will it be necessary to deport part of the German population? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 59% | 37% | 4% |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–34 years | 57% | 41% | 2% |
| 35–49 years | 62 | 33 | 5 |
| 50–64 years | 60 | 35 | 5 |
| 65 years and over | 47 | 40 | 13 |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Workers | 67% | 28% | 5% |
| White-collar | 58 | 34 | 8 |
| Business | 64 | 34 | 2 |
| Professional | 44 | 53 | 3 |

What section of the German population should be deported? Asked of 59% of the sample of Parisians who thought it would be necessary to deport part of the German population.

| | |
|---|---|
| Nazis, SS, Gestapo, military elements, Nazi youth | 24% |
| High military, political and economic figures | 3 |
| Young men | 3 |
| Prussians or inhabitants of the provinces east of Elbe | 10 |
| Miscellaneous | 16 |
| Don't know | 3 |

Where should they be sent? Asked of 59% of the sample of Parisians who thought it would be necessary to deport part of the German population.

| | |
|---|---|
| USSR | 31% |
| Unhealthy climates, penal labor | 3 |
| Countries devastated by Germany | 10 |
| Africa | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 8 |
| Don't know | 5 |

**29.** (France Dec 16 '44) After the war should German industry be under Allied control? (FIPO)

Yes 91% No 4% No opinion 5%

For how long? Asked of 91% of the sample who thought that after the war German industry should be controlled by the Allies?

| | |
|---|---|
| 10 years or more | 3% |
| 25 years or more | 17 |
| 50 years or more | 31 |
| Always | 21% |
| As long as possible | 10 |
| No answer | 18 |

**30.** (France Jan 1 '45) Which of the following solutions to the problem of the left bank of the Rhine do you favor: (1) annexation to France, (2) organization into an independent territory under international control, (3) military occupation for at least ten years, or (4) demilitarization? (FIPO)

| | *1st choice* | *2nd choice* | *3rd choice* | *Last choice* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Responses in Paris* | | | | | |
| Annexation to France | 41% | 12% | 11% | 31% | 5% |
| International control | 22 | 30 | 25 | 17 | 6 |
| Military occupation | 17 | 27 | 34 | 17 | 5 |
| Demilitarization | 20 | 25 | 22 | 28 | 5 |
| *Responses in Provinces* | | | | | |
| Annexation to France | 48 | 14 | 11 | 24 | 3 |
| International control | 28 | 26 | 23 | 15 | 8 |
| Military occupation | 8 | 31 | 29 | 22 | 10 |
| Demilitarization | 13 | 21 | 27 | 28 | 11 |

**31.** (US Mar '45) Do you think the United Nations should try to find some way to let Germany remain an industrial nation without being a menace to the rest of the world, or do you think it would be safer if we stopped Germany from being an industrial nation entirely? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Let her remain an industrial nation | 50.9% |
| Stop her from being an industrial nation | 32.9 |
| Don't know | 16.2 |

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | *Prosperous* | *Poor* |
|---|---|---|
| Let her remain an industrial nation | 69.4% | 37.9% |
| Stop her from being industrial nation | 28.1 | 37.5 |
| Don't know | 2.5 | 24.6 |

BY EDUCATION

| | *College* | *Grade school* |
|---|---|---|
| Let her remain an industrial nation | 69.0% | 34.8% |
| Stop her from being industrial nation | 25.1 | 40.1 |
| Don't know | 5.9 | 25.1 |

**32.** (France Mar 16 '45) Do you feel that there are great differences of opinion concerning the way to dispose of the German problem? (FIPO)

Yes 54% No 30% No opinion 16%

**33.** (US Apr 20 '45) What do you think should be done with German industry after the war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Close supervision and control | 56% |
| Destroy German industry; make her mainly agricultural | 13 |
| Take it over ourselves and run it | 10 |
| Promote it; encourage Germans to build up their industry | 4 |
| Do nothing, not our concern | 4 |
| No opinion | 13 |

(Oct 17 '45) What do you think should be done with German industry? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Decentralize from government control | 1% |
| Stop all industry, destroy completely | 9 |
| Make Germany agricultural | 3 |
| Take it over completely, run it ourselves | 4 |
| Supervise, control strictly, etc. | 30 |
| Regulate for peace production only, prohibit manufacture of war goods | 27 |
| Allow manufacturing to make Germany self-supporting | 6 |
| Use it to help rebuild what Germans destroyed | 3 |
| Encourage it, build it up, equal with rest of the world | 3 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Nothing | 2% |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Let leaders decide | 1 |
| Don't know | 10 |

**34.** (Great Britain Apr '45) If a neutral country gives refuge to Nazi leaders, should the Allies try to get hold of the Nazi leaders? (BIPO)

Yes 94% No 4% Don't know 2%

**35.** (Great Britain Apr '45) What should the Allies do to try to get hold of the leaders? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Persuasion | 15% |
| Diplomatic pressure | 20 |
| Economic pressure | 17 |
| Force | 50 |
| | 102%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**36.** (US Apr 28 '45) Do you approve or disapprove of splitting Germany permanently into a number of smaller countries? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 40% | 32% | 28% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 42% | 44% | 14% |
| High school | 46 | 34 | 20 |
| Grade school or less | 37 | 28 | 35 |

**37.** (Australia May '45) In your opinion how should the German people be treated after the war? (APOP)

Severely 37% Harshly 20% Moderately 31%
Leniently 8% No opinion 4%

**38.** (US May 15 '45) What do you think should be done with members of the German Gestapo and the Nazi Storm Troopers? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Kill, hang, destroy them | 39% |
| Try, prosecute, punish if guilty | 15 |
| Punish them | 8 |
| Imprison them, jail, cage them | 6 |
| Get rid of them, exile, isolate, put them away | 5 |
| Treat them as they treated others | 5 |
| Kill them slowly, torture, hard work and starvation | 8 |
| No punishment bad enough | 2 |
| Put at hard work rebuilding destroyed places | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| No answer, don't know | 6 |
| Lenient responses, re-educate, rehabilitate | 1 |

**39.** (US May 15 '45) Will you tell me who Hermann Goering is? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Number 2 man in Germany, Hitler's right-hand man | 18% |
| Big-shot Nazi, one of Hitler's henchmen | 13 |
| Minister of aviation, chief of Luftwaffe, head of air force | 16 |
| Big-shot German, high-up official | 10 |
| Big military man, general, Field Marshal, Minister of War | 7 |
| A German, a Nazi | 4 |
| Number 2 man in Germany and head of air force | 4 |
| War criminal, murderer, German bandit, German Jew | 3 |
| Reichmarshal, Minister in Hitler's cabinet | 1 |
| Head of Gestapo | 2 |
| Other: Minister of propaganda, Jap general, Prime Minister of Germany | 2 |
| No answer | 20 |

What punishment, if any, do you think we should give Goering? Asked of 80% of sample who said they knew who Goering was.

| | |
|---|---|
| Kill him | 67% |
| Imprison for life | 6 |
| Give him a trial | 4 |
| Other punishment | 5 |
| Do nothing | 1 |
| No opinion | 17 |

**40.** (US Oct 17 '45) Should we remove from Germany all heavy industries which make such things as steel, automobiles, ships, and the like? (AIPO)

Yes 50% No 41% No opinion 9%

**41.** (France Dec 16 '45) Among the following solutions, which do you prefer for the Ruhr: international territory administered by the UNO; independent state; simple attachment to Germany? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| International territory | 63% |
| Independent state | 18 |
| Annexing to France—French control | 4 |
| Annexing to Germany | 3 |
| No opinion | 12 |

**42.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The German public was asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: The German people should not be made responsible for the mistakes of their leaders and should not have to pay charges arising out of the war. (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amzone | 53% | 41% | 6% |
| Berlin only | 59 | 40 | 1 |

**43.** (Germany Apr 26 '46) The German public was asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: Germany's attempt to rule other countries is the main cause of her misfortune. (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amzone | 80% | 12% | 8% |
| Berlin only | 89 | 9 | 2 |

**44.** (Great Britain Apr 27 '46) Have you followed the discussion about the future of the Ruhr, Germany's heavy industry center? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 44% | 56% |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 60% | 40% |
| Women | 27 | 73 |
| BY AGE | | |
| 21–29 years | 39% | 61% |
| 30–49 years | 47 | 53 |
| 50 years and over | 42 | 58 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Higher | 71% | 29% |
| Middle | 57 | 43 |
| Lower | 36 | 64 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Conservative | 50% | 50% |
| Labor | 44 | 56 |
| Liberal | 51 | 49 |
| Others | 64 | 36 |
| Non-voters | 27 | 73 |

Are you in favor of it being completely separated from Germany politically or should it remain part of Germany? Asked of 44% of the sample who had followed the discussion about the future of the Ruhr.

Separated 23% Remain part 17% Don't know 4%

Would you approve or disapprove of permanent international control of its resources and production? Asked of 17% of the sample who thought that the Ruhr should remain a part of Germany.

Approve 13% Disapprove 3% Don't know 1%

**45.** (France May 16 '46) Which of these solutions to the Ruhr problem do you prefer? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Separating the Ruhr from the rest of Germany and placing it under international political and economic control | 71% |
| Keeping the Ruhr under the authority of the central German government, but placing its industries under international economic control | 14 |
| No opinion | 15 |

BY POLITICS

| | *Separate* | *Keep* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Communists | 76% | 14% | 10% |
| Socialists | 75 | 18 | 7 |
| MRP | 75 | 14 | 11 |
| PRL | 71 | 14 | 15 |
| Radical-Socialists | 74 | 17 | 9 |
| Others | 75 | 11 | 14 |

(Sept '46) Of the two following solutions in regard to the Ruhr, which do you prefer: (1) Separating the Ruhr from the rest of Germany and placing it under international political and economic control, or (2) keeping the Ruhr under the central German government and placing its industries under international economic control?

First solution 63% Second solution 14%
Other solutions and no opinion 23%

## Influence and Results (Great Britain)

**1.** (Great Britain Oct '39) Apart from the Budget, have you, personally, had any change in employment or income as a direct result of the war? (BIPO)

Better 7% Worse 31% None 62%

**2.** (Great Britain Nov '41) What is the chief change the war has made in your life? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Change of job | 12% |
| Working harder | 9 |
| Going to work for first time | 2 |
| Break-up of family | 15 |
| Removal to new home through evacuation, bombing, new job | 6 |
| Loss of income | 6 |
| Increased cost of living | 5 |
| Food supply difficulties | 4 |
| Shopping takes longer | 1 |
| More difficult to keep house | 1 |
| Less time for pleasure through working harder | 5 |
| Blackout evenings at home | 4 |
| Fewer amusements | 3 |
| General depression | 6 |
| Health deterioration | 1 |
| More social contacts | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 6 |
| No change or unable to mention any | 11 |

## Influence and Results (Japan)

**1.** (US June 17 '42) If you were the one to decide, what would you do with Japan after she has been defeated? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Pious phrases | 5% |
| Political change | 4 |
| Economic adjustment | 2 |
| Disarm them | 13 |
| League of Nations | 6 |
| Treat their leaders roughly | 3 |
| Territorial adjustment | 7 |
| Military rule | 9 |
| Eye for an eye | 13 |
| Annihilate | 12 |
| Don't know | 24 |
| No answer | 2 |

**2.** (US Feb '44) If you had your say, how would we treat the people who live in Japan after this war? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Active assistance | 3% |
| Friendly attitude | 26 |
| Educate them | 11 |
| Put them on probation | 5 |
| Unfriendly attitude, isolation | 18 |
| Supervise government, industry, finance | 14 |
| Police them, military government | 6 |
| Punishment, torture | 10 |
| Extermination | 10 |
| Other | 2 |
| Disarmament | 8 |
| Don't know | 6 |
| | 119%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (US Dec 20 '44) What do you think we should do with Japan as a country after the war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Supervise and control | 28% |
| Destroy as a political entity, split up | 33 |
| Kill all Japanese | 13 |
| Re-educate, rehabilitate | 8 |
| Miscellaneous and no opinion | 18 |

**4.** (US Dec 23 '44) After the war, do you think the Japanese military leaders should be punished in any way? (AIPO)

Yes 88% No 5% No opinion 7%

In what way? Asked of 88% of the sample who thought the Japanese military leaders should be punished after the war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Executed, shot, hung, firing squad, beheaded, death, destroyed, murdered | 47% |
| Imprisoned, concentration camp, sentenced to hard labor | 16 |
| Trial, court martial, military tribunal | 12 |
| Punished (no specific means) punish them short of death | 7 |
| Punished according to their crimes, as they did to others | 6 |
| Tortured, death march, string them up by their feet | 3 |
| Demote them, clean up military staff | 4 |
| Exiled, exiled as criminals | 3 |
| Justice accorded them, treated in a fair Christian way, fair treatment unpunished, handled by international law | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |

**5.** (US Aug 22 '45) How should we treat the Japanese people after the war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Control strictly, punish war criminals | 53% |
| Treat fairly, start re-educating them | 33 |
| Treat with extreme harshness | 14 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Miscellaneous | 3% |
| No opinion | 7 |
| | 110%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (US July 25 '45) Here are some of the things that will have to be decided when Japan is defeated. Will you give me your opinion on each? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Should we forbid the Japanese to have an emperor? | 48% | 37% | 15% |
| Should we destroy their industries which make such things as steel automobiles, ships, and the like? | 48 | 44 | 8 |
| Should we permit the people of Japan to keep their present religion? | 58 | 28 | 14 |

**7.** (US July 25 '45) Here are some things which will have to be decided when Japan is defeated. Will you give me your opinion on each? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Should we let the Japanese choose their own form of government? | 33% | 60% | 7% |
| Should we make the Japanese give up their army and navy? | 90 | 6 | 4 |
| Should we make Japan give up all her possessions in China and the Pacific, except her home islands? | 89 | 5 | 6 |

## Influence and Results (Norway)

**1.** (Norway May 31 '46) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the political cleaning up proceedings after the liberation? (NGI)

| | *Dissatisfied* | *Satisfied* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48% | 34% | 18% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 53% | 37% | 10% |
| Women | 44 | 32 | 24 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 18–25 years | 51% | 31% | 18% |
| 25–35 years | 50 | 35 | 15 |
| 35–50 years | 53 | 31 | 16 |
| 50 years and over | 41 | 39 | 20 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| High | 41% | 44% | 15% |
| Middle | 49 | 35 | 16 |
| Low | 49 | 34 | 17 |

## Influence and Results (Poland)

**1.** (France Mar 16 '45) Do you feel that the Allies hold widely divergent views on the treatment of Poland? (FIPO)

Yes 68% No 13% No opinion 19%

## Influence and Results (Sweden)

**1.** (Sweden Sept '44) Do you think that the postwar years will bring any particular difficulties for our nation or do you think that the transition into peace conditions will come without major difficulties? (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Difficulties will arise | 52% |
| No particular difficulties | 28 |
| Don't know | 20 |

Which two do you consider the most serious? Asked of 52% of the sample who thought difficulties would arise.

| | |
|---|---|
| Unemployment | 43% |
| Lower standard of living through increased prices, lower wages, higher taxes | 14 |
| Lack of food and other commodities | 2 |
| Export and import difficulties | 2 |
| The refugee problem | 1 |
| Other difficulties | 4 |
| Don't know | 4 |
| | 70%* |

* Percentages add to more than 52 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## Influence and Results (U.S.)

**1.** (US Sept '40) If Hitler wins, do you think that American business will have to be reorganized in a manner resembling the totalitarians? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, at home as well as in such foreign trade as we do | 14.1% |
| Yes, but in foreign trade field only | 35.3 |
| No | 48.3 |
| Don't know, or no answer | 2.3 |

**2.** (US Mar 12 '41) Do you think that, if the Nazis win the war, we would eventually have to do pretty much as they wanted us to, like the Poles? (OPOR)

Yes 40% No 55% No opinion 5%

**3.** (US Mar 12 '41) If Germany defeats England in the present war, do you think you will be as free to do what you want to as you are now? (OPOR)

Yes 33% No 61% No opinion 6%

**4.** (US Apr '41) Three comparable cross-sections were asked the following questions, one unloaded, the second with an interventionist bias, and the third with a noninterventionist bias. (FOR)

If Hitler wins, do you think he will be able to invade the United States?

Yes 33.0% No 56.1% Don't know 10.9%

If Hitler subdues Europe and gets the British fleet in his possession, he would be able to invade us.

Agree 52.9% Disagree 33.9% Don't know 13.2%

There isn't much chance of Hitler's crossing 3,000 miles of ocean to invade us when he hasn't even been able to cross 20 miles of English channel.

Disagree 42.3% Agree 47.2% Don't know 10.5%

**5.** (US Apr '41) If Hitler wins the war, what do you think will be the effect on the future well-being of this country? (FOR)

| | *Very serious* | *A little serious* | *Not serious* | *Good thing* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 73.6% | 14.4% | 5.2% | 0.5% | 6.3% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Prosperous | 77.3% | 14.8% | 4.4% | 0.8% | 2.7% |
| Poor | 69.0 | 16.5 | 5.7 | 0.3 | 8.5 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| New England | 67.2% | 24.2% | 5.8% | 0.6% | 2.2% |
| East, south, central | 85.4 | 6.0 | 1.0 | 0.3 | 7.3 |
| (June '41) | | | | | |
| National total | 78.7% | 10.4% | 5.7% | 0.5% | 4.7% |

**6.** (US May '41) Suppose Great Britain is defeated without our having gone formally into the war ourselves, which do you think would be the most likely consequence? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany will succeed in establishing a new order in Europe with which it will be possible for us to resume business relations following approximately prewar methods | 8.5% |
| In the resulting peace the United States will be safe from attack without the need for huge armament expenses, but to protect our economic position it will be necessary for us to compete for foreign trade by matching totalitarian methods of government-controlled barter | 5.3 |
| Not only would the United States have to adopt methods of barter in foreign trade, but we would have to maintain a very large and costly military establishment to assure our domestic security | 36.5 |
| We would be faced with an eventual war with the new "Nazi order" for which we would have to continue to arm at top speed and regardless of price | 22.6 |
| Not only the United States but most surviving countries of the earth would be faced with the calamitous prospect of continuous conflict and economic chaos | 25.0 |
| No answer | 2.1 |

**7.** (US Nov '41) If Germany wins the war in Europe, how do you think the peace that will be established by Hitler will affect the United States? Do you think it will: (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Be quite helpful to us | 0.7% |
| Be a little helpful to us | 0.6 |
| Not make much difference to us | 6.9 |
| Be a little harmful to us | 6.9 |
| Be quite harmful to us | 74.0 |
| Something else | 2.6 |
| Don't know | 8.3 |

**8.** (US Dec '41) After the war, do you think the aims and programs of the New Deal will be: (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Partly or entirely done away with | 30.0% |
| Continued as is | 20.5 |
| Made stronger than ever | 29.8 |
| Don't know | 19.7 |

**9.** (US Mar 26 '42) Do you think that if Germany and Japan should win this war they would keep their armies over here to police the United States? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 70% |
| No | 12 |
| They won't win | 12 |
| No opinion | 6 |

Why not? Asked of 12% of the sample who did not think that if Japan and Germany should win this war they would keep their armies over here to police the United States.

| | |
|---|---|
| They wouldn't be able to—they might win the war but could never conquer US—they can never invade the US—physically impossible—we'd fight to the end—we wouldn't let them | 5% |
| They would have their hands full at home and with the countries they have already conquered—they would have enough trouble taking care of themselves | 1 |
| It wouldn't be profitable for them | * |
| The Allies won the last war but didn't keep their armies in Germany to police it—reparations rather than occupation | * |
| They would find Quislings over here who would do the job for them—would set up a puppet government over here, we would be too helpless | 1 |
| They would control us economically | 1 |
| They wouldn't really want to after the war—or need to | 1% |
| "No," other | 1 |
| No comment | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**10.** (US July 15 '42) Suppose Germany defeated this country. I would like to get some of your ideas about what the Germans might do to us. (OPOR)

Do you think they would keep an army over here to police us?

Yes 88% No 8% No opinion 4%

Do you think they would make us pay for the cost of the war?

Yes 94% No 2% No opinion 4%

Do you think they would kill some of our business and political leaders?

Yes 87% No 7% No opinion 6%

Do you think most of us would have to work for the Nazis instead of for ourselves?

Yes 91% No 5% No opinion 4%

Do you think they would take a lot of our food away from us so they would starve most of us?

Yes 71% No 20% No opinion 9%

**11.** (US Aug 21 '42) If we win the war, do you think business conditions in the five years right afterward will be better, or worse, than they were in the five years before the war started? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Better | 48% |
| Worse | 33 |
| About the same | 10 |
| Don't know | 9 |

**12.** (US Feb 6 '43) Is there anything you would like to know about our plans for after the war? (NORC)

Yes 58% No 34% Don't know 8%

What? Asked of 58% of the sample who felt there were some things they would like to know about our plans for after the war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Employment and working conditions | 19% |
| Business conditions in general | 13 |
| Production and distribution | 3 |
| Political issues | 4 |
| Position of Negroes | 1 |
| Writing the peace | 8 |
| Maintaining the peace, disarmament, policing the world, treatment of enemy | 6 |
| Postwar adjustment in foreign countries | 4 |
| Postwar world—unspecified | 7 |
| Other | 2 |
| Too early to plan; win the war first | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 2 |
| | 70%* |

* Percentages add to more than 58 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**13.** (US May '44) After the war, will your business resume (or continue) its prewar line of goods or activities except for technical improvements, will you open up some new additional line, or will you go into a wholly new line? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Resume (or continue) its prewar line | 77.2% |
| Open up some new line | 30.1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Change to a wholly new line | 0.7% |
| Don't know | 4.8 |
| | 112.8%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**14.** (US May '44) In general, does it seem to you that after the war the prospects of your company will be better, or worse, or about the same as they were before? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Better* | *Worse* | *About the same* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 51.2% | 8.5% | 36.8% | 3.5% |
| BY TYPE OF BUSINESS | | | | |
| Manufacturing | 49.5% | 9.5% | 37.3% | 3.7% |
| Finance | 53.6 | 6.1 | 36.5 | 3.8 |
| Commerce | 59.7 | 6.1 | 31.0 | 3.2 |
| Utilities | 41.2 | 10.4 | 44.1 | 4.3 |
| Other | 49.8 | 8.1 | 39.5 | 2.6 |

**15.** (US May '44) Do you plan to use about the same distribution setup after the war as before, or do you plan to make marked changes in your distribution methods? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| About the same | 88.7% |
| Marked changes | 9.0 |
| Don't know | 2.3 |

**16.** (US July 12 '45) Of course, in America we really haven't felt the war the way other countries have, but wartime living is different and inconvenient. In what one or two ways would you say you have felt it most? (NYHT)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Various shortages* | |
| Food (other than meat) | 19.1% |
| Meat | 6.7 |
| Gasoline | 14.2 |
| Clothes | 3.4 |
| Tires | 2.9 |
| Shoes | 2.4 |
| Cigarettes | 1.9 |
| Other shortages | 5.3 |
| Rationing in general | 7.0 |
| *High prices* | |
| General cost of living | 7.5 |
| Of food | 1.3 |
| Of clothing | 1.1 |
| Other costs | 0.3 |
| *Other answers* | |
| Absence or loss of relatives | 15.0 |
| Labor shortage | 6.2 |
| Business difficulties, lack of merchandise, equipment | 4.4 |
| Transportation is limited, crowded | 3.9 |
| Housing shortage | 1.6 |
| Poor quality of materials, clothing, shoes | 1.2 |
| All other | 8.9 |
| None or don't know and no answer | 19.4 |
| | 133 7%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**17.** (US Sept '46) Has your own life been changed a great deal because of the war? (NORC)

Yes 51% No 48% Don't know 1%

Would you say that the war has made your life generally better or worse? Asked of 51% of the sample whose life had been changed a great deal because of the war.

Better 11% Worse 36% Don't know 4%

Would you mind telling me in what general ways your life has been changed by the war? Asked of 51% of the sample whose life had been changed by the war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Inflation, financial insufficiency | 11% |
| Economic and financial setbacks, unemployment | 7 |
| Food shortages | 5 |
| Housing shortages | 3 |
| Other shortages | 4 |
| Death | 3 |
| Broken home | 1 |
| Temporary disruption of home, separations | 4 |
| Other disruptions | 3 |
| Time lost | 1 |
| Civilian illness, nervousness | 9 |
| Veteran illness, disability | 5 |
| Living conditions bad | 1 |
| Financial advantages | 5 |
| Improved education | 2 |
| Character worse | 2 |
| Character better | 4 |
| Got married | 1 |
| Changed jobs | 2 |
| Other miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 75%* |

* Percentages add to more than 51 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

## Italy

**1.** (Great Britain Jan '40) Which do you think Italy will do in this war? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Join the Allies | 34% |
| Join Germany | 5 |
| Remain neutral | 34 |
| Don't know | 27 |

**2.** (US Apr 26 '40) If Italy goes into the war in Europe, which side do you think she will join—Germany, or England and France? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany | 55% |
| England and France | 45 |
| Undecided | 33 |

**3.** (US Apr 26 '40) If Italy goes into the war, which side would you like to see her join? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany | 4% |
| England and France | 96 |
| Undecided | 17 |

**4.** (Great Britain Dec 27 '42) Do you think that Italy can be made to turn against Germany? (BIPO)

Yes 48% No 29% Don't know 23%

## Manpower

**1.** (US Jan 6 '41) In order to speed up defense production, should factories making war materials hire enough men to work twenty-four hours a day (three shifts)? (AIPO)

Yes 89% No 7% Undecided 4%

**2.** (Great Britain Jan '41) Do you think that the government should be able to make people work where and when it thinks fit? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 31% |
| Yes, qualified | 25 |
| No | 30 |
| Don't know | 14 |

**3.** (Great Britain Oct '41) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the government's handling of the man and woman power problem? (BIPO)

Satisfied 27% Dissatisfied 53% Don't know 20%

**4.** (US Jan 12 '42) In time of war, should the government have the right to tell workers what job they are to work at, what they will be paid, and how many hours they shall work? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Qualified answer* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 67% | 22% | 4% | 7% |
| Unskilled and skilled workers | 64 | 25 | 4 | 7 |

BY UNION STATUS

| | | | *Qualified answer and No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Union members | 58% | 29% | 13% |
| Union leaders | 55 | 30 | 15 |

**5.** (US Aug 2 '42) Do you think a law should be passed giving the government the right to require workers not employed in war industries to take jobs in war industries? A comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think a law should be passed giving the government the right to require workers to take jobs in war industries if they are not already employed in one? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 71% | 23% | 6% |
| All workers | 72 | 23 | 5 |

**6.** (US Aug 2 '42) Should a law be passed giving the government the right to require workers to move to any place in the country to take jobs in war industries? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 53% | 39% | 8% |
| All workers | 53 | 40 | 7 |

**7.** (US Aug 25 '42) Have you filled out your occupational questionnaire for the government yet and sent it in to your draft board? Asked of a national cross-section of men under 66 years of age. (AIPO)

Yes 79% No 21%

**8.** (US Aug 25 '42) Can the government now make you take a job anywhere in a war factory? Asked of a national cross-section of men under 66 years of age. (AIPO)

Yes 47% No 30% Don't know 23%

**9.** (US Aug 25 '42) Do you think the government should have the power to tell men workers what kind of a job they should work at and where they should work? (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 38% No opinion 5%

**10.** (US Oct 6 '42) Would you approve or disapprove of having a committee of impartial, qualified men to investigate and make a report on drafting manpower for war industries? (AIPO)

Approve 74% Disapprove 14% No opinion 12%

**11.** (US Oct 21 '42) From what you've heard, do you think war plants in this country can get all the workers they need now? (NORC)

Yes 57% No 33% Don't know 10%

**12.** (US Oct 21 '42) If a person wanted to get a job in a war industry, do you know of any government office or agency he could go to for advice and help? (NORC)

Yes 45% No 53% No answer 2%

What agency? Asked of 45% of the sample who knew of a government office or agency which he could go to for advice and help about getting a job in a war industry.

| | |
|---|---|
| US Employment Service | 19% |
| State Employment Service | 5 |
| Other comments showing familiarity with USES | 11 |
| Civil Service Commission | 2 |
| Other mentions of government | 4 |
| Private agencies | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 6 |
| Not ascertainable | * |
| | 48%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 45 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**13.** (US Oct 21 '42) Right now, do you think the government should take some of the people out of jobs not connected with the war effort and put them to work in war industries? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 61% |
| No | 16 |
| Depends | 14 |
| Don't know | 9 |

**14.** (US Oct 21 '42) From what you've heard, do you think the government actually will do this [take people out of jobs not connected with the war effort and put them to work in war industries] within the next six months? (NORC)

Yes 72% No 10% Don't know 18%

**15.** (US Oct 21 '42) Would you favor a plan under which war workers would have to get permission from the government if they want to leave their present jobs to take a job somewhere else? (NORC)

Yes 65% No 25% Don't know 10%

**16.** (US Oct 21 '42) Next spring or summer, do you think the government will probably have to take some of the people not already connected with the war effort and put them to work on farms? (NORC)

Yes 83% No 7% Don't know 10%

**17.** (US Oct 21 '42) If the government should take you out of the job you're in now, and put you to work in a (another) war job, what inconveniences or trouble do you think it might cause you? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Losing business or business connections | 15% |
| General family considerations | 15 |
| Care of children | 14 |
| Care of invalids and other dependents | 2 |
| Transportation difficulties | 13 |
| Considerations of health and age | 12 |
| Inexperience on new job | 5 |
| Financial considerations | 5 |
| Housing difficulties | 3 |
| Care of house | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| No difficulties | 25 |
| Not ascertainable | 4 |
| | 118%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**18.** (Canada Nov 4 '42) Do you approve or disapprove of the recent government order requiring workers to get a permit before changing jobs, and employers to get a permit before firing a worker? (CIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 70% | 30% | |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Employees | 63% | 31% | 6% |
| Employers and self-employed | 59 | 29 | 12 |
| Farmers | 61 | 27 | 12 |
| Housewives | 63 | 21 | 16 |

**19.** (US Dec 15 '42) Does the government have the right at the present time to require a person to take any job any place in the country? (AIPO)

Yes 31% No 51% No opinion 18%

**20.** (US Jan 6 '43) Do you favor or oppose giving the government the right to tell workers where to work and at what jobs? (AIPO)

Favor 56% Oppose 35% Undecided 9%

**21.** (US Apr 18 '43) Do you think there is a shortage of workers (in war plants) in this country? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 37% | 45% | 18% |
| (Aug 24 '43) | 30 | 40 | 30 |
| (Oct 16 '43) | 36 | 42 | 22 |

**22.** (US Feb '43) What is your opinion as a businessman, regardless of whether you have a serious problem of your own, as to the nature of the national labor problems; and what would be the most likely remedies? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | *Agreeing* | *Qualified reply* | *Disagreeing* |
|---|---|---|---|
| A true national labor draft and allocation: | | | |
| Is necessary now | 39.7% | 13.5% | 46.8% |
| Is desirable now | 36.2 | 14.1 | 49.7 |
| Is feasible now | 34.1 | 17.9 | 48.0 |
| Will become necessary in the future | 37.3 | 32.3 | 30.4 |
| Will become desirable in the future | 30.8 | 33.7 | 35.5 |
| Will become feasible in the future | 32.1 | 35.1 | 32.8 |
| The problem should be tackled by an all-powerful manpower agency superimposed on present agencies | 44.2 | 13.4 | 42.4 |
| It could be handled by the present War Manpower Commission from Washington if given the necessary powers | 44.1 | 17.5 | 38.4 |
| It could be handled by a local board system based on an expansion of the Selective Service setup | 44.6 | 18.5 | 36.9 |
| The allocation of labor should be undertaken without wage increases in the lower paid industries | 47.1 | 29.1 | 23.8 |

**23.** (US Feb '43) Answering a multi-part question about the personnel situation facing their companies, a national cross-section of manufacturing executives divided into the following percentages on the seriousness of each item in the list. To simplify the tabulation, those answering "acute" are lumped with those saying "serious" since both probably mean the same thing, viz., a critical situation. Generally for every man describing his situation as "acute" there were two or three calling theirs "serious." (FOR)

| | *Is serious or acute* % | *Will become serious* % | *Is mild* % | *Is no problem* % | *Total** % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Our manpower problem* | | | | | |
| As to quality | 51.3 | 17.4 | 33.0 | 5.2 = | 106.9 |
| As to quantity | 47.5 | 21.8 | 31.9 | 6.3 = | 107.5 |
| *Our shortage in* | | | | | |
| Semi-skilled labor | 56.7 | 12.1 | 27.7 | 4.4 = | 100.9 |
| Technicians | 48.7 | 9.3 | 21.9 | 14.8 = | 94.7 |
| Unskilled workers | 41.8 | 11.6 | 32.7 | 13.2 = | 99.3 |
| Supervisory personnel | 35.2 | 10.4 | 27.9 | 24.0 = | 97.5 |
| Clerical help | 28.4 | 10.1 | 41.9 | 19.3 = | 99.7 |
| Managerial personnel | 18.5 | 6.4 | 23.2 | 46.4 = | 94.5 |
| *As a cause of shortages, the following* | | | | | |
| Losses to the armed forces | 53.5 | 6.5 | 38.8 | 2.7 = | 101.5 |
| General shortage in area | 50.1 | 4.8 | 31.5 | 11.4 = | 97.8 |
| Losses to other industries | 48.9 | 3.2 | 34.7 | 11.4 = | 98.2 |
| Unauthorized time off | 24.5 | 1.3 | 39.0 | 29.5 = | 94.3 |
| Rapid expansion of our business | 23.8 | 1.9 | 28.0 | 32.8 = | 86.5 |
| Losses to other companies in our industry | 14.3 | 0.9 | 32.9 | 44.7 = | 92.8 |
| *As a result of shortages, the following* | | | | | |
| Increasing wage and salary cost | 48.9 | 6.7 | 36.3 | 7.1 = | 99.0 |
| Reducing efficiency | 43 7 | 7.8 | 38.9 | 9.9 = | 100.3 |
| Preventing expansion | 33.4 | 7.2 | 18.4 | 30.1 = | 89.1 |
| Reducing the volume of production | 31.3 | 10.0 | 27.2 | 28.3 = | 96.8 |
| *The transportation situation* | | | | | |
| Discouraging new employees from coming in | 17.9 | 4.7 | 27.1 | 41.5 = | 91.2 |
| Affecting employee morale | 9.2 | 3.8 | 27.7 | 49.7 = | 90.4 |
| *The housing problem* | | | | | |
| Discouraging new employees from coming in | 15.2 | 1.7 | 19.3 | 48.9 = | 85.1 |
| Affecting employee morale | 3.5 | 0.9 | 19.0 | 60.2 = | 83.6 |

* Percentages add to more or less than 100 as some minorities gave the double answer of "mild, but will become serious," and as other minorities, not here tabulated, replied "does not apply to my business."

**24.** (US Apr 28 '43) From what you've heard, do you think war plants in this country can get all the workers they need now? Asked of women only. (NORC)

Yes 58% No 24% Don't know 18%

**25.** (US Aug 30 '43) If there is a shortage of men and women workers for war industries this fall, should the government draft persons to fill these jobs? (AIPO)

Yes 79% No 14% No opinion 7%

**26.** (US July 28 '43) If such a law [to draft men and women workers for war industries] is passed, do you think that you might be drafted to take a war job? (AIPO)

Yes 37% No 52% Don't know 11%

**27.** (US July 28 '43) A proposal being considered by Congress would draft men and women for work in war industries,

through local draft boards. Would you like to have your Congressman vote for or against this proposal? (AIPO)

For 47% Against 43% No opinion 10%

Why not? Asked of 52% of the sample who did not want their Congressman to vote for a law drafting men and women to work in defense industry.

| | |
|---|---|
| Over age | 16% |
| In essential work now | 19 |
| Other responsibilities won't permit | 10 |
| Health won't permit | 5 |
| Lack of ability | 1 |
| Others will volunteer first | 1 |

(Aug 24 '43) A proposal being considered by Congress would draft men and women for work in war industries, through local draft boards. Would you like to have your Congressman vote for or against this proposal?

For 52% Against 35% No opinion 13%

**28.** (US Aug 24 '43) If there is a shortage of workers in war industries, should the government draft men and women to fill these jobs, or should the government continue to depend upon people volunteering? (AIPO)

| | *Draft men and women* | *Let people volunteer* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 58% | 34% | 8% |
| (Sept 14 '43) | 55 | 36 | 9 |

**29.** (US Sept 14 '43) If a law is passed drafting men and women for work in war industries, do you think that local draft boards should handle the filling of these war jobs? (AIPO)

Yes 55% No 24% Don't know 21%

**30.** (US Sept 14 '43) If a law is passed drafting men and women for work in war industries, do you think you might be drafted? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 23% |
| No | 53 |
| Don't know | 11 |
| Already in war industry | 13 |

Why do you think that? Asked of 23% of the sample who thought they might be drafted if a law was passed for drafting men and women to work in war industries, and 53% of the sample who thought they would not be drafted in such a situation.

*Reasons by those who thought they might be drafted*

| | |
|---|---|
| Have responsibilities but can dispose of them | 4% |
| Healthy and able to work | 31 |
| Present work not essential | 20 |
| Everyone would be drafted | 9 |
| Have ability—skilled in work they want | 13 |
| No responsibilities to hold me back | 10 |
| Other reasons | 2 |
| No reasons given | 2 |
| Women will be needed for other work | 1 |
| Will depend on how great need | 7 |
| Unemployed | 1 |
| No answer | 5 |
| | 105%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

*Reasons by those who thought they would not be drafted*

| | |
|---|---|
| Not physically able | 45% |
| Present work essential although not in a war industry | 23 |
| Other responsibilities would prevent it—home duties, children, etc | 19 |
| Lack of ability—unskilled, etc | 2% |
| Other reasons | 2 |
| No reasons given | 5 |
| Employed elsewhere | 2 |
| No personal need | 1 |
| Others | 1 |

**31.** (US Feb 13 '44) If there is a shortage of men and women workers for war industries this spring, should the government draft persons to fill these jobs? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 65% | 26% | 9% |
| Union members only | 60 | 30 | 10 |

**32.** (US Feb 13 '44) Do you think there is a good chance that you might be called to take a war job? A comparable cross-section was asked: If a national service law is passed, do you think you might be drafted for a war job? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 20% No* 66% Don't know 14%

* Including those who say they already have war jobs.

**33.** (US Feb 13 '44) Do you think there is a shortage of workers in war plants in this country, as a whole, now? (AIPO)

Yes 16% No 59% No opinion 25%

**34.** (US Jan 18 '44) Have you heard or read about President Roosevelt's proposal for a national service law? (AIPO)

Yes 62% No 38%

What is your understanding of what this proposed law calls for? Asked of 62% of the sample who had heard or read about the President's proposal for a national service law.

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct answer | 48% |
| Vague answer | 3 |
| Incorrect answer | 3 |
| No answer | 8 |

What is your opinion about having a national service law? Asked of 62% of the sample who had heard of the proposed national service law.

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know—undecided as yet—no opinion—no answer | 12% |
| It's good—we need something like it—good idea—OK | 40 |
| It's all right if necessary | 10 |
| Not for women | 1 |
| Don't want it—it's awful—against it—don't like it—opposed | 28 |
| Don't think it is necessary | 9 |

(Feb 2 '44) Have you heard or read about President Roosevelt's proposal for a national service law?

Yes 67% No 33%

What is your understanding of what this proposed law calls for? Asked of 67% of the sample who had read or heard about Roosevelt's proposal for a national service law.

| | |
|---|---|
| Correct answer | 88% |
| Vague answer | 5 |
| Incorrect answer | 7 |

What is your opinion about having a national service law? Asked of 67% of the sample who had heard or read about Roosevelt's proposed national service law.

| | |
|---|---|
| Favor | 43% |
| Favor, if necessary | 9 |
| Oppose | 32 |
| Undecided | 16 |

**35.** (US Feb '44) Do you think it would be a good idea or bad idea to expand the United States Employment Service so that all jobs could be filled through that one agency? (FOR)

Good idea 16.6% Bad idea 69.3% Don't know 14.1%

**36.** (US Feb 1 '44) If there is a shortage of men and women workers for war industries in any part of the country this spring, should the government pass a national draft or service law? (AIPO)

Yes 55% No 35% No opinion 10%

**37.** (US Feb 1 '44) Do you think there is a good chance that you might be drafted to take a war job? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 19% |
| No | 60 |
| Don't know | 9 |
| Have a war job | 12 |

**38.** (US Feb 1 '44) Do you think there is a shortage of workers in war plants in any part of this country now? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 29% | 46% | 25% |
| (Feb 2 '44) | 33 | 42 | 25 |
| (Mar 29 '44) | 30 | 40 | 30 |

**39.** (US Feb 2 '44) If a national service law is passed, do you think you might be drafted for a war job? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *Have a war job* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 21% | 52% | 14% | 13% |
| (Mar 29 '44) | 25 | 49 | 10 | 16 |
| (Nov 29 '44) | 21 | 56 | 10 | 13 |

**40.** (US Mar 1 '44) Germany and Japan have national service laws which require all able-bodied people to fight or take a war job. Do you think such a law should or should not be passed in this country? (AIPO)

Should 44% Should not 47% No opinion 9%

**41.** (US Mar 29 '44) Should Congress pass a national service act which would permit local draft boards to draft some men and women to fill jobs now unfilled in war industries? (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 33% No opinion 10%

**42.** (US Mar 29 '44) Would you have any objections to being drafted for a war job? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *Have a war job* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 24% | 56% | 4% | 16% |
| (Nov 29 '44) | 29 | 56 | 4 | 11 |

**43.** (US Aug 26 '44) After July 1 no employer who hires more than eight people can hire men between 18 and 65 years of age without getting approval of the United States Employment Service. Do you approve or disapprove of this measure? (AIPO)

Approve 33% Disapprove 53% Undecided 14%

**44.** (US June 7 '44) Have you heard or read that the War Manpower Commission has issued a new order to meet the shortage of war workers saying that men between 18 and 65, except farm workers, cannot take or change jobs after July 1st unless given permission by the United States Employment Service? (AIPO)

Yes 65% No 35%

Do you approve or disapprove of this measure? Asked of total sample.

Approve 46% Disapprove 41% No opinion 13%

**45.** (US July 6 '44) Have you heard or read about the new ruling which requires men 18 to 65 to get permission from the United States Employment Service before taking a new job with a business firm or factory? (AIPO)

Yes 74% No 26%

What is your opinion of this ruling? Asked of 74% of the sample who had heard or read about the new ruling which required men 18 to 65 to get permission from the United States Employment Service before taking new jobs in a business firm or factory.

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve, good ruling | 23% |
| Prevents turnover | 9 |
| Enables government to use manpower to best advantage | 4 |
| Necessary because of war | 3 |
| Gives check on men | 1 |
| All right during wartime, only for war, wouldn't like in normal times | 14 |
| Disapprove (general) | 10 |
| Un-American, smacks of Nazism, dictatorial | 8 |
| Interferes with individual freedom | 8 |
| Unnecessary | 4 |
| Regimentation, too much like a draft | 2 |
| Unfair in certain instances | 1 |
| Don't know | 13 |

Will you tell whether you are for or against this ruling? Asked of 74% of the sample who had heard or read of the ruling.

For 51% Against 37% No opinion 12%

**46.** (Australia Aug–Sept '44) It's claimed we'll need something like the present manpower control for a few years after the war. Do you agree or disagree? (APOP)

Needed (agree) 50% Not needed (disagree) 43%
Undecided 7%

**47.** (Canada Oct 28 '44) Selective service regulations make it very difficult for men or women working in certain essential lines to change their jobs. Do you think this control is necessary at the present time? (CIPO)

Yes 61% No 32% No opinion 7%

**48.** (Canada Oct 28 '44) Under selective service regulations men looking for jobs, or those employed in non-essential jobs, can be made to take up essential work. Do you think this control is necessary at the present time? (CIPO)

Yes 63% No 30% No opinion 7%

**49.** (Canada Oct 28 '44) Selective service now requires a permit before an employer can hire anyone in most lines of business and industry. Do you think this control is necessary in wartime? (CIPO)

Necessary 69% Not necessary 24% No opinion 7%

Do you think this control requiring a permit before an employer can hire anyone should be continued after the war until things get back to normal? Asked of 69% of the sample who thought this control was necessary.

Yes 50% No 16% No opinion 3%

**50.** (US Feb 9 '45) Government and army officials say it is absolutely necessary to have more men to work in munitions plants and war industries. Do you think Congress should pass a law to permit local draft boards to draft civilian men between the ages of 21 and 45 who are able to work for these war industries? (AIPO)

Yes 56% No 36% Uncertain 8%

**51.** (US Nov 29 '44) Should Congress pass a national service act which would permit local draft boards to draft some men and women to fill jobs now unfilled in war industries? (AIPO)

Yes 47% No 42% No opinion 11%

**52.** (US Jan 21 '45) What do you think should be done to keep war workers in their jobs as long as they are needed? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Freeze them, force them to stay, government take a hand in it | 24% |

| | |
|---|---|
| Draft them into army if they won't work, work or fight | 19% |
| Appeal to their patriotism, show them importance of sticking it out | 5 |
| Provide adequate wages, bonus system | 5 |
| Prepare for postwar security of war workers, cut out reconversion but have definite postwar plans for conversion and continued work | 4 |
| Make it impossible for them to get another job as long as they are needed | 4 |
| Give them more pleasant working conditions, shorten hours | 4 |
| Impose a penalty if they leave | 2 |
| Miscellaneous (includes: provide proper housing for employees, hold pay back, square deal, etc.) | 2 |
| Nothing can be done about it | 3 |
| Don't know | 16 |
| Nothing should be done about it | 2 |
| Pass National Service Act | 14 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**53.** (US Jan 17 '45) Have you followed the discussion over a National Service Act which would require more people to take war jobs? (AIPO)

Yes 63% No 37%

**54.** (US Jan 17 '45) If a national service law is passed do you think you would be required to take a war job? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 19% |
| No | 57 |
| Don't know | 13 |
| Have war job | 11 |

What is your opinion of the proposal to draft people for war jobs?

| | *Approve* | *Approve only if necessary* | *Disapprove* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 55% | 21% | 24% |
| 19% of the sample who thought they would be affected by such a law | 59 | 19 | 22 |

**55.** (US Jan 17 '45) Congress is considering a plan whereby a number of men 18 to 45 who are not in the armed forces, or in war jobs now, would be required by law to leave their present jobs and work in war industries. Would you favor or oppose this plan? (AIPO)

Favor 64% Oppose 25% No opinion 11%

**56.** (US Jan 17 '45) Most people in this country agree that 250,000 more war workers are needed right away. Which of these two ways of getting these workers do you think should be followed: continue to do it, as at present, by asking people to take war jobs; or pass a law which would permit the drafting of certain civilians for war jobs? (AIPO)

| | *Favor voluntary methods* | *Favor draft* | *Uncertain* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 39% | 53% | 8% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Middle Atlantic | 41% | 53% | 6% |
| East central | 42 | 51 | 7 |
| West central | 36 | 53 | 11 |
| South | 27 | 63 | 10 |
| Mountain and West coast | 44 | 50 | 6 |
| (Feb 20 '45) | 48 | 46 | 6 |

**57.** (US Mar 20 '45) Have you followed the discussions about getting more people to work in war plants? (AIPO)

Yes 71% No 29%

**58.** (US Mar 20 '45) What do you think should be done, if anything, to get more people to take jobs in war plants? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Draft them for work; use force; work or fight | 35% |
| Make it voluntary but do more urging; appeal to their patriotism; show them how necessary it is; show them the horrors of war | 8 |
| Offer better wages | 3 |
| Investigate health conditions; make conditions favorable | 2 |
| Do away with non-essential workers and jobs and put those people in war plants | 1 |
| Guarantee employment for all after the war | 2 |
| Better housing near plants | 1 |
| Nothing; things are going all right; they've done enough already | 8 |
| Not a question of more workers but get more work out of present ones; too many men now; too much idleness; they are laying them off now | 12 |
| Other | 4 |
| Didn't say | 24 |

## Medical and Sanitary Affairs

**1.** (US Mar 19 '41) The army has been rejecting volunteers and draftees who have not been able to pass the physical examination because they have bad teeth. Do you think the army should accept these men for duty and fix their teeth before they begin training? (AIPO)

Yes 80% No 13% Don't know 7%

**2.** (US Mar 19 '41) Do you think men who have a venereal disease that can be cured should be accepted by the army and placed in special camps until they are cured before starting training? (AIPO)

Yes 65% No 25% No opinion 10%

**3.** (US Apr 8 '44) Have you ever donated blood to the Red Cross? (NORC)

Yes 13% No 87%

**4.** (US Apr 4 '45) Have you given any of your blood to the Red Cross blood bank as yet? 14% of the sample who had given some of their blood were asked: What type is your blood? (AIPO)

Named types 5% Didn't know type 9%
Didn't give blood 86%

**5.** (US June 27 '45) In general, would you rate the job that the army has done in the following matters as excellent, good, or poor? How about providing proper medical care; has the army done an excellent, good, or poor job? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Excellent | 60% |
| Good | 35 |
| Poor | 1 |
| Don't know | 4 |

## Moral Aspects

**1.** (Denmark June 15 '45) How would you punish the girls who have fraternized with the German soldiers? (DGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Death penalty | 1.3% |
| Prison | 22.0 |
| Take away their civic rights | 3.4 |
| Take away their civic rights for life | 4.9 |
| Take away their civic rights for a shorter time | 7.9 |
| Confiscation of fortune and property | 1.0 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Expel them from the country | 9.5% |
| Put them in public charge | 9.2 |
| Branding or boycotting | 14.8 |
| Other measures | 1.1 |
| No punishment | 24 9 |

## Naval Operations

**1.** (US Aug 20 '39) Should our government allow American ships to carry goods anywhere or should our ships be kept out of war zones? (AIPO)

| | *Carry anywhere* | *Keep out of war zones* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 16% | 84% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 17% | 83% |
| Mid-Atlantic | 17 | 83 |
| East central | 16 | 84 |
| West central | 16 | 84 |
| South | 19 | 81 |
| West | 17 | 83 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 15% | 85% |
| Republicans | 17 | 83 |

**2.** (US Sept 11 '39) Should England and France be required to carry the goods away in their own ships? (AIPO)

Yes 94% No 6% No opinion (4%)

**3.** (US May 29 '40) The Neutrality Law prevents American ships from traveling in the war zone in Europe. Should this law be changed so that American ships can carry war supplies to England and France? (AIPO)

Yes 18% No 74% Undecided 8%

**4.** (US July 20 '40) In order to help England, should the Neutrality Law be changed so that American ships can carry war supplies to England? (OPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 35% | 54% | 10% | 1% |
| (Aug 22 '40) (AIPO) | 40 | 47 | 13 | |
| (Oct 9 '46) (AIPO) | 40 | 60 = 100% | 14 | |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democrats | 48% | 52% | | |
| Republicans | 33 | 67 | | |

**5.** (US Oct 1 '41) Should the Neutrality Act be changed to permit American merchant ships with American crews to carry war materials to Britain? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46% | 40% | 14% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republicans | 40% | 48% | 12% |
| Democrats | 53 | 33 | 14 |
| National total (Sept 17 '41) | 46% | 40% | 14% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republicans | 42% | 48% | 10% |
| Democrats | 51 | 33 | 16 |
| (Oct 7 '41) | 54% | 37% | 9% |
| (Oct 22 '41) | 61 | 31 | 8 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republicans | 59% | 34% | 7% |
| Democrats | 66 | 27 | 7 |

**6.** (US Dec 31 '40) Since the English have lost many ships, they may not be able to come and get the war materials we make for them. If this proves to be the case, should American ships with American crews be used for this purpose [be used to carry war materials to England]? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 45% | 13% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 39% | 47% | 14% |
| East central | 38 | 50 | 12 |
| West central | 38 | 49 | 13 |
| South | 58 | 26 | 16 |
| West | 45 | 42 | 13 |

If American ships and American crews are used to carry war materials to England, should these ships be guarded by our navy while crossing? Asked of the 42% of the sample who favored sending American ships.

Yes 82% No 12% Undecided 6%

(Feb 14 '41) Since the English have lost many ships, they may not be able to come and get the war materials we make for them. If this proves to be the case, should American ships with American crews be used to carry war materials to England? A comparable cross-section was asked: If the English do not have enough ships to come and get the war materials we make for them do you think that American ships with American crews should be used to carry war materials to England? Results were combined.

Yes 33% No 53% No opinion 6% Qualified answer 8%

**7.** (US Jan 9 '41) Do you think we should sell American ships to the English to carry war materials to England? (AIPO)

Yes 71% No 20% No opinion 7%
Qualified answer 1% No answer 1%

**8.** (US Feb 14 '41) If American ships and American crews are used to carry war materials to England, should these ships be guarded by our navy while crossing? (AIPO)

Yes 56% No 38% No opinion 6%

**9.** (US Jan 28 '41) If American merchant ships with American crews are used to carry war materials to Britain, and some of them are sunk by the Germans on the way over, would you be in favor of going to war against Germany? (OPOR)

Yes 27% No 61% No opinion 12%

**10.** (US Jan 28 '41) Do you think this [if American ships and crews carrying materials to Britain are sunk] would make most people want to go to war against Germany? (OPOR)

Yes 67% No 21% No opinion 11%

**11.** (Apr 8 '41) If we do use our navy to guard merchant ships crossing the Atlantic, and some of our warships are sunk by German submarines, would you be in favor of going to war against Germany? (AIPO)

Yes 40% No 50% No opinion 10%

**12.** (US Apr 8 '41) If we do send American merchant ships to Britain with war materials, and some of them are sunk by German submarines, would you be in favor of going to war against Germany? (AIPO)

Yes 34% No 58% No opinion 8%

**13.** (US Apr 8 '41) Should the United States navy be used to guard ships carrying war materials to Britain? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 41% | 50% | 9% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 41% | 49% | 10% |
| East central | 35 | 56 | 9 |
| West central | 33 | 58 | 9 |
| South | 59 | 30 | 11 |
| West | 42 | 52 | 6 |
| (May '41) | | | |
| National total | 52% | 41% | 7% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 55% | 38% | 7% |
| East central | 43 | 50 | 7 |
| West central | 42 | 50 | 8 |
| South | 74 | 20 | 6 |
| West | 51 | 44 | 5 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republicans | 42% | 52% | 6% |
| Democrats | 60 | 33 | 7 |
| Special group* | 52 | 42 | 6 |
| All others | 52 | 40 | 8 |

* Families of men now in service, men who would expect to go into service if the army is greatly increased, and families of the latter.

**14.** (US May 20 '41) Do you think the United States Navy should be used to convoy (guard) ships carrying war materials to Britain? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 52% | 40% | 8% |
| (May 29 '41) | 55 | 38 | 7 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 55% | 38% | 7% |
| East central | 48 | 44 | 8 |
| West central | 49 | 45 | 6 |
| South | 75 | 17 | 8 |
| West | 53 | 39 | 8 |

| | Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| (June 24 '41) | 56% | 35% | 9% |
| (Aug 5 '41) | 52 | 39 | 9 |
| (Aug 19 '41) | 55 | 37 | 8 |
| (Aug 26 '41) | 54 | 39 | 7 |
| (Sept 9 '41) | 60 | 32 | 7 |
| (Oct 1 '41) | 58 | 35 | 7 |

**15.** (US Apr 8 '41) Do you think American merchant ships with American crews should be used to carry war materials to Britain? (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 61% No opinion 9%

**16.** (US Apr 8 '41) If it appears certain that Britain will be defeated unless we use part of our navy to protect ships going to Britain, would you favor or oppose such convoys? (AIPO)

| | Favor | Oppose | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 71% | 21% | 8% |
| (May 6 '41) | 73 | 23 | 4 |

**17.** (US Apr 25 '41) Should the United States navy be used to guard ships half way across the Atlantic Ocean, when the ships are carrying war materials to Britain? (AIPO)

Yes 49% No 43% No opinion 8%

**18.** (US Apr 25 '41) Would you favor, or oppose, using the United States navy to guard ships all the way across the ocean, when they are carrying war materials to Britain? (AIPO)

Favor 33% Oppose 59% No opinion 8%

**19.** (US May 6 '41) Do you think that if our navy guards ships carrying war materials to Britain, this will get us into the war? (AIPO)

Yes 74% No 16% No opinion 10%

**20.** (US July 29 '41) Do you think the United States navy should be used to convoy these ships as far as Iceland? (AIPO)

Yes 75% No 15% No opinion 8% Don't know 2%

**21.** (US Sept 9 '41) Do you believe that the United States navy should shoot at German submarines on sight, or should our ships wait until they are attacked? (AIPO)

Shoot on sight 57% Wait until attacked 34% No opinion 9%

**22.** (US Sept 10 '41) Do you believe United States navy warships should wait until being attacked before shooting at German submarines or should our ships shoot at German submarines on sight? (AIPO)

Shoot on sight 60% Wait until attacked 32% No opinion 8%

**23.** (US Sept 9 '41) Have you heard or read about the fight between the German submarine and the United States destroyer *Greer* a few days ago? (AIPO)

Yes 89% No 10% No answer 1%

**24.** (US Sept 17 '41) In general, do you approve or disapprove of having the United States navy shoot at German submarines or war ships on sight? (AIPO)

| | Approve | Disapprove | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 62% | 28% | 10% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 61% | 29% | 10% |
| East central | 56 | 35 | 9 |
| West central | 56 | 31 | 13 |
| South | 78 | 15 | 7 |
| Far West | 64 | 27 | 9 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republicans | 56% | 36% | 8% |
| Democrats | 68 | 22 | 10 |

**25.** (US Oct 1 '41) Should the Neutrality Act be changed to permit American merchant ships to be armed? (AIPO)

| | Yes | No | No opinion |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 72% | 21% | 7% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Republicans | 66% | 27% | 7% |
| Democrats | 76 | 17 | 7 |
| (Oct 22 '41) National total | 81% | 14% | 5% |

**26.** (US Oct 22 '41) Do you think that we should at this time send some of our warships manned by American sailors to Europe to help Britain? (AIPO)

Yes 27% No 68% No opinion 5%

**27.** (US Nov '41) Within the past few weeks Congress has changed the law so that the United States can now arm her merchant ships. Do you think this is a good idea or a bad idea? (NORC)

Good idea 79.3% Bad idea 11.2% Don't know 9.5%

**28.** (US Nov '41) At the same time, Congress also changed the law so that United States ships can carry war materials all the way to (Britain) (Russia). Do you think this is a good idea or a bad idea? (NORC)

| | *Britain* | *Russia* |
|---|---|---|
| Good idea | 62.4% | 54.4% |
| Bad idea | 25.2 | 30.2 |
| Don't know | 12.4 | 15.4 |

**29.** (US Nov 25 '41) Congress has voted to change the Neutrality Act to permit American merchant ships with American crews to carry war materials to Britain. Do you approve, or disapprove? (AIPO)

Approve 66% Disapprove 26% No opinion 8%

**30.** (US Aug 21 '42) In your opinion, are we doing all we possibly can to keep submarines from sinking our ships in the Atlantic? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 74% | 16% | 10% |
| (Aug 29 '42) | 76 | 14 | 10 |
| (Nov 27 '42) | 79 | 9 | 12 |
| (June 18 '43) | 83 | 6 | 11 |

**31.** (US Aug 21 '42) Do you think we'll be able to get the submarine menace under control within the next six months, or do you think it will take longer? (NORC)

| | *Next 6 months* | *Longer* | *Never be able to* | *Already under control* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 42% | 40% | 1% | 2% | 15% |
| (Aug 29 '42) | 46 | 37 | 2 | 2 | 13 |
| (June 18 '43) | 44 | 36 | 1 | 5 | 14 |

**32.** (US July 14 '42) How do you account for the success of German submarines in sinking our ships along the Atlantic coast? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Our navy not yet large enough to handle situation—patrol ships more necessary elsewhere—greater part of our navy diverted elsewhere—inadequate protection, too many subs for us to combat at present | 27% |
| Spies, 5th columnists, loose talk in this country | 18 |
| Navy caught off guard—not smart enough | 13 |
| The Germans' cleverness, efficiency, preparation, large number of subs | 17 |
| Laxity in the service, insufficient cooperation between the army and the navy | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| No opinion | 26 |
| | 108%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**33.** (US Feb 6 '43) As you know, the Navy Department gives out the news about ship sinkings and naval battles. Do you think they have been handling this news very well, only fairly well, or poorly? (NORC)

Very well 63% Only fairly well 20% Poorly 4%
Don't know 13%

How do you think they [the Navy Department] could have handled it [news of battle and sinkings] better? Asked of the 24% of the sample who thought the Navy Department had been handling the news of ship sinkings and naval battles "only fairly well" or "poorly."

| | |
|---|---|
| Criticism of timing: | |
| News not released soon enough | 9% |
| Criticism of volume: | |
| Should tell more news, more details, news is withheld | 3 |
| Should tell less news for security of information | 1% |
| Criticism of the way news is handled: | |
| Too optimistic, should tell bad as well as good news | 2 |
| Want truth, accurate news, fewer conflicting reports | 3 |
| Qualified satisfaction: | |
| News couldn't be handled better under circumstances | 1 |
| Mention of shipping news or losses | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 5 |
| | 29%* |

* Percentages add to more than 24 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**34.** (US Aug 4 '43) Do you think most of our troops are carried across the Atlantic in British ships or in American ships? (NORC)

British 10% American 77% Don't know 13%

**35.** (US Aug 4 '43) Right now, which country do you think is doing most of the convoying of Allied ships on the Atlantic—the United States or England? (NORC)

United States 66% England 17% Don't know 17%

## News Reports

**1.** (US Sept 11 '39) Do you have confidence in the news from England and France at the present time? (AIPO)

Complete confidence 8% Some confidence 62%
No confidence 30%

**2.** (US Sept 1 '39) Do you have confidence in the news from Germany at the present time? (AIPO)

Complete confidence 1% Some confidence 33%
No confidence 66%

**3.** (US Nov 30 '39) Which two of these news events of 1939 interested you most? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Declaration of war in Europe | 42% |
| Repeal of arms embargo | 24 |
| Attempt on Hitler's life in Munich beer hall | 13 |
| Germany's conquest of Poland | 12 |
| Visit of King and Queen of England | 12 |
| Yankees win four straight world series | 6 |
| Russia's demands on Finland | 10 |
| Russian-German treaty | 7 |
| Dies Committee hearings | 7 |
| Roosevelt's proclamation changing date of Thanksgiving | 8 |
| Germany's seizure of Czechoslovakia | 8 |
| Roosevelt's third term mystery | 7 |
| Sinking of submarines Squalis and Thetis | 6 |
| Cardinal Pacelli elected Pope Pius XII | 4 |
| New York and San Francisco World's Fairs | 5 |
| "Ham and Eggs" Pension Plan election in California | 7 |
| City of Flint incident | 3 |
| Germany's mine warfare | 3 |
| Sinking of Athenia | 3 |
| No answer | 4 |
| | 191%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**4.** (US Mar 8 '40) About how much confidence do you have in the news coming from England and France at this time? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Complete | 1.8% |
| Good deal | 12.9 |
| Some | 29.2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Very little | 38.1% |
| None | 15.9 |
| No answer | 2.1 |

**5.** (US Mar 8 '40) About how much confidence do you have in the news coming from Germany at this time? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Complete | 0.6% |
| Good deal | 3.3 |
| Some | 16.5 |
| Very little | 38.4 |
| None | 39.0 |
| No answer | 2.2 |

**6.** (US July 10 '41) About how much of the news coming from newspaper and radio reporters in England do you believe at this time? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 3% |
| Don't know | 4 |
| All | 4 |
| Great deal | 24 |
| Some | 38 |
| Little | 20 |
| None | 7 |

**7.** (US July 10 '41) About how much of the news coming from newspaper and radio reporters in Germany do you believe at this time? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know | 4% |
| No answer | 3 |
| All | 1 |
| Great deal | 3 |
| Some | 24 |
| Little | 39 |
| None | 26 |

**8.** (US July 10 '41) About how much of the news coming from newspaper and radio reporters in France (Vichy) do you believe at this time? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Don't know | 8% |
| No answer | 5 |
| All | 1 |
| Great deal | 4 |
| Some | 25 |
| Little | 35 |
| None | 22 |

**9.** (US Nov 19 '41) Do you feel that, in general, the information you are getting about the war situation is true and accurate? (OPOR)

Yes 27% No 54% Don't know 6%
Qualified answer 12% No answer 1%

**10.** (US Dec 10 '41) Do you think the government is giving the public as much information as it should about the (fighting in the) war? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *Qualified answer* | *Too much* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 68% | 14% | 9% | | 9% | |
| (Nov 19 '41) (OPOR) | 48 | 39 | 9 | 3% | | 1% |
| (Mar 26 '42) (AIPO) | 62 | 21 | 7 | | 10 | |
| (June 17 '42) (OPOR) | 60 | 26 | 7 | | 7 | |
| (July 18 '42) (NORC) | 70 | 23 | 7 | | | |
| (July 31 '42) (NORC) | 65 | 26 | 9 | | | |
| (Aug 13 '42) (NORC) | 71 | 19 | 10 | | | |
| (Nov 3 '42) (NORC) | 62 | 31 | 7 | | | |
| (Nov 17 '42) (AIPO) | 70% | 23% | 7% | | | |
| (Nov 19 '42) (NORC) | 75 | 19 | 6 | | | |
| (Dec 15 '42) (AIPO) | 69 | 22 | 9 | | | |
| (Feb 6 '43) (NORC) | 74 | 18 | 8 | | | |

What makes you feel this way? Asked of 18% of the Feb 6 '43 sample who do not think the government is giving the public as much information as it should about the fighting in this war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Criticism of volume: | |
| News is withheld, covered up; should tell more, give more details | 5% |
| More news would raise public morale | 2 |
| Criticism of timing: | |
| News not released soon enough | 4 |
| Criticism of way news is handled: | |
| News too optimistic | 3 |
| News too conflicting | 3 |
| Specific events on which news is wanted | * |
| Qualified answers: | |
| Realize we can't have more because of secrecy demands | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 19%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 18 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

(June 18 '43) Do you think the government is giving the public as much information as it should about the fighting in this war? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 68% | 21% | 11% |
| (Apr 8 '44) (NORC) | 57 | 35 | 8 |
| (Feb 20 '45) (AIPO) | 55 | 36 | 9 |

What further information do you think should be asked? Asked of the 36% who said that the government was not giving the public as much information as it should about the war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Truth; bad news; details | 47% |
| News of losses, casualties, sinkings | 23 |
| Foreign policy, political commitments, postwar aims | 14 |
| All news is withheld longer than need be | 8 |
| Facts about home production front | 1 |
| Censorship here exercised longer than in other countries; we should not have to be getting news through other countries | 3 |
| Didn't say | 10 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Feb 21 '42) Do you think the government is giving the public as much information as it should about the fighting in this war? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 67% | 24% | 9% |
| (Mar 2 '42) (NORC) | 69 | 22 | 9 |

**11.** (US Dec 24 '41) How about the news from the Philippines? Do you think we are getting pretty much the whole story of

what's happening there, or do you think that some important news is being held back? (NORC)

| | *Getting whole story* | *Some news withheld* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 26% | 67% | 7% |
| (Jan 28 '42)..... | 27 | 61 | 12 |

**12.** (US Dec 24 '41) Which of these two ways of releasing war news to the public do you favor: Let newspaper reporters and radio commentators handle the war news as they are doing now, or have official government spokesmen write the war news for the papers and broadcast it over the radio? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Let newsmen and commentators handle the war news... | 41% |
| Let government spokesmen take over news reports..... | 53 |
| Don't know..... | 6 |

**13.** (US Feb 21 '42) Do you think the war news the government does release is accurate, or that it makes the situation look better or worse than it really is? (NORC)

| | *Accurate* | *Looks better* | *Looks worse* | *Don't know* | *Both* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 39% | 36% | 12% | 13% | |
| (Aug 13 '42).... | 53 | 26 | 4 | 17 | |
| (Nov 19 '42).... | 54 | 33 | 4 | 9 | |
| (Feb 6 '43).... | 47 | 35 | 4 | 14 | |
| (June 18 '43).... | 42 | 39 | 4 | 15 | |
| (Apr 8 '44).... | 38 | 44 | 5 | 13 | |
| (Mar 2 '42).... | 51 | 29 | 6 | 14 | |
| (Oct 2 '43).... | 40 | 38 | 5 | 15 | 2% |

What makes you think so? Asked of the 5% of the Oct 2 '43 sample who thought the news released by the government made the situation look worse than it really was.

| | |
|---|---|
| To prevent overconfidence; make people war-conscious | 3% |
| To boost war bond sales..... | 1 |
| Redundant answers..... | 1 |
| Miscellaneous..... | 1 |
| Not ascertainable..... | * |
| | 6%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 5 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

What makes you think so? Asked of the 38% of the sample who thought the news released by the government made the situation look better than it really was.

| | |
|---|---|
| News is made better to keep up morale..... | 9% |
| Feel things are worse (no factual proof)..... | 8 |
| Bad news is given out later..... | 7 |
| Know from hearsay things are worse..... | 3 |
| For political reasons..... | 1 |
| For propaganda..... | 1 |
| For security—to keep from enemy..... | 1 |
| Redundant..... | 5 |
| Miscellaneous..... | 1 |
| Not ascertainable..... | 2 |

Has the accuracy of the news improved recently, or has it been accurate since the beginning of the war? Asked of the 40% of the sample who thought news released by the government was accurate.

Improved 16% Always accurate 18% Don't know 6%

**14.** (US Feb 21 '42) Do you think the government could give us more information about the fighting in this war without helping the enemy? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 25% | 65% | 10% |
| (Mar 2 '42)..... | 20 | 66 | 14 |
| (July 18 '42)..... | 23 | 64 | 13 |
| (June 18 '43)..... | 24 | 61 | 15 |
| (Oct 2 '43)..... | 32 | 47 | 21 |
| (Apr 8 '44)..... | 36 | 49 | 15 |

**15.** (US Apr 28 '42) Since we got into the war, do you think the news of fighting in the Pacific has or has not given a good idea of what's really been going on there? (NORC)

Has 55% Has not 26% Don't know 19%

**16.** (US Apr 28 '42) In general, do you think the censorship of news is too strict, not strict enough, or about right? (NORC)

Too strict 8% Not strict enough 20% About right 60%
Don't know 12%

**17.** (US Apr 28 '42) Do you think the government is trying to present the war news accurately, or is trying to make it look better or look worse than it really is? (NORC)

| | *Better* | *Worse* | *Accurately* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 21% | 4% | 62% | 13% |
| (July 18 '42).... | 28 | 4 | 58 | 10 |

**18.** (US Apr 28 '42) Of the things on this list, which one do you feel you know most about, which one the least about, and which one would you most like to have more or clearer information about? (NORC)

| | *Most* | *Least* | *Want information* |
|---|---|---|---|
| The progress of the production program here at home..... | 14% | 6% | 11% |
| The fighting in the Far East..... | 5 | 17 | 8 |
| The fighting in Europe..... | 6 | 10 | 5 |
| What kind of world we're fighting to have..... | 20 | 6 | 11 |
| What would happen if the Axis won the war..... | 7 | 17 | 9 |
| What each of our Allies is doing to help win the war..... | 2 | 13 | 17 |
| The part I could play now in winning the war..... | 8 | 4 | 15 |
| The reasons why we're having rationing | 17 | 5 | 6 |
| Don't know..... | 21 | 22 | 18 |

**19.** (US May '42) Do you feel that too much news, too little news, or about the right amount of news is being given out about the war? (FOR)

About right 50% Too much 26.9% Too little 13.9%
Don't know 9.2%

**20.** (US May '42) Do you feel the news presents things about the way they actually are, or that it is being colored to make things better than they are or worse than they are? (FOR)

Uncolored 40.9% Colored better 36.3% Worse 7.8%
Don't know 15.0%

**21.** (US July 18 '42) Which part of the fighting would you especially like to know more about? (NORC)

BY THEATRES OF WAR

| | |
|---|---|
| Pacific..... | 13% |
| Aleutians, Alaska..... | 6 |
| Russia vs. Germany..... | 9 |
| England—her fighting..... | 1 |
| North Africa battle..... | 2 |

BY SPECIFIC BRANCH OF ARMED FORCES

| | |
|---|---|
| Sea forces | 7% |
| Land forces | 2 |
| Air forces | 4 |

GENERAL INTEREST IN ARMED FORCES

| | |
|---|---|
| General—our boys, where they are, etc. | 4% |
| Interest in colored soldiers | * |
| Special interest in forces in Ireland | 1 |

INTEREST IN EXPLANATION FOR INACTIVITY

| | |
|---|---|
| General inactivity of Great Britain | 1% |
| Inactivity of US re: Far East or Alaskan situation | * |
| General inactivity of US | 1 |
| Special mention of 2nd front—invasion of Europe—lack of aid to USSR | 2 |
| More information re: US war effort | |
| Home protection and defense | 1 |
| Domestic difficulties | * |
| General progress US war effort | 6 |
| Special request for more information re: defeat | 4 |
| Truth about everything | 6 |
| No more information desired | 10 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 24 |
| | 106%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**22.** (US July 31 '42) Do you think the war news as a whole this past week has been generally favorable for our side or generally unfavorable? (NORC)

| | *Favorable* | *Unfavorable* | *About evenly divided* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 21% | 53% | 14% | 12% |
| (Aug 13 '42) | 46 | 29 | 16 | 9 |

**23.** (US Aug 13 '42) What would you say is the most important news story of this past week—that is, what is the most important thing that has happened? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Offensive at Solomon Islands | 51% |
| German gains in Russia | 8 |
| Situation in India | 4 |
| News of saboteurs | 3 |
| Air attacks on Germans | 1 |
| Rationing and shortages | 1 |
| News of transportation and shipping leases | 1 |
| Local news | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| Not ascertainable | 25 |
| (July 31 '42) | |
| Bad news about Russia | 22% |
| Good news about Russia | 4 |
| General news about Russia | 8 |
| Saboteur trial news | 11 |
| News from Aleutians, Africa, Egypt | 4 |
| Second Front stories | 4 |
| RAF bombing of German cities | 3 |
| War news in general | 3 |
| Rationing | 2 |
| Proposed air transport | 1 |
| Miscellaneous—local news, elections, etc. | 6 |
| Not ascertainable | 32 |

**24.** (Australia Sept '42) Do you think the war news gives you a sufficiently clear idea of how the war is going? (APOP)

Yes 41% No 47% Don't know 12%

**25.** (Canada Sept 19 '42) Are you satisfied that you are getting as much important war news as you should, or do you think too much of this news is being censored? (CIPO)

Satisfied 56% Not satisfied 36% No opinion 8%

**26.** (Australia Dec '42) Are you satisfied with the censorship of the war news, or should the public be told more? (APOP)

| | *Satisfied* | *More should be told* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 54% | 39% | 7% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 48% | 46% | 6% |
| Women | 61 | 31 | 8 |

**27.** (US Feb 6 '43) How about the way the War Department has handled the news of fighting on land. Would you say they have been handling this news very well, only fairly well, or poorly? (NORC)

Very well 71% Fairly well 14% Poorly 2%
Don't know 13%

How do you think they (War Department) could have handled it (news of fighting) better? Asked of the 16% of the sample who thought the War Department had been handling the news of fighting on land "only fairly well" or "poorly."

| | |
|---|---|
| Criticism of timing: | |
| News not released soon enough | 2% |
| Criticism of volume: | |
| Should tell more news, more details; news is withheld | 4 |
| Should tell less news for security of information | * |
| Criticism of way news is handled: | |
| Too optimistic, should tell bad as well as good news | 2 |
| Should tell the truth, accurate news | 3 |
| Qualified satisfaction: | |
| Couldn't do better under the circumstances | 1 |
| Mention casualties or losses | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 5 |
| | 18%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 16 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

(June 18 '43) How about the way the War Department has handled the news of fighting on land? Would you say that they have been handling this news very well, only fairly well, or poorly?

Very well 73% Only fairly well 16% Poorly 3%
Don't know 8%

How do you think they (War Department) could have handled it (news of fighting) better? Asked of 19% of the sample who thought the War Department had been handling the news of fighting on land "only fairly well" or "poorly."

| | |
|---|---|
| Criticism of timing: | |
| News not released soon enough | 2% |
| Criticism of volume: | |
| Want more news; more details | 4 |
| Want less news for security of information | 1 |
| Criticism of accuracy: | |
| Want the truth—fewer conflicting reports | 4 |
| News is overoptimistic | 1 |
| Qualified satisfaction: | |
| Couldn't do better under the circumstances | 1 |
| No mention of casualties or losses | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Miscellaneous | 1% |
| Not ascertainable | 6 |
| | 21%* |

* Percentages add to more than 19, as some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Apr 8 '44) How about the way the War Department has handled the news of fighting on land? Would you say they have been handling this news very well, only fairly well, or poorly?

Very well 56% Only fairly well 25% Poorly 6%
Don't know 13%

How do you think they (War Department) could have handled it (news of fighting) better? Asked of the 31% of the sample who thought the War Department had handled the news of fighting on land only fairly well or poorly.

| | |
|---|---|
| Criticism of timing: | |
| News is not released soon enough | 8% |
| Criticism of way news is handled: | |
| Want the truth, accurate news, fewer conflicting reports | 7 |
| News too optimistic; should tell bad as well as good news | 4 |
| Criticism of volume: | |
| Should tell more news, more details. News is withheld | 6 |
| Should tell less news for security of information | 1 |
| Qualified satisfaction: | |
| Couldn't do better under the circumstances | 1 |
| No mention of casualties or losses | 1 |
| Navy doing a better job than Army | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 6 |
| | 35%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 31 because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

**28.** (US June 18 '43) As you know, the Navy Department gives out the news about ship sinkings and naval battles. Do you think they have been handling this news very well, only fairly well, or poorly? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Very well | 63% |
| Only fairly well | 20 |
| Poorly | 7 |
| Don't know | 10 |

How do you think they (the Navy Department) could have handled it [news of ship sinkings and battles] better? Asked of the 27% of the sample who thought the Navy Department had been handling the news of ship sinkings and naval battles only fairly well or poorly.

| | |
|---|---|
| Criticism of timing: | |
| News is not released soon enough | 8% |
| Criticism of volume: | |
| Want more news; more details | 4 |
| Want less news for security of information | 2 |
| Criticism of accuracy: | |
| Want the truth—fewer conflicting reports | 4 |
| News is overoptimistic | 2 |
| Qualified satisfaction: | |
| Couldn't do better under the circumstances | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 7 |
| | 29%* |

* Percentages add to more than 27 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Apr 8 '44) As you know, the Navy Department gives out the news about the ship sinkings and naval battles. Do you think they have been handling this news very well, only fairly well, or poorly?

| | |
|---|---|
| Very well | 55% |
| Only fairly well | 25 |
| Poorly | 6 |
| Don't know | 14 |

How do you think they (the Navy Department) could have handled it (news of battles and sinkings) better? Asked of 31% of the sample who thought the Navy Department had been handling news of sinkings and battles fairly well or poorly.

| | |
|---|---|
| Criticism of timing: | |
| News is not released soon enough | 10% |
| Criticism of the way news is handled: | |
| Want the truth, accurate news, fewer conflicting reports | 4 |
| News too optimistic: should tell bad as well as good news | 3 |
| Criticism of volume: | |
| Should tell more news, more details; news is withheld | 4 |
| Should tell less news for security of information | 2 |
| Qualified satisfaction: | |
| Couldn't do better under the circumstances | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 7 |
| | 33%* |

* Percentages add to more than 31 because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

**29.** (US Mar 7 '45) Any news on what the navy is doing is released by the Navy Department. Do you think the navy has been handling this news very well, fairly well, or poorly? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Very well | 41% |
| Fairly well | 31 |
| Poorly | 5 |
| No opinion | 23 |

**30.** (US Mar 7 '45) Any news on what the army is doing is released by the War Department. Do you think the army has been handling this news very well, fairly well, or poorly? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Very well | 39% |
| Fairly well | 34 |
| Poorly | 7 |
| No opinion | 20 |

**31.** (US Feb 6 '43) Have there been any particular times when you wanted more news than was actually given out about something that happened in the war? (NORC)

Yes 40% No 56% Don't know 4%

What particular things? Asked of the 40% of the total sample who said there had been times that they had wanted more news than was given out.

| | |
|---|---|
| Pacific: | |
| Pearl Harbor | 10% |
| Solomons, Guadalcanal, and general Pacific fighting | 9 |
| Other specified Pacific fighting | 4 |
| Africa: | |
| Invasion of Africa | 5 |
| Casablanca meeting | 3 |
| Russia | 1 |
| Other places or events specified | 1 |
| Losses, casualties | 4 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Lots of things, but nothing in particular | 3% |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| Not ascertainable | 2 |
| | 46%* |

* Percentages add to more than 40 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Why do you suppose more information wasn't given out about it at that time? Asked of the same 40%.

| | |
|---|---|
| Need for secrecy as protection from the enemy | 24% |
| Possible effect on public morale | 4 |
| Hushing up | 3 |
| Information wasn't available | 2 |
| Skeptical "no opinions" | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 6 |

* Less than 0.5%.

Do you think it was a good idea to keep this information back? Asked of the same 40%.

Yes 29% No 6% Don't know 5%

**32.** (US Oct 2 '43) Do you think the government is giving the public as much information as it should about the fighting in this war? (NORC)

Yes 61% No 27% Don't know 12%

Why do you think the government should give out more information to the public? Asked of the 27% who thought the government should give out more information about fighting.

| | |
|---|---|
| Ideological answers—a democratic fight | 9% |
| Should give bad as well as good | 6 |
| For better understanding | 4 |
| People would do more for war effort | 3 |
| Make people more war-conscious | 3 |
| Those with relatives are entitled to know | 1 |
| People would have more confidence in the government | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 28%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 27 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

Would you say that the amount of news given out has changed any during the last three months? Asked of the 61% of the sample who thought the government was giving the public as much information about the fighting as it should.

Yes 30% No 19% Don't know 12%

How (has the amount of news changed)? Asked of the 30% of the sample who thought the amount of news had changed during the last three months.

| | |
|---|---|
| More news | 11% |
| More details | 4 |
| More realistic reports | 4 |
| More news because news is better, more favorable to United States | 4 |
| More news because more is happening | 2 |
| More news and released more quickly | 1 |
| Less news | 1 |
| More realistic pictures | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |

**33.** (Feb 6 '43) Do you happen to know what job Elmer Davis holds in the government today? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Identified as head of OWI | 13% |
| Identified in connection with news dissemination | 18 |
| Incorrectly identified | 27 |
| Don't know | 42 |

Do you happen to know the name of the government agency that has charge of handling all information about the war? What is it?

| | |
|---|---|
| OWI | 10% |
| Answers approaching OWI | 4 |
| Wrong answer | 5 |
| Don't know | 68 |

**34.** (US June '43) Would you rate as good, fair, or poor the job that has been done so far on giving out news about the war? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Good | 42.7% |
| Fair | 35.9 |
| Poor | 11.5 |
| Don't know | 9.9 |

**35.** (US Oct 2 '43) Where do you get most of your news about the war—from talking to people, from the newspapers, or from the radio? (NORC)

Talking to people 7% Newspapers 34% Radio 57% Other 1%

Do you ever listen to the news over the radio? Asked of the 43% of the sample who got most of the news about the war from sources other than the radio.

Yes 37% No 5% No answer 1%

Do you listen at any particular time each day? Asked of the 57% of the sample who got most of the news about the war from the radio.

Yes 40% No 17%

Would you say you listened to the news every day, three or four times a week, or only occasionally?

| | |
|---|---|
| Every day | 10% |
| 3 or 4 times weekly | 3 |
| Only occasionally | 3 |
| Don't know | 1 |

**36.** (US Oct 2 '43) Some people say that a lot of the news about the war and problems here at home is confusing because of the different stories that have been given out. What are some of the things you have felt confused about because of the different stories which have been given out? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Shortages and rationing: | |
| Rationing, shortages in gasoline, fuel oil | 8% |
| Food rationing and shortages | 7 |
| Rubber shortages and tire rationing | 5 |
| Rationing and shortages in general | 8 |
| Drafting manpower: | |
| Father-draft | 12 |
| Labor draft | 2 |
| Draft in general | 6 |
| Other domestic issues: | |
| New taxes | 4 |
| Government policy | 4 |
| Inflation, price control, ceiling prices | 3 |
| War production and strikes | 3 |
| Actual fighting: | |
| Specific battles and campaigns | 3 |
| Coalition of the United Nations | 3 |
| Shipments to fighting zones | 1 |
| Places where fighting is taking place | 1 |
| General conditions under which men are fighting | * |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Losses on the fighting fronts: | |
| Losses of manpower | 3% |
| Losses of material, ships, equipment | 1 |
| Losses in general | 1 |
| The fighting fronts: | |
| Asiatic and Pacific situation | 1 |
| Second front | 1 |
| Peace and postwar: | |
| Postwar plans, issues | 1 |
| Rumors and negotiations | * |
| Anything and everything | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Nothing | 28 |
| Not ascertainable | 15 |
| | 129%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**37.** (US Oct 2 '43) There has been a lot of talk about whether we ought to get more complete stories of what happens on the battlefield—even stories and pictures showing how American soldiers are suffering and dying. What do you think about this? (NORC)

Approval 45% Qualified 8% Disapproval 42% Don't know 5%

**38.** (US Oct 2 '43) Have you seen any newspaper or magazine pictures of this kind (photos depicting suffering of GI's on battlefield) which you thought it would have been better not to give out? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes: specific mention of picture of three dead American boys on beach | 3% |
| Other mentions of pictures of dead soldiers | 4 |
| Pictures of wounded soldiers | 3 |
| Atrocity pictures | 1 |
| Pictures of starving children | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 3 |
| Have not seen any news or magazine pictures | 83 |

**39.** (US Apr 8 '44) As far as you know, have any of the Allies ever given out an important news story before it was given out by our own government? (NORC)

Yes 33% No 67%

Do you happen to remember any particular examples of this? What? Asked of the 33% who thought some of our Allies had given out important news stories before our government released them.

| | |
|---|---|
| England or Churchill do it generally; no mention of specific items | 7% |
| Russia does it; no mention of specific news items | 1 |
| The conference at Teheran | 7 |
| The Cairo conference | 2 |
| Reference to conference of allied leaders | 2 |
| The meeting in North America | 2 |
| Russia released news of her acceptance of King Victor Emanuel and Badoglio | 1 |
| The Moscow conference | * |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| Don't know | 9 |
| | 35%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 33 because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

How do you feel about the news being given out in other countries first? Asked of the same 33%.

| | |
|---|---|
| News should be released simultaneously in all countries | 7% |
| I don't like it; think it unfair; resent it a little | 7 |
| The matter is unimportant; doesn't bother me | 5 |
| It should be given here first | 4 |
| I don't think it should be (no further comment on feeling) | 3 |
| It is all right; perhaps there is a reason for it | 3 |
| Depends | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Don't know | 1 |

**40.** (US Mar 7 '45) As a whole, do you think the war news that is released to the public makes the situation look better, or worse, or about as it really is? (AIPO)

Better 40% Worse 8% As it is 40% No opinion 12%

Where do you think the blame for most of this [distortion of war news] belongs? Asked of the 40% of the sample who thought the war news made the situation look better and the 8% who felt the news made matter appear worse.

| | |
|---|---|
| The government, Washington, our leaders; politics | 12% |
| Newspapers; desire of the press to please the public | 5 |
| Censorship | 4 |
| OWI | 3 |
| Public morale must be kept up | 3 |
| Commentators, radio | 1 |
| Propaganda | 1 |
| President Roosevelt; the White House | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 9 |
| | 40% |

| | |
|---|---|
| Government, Washington, our leaders; politics | 2% |
| Newspapers | 1 |
| Stop optimism; help war production | 1 |
| Censorship | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 8% |

**41.** (Czechoslovakia, Oct '46) Judging from the Czech language broadcasts from abroad, did you believe that the Czechoslovak resistance movement abroad was well informed about conditions in occupied Czechoslovakia? Asked of a cross-section of people who said they had listened to Czech language broadcasts during the German occupation. 87.2% of the sample said they had listened to broadcasts from London. 70.8% said they had listened to Moscow. (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Well-informed | 51.5% |
| Sometimes well-informed, sometimes ill-informed | 33.0 |
| Ill-informed | 2.8 |
| Don't know | 12.7 |

## Peace

**1.** (US Dec 13 '37) Do you think the United States should offer to act as peacemaker in the war between China and Japan? (AIPO)

Yes 19% No 81% = 100% No opinion 8%

**2.** (Great Britain, Sept '39) Would you approve or disapprove if the British government were to discuss peace proposals (now) with Germany? (BIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 17% | 77% | 6% |
| (Feb '40) | 29 | 61 | 10 |
| (Mar '40) | 25 | 69 | 6 |
| (Jan '41) | 13 | 77 | 10 |
| (June '41) | 12 | 82 | 6 |
| (Nov '41) | 8 | 84 | 8 |

**3.** (Great Britain Oct '39) Should the Allies and Germany tell President Roosevelt the terms on which they would make peace, to see if he thinks a settlement could be arranged? (BIPO)

Yes 48% No 41% Don't know 11%

**4.** (US Nov 8 '39) If England and France defeat Germany, should the peace treaty be more severe on Germany or less severe than the treaty at the end of the last war? A comparable cross-section was asked the same question with "If Germany is defeated by England and France" substituted for "If England and France defeat Germany." Results were combined. (AIPO)

More severe 58% Less severe 36% About the same 6%

**5.** (US Jan '40) If it is quite clear that the Allies are beating Germany, do you think they should stop if Germany asks for peace or do you think they should continue until Germany is so badly beaten that she will never again rise as a nation? (FOR)

| | *Keep going* | *Stop* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 57.1% | 32.3% | 10.6% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 59.3% | 32.9% | 7.8% |
| Women | 54.9 | 31.8 | 13.3 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 51.2% | 38.4% | 10.4% |
| Poor | 59.6 | 28.1 | 12.3 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Southwest | 70.6% | 15.7% | 13.7% |
| Pacific coast | 45.1 | 44.8 | 10.1 |

**6.** (US Jan '40) If the Allies should win the war, what kind of peace should they make with Germany? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| One which will wipe Germany out completely as a nation and divide her up among the Allies so that she can never organize and start trouble again | 19.2% |
| One which, while it will completely crush Hitler and his type of government, will not oppress the German nation or give them reason to let a man like Hitler gain control again | 50.5 |
| One which will leave Germany as a nation but completely disarmed and in some way prevented from making trouble | 14.4 |
| One which will give Germany back everything she owned before the last war and thereby put her on an equal footing with the other big European powers | 5.0 |
| Other solutions | 1.5 |
| Don't know | 9.4 |

**7.** (US Mar 20 '40) If Hitler offers to make peace this spring, do you think England and France should meet with the Germans and try to end the war? (AIPO)

Yes 75% No 25%

**8.** (US July 20 '40) Do you think England should continue to fight Germany and Italy, or do you think England should try to make peace now? (OPOR)

Continue to fight 70% Make peace 22% No opinion 8%

**9.** (Great Britain Nov '40) If we win the war, should we impose on Germany terms which are less or more severe than those which we imposed after the last war? (BIPO)

More severe 68% Less severe 17% Don't know 15%

**10.** (Great Britain Dec 11 '40) If someone in your presence suggested that it would be a good idea to have a negotiated peace with Germany now, what would you do? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Agree that it would be a good idea | 7% |
| Say nothing | 21 |
| Contradict him | 59 |
| Report him to the authorities | 13 |

**11.** (Great Britain Jan '41) Do you think that the United States of America should take part in the peace settlement after the war? (BIPO)

Yes 65% No 15% Don't know 20%

**12.** (US Jan 9 '41) Which of these two things do you think England should do now—try to make the best possible peace with Germany, or keep on fighting in the hope of defeating Germany? A comparable cross-section was asked the same question with the alternatives reversed. Results were combined. (AIPO)

Make peace now 15% Keep fighting 79% Don't know 6%

**13.** (US Jan 28 '41) If England defeats Germany and Italy, should the peace treaty be more severe, or less severe, than the treaty at the end of the last war? (OPOR)

| | *Jan 28 '41* | *Aug 10 '41* |
|---|---|---|
| More severe | 57% | 58% |
| Same | 3 | 4 |
| Less severe | 24 | 22 |
| No opinion | 16 | 16 |

**14.** (US Apr '41) Three comparable cross-sections were asked the following questions. The second and third groups were confronted with interventionist and non-interventionist bias. (FOR)

If Hitler wins, do you think he will give England peace terms that are fair or unfair?

Unfair 86.3% Fair 5.0% Don't know 8.7%

Hitler's treatment of countries that have stood out against him shows very clearly that he would give harsh terms to England if he wins.

Agree 90.7% Disagree 2.9% Don't know 6.4%

After all Hitler has said about the unjust peace terms following the last war (Treaty of Versailles), he would probably try to give fair peace terms to England if he wins.

Disagree 83.0% Agree 6.5% Don't know 10.5%

**15.** (US Apr 23 '41) Do you think Britain should try to get together with Germany to work up some sort of peace terms, or do you think Britain should go on fighting? (AIPO)

| | *Make peace* | *Go on fighting* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 29% | 71% = 100% | 9% |
| (Apr 25 '41) | 30 | 66 | 4 = 100% |

**16.** (US Apr 8 '41) If Hitler offers to make peace this spring, do you think England and her Allies should meet with the Germans and try to end the war? (AIPO)

Yes 47% No 46% No opinion 7%

**17.** (US Apr 25 '41) Do you think Britain should try to get together with Germany to work up some sort of peace terms? (AIPO)

Yes 34% No 60% No opinion 6%

**18.** (US July 10 '41) Senator Wheeler says that the power of the United States should be put behind a peace movement to end the war now. Do you agree or disagree with Senator Wheeler's statement? (OPOR)

Agree 38% Disagree 51% No opinion 11%

Why do you agree with Senator Wheeler's statement? Asked of the 33% of the sample who agreed that there should be a peace movement to end the war now.

| | |
|---|---|
| No comment | 2% |
| Just agree with Wheeler in general | 1 |
| It's not our war | 2 |
| To preserve economy or social gains of USA | 1 |
| War is bad | 11 |
| Wars never settle anything | 2 |
| To avoid slaughter | 1 |
| To keep our boys out of war | 2 |
| The sooner the war ends, the better | 2 |
| Too much destruction in war | 1 |
| If war continues, USA will be drawn in | 3 |
| USA is the country which can take the lead for peace | 2 |
| Agree, if satisfactory peace can be made | 1 |
| Agree in theory, but peace now would not be possible | 1 |
| Agree, if it can be done | 1 |
| Other answers | 5 |
| | 38%* |

* Percentages add to more than 33 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Why do you disagree with Senator Wheeler's statement? Asked of the 51% of the sample who did not want the United States to back a peace-now movement.

| | |
|---|---|
| Disagree with Wheeler in general | 6% |
| We must help England | 1 |
| Hitler must be defeated first | 9 |
| Peace now would be to Hitler's advantage | 3 |
| Hitler can't be trusted to keep promises | 3 |
| Peace now would be only temporary | 2 |
| Peace now would endanger USA | 1 |
| The war must be fought to a finish | 2 |
| Peace now would be a compromise | 2 |
| Now is not the time | 9 |
| USA is too far gone now for peace | 1 |
| USA (Roosevelt's) policies are all right | 1 |
| War has gone on too long for peace to be possible now | 1 |
| Previous peace efforts were unsatisfactory | 1 |
| USA has not power to make or enforce peace | 1 |
| We don't want to get into it | 2 |
| Other answers | 4 |
| No comment | 2 |

**19.** (US July 10 '41) It has been said recently that the power of the United States should be put behind a peace movement to end the war now. Do you agree, or disagree? (OPOR)

Agree 42% Disagree 49% No opinion 9%

Why? Asked of the 42% of the sample who agreed that the United States should press for peace now.

| | |
|---|---|
| No comment | 3% |
| It's not our war | 1 |
| To preserve economy or social gains of USA | 1 |
| War is bad | 13 |
| Wars never settle anything | 1 |
| To avoid slaughter | 2 |
| Keep our boys out of war | 2 |
| The sooner the war ends, the better | 1 |
| Too much destruction in war | 1 |
| A satisfactory peace can be made now | 1 |
| If war continues, USA will be drawn in | 4 |
| USA is the country that can take the lead for peace | 3 |
| Agree, if satisfactory peace can be made | 1 |
| Agree in theory, but peace now would not be possible | 1 |
| If it can be done | 2 |
| If we don't make peace, Germany may win still more | 1% |
| Other answers | 4 |

Why? Asked of the 49% of the sample who did not want the United States to press for peace now.

| | |
|---|---|
| We must help England | 1% |
| We should go to war | 1 |
| Now is not the time | 8 |
| Hitler must be defeated first | 11 |
| Peace now would be to Hitler's advantage | 5 |
| Hitler can't be trusted to keep promises | 3 |
| Peace now would be only temporary | 4 |
| The war must be fought to a finish | 2 |
| Peace now would be a compromise | 1 |
| War has gone on too long for peace to be possible now | 1 |
| Previous peace efforts were unsatisfactory | 1 |
| USA has no power to make or enforce peace | 1 |
| We don't want to get into it | 5 |
| Other answers | 3 |
| No comment | 2 |

**20.** (Great Britain Oct '41) Would you approve or disapprove if the government were to negotiate a separate peace with Italy? (BIPO)

Approve 36% Disapprove 51% Don't know 13%

**21.** (US Nov 19 '41) Do you happen to have any ideas that you would like to see put into a peace plan? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| An improved League of Nations | 6% |
| An international police force | 5 |
| A World Court | 2 |
| International Economic Cooperation | 4 |
| Equal opportunities (liberties) for all nations | 4 |
| Greater opportunities for the have-nots | 2 |
| Specific freedoms proposed for everybody | 1 |
| USA must take leading part in the world | 1 |
| USA and Britain must dominate the world | 1 |
| A union of all the democracies | 1 |
| A United States of Europe | 3 |
| Do away with war, dictators | 3 |
| Religious suggestions | 2 |
| Universal disarmament | 3 |
| A just peace | 2 |
| Should go back to a prewar basis | 2 |
| Germany must be repressed | 8 |
| German leaders must be eliminated | 1 |
| England's power must be curtailed | 1 |
| All countries should be democracies | 2 |
| Isolationist, laissez-faire solutions | 1 |
| Other | 2 |
| No ideas | 57 |
| No answer | 4 |
| | 118%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**22.** (US Dec 24 '41) Which of these statements come closest to the way you feel the war will end? Each respondent was handed a card with the four statements on it. (1) There is no question but that the United States and her allies will win the war and be able to write the peace terms. (2) We'll win the war, all right, but the losers will be strong enough so that we will have to make some concessions, too. (3) We won't be defeated, but neither will the Axis—the war will end in a draw. (4) I'm afraid the Axis powers have a pretty good chance to win the war. Don't know. (NORC)

| | *Statement 1* | *Statement 2* | *Statement 3* | *Statement 4* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 69% | 22% | 4% | 1% | 4% |
| (Feb 14 '42)..... | 54 | 30 | 7 | 4 | 5 |
| (Mar 28 '42)..... | 60 | 28 | 3 | 2 | 7 |
| (July 1 '42)..... | 61 | 26 | 6 | 2 | 5 |
| (July 18 '42)..... | 58 | 28 | 6 | 3 | 5 |
| (Nov 19 '42)..... | 73 | 19 | 3 | * | 5 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**23.** (US Jan 16 '42) If Hitler offered to stop the war now and discuss peace terms with the Allies, would you favor or oppose accepting Hitler's offer? (OPOR)

Favor 12% Oppose 80% Undecided 5%
Qualified answers 3%

If the German army overthrew Hitler and then offered to stop the war and discuss peace terms with the Allies, would you favor or oppose accepting the offer of the German army? Asked of the 85% of the sample who were opposed or undecided about accepting a possible offer to discuss peace terms with Hitler.

Favor 22% Oppose 52% Undecided 7%
Qualified answers 4%

**24.** (US Jan 16 '42) If the German army overthrew Hitler and then offered to stop the war and discuss peace terms with the Allies, would you favor or oppose accepting the offer of the German army? (OPOR)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *Undecided* | *Qualified answers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 30% | 60% | 7% | 3% |
| (June 17 '42)... | 32 | 58 | 10 | — |
| (June 18 '43)... | 25 | 65 | 10 | — |

If Hitler offered to stop the war now and discuss peace terms with the Allies, would you favor or oppose accepting Hitler's offer? Asked of the 30% of the Jan 16 '42 sample who favored and the 7% of the same sample who were undecided in reference to making peace with the German army if it overthrew Hitler.

Favor 9% Oppose 23% Undecided 2% Qualified 1%

**25.** (US Jan 16 '42) If the Allies accepted the German peace offer and stopped the war now, do you think the peace settlement would mean a victory for Germany, or a defeat for Germany? Asked of 32% of the total sample who favored either making peace terms with the German army if it overthrew Hitler, or making peace terms with Hitler. (OPOR)

Would mean victory 8% Would mean defeat 15%
No answer 3% Don't know 6%

**26.** (US Mar 26 '42) What will bring the war to an end? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| We will win; downfall of Hitler, Axis, dictators | 68% |
| Axis (Germany) will be exhausted by a war of attrition | 7 |
| Revolt in conquered countries will bring the war to an end | * |
| Revolution within Germany—uprising in Germany | 2 |
| Indecisive answers | 4 |
| We will win, probably; I hope we will win | 1 |
| A stalemate—an agreement—a negotiated peace | 3 |
| Defeat of Japan; defeat of Japan and negotiated peace with Germany | 2 |
| People will come to their senses and stop war—world revolution | * |
| Religious interpretations | 2 |
| An Axis victory—defeat of the United Nations | * |
| No opinion | 8 |
| No answer | 1 |
| Total of three responses marked by * = 2% | 2 |

**27.** (US July 29 '42) What will bring the war to an end? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Axis | * |
| Stalemate | 3% |
| Allies | 69 |
| USA | 10 |
| Other | 10 |
| Don't know | 8 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**28.** (US May 6 '42) Do you think England might make a separate peace with Germany without talking it over with the Allies? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 10% | 77% | 13% |
| (July 1 '42)..... | 9 | 81 | 10 |

**29.** (US May 6 '42) Do you think Russia might make a separate peace with Germany without talking it over with her Allies? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 26% | 51% | 23% |
| (July 1 '42)..... | 25 | 56 | 19 |
| (July 18 '42)..... | 29 | 55 | 16 |
| (Oct 6 '42)..... | 26 | 57 | 17 |

**30.** (US May 6 '42) Do you think China might make a separate peace with Japan without talking it over with her Allies? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 7% | 80% | 13% |
| (July 1 '42)..... | 9 | 80 | 11 |

**31.** (US May 6 '42) If the Allies win the war, which country do you think will have most to say in writing the peace treaty? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia | 4% |
| England | 12 |
| US | 61 |
| Other | * |
| Don't know and no answer | 23 |

Why do you think the United States will have more to say than the other Allies? Asked of the 61% of the sample who thought the United States would have most influence in writing the peace treaty.

| | |
|---|---|
| We are doing the most | 30% |
| We are most powerful | 11 |
| We have most prestige | 5 |
| We stand for fair ideals | 5 |
| We have a higher intellectual and educational level | 2 |
| We have learned a lesson from the last war | 2 |
| We will have the most to say because of Mr. Roosevelt | 2 |
| Blind patriotism | 1 |
| Miscellaneous pertinent answers | 2 |
| Non-pertinent answers | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 4 |
| | 65%* |

* Percentages add to more than 61 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Why do you think England will have more to say than the other Allies? Asked of 12% of the sample who thought Eng-

land would have more to say than the other Allies in writing the peace treaty.

| | |
|---|---|
| England is doing the most to win the war | 2% |
| England has always had the most to say | 6 |
| England is strongest, has greatest holding | 1 |
| England has the best brains, best diplomats | 2 |
| England is most vitally concerned | 1 |
| Miscellaneous pertinent answers | * |
| Not ascertainable | * |
| | 13%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 12 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Why do you think Russia will have more to say than the other Allies? Asked of the 4% who thought that Russia would have more to say than the other Allies in writing the peace treaty.

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia is doing most to win the war | 3% |
| Russia is (will be postwar) strongest | 1 |
| Russia is not friendly to her Allies | * |
| Miscellaneous pertinent answers | 1 |
| Non-pertinent answers | * |
| Not ascertainable | * |
| | 5%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 4 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

(July 1 '42) If the Allies win the war, which country do you think will have most to say in writing the peace treaty?

| | *Russia* | *England* | *US* | *Other* | *Don't know and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3% | 13% | 68% | — | 16% |
| (Jan 11 '43) | 5 | 12 | 57 | * | 26 |

Why do you feel this way? Asked of the 5% of the (Jan 11 '43) sample who thought Russia would have most to say in writing the peace treaty.

| | |
|---|---|
| Russia is doing most to win the war | 3% |
| Russia is (will be postwar) strongest | 1 |
| Russia is not friendly to other Allies | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| | 5% |

* Less than 0.5%.

Why do you feel this way? Asked of the 12% of the sample who thought England would have the most to say in writing the peace treaty.

| | |
|---|---|
| England has always had the most to say | 6% |
| England has best brains—best diplomats | 2 |
| England is dictating to us now | 2 |
| England is doing most to win the war | 1 |
| England is strongest, has greatest holdings | 1 |
| England is most vitally concerned | 1 |
| Non-pertinent answers | * |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Not ascertainable | * |
| | 13%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 12 as some respondents gave more than one reply.

Why do you feel this way? Asked of the 57% of the sample who thought the United States would have the most to say in writing the peace treaty if the Allies won.

| | |
|---|---|
| US is doing most, is decisive factor in the war | 30% |
| US is most powerful | 12 |
| US has most prestige | 6 |
| US stands for fair ideals | 6 |
| US has higher intellectual and educational level | 2 |
| We will have the most to say because of Mr. Roosevelt | 2 |
| We have learned a lesson from the last war | 1 |
| Blind patriotism | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 2 |
| | 64%* |

* Percentages add to more than 57 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**32.** (US May 8 '42) Should the Allies offer peace terms at this time to Finland? Asked of a national cross-section of civic and community leaders. (AIPO)

Yes 43% No 45% No opinion 12%

**33.** (US May 30 '42) Should the Allies offer peace terms at this time to Italy? Asked of a national cross-section of civic and community leaders. (AIPO)

Yes 16% No 79% No opinion 5%

**34.** (US June '42) Which of these seems better to you—for us to win the war first and then think about the peace, or to start now thinking about the kind of peace we want after the war? Asked in the United States and Canada. (FOR)

| | *Win war first* | *Plan peace now* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| US public | 58.8% | 33.1% | 8.1% |
| Canadian public | 57.8 | 39.0 | 3.2 |
| Business leaders | 49.9 | 46.5 | 3.6 |
| Intellectual leaders | 16.6 | 79.1 | 4.3 |

**35.** (US June '42) Which country do you think should have the most to say about what kind of peace there should be? Which country do you think will have the most to say? Asked of a national cross-section of Canadians. (FOR)

| | *Should* | *Will* |
|---|---|---|
| Great Britain | 46.0% | 32.3% |
| United States | 22.0 | 40.5 |
| Canada | 10.6 | 3.4 |
| | 78.6%* | 76.2%* |

* A number of respondents mentioned two or more countries, or declared that all countries, or all democracies, should have an equal say. The miscellany of answers is too confused as to meaning for complete tabulation.

**36.** (July 1 '42) From what you know, has Germany ever offered to make peace with England since the war began in 1939? (NORC)

Yes 30% No 47% Don't know 23%

Do you think England should have made peace? Asked of 30% of the sample who said that Germany had offered to make peace with England.

Yes 2% No 27% Don't know 1%

**37.** (US July 15 '42) Do you think the people of Italy would like to make peace with the Allies if they could? (OPOR)

Yes 82% Qualified 1% No 5% No opinion 12%

**38.** (US July 15 '42) How about the present Italian government? Do you think they would like to make peace with the Allies if they could? (OPOR)

Yes 49% Qualified 3% No 31% No opinion 17%

**39.** (US July 18 '42) Suppose Germany defeats Russia this summer; what would you think then about the way the war would end? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| There would be no question that the United States and her Allies would win the war and be able to write the peace terms | 41% |
| We would win the war all right, but the losers would be strong enough so we would have to make some concessions too | 30 |
| We wouldn't be defeated, but neither would the Axis—the war would end in a draw | 9 |
| I'm afraid the Axis powers would have a pretty good chance to win the war | 9 |
| Don't know | 11 |

**40.** (US Aug '42) (Taking everything into consideration) do you feel it is worth while to keep on fighting this war, or do you think it would be better to try to make peace as things stand now? Asked of a national cross-section of high-school students. (FOR)

| | *Keep on fighting* | *Try for peace* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 91% | 8% | 1% |
| (Nov '42) | 90.9% | 8.2% | .9% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Boys | 94.8% | 4.6% | .6% |
| Girls | 86.9 | 11.9 | 1.2 |

(Mar '43—asked of a national cross-section of farmers)

| | *Keep on fighting* | *Try for peace* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Farmers | 85.7% | 8.8% | 5.5% |
| Wives | 76.0 | 13.4 | 9.6 |
| Hands | 85.5 | 9.6 | 4.9 |

**41.** (US Aug 21 '42) If we win this war, do you think the peace should be harder on the German people than the one after the last war, or not as hard? (NORC)

Harder 65% Not as hard 17% About the same 6% Don't know 12%

**42.** (Canada Aug 22 '42) If the Allies win the war, do you think that France should have an equal voice with Russia, the United States, China, and England in deciding the peace terms? (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| French Canadians | 78% | 8% | 14% |
| English Canadians | 36 | 52 | 12 |

**43.** (US Dec 2 '42) Would you approve or disapprove of our offering Italy generous peace terms if she will stop fighting now? (AIPO)

Approve 44% Disapprove 40% No opinion 16%

**44.** (Canada Dec 26 '42) If Italy should ask for a separate peace now, should we make such a peace, or should we continue to fight until Italy has been invaded and conquered? (CIPO)

| | *Grant peace* | *Fight on* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 45% | 48% | 7% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 50% | 45% | 5% |
| Women | 41 | 50 | 9 |

**45.** (Great Britain Dec 27 '42) If the Mussolini government sued for peace now, should the Allies negotiate with them? (BIPO)

Should 40% Should not 50% Don't know 10%

**46.** (US Jan '43) In addition to waging war, should the Allies start talking and preparing now for the kind of peace we want after the war, or should we think and plan only for winning the war, letting peace plans wait? (NORC)

| | *Prepare now* | *Wait* | *Don't know* | *Qualified answers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 59.2% | 38.4% | 2.3% | 0.1% |
| (June '43) | 60 | 36 | 4 | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**47.** (US Jan 11 '43) Do you think the chances for making a lasting peace after this war will be any better than they were after the last war? (NORC)

Yes 62% No 24% Don't know 14%

Why? Asked of the 62% of the sample who thought chances for a lasting peace after this war would be better than they were after the last war.

| | |
|---|---|
| We will not repeat the same mistakes made after the last war | 21% |
| This war is different, or, people are different | 9 |
| Our mistake was in allowing them to arm or in not policing them after the last war | 7 |
| Should have exterminated them last time | 6 |
| We are preparing better this time | 6 |
| Our mistake was in not cooperating with other countries | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| Not ascertainable | 4 |
| | 63%* |

* Percentages add to more than 62% as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Why? Asked of the 24% of the sample who thought the chances for a lasting peace after this war would not be better than they were after the last war.

| | |
|---|---|
| History repeats itself | 6% |
| Because of human nature | 6 |
| Because the Bible says so | 1 |
| There will be wars as long as present differences exist | 4 |
| The approach is no better than last time | 2 |
| The United States cannot prevent wars from starting | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 2 |

**48.** (US Jan 11 '43) Do you think we ought to begin right now deciding what the peace terms after this war should be, or do you think the peace plans ought to wait until later? (NORC)

Plan now 55% Wait 37% Don't know 8%

Why? Asked of 55% of the sample who thought we ought to make plans now as to what the peace terms after this war should be.

| | |
|---|---|
| General approval of preparedness for a better peace | 13% |
| Size of job requires much time, planning | 12 |
| Need for planning in order to have a statement of our aims | 7 |
| For quicker reconstruction after the war is over | 5 |
| Can think more clearly now than at the end of the war | 4 |
| To avoid mistakes that followed last war | 3 |
| To have strong binding terms now on which agreement can be reached | 2 |
| To have our proper share in postwar planning | 1 |
| Broad principles should be established now but details have to wait | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| Not ascertainable | 2 |
| | 57%* |

* Percentages add to more than 55 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**49.** (US Jan 27 '43) If the German army overthrew Hitler and then offered to stop the war and discuss peace terms with the Allies, do you think we should discuss peace terms with the German army? (AIPO)

Yes 28% No 63% Don't know 9%

**50.** (US June '43) If you had to take a choice between a peace planned by Roosevelt and his Cabinet and one planned by the present Congress, which would you prefer to take your chances on? (FOR)

| | *Roosevelt* | *Congress* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 58.1% | 27.9% | 14.0% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| High | 45.4% | 45.1% | 9.5% |
| Upper middle | 53.2 | 35.6 | 11.2 |
| Lower middle | 59.5 | 27.9 | 12.6 |
| Low | 60.7 | 20.9 | 18.4 |
| BY RACE | | | |
| Negroes | 67.2% | 11.1% | 21.7% |
| (US Jan '45) | | | |
| National total | 53.2% | 36.5% | 10.3% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Roosevelt voters | 77.1% | 15.4% | 7 5% |
| Dewey voters | 24.4 | 64.3 | 11.3 |

**51.** (US June '43) Do you expect that Russia will want about the same kind of peace that we do or that she will make demands that we can't agree to? (FOR)

| | *Same peace* | *Make demands* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 30.0% | 48.1% | 21.9% |
| Executives | 38.6 | 52.5 | 8.9 |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | |
| Well-informed | 33.1% | 55.2% | 11.7% |
| Poorly informed | 30.4 | 52.0 | 17.6 |
| Uninformed | 26.8 | 38.6 | 34.6 |

**52.** (US June '43) Do you expect that Russia will stay in the war until Hitler is completely defeated, or that she is likely to make a separate peace with him as soon as she finds it to her advantage? (FOR)

| | *Stay* | *Separate peace* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56.8% | 27.3% | 15.9% |
| Executives | 75.0 | 20.3 | 4.7 |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | |
| Well-informed | 67.1% | 26.2% | 6.7% |
| Poorly informed | 58.0 | 31.2 | 10.8 |
| Uninformed | 46.2 | 25.4 | 28.4 |

**53.** (US Sept '43) Do you think Russia ought to have as much to say as the United States about the peace that is made with Germany? (NORC)

Yes 75% No 17% Don't know 8%

**54.** (US Feb '44) Do you think we should demand an unconditional surrender from Germany before we stop fighting, or not? (NORC)

Don't allow surrender 1% Yes 81% No 10%
Don't know 8%

**55.** (US Feb '44) What do you understand by the term "unconditional surrender"? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Allies dictate peace terms | 50% |
| Overthrow Nazi government | 4 |
| They give up everything—country, industries, etc. | 15 |
| Disarmament, no more wars | 8% |
| Pay reparations | * |
| Surrender all rights, live like we say; personal | 1 |
| Extermination of people, of nation | 1 |
| Stop fighting, no mention of peace terms | 4 |
| Harsh answers; take war to Germany, make them give up what they have taken | 2 |
| Other wrong answers | 3 |
| Don't know | 12 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**56.** (US Jan 31 '45) Will you tell me what the term "unconditional surrender" means to you? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Complete surrender—surrender without any provisions or advance peace terms | 51% |
| Take everything away from them | 9 |
| Strip country of military powet and power to wage war | 11 |
| End of fighting | 5 |
| Victors occupy and govern conquered country | 4 |
| Permanent peace; no future wars | 2 |
| Fight to the last man | 2 |
| Change their form of government; end of Nazism | 1 |
| Lose government factories | 1 |
| Others, including: separate the German states to weaken them; success and protection of future life; another war; don't believe there is such a thing | 3 |
| Don't know, no answer | 16 |
| | 105%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**57.** (Sweden Feb '44) In order to attain a durable peace, do you think that the great European war should continue until one of the combatants capitulates unconditionally, or do you think that a quick peace based on compromise would be better? (SGI)

| | *Unconditional surrender* | *Compromise* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 28% | 27% | 45% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 40% | 32% | 28% |
| Women | 17 | 21 | 62 |

**58.** (Sweden Feb '44) Do you think that the great European war will continue until one of the parties suffers complete military defeat, or do you think that it will finish earlier on account of war fatigue, lack of food, etc? (SGI)

| | *Military defeat* | *War fatigue* | *Other replies* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 43% | 16% | 4% | 37% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 55% | 17% | 5% | 23% |
| Women | 31 | 14 | 4 | 51 |

**59.** (Canada Feb 23 '44) Which of these men do you think would do the best job of representing Canada at the peace table—Mackenzie King, John Bracken, M. J. Coldwell, or some others? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Mackenzie King | 42% |
| John Bracken | 24 |
| M. J. Coldwell | 16 |
| Others | 6 |
| Undecided | 12 |

**60.** (Hungary Mat '44) Would it be advantageous for Finland to demand a separate peace? Asked of a cross-section of Budapest residents. (HIPOR)

Yes 82% No 11% Uncertain 7%

**61.** (Hungary Mar '44) Would a separate Finnish peace be advantageous or disadvantageous for affairs in Hungary? Asked of a cross-section of Budapest residents. (HIPOR)

Advantageous 79% Disadvantageous 16% Uncertain 5%

**62.** (US Mar 29 '44) Would you favor or oppose telling the German people that if they ask for peace now, we will give them easy terms? (AIPO)

Favor 15% Oppose 77% No opinion 8%

**63.** (US Mar 29 '44) Do you think the war would end sooner if we told the German people we would give them easy peace terms? (AIPO)

Yes 41% No 47% No opinion 12%

**64.** (Great Britain June '44) Assuming that Mr. Churchill is still available, is he, or some other political leader, the best person for heading the government in making the peace? (BIPO)

Churchill 67% Other 23% Don't know 10%

Whom do you prefer? Asked of the 23% of the sample who said that they would prefer someone other than Churchill to make the peace.

| | |
|---|---|
| Eden | 10% |
| Cripps | 3 |
| Morrison | 1 |
| Shinwell | 1 |
| Bevin | 1 |
| Attlee | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| No reply | 2 |

**65.** (Canada June 14 '44) The present policy of the United Nations is to insist upon the unconditional surrender of Germany. Do you think that we should tell the German people that, if they ask for peace now, we will talk over terms with them, or should we continue to insist upon unconditional surrender? (CIPO)

| | *Unconditional surrender* | *Peace now* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 80% | 14% | 6% |
| Quebec | 62 | 27 | 11 |
| Rest of Canada | 85 | 10 | 5 |

**66.** (Canada June 14 '44) Do you think the war would end sooner if we told the German people we were willing to discuss peace terms rather than insist on unconditional surrender? (CIPO)

Would end sooner 40% Would not end sooner 48%
No opinion 12%

**67.** (Great Britain Aug '44) Are you in favor of demanding unconditional surrender from Germany, or of publishing specific terms of peace in advance? (BIPO)

Unconditional surrender 76% Peace terms 18%
Don't know 6%

**68.** (Great Britain Aug '44) Which do you think is the more likely to ensure future peace in Europe, a hard peace with Germany or a soft peace with Germany? (BIPO)

Hard peace 80% Soft peace 8% Don't know 12%

**69.** (Great Britain Nov '44) Should any neutrals be represented at the peace conference which draws up terms for Germany and Japan? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| None | 55% |
| All | 16* |
| Sweden and Switzerland | 9 |
| Portugal | 2 |
| Spain | 1% |
| Turkey | 1 |
| Those who have not profited from the war | 1 |
| No answer, don't know | 15 |

* But Spain and Ireland were excluded by 1% in either case.

Why?

| | *None—55%* | *All—16%* | *Sweden & Switzerland—9%* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Don't know | 15% | 10% | 1% |
| They have not fought, hence not entitled to any say; no part in the war, no part in the peace | 70 | 1 | 1 |
| Neutrality has been a farce; neutrals secretly on the side of the enemy | 7 | 2 | — |
| They have not suffered as others have | 1 | — | — |
| Small countries should have a say | — | 3 | 3 |
| Only those neutrals who have helped us | — | 1 | 6 |
| Interests of neutrals will have to be considered | — | 11 | 5 |
| Neutrals more likely to be fair | — | 5 | 11 |
| War has brought suffering to them, too | — | 2 | 2 |
| It would make for world peace | — | 42 | 11 |
| They have looked after our men; Red Cross work | — | — | 32 |
| In order to facilitate resumption of trade relations | — | 1 | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 | 22 | 27 |
| | 100%* | 100%** | 100%† |

* 100% of those who thought no neutrals should be represented at the peace conference.

** 100% of those who thought all neutrals should be represented at the peace conference.

† 100% of those who thought Sweden and Switzerland should be represented at the peace conference.

**70.** (Australia Nov '44) When Germany surrenders, do you think we should celebrate in a big way, or wait until Japan is defeated? (APOP)

Await Japan's defeat 85% Celebrate 12% Undecided 3%

**71.** (France Nov 16 '44) Do you think it would be better to make a compromise peace with Hitler or insist on unconditional surrender no matter how long it may take? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | *Continue to fight* | *Compromise peace* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 88% | 8% | 4% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 91% | 6% | 3% |
| Women | 86 | 10 | 4 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| Under 65 years | 89% | 7% | 4% |
| 65 years and over | 85 | 12 | 3 |

**72.** (France Nov 16 '44) Do you think the Anglo-Americans will make a separate peace with Germany? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

Yes 6% No 80% No opinion 14%

**73.** (France Nov 16 '44) Do you think that Russia will make a separate peace with Germany? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

Yes 10% No 72% No opinion 18%

**74.** (Australia Dec '44, Jan '45) The policy of the Allies is to fight the Germans until they surrender unconditionally. If Germany asks for peace, do you think we should talk over terms, or insist on unconditional surrender? (APOP)

Insist on surrender 85% Discuss terms 9% Undecided 6%

**75.** (US Jan '45) Do you expect that the Senate just elected will or will not pass what you think is a good peace treaty? (FOR)

Will 61.3% Will not 7.6% Don't know 31.1%

**76.** (US Jan 31 '45) Do you approve or disapprove of requiring unconditional surrender of our enemy? (AIPO)

Approve 75% Disapprove 12% Undecided 13%

**77.** (US Jan 31 '45) Do you think it was a good idea to announce the policy of requiring unconditional surrender of our enemy, or would it have been better not to announce it? (AIPO)

Announce 44% Not announce 35% No opinion 21%

**78.** (US Jan 31 '45) What is your opinion of requiring unconditional surrender of our enemies? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve | 72% |
| Disapprove | 7 |
| Prolongs war | 3 |
| Should clarify terms | 1 |
| No opinion | 17 |

**79.** (US Jan 31 '45) What is your opinion of our making public the fact that we require unconditional surrender? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve | 59% |
| Disapprove | 15 |
| Prolongs war | 6 |
| Good for us but helps enemy morale | * |
| Doesn't matter | 1 |
| No opinion | 19 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**80.** (France Feb 16 '45) Do you think the German Ardennes offensive will retard or hasten the end of the war? (FIPO)

Retard 56% Hasten 18% No effect 12% No opinion 14%

**81.** (US Feb 20 '45) If Japan offered to make peace now, should we try to work out peace terms, or should we go on fighting until the Japanese armed forces are completely de feated? (AIPO)

Work out terms 18% Go on fighting 78% No opinion 4%

**82.** (Australia Feb–Mar '45) Which do you think is more likely to guarantee peace in Europe: severe peace terms on Germany, or moderate terms? (APOP)

Severe terms 67% Moderate terms 24% Undecided 9%

**83.** (France Mar 1 '45) Do you think that peace will be better preserved after the war by the action of an international organization or by a policy of individual alliances between states? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| International organization | 55% |
| Political alliances | 24 |
| Both simultaneously | 1 |
| No opinion | 20 |

**84.** (France Mar 1 '45) Do you think it will be the Western Allies or the Russians who will bring to a decision the war with Germany? (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Western Allies | 6% |
| Russians | 55 |
| Both | 33 |
| No opinion | 6 |

**85.** (US Mar 7 '45) Do you think President Roosevelt and the United States Senate will be able to agree on the terms of the peace treaty after this war? (AIPO)

Yes 56% No 19% No opinion 25%

Why? Asked of the 56% of the sample who thought Roosevelt and the Senate would agree on the terms of the peace treaty.

| | |
|---|---|
| Sound thinkers know that self-preservation demands such a treaty; imperative that they agree; they are good intelligent men and should be able to agree when all want peace | 21% |
| They will compromise; already started right way; Roosevelt has already gone beyond party lines through appointment of Republicans | 16 |
| Roosevelt is used to handling them; majority are Democrats; Roosevelt hasn't missed yet on major issues | 5 |
| Terms are fair and should be acceptable to most; Roosevelt knows best—Senate should agree | 3 |
| People will demand that they agree to support peace | 2 |

Why? Asked of rhe 19% of the sample who thought Roosevelt and the Senate would not agree on the terms of the peace treaty.

| | |
|---|---|
| Just won't agree; too many differences of opinion; all have own ideas; don't share Roosevelt's views; lack of harmony | 9% |
| Senate and Roosevelt never agree | 5 |
| Roosevelt is too headstrong; Senate won't rubber-stamp; Roosevelt too liberal | 1 |
| Roosevelt is too easily led by other countries—Senate won't allow other countries to have the best of it | 1 |
| Party friction | 1 |
| Everything is so muddled up, things not clear | * |
| Pressure of public opinion will not be great enough to force agreement | * |
| Didn't say | 11 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**86.** (Canada Mar 7 '45) If in the next few weeks Berlin should be captured, do you think Germany will surrender, or do you think she will keep on fighting? (CIPO)

Surrender 24% Keep fighting 70% Undecided 6%

**87.** (Canada Mar 7 '45) Will you tell me in your own words what you understand by the phrase "unconditional surrender"? 86% of the sample who were able to define the term were asked: As you know, the Allied policy is to demand unconditional surrender from Germany. Do you think this will make the Germans fight longer than they would if the Allies were not demanding unconditional surrender? (CIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, fight longer | 60% |
| No | 19 |
| Undecided | 7 |
| Didn't understand phrase | 14 |

**88.** (Great Britain Apr '45) How do you propose to spend the first day of peace? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Relaxing, watching celebration | 25% |
| Gardening | 1 |
| Celebrating, getting drunk | 18 |
| Like any other day | 19 |
| Thanksgiving | 16 |
| Family reunion | 4 |
| Taking family to country or seaside | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| No reply | 11 |

**89.** (US May 15 '45) Do you think the peace treaty on Germany should be more severe than the treaty at the end of the last war? (AIPO)

More 90% Less 3% No opinion 7%

**90.** (US June '45) Japan may offer to surrender and call her soldiers home provided we agree not to send an army of occupation to her home islands. Do you think we should accept such a peace offer if we get the chance, or fight on until we have completely beaten her on the Japanese homeland? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Beat her on homeland | 84.1% |
| Accept peace offer | 9.5 |
| Don't know | 6.4 |

**91.** (Hungary Dec '45) A national cross-section of Hungarians was asked when they thought the peace with Hungary would be concluded. Results follow: (HIPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Summer '46 | 39% |
| Next winter | 26 |
| Over a year | 21 |
| No opinion | 14 |

**92.** (Hungary Mar '46) Do we now deserve a favorable judgment of our peace hopes? (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Educated classes | 64.5% | 29.7% | 5.8% |
| Small bourgeois | 72.1 | 26.6 | 1.3 |
| Worker | 72.7 | 26.7 | 0.6 |
| Farmworker | 88.7 | 7.6 | 3.7 |

**93.** (Hungary Mar '46) Opinion about peace aims: (HIPOR)

| | *Political confederation* | *Economic customs union* | *Mutual contracts* | *Greater unity* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Budapest | 24% | 40% | 21% | 8% | 7% |
| Country | 12 | 36 | 27 | 8 | 17 |

**94.** (Hungary Mar '46) Is it right to reveal the peace aims, or might it be harmful to the country's interest? (HIPOR)

| | *Right* | *Wrong* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Educated classes | 80.8% | 17.1% | 2.1% |
| Small bourgeois | 82.9 | 16.8 | 0.3 |
| Workers | 79.8 | 19.5 | 0.7 |
| Farmers | 81.2 | 17.5 | 1.3 |

**95.** (France June 16 '46) Should easy or harsh peace conditions be imposed on Italy? (FIPO)

| | *Harsh* | *Easy* | *Other and no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 58% | 17% | 7% 18% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Farmers | 61% | 10% | 29% |
| Employers and officials | 61 | 19 | 20 |
| Workers | 58 | 16 | 26 |
| Businessmen | 55 | 18 | 27 |
| Fixed income group | 55 | 17 | 28 |
| Professionals | 51 | 27 | 22 |

**96.** (Australia July '46) Do you want the peace terms on Germany to be more severe or less severe than after the 1914–1918 war? (APOP)

No opinion 9% More severe 72% Less severe 11% No difference 8%

**97.** (Hungary July '46) When do you hope to achieve 100% peace standard? Asked of a cross-section of Budapest and suburban men and women. (HIPOR)

| | FIXED INCOME | | FREE INCOME | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Larger* | *Smaller* | *Larger* | *Smaller* | *Smallest* |
| After 1 year | 2.4% | 2.2% | 1.4% | 3.1% | 1.6% |
| After 2 years | 6.2 | 7.2 | 14.1 | 5.6 | 8.2 |
| After 3 years | 10.8 | 6.5 | 2.8 | 9.4 | 3.2 |
| After 4 years | 8.5 | 7.6 | 8.6 | 9.0 | 4.9 |
| After 5 years | 17.8 | 17.5 | 11.2 | 15.7 | 18.0 |
| After 5–10 years | 20.6 | 16.0 | 9.8 | 16.7 | 28.1 |
| Beyond 10 years | 6.6 | 10.0 | 11.2 | 11.5 | 9.8 |
| Beyond 20 years | 10.0 | 9.1 | 15.5 | 9.4 | 4.9 |
| Never | 1.9 | 6.0 | 7.1 | 5.6 | 4.9 |
| After reparations are fulfilled | 1.2 | 1.1 | 1.4 | 0.9 | — |
| Other; no answer | 14.0 | 16.8 | 16.9 | 13.1 | 16.4 |

**98.** (France Sept '46) Are you following the discussions at the peace conference? (FIPO)

Regularly 19% Sometimes 44% Never 37%

**99.** (Hungary Sept '46) A national cross-section of Hungarians was asked to judge the Czechoslovakian claims, with the following results. (HIPOR)

Unjust 92% Just 2% No opinion 6%

**100.** (Sweden Sept 12 '46) Do you consider the proposed peace terms for Finland just? (SGI)

Unjust 59% Just 18% Uncertain 23% = 100%
No opinion 33%

**101.** (Hungary Dec '46) When do you hope normal peace circumstances will prevail? Asked in Budapest. (HIPOR)

Within 5 years 73% Over 5 years 21% No opinion 6%

## Pearl Harbor

**1.** (US Dec 24 '41) Which of these statements comes closest to how you feel about the way the news of the attack on Pearl Harbor was handled? Each respondent was handed a card with the four statements on it: (a) There was absolutely no excuse for holding back the Pearl Harbor news for a whole week. (b) I can see why the government may have wanted to hold back the news, but on the whole I think it did more harm than good to hold it back. (c) It would have been nice to know immediately what happened, but it is probably best that the news was held back to keep from helping the enemy. (d) We had no right at all to expect the story of our losses at Pearl Harbor any sooner than we got it—in most countries we wouldn't get the real news at all. (NORC)

| | *Statement a* | *Statement b* | *Statement c* | *Statement d* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Dec 24 '41) | 7% | 6% | 53% | 28% | 6% |
| (Jan 28 '42) | 8 | 7 | 50 | 26 | 9 |

**2.** (US Jan 28 '42) Do you think that we did get pretty much the whole story of what happened at Pearl Harbor, or do you think that some important news is still being held back? (NORC)

Got whole story 29% Some being held back 61%
Don't know 10%

**3.** (US Feb 6 '43) Do you think the Navy Department was right in holding up the full report of our naval losses at Pearl Harbor for one year? (AIPO)

Yes 73% No 19% Undecided 8%

**4.** (US Sept 26 '45) Have you heard or read about the report on the Pearl Harbor disaster? (AIPO)

Yes 73% No 27%

What person or persons do you think were chiefly to blame for the Pearl Harbor disaster? A comparable cross-section was asked: Who do you think was chiefly to blame for the Pearl Harbor disaster? Results were combined. Asked of the 73% of the total sample who had heard or read about the report on the Pearl Harbor disaster.

| | |
|---|---|
| Army, navy; army and navy | 8% |
| Army and navy at Pearl Harbor, Kimmel and Short | 10 |
| Government, State Department, Congress and Senate | 17 |
| All of us | 15 |
| No one | 1 |
| Roosevelt | 11 |
| Japanese | 4 |
| Isolationists | 1 |
| Democrats | 1 |
| Republicans | 1 |
| Kimmel | 1 |
| Short | 1 |
| Hull | 1 |
| Marshall | 1 |
| Stimson | 1 |
| Knox | 1 |
| Not enough evidence | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| Don't know | 25 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages are based on the number of respondents who knew of the report on Pearl Harbor. They add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

Are you satisfied with the report that has been made, or do you think Congress should investigate this further? Asked of the 73% of the total sample who had heard or read about the report on the Pearl Harbor disaster.

Satisfied 29% Investigate further 55% No opinion 16%

**5.** (US Dec '45) Are you personally very much interested, mildly interested, or not at all interested in the continuation of the Pearl Harbor investigation? (FOR)

| | *Much interested* | *Mildly interested* | *Not interested* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46.2% | 17.1% | 29.4% | 7.3% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Roosevelt voters | 39.8% | 18.9% | 34.0% | 7.3% |
| Dewey voters | 58.5 | 15.5 | 23.5 | 2.5 |

**6.** (US Dec '45) Do you feel that the failure of our forces to be on the alert to meet the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor was due mainly to the errors of military men or mainly due to the errors of political men in Washington, or what? (FOR)

| | *Political men* | *Military men* | *Both* | *Whole nation* | *Other* | *Don't know* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| National total | 44.3 | 21.0 | 6.5 | 2.0 | 1.8 | 24.7 | = 100.3* |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | | | |
| Roosevelt voters | 36.0 | 25.9 | 5.7 | 2.7 | 1.6 | 28.3 | = 100.2* |
| Dewey voters | 60.2 | 15.2 | 7.8 | .9 | 2.1 | 14.3 | = 100.5* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**7.** (US Dec 5 '45) Have you heard or read about the Congressional investigation of the Pearl Harbor attack? (AIPO)

Yes 88% No 11% No answer 1%

Who or what do you think was most to blame for the Pearl Harbor disaster? Asked of the 88% of the sample who had heard or read about the Pearl Harbor investigation.

| | |
|---|---|
| Army or someone (named) in army | 4% |
| Navy or someone (named) in navy | 2 |
| Army and navy or someone (named) in army and navy | 10 |
| Army and navy at Pearl Harbor | 8 |
| Army and/or navy intelligence; intelligence | 1 |
| The President | 9 |
| State Department or Secretary of State | 2 |
| Congress and Senate | 2 |
| Washington, the government | 11 |
| Americans, all of us | 12 |
| The Japanese | 5 |
| Isolationists | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 |
| Don't know | 23 |
| Negligence and unpreparedness | 3 |
| | 100% |

Names mentioned in above groups:

| | |
|---|---|
| Hull | 1% |
| Marshall | 2 |
| Kimmel | 2 |
| Short | 3 |
| Stimson | — |
| Knox | — |
| | 8% |

## Personal Narratives

**1.** (US May 1 '42) Suppose these persons were giving a talk about their experiences. Would you be very likely to go hear the first one, only fairly likely, or not at all likely to go hear him? How about the second? How about the third? How about the last one? (NORC)

| | *Very likely* | *Fairly likely* | *Not likely* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (a) The leader of the American Volunteer Air Squadron which has been fighting for China in Burma | 53% | 24% | 20% | 3% |
| (b) The US navy flier who shot down six Jap fliers in the Pacific | 55 | 25 | 19 | 1 |
| (c) The American army officer who led the flight from Australia to attack the Philippines | 56 | 23 | 18 | 3 |
| (d) The flier who dropped the first bomb over Tokyo | 56 | 17 | 24 | 3 |

**2.** (US May 1 '42) How about the group on this card, assuming they could all speak good English? Would you be very likely to go hear the first one, only fairly likely, or not at all likely? (NORC)

| | *Very likely* | *Fairly likely* | *Not likely* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (a) A Russian flier who has been fighting on the German-Russian front | 40% | 29% | 27% | 4% |
| (b) A Chinese flier who has been fighting against the Japanese in the Far East | 36 | 30 | 31 | 3 |
| (c) A British flier who has taken part in bombing raids in Germany | 52 | 23 | 23 | 2 |
| (d) An Australian flier who fought the Japanese in the Dutch East Indies | 37 | 32 | 28 | 3 |

**3.** (US May 1 '42) And how about this last group of four, assuming that they could all speak good English? Would you be very likely to go hear the first one, only fairly likely, or not at all likely? (NORC)

| | *Very likely* | *Fairly likely* | *Not likely* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (a) A Dutch submarine officer who had seen action against the Japs in the Dutch East Indies | 39% | 28% | 29% | 4% |
| (b) A Russian tank corps officer who had helped keep the Germans out of Moscow | 41 | 29 | 27 | 3 |
| (c) A British commando who had taken part in raids on France and Norway | 44 | 26 | 27 | 3 |
| (d) A Serbian guerilla who had been fighting the Italians and Germans in the Yugoslav mountains | 37 | 24 | 35 | 4 |

## Prisoners and Prisons

**1.** (Australia Feb–Mar '42) Do you favor or oppose employment of war prisoners on such jobs as harvesting, roadmaking and woodcutting? (APOP)

Favor 86% Against 9% Undecided 5%

**2.** (US Nov 8 '42) From what you have read or heard, has Germany put any war prisoners in chains—that is, shackled them—during this war? (NORC)

Yes 48% No 23% Don't know 29%

Do you think she was justified in doing this? Asked of the 48% of the sample who had read or heard of Germany's putting war prisoners in chains.

Justified 2% Not justified 43% Not ascertainable 3%

**3.** (US Nov 8 '42) How about England? Has England put any war prisoners in chains during this war? (NORC)

Yes 25% No 44% Don't know 31%

Do you think she was justified in doing this? Asked of the 25% who said that England had put war prisoners in chains during this war.

Justified 13% Not justified 9% Don't know 3%

**4.** (Canada Apr 17 '43) Would you approve or disapprove if German prisoners of war in Canada were placed in essential war work in gangs under armed guard? (CIPO)

Approve 42% Disapprove 46% No opinion 12%

Why? Asked of the 42% who approved and the 40% who disapproved of putting prisoners of war into essential war work.

*Those in favor*

| | |
|---|---|
| Help labor shortage | 36% |
| Make them work for their keep | 21 |
| Bad to keep men idle | 15 |
| Should do farm work only | 8 |
| Our men working in Germany | 5 |
| Make them do something to offset wrong they have done | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | 10 |

*Those opposed*

| | |
|---|---|
| Too risky | 35 |
| Danger of sabotage | 19 |
| They would take our jobs | 12 |
| Fear retaliation in Germany | 7 |
| Cost of supervision greater than returns | 5 |
| Against Geneva Convention | 5 |
| Work would be worthless | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | 12 |

**5.** (US Apr 8 '44) Do you think that stories about the way Japanese treat American prisoners should be given out? (NORC)

Yes 71% No 20% Don't know 9%

Why do you think so? Asked of 20% of the sample who thought stories about the way the Japanese treat American prisoners should not be given out.

| | |
|---|---|
| Causes worry and suffering to families and people at home | 13% |
| Not necessary, doesn't help matters, nothing can be done about it | 4 |
| War propaganda (implications that stories are not true) | 3 |
| Causes worry to men going into service | 2 |
| Disapprove timing (with war bond drive) but not necessarily the publication of pictures | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 24%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 20 because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

Why do you think so? Asked of the 71% of the sample who thought stories about the way Japanese treat American prisoners should be given out.

| | |
|---|---|
| Make people more war-conscious, raise morale, spur war effort | 24% |
| Lets us know our enemy better | 21 |
| We should know, are entitled to know | 17 |
| Facilitates reciprocal action against the Japanese | 6 |
| Makes enemy hated | 4 |
| Makes it possible to deal with Japs regarding prisoners | 2 |
| Benefit in the future | 1 |
| Should be published when it happens | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 3 |
| | 80%* |

* Percentages add to more than 71 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**6.** (US Mar 20 '45) Have you heard or read anything about our treatment of prisoners of war now in camps in this country? (AIPO)

Yes 84% No 16%

Do you think the treatment of prisoners of war here is too strict or not strict enough? Asked of 84% of the sample who had heard about treatment of prisoners of war in this country.

Too strict 1% Not strict enough 71% About right 24%

**7.** (US May 2 '45) After the war, should our government allow some prisoners of war to remain in this country to become citizens if they want to? (AIPO)

Yes 18% No 78% Don't know 4%

**8.** (US June 10 '45) To what extent do you think the German people have approved of the killing and starving of prisoners in Germany—entirely, partly, or not at all? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Entirely | 31% |
| Partly | 51 |
| Not at all | 4 |
| People didn't know | 8 |
| No opinion | 6 |

**9.** (US June 10 '45) To what extent do you think the Japanese people approve of the killing and starving of prisoners—entirely, partly, or not at all? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Entirely | 63% |
| Partly | 25 |
| Not at all | 2 |
| People didn't know | 4 |
| No opinion | 6 |

**10.** (US May 15 '45) Should we allow German war prisoners in this country to fight the Japanese? (AIPO)

Yes 31% No 61% No opinion 8%

**11.** (US May 15 '45) If German war prisoners do fight the Japanese, should we let them come back to this country and become citizens? (AIPO)

Yes 19% No 74% No opinion 7%

**12.** (Australia Sept to Oct '45) Do you think anti-Nazi German prisoners of war in Australia should be allowed to stay here as immigrants if they wish? And what about anti-Fascist Italian prisoners? (APOP)

| SEND THEM BACK HOME | | LET THEM STAY HERE | | NO OPINION | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Germans* | *Italians* | *Germans* | *Italians* | *Germans* | *Italians* |
| 57% | 73% | 40% | 24% | 3% | 3% |

**13.** (Germany Nov 19 '45) Do you think you know exactly what went on in the concentration camps? (OMGUS)

Yes 51% No 40% No answer 9%

What do you think of the special treatment for former concentration camp inmates?

| | |
|---|---|
| They are treated correctly | 57% |
| They are not treated well enough | 4 |
| They are treated too well | 4 |
| OK for those who were really innocent victims | 23 |
| No opinion | 12 |

**14.** (Germany Nov 19 '45) As far as you know, why did the Nazi party lock people up in concentration camps? (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| Political reasons; imprisoned anti-Nazis, anyone who threatened security of Nazi regime | 65% |
| For telling truth, talking too much to wrong people or at the wrong time | 14 |
| Religious reasons, to exterminate Jews | 6 |
| For almost no reason at all, harmless statements, innocent people denounced | 3 |
| For listening to foreign broadcasts | 2 |
| For infractions of law (non-political)—theft, murder, etc | 6 |
| Other | 5 |
| | 117%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**15.** (Germany Nov 26 '45) Do you think that former active Nazis should be exchanged for German PW's now employed on work projects in Germany and elsewhere? (OMGUS)

Yes 89% No 6% No opinion 5%

**16.** (Germany Jan 31 '46) Do you think you are exactly informed about what really went on in the concentration camps? (OMGUS)

Yes 38% No 57% No opinion 5%

**17.** (Germany Jan 31 '46) Do you think that conditions in the concentration camps influenced the attitude of other nations toward Germany? (OMGUS)

Yes 76% No 9% No opinion 15%

**18.** (Germany Jan 31 '46) Do you believe today that you could have done anything to help prevent such atrocities? (OMGUS)

Yes 5% No 90% No opinion 5%

**19.** (Netherlands Aug '46) The government has announced that tens of thousands of political prisoners will be set free. Do you think this is a good idea or a bad one? (NIPO)

| | *Good* | *Bad* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 59% | 34% | 7% |
| BY RELIGION | | | |
| Roman Catholic | 72% | 24% | 4% |
| Calvinists | 54 | 36 | 10 |
| Dutch Reformed | 50 | 41 | 9 |
| Secular | 50 | 43 | 7 |

**20.** (Netherlands Aug '46) The government has asked the churches and the trade unions to help find a place in society for these ex-political prisoners. Do you think the churches and the trade unions should do this? (NIPO)

Should 64% Should not 30% Don't know 6%

**21.** (Netherlands Aug '46) Would you personally want to help such an ex-political prisoner to find a place in our society again [if tens of thousands of them are set free]? (NIPO)

| | *Want to help* | *Don't want to help* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 46% | 44% | 10% |
| BY RELIGION | | | |
| Roman Catholic | 54% | 38% | 8% |
| Calvinist | 42 | 46 | 12 |
| Dutch Reform | 41 | 47 | 12 |
| Secular | 34 | 58 | 8 |
| BY INCOME GROUPS | | | |
| Lower income | 40% | 48% | 12% |
| Higher income | 51 | 42 | 7 |

## Propaganda

**1.** (US Sept 27 '39) The British say that the trans-Atlantic liner *Athenia* was sunk by a German submarine. The Germans say they did not sink it. Do you believe the Germans sank the *Athenia*? (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 9% No opinion 31%

**2.** (US Nov 15 '39) Do you think Germany is carrying on propaganda in this country? (AIPO)

Yes 77% No 9% No opinion and don't know 13%
No answer 1%

**3.** (US Nov 15 '39) Do you think England and France are carrying on propaganda in this country? (AIPO)

Yes 59% No 21% No opinion 19% No answet 1%

**4.** (US Dec '39) Do you believe all, most, some, little or none of the war news items from these cities? (FOR)

| | *Washington* | *London* | *Paris* | *Berlin* | *Moscow* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| All | 13.6% | 1.4% | 1.3% | 0.4% | 0.4% |
| Most | 35.3 | 10.0 | 8.8 | 2.0 | 1.7 |
| Some | 32.7 | 48.5 | 47.2 | 29.6 | 25.9 |
| Little | 10.3 | 26.9 | 27.6 | 41.1 | 33.3 |
| None | 1.9 | 5.5 | 5.8 | 18.0 | 20.9 |
| Don't know | 6.2 | 7.7 | 9.3 | 8.9 | 17.8 |

**5.** (US Dec '39) Which of the following statements do you believe to be true, which false? (FOR)

| | *True* % | *Qualified* % | *False* % | *Don't know* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| The *Athenia* was sunk by a German submarine | 66.7 | — | 6.3 | 27.0 |
| The Germans have deliberately bombed residential sections of defenseless cities | 63 9 | 6.4* | 8.8 | 20.9 |
| The German submarines are at large on this side of the ocean | 37.4 | — | 29.3 | 33.3 |
| There is a strong movement in Germany to overthrow Hitler | 22.7 | 24.8** | 20.6 | 31.9 |
| British airplanes have willfully violated the neutrality of Belgium and other neutrals | 15.4 | 23.1 | 28.9 | 32.6 |
| The Poles have mutilated and slaughtered defenseless Germans within their borders during this war | 10.5 | — | 59.8 | 29.7 |

* Not deliberately.
** Not strong.

**6.** (US Sept 11 '40) Recently the English claimed that they shot down 387 German planes in one week and lost only 94 of their own. Do you think this report is accurate? (AIPO)

Yes 19% No 58% Don't know 23%

**7.** (US Sept 11 '40) Recently the Germans claimed that they shot down 427 English planes in one week and lost only 99 of their own. Do you think this report is accurate? (AIPO)

Yes 3% No 86% Don't know 11%

**8.** (US May 30 '42) Do you think it would help us to win the war if our people were taught to have greater hatred for the Japanese and German people? (AIPO)

Yes 23% No 68% No opinion 9%

**9.** (Sweden June '43) Have you ever attended public meetings where you thought propaganda for foreign powers was being used? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 11% | 84% | 5% |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Towns | 15% | 81% | 4% |
| Country | 8 | 86 | 6 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 16% | 78% | 6% |
| Women | 6 | 90 | 4 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 15% | 79% | 6% |
| Middle class | 10 | 85 | 5 |
| Workers | 11 | 84 | 5 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 15% | 81% | 4% |
| 30–49 years | 13 | 81 | 6 |
| 50 years and over | 5 | 90 | 5 |

**10.** (Sweden June '43) Have you ever bought periodicals in which you thought that propaganda for foreign powers was being used? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 17% | 78% | 5% |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Towns | 23% | 72% | 5% |
| Country | 13 | 81 | 6 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 24% | 70% | 6% |
| Women | 9 | 85 | 6 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 34% | 63% | 3% |
| Middle class | 18 | 76 | 6 |
| Workers | 14 | 80 | 6 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 24% | 71% | 5% |
| 30–49 years | 19 | 75 | 6 |
| 50 years and over | 9 | 86 | 5 |

**11.** (Sweden June '43) Have you ever been subjected personally to propaganda on the part of any nation at war? If so, was it through the ordinary dailies, the ordinary weeklies, films, circular letters, pamphlets, foreign magazines, or private conversation with individuals? If not, have you ever had sent to you circulars, etc., addressed to you, containing information of conditions abroad or foreign news? (SGI)

| | *Received pamphlets, etc., and considered them propaganda* | *Received pamphlets, etc., but did not consider them propaganda* | *Have not received such mail* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 8% | 9% | 83% |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | |
| Towns | 10% | 11% | 79% |
| Country | 7 | 7 | 86 |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 12% | 11% | 77% |
| Women | 5 | 6 | 89 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 27% | 16% | 57% |
| Middle class | 11 | 10 | 79 |
| Workers | 5 | 7 | 88 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| North Sweden | 4% | 10% | 86% |
| Mälar district | 9 | 10 | 81 |
| East Gorland | 7 | 7 | 86 |
| Skåne | 12 | 10 | 78 |

| Found propaganda in: | *Newspaper* | *Magazine* | *Film* | *Conversation* | *Foreign papers, etc., and by mail* | *Not noticed such propaganda* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 1% | 2% | 3% | 2% | 8% | 88% | = 104%* |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | | | | | |
| Town | 1% | 3% | 4% | 3% | 10% | 86% | = 107%* |
| Country | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 7 | 90 | = 103* |
| BY SEX | | | | | | | |
| Men | 2% | 3% | 4% | 3% | 12% | 83% | = 107%* |
| Women | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 93 | = 103 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | | |
| Upper class | 2% | 6% | 9% | 4% | 27% | 69% | = 117%* |
| Middle class | 2 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 11 | 84 | = 105* |
| Workers | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 93 | = 104* |

BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION

| | *Newspaper* | *Magazine* | *Film* | *Conversation* | *Foreign papers, etc., and by mail* | *Not noticed such propaganda* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| North Sweden | 1% | 1% | 1% | 1% | 4% | 94% | = 102%* |
| Mälar province | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 9 | 86 | = 104* |
| East Gotland | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 7 | 90 | = 105* |
| Skåne | 4 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 12 | 84 | = 105* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**12.** (Sweden June '43) Which nation do you think does the greatest amount of propaganda here? (SGI)

| | *Germany* | *Russia* | *England* | *America* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 32% | 1% | 7% | 1% | 59% |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | | | |
| Town | 33% | 2% | 10% | 1% | 54% |
| Country | 31 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 62 |
| BY SEX | | | | | |
| Men | 38% | 1% | 9% | 2% | 50% |
| Women | 26 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 67 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Wealthy | 25% | 1% | 11% | 2% | 61% |
| Upper class | 35 | 1 | 14 | 2 | 48 |
| Middle class | 29 | 2 | 9 | 2 | 58 |
| Workers | 33 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 60 |
| Working parties | 41 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 51 |

**13.** (Great Britain Nov 20 '43) The Germans say that they are preparing a new secret weapon to use against this country. Do you think they are bluffing or telling the truth? (BIPO)

Telling truth 21% Bluffing 59% Don't know 20%

**14.** (US May 9 '44) German leaders are telling the German people they have to go on fighting because even if they quit now they will all be killed anyway. Should we tell the German people this is not true—that is, they will not all be killed if they surrender now? (AIPO)

Yes 76% No 13% No opinion 11%

**15.** (US May 9 '44) What do you think our government should say to the German people to get them to ask for peace terms now? (AIPO)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Point out advantages of quitting now: | | |
| Try to make them see how much better off they will be—tell them how they will profit | 14% | 19% |
| Guarantee them better living than under Nazi regime—offer them freedom and rehabilitation | 5 | |
| Offer them opportunities of trade with the rest of the world | — | |
| Assure them that Germany will continue as a nation—the people will not all be killed | | 3 |
| Tell them that they only stand to lose by continuing—we'll lick them eventually and at great loss of life if they don't quit now | | 15 |
| Demand unconditional surrender | | 7 |
| Give them specific directions as to how to aid an Allied victory—get rid of leaders, sabotage, etc. | | 7 |
| Tell them we want a permanent peace | | 2 |
| Tell them nothing—clean them up, fight until they are completely defeated | | 11 |
| Can't talk to them—the people fear their leaders and are completely subjugated by them | | 5 |
| Don't know | | 31 |

**16.** (US May 9 '44) Do you know whether or not the United States is using propaganda to weaken morale in Germany and to get Germany to give up? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, definitely | 22% |
| Think so but not sure | 31 |
| No | 47 |

Can you tell me what we are saying to the Germans? Asked of 53% of the sample who said the United States was definitely using propaganda to get the Germans to give up, or thought so.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| We're telling them how useless it is to continue—that we're winning and they gain nothing by resisting | | 14% |
| We're telling them of the opportunities they can have by quitting now: | | 6 |
| Less stringent peace terms | 3% | |
| Rehabilitation and economic advantages | 3 | |
| We're waging a war of nerves—continually threatening invasion | | 5 |
| We're asking unconditional surrender | | 4 |
| We're attempting to undermine morale: | | 8 |
| Telling them to get rid of their leaders | 6% | |
| Hitler is insane | * | |
| Their cause is wrong and hopeless | 2 | |
| We're telling them that their leaders will receive vengeance but not the people | | 3 |
| Don't know | | 43 |
| Incorrect answer—no answer | | 17 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**17.** (US May 9 '44) Do you have any opinion on how successful our propaganda toward the Germans is? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who said the United States was definitely using propaganda to get Germany to give up or thought the United States was but were not sure. (AIPO)

Yes 29% No 71%

**18.** (US May 9 '44) How successful would you say? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who thought definitely (or were not sure) that the United States was using propaganda to get Germany to give up, and had an opinion on how successful such propaganda is. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Very successful | 17% |
| Moderately successful | 31 |
| Not very successful | 28 |
| Unsuccessful | 18 |
| Not as successful as German propaganda | 2 |
| More successful than German propaganda | 1 |
| No answer, don't know | 3 |

**19.** (US June 22 '45) Do you think that we should have a permanent government agency which would explain the views and policies of this country to the people of other nations of the world? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 49% | 23% | 28% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 56% | 19% | 25% |
| Republicans | 47 | 34 | 19 |

**20.** (US May 29 '45) As far as you know, do you think the OWI has done its job well or poorly? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Well | 32% |
| Poorly | 11 |
| Fair | 22 |
| Don't know of OWI | 19 |
| No opinion | 16 |

**21.** (US May 29 '45) Do you think that we should have a permanent government agency which would explain the views

and policies of this country to the people of other nations of the world so there will be a better understanding of us? (AIPO)

Yes 58% No 21% No opinion 21%

**22.** (US June 22 '45) Will you tell me what the OWI is? (AIPO)

31% correct 69% incorrect

As far as you know, do you think the OWI has done its job well or poorly? Asked of the 31% of the sample who knew what the OWI was.

| | |
|---|---|
| Well | 14% |
| Poorly | 4 |
| Fair | 9 |
| No opinion | 4 |

**23.** (US Aug 29 '46) Should the United States do everything it can to tell other nations the advantages of our type of democracy for the common people of the world? (AIPO)

Yes 68% No 19% No opinion 13%

## Refugees

**1.** (US July '38) What is your attitude toward allowing German, Austrian and other political refugees to come into the United States? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| We should encourage them to come even if we have to raise our immigration quotas | 4.9% |
| We should allow them to come but not raise immigration quotas | 18.2 |
| With conditions as they are, we should try to keep them our | 67.4 |
| Don't know | 9.5 |

**2.** (US Apr '39) If you were a member of Congress, would you vote yes or no on a bill to open the doors of the United States to a larger number of European refugees than now are admitted under our immigration quotas? (FOR)

| | *Yes, open doors* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY RELIGION | | | |
| Protestants | 6.3% | 85.3% | 8.4% |
| Catholics | 8.3 | 84.0 | 7.7 |
| Jews | 69.8 | 25.8 | 4.4 |

**3.** (Great Britain July 31 '39) Should refugees be allowed to enter Great Britain? (BIPO)

Yes 70% No 26% No opinion 4%

Should they (refugees) be allowed to enter freely or with restrictions designed to safeguard British workers and taxpayers? Asked of 70% of the sample who thought that refugees should be allowed to enter Great Britain.

Freely 15% With restrictions 84% No opinion 1%

**4.** (US June 26 '40) Should the United States permit English and French women and children to come to this country to stay until the war is over? (AIPO)

Yes 58% No 42% = 100% No opinion 14%

**5.** (US June 26 '40) If English and French refugees are allowed to come to this country, would you be willing to take care of one or more of these children in your home until the war is over? (AIPO)

Yes 25% No 54% Undecided 21%

**6.** (US Aug 17 '40) It has been suggested that the United States send American passenger ships to England to bring English refugee women and children to the United States. Would you approve or disapprove of sending these ships? (AIPO)

Approve 45% Disapprove 55%

**7.** (US July 16 '40) It has been suggested that the United States send American passenger ships to England to bring English refugee women and children to the United States to stay until the war is over. Would you approve or disapprove of sending these ships if England has no boats for this purpose? A comparable cross-section was asked the question excluding "if England has no boats for this purpose." Results were combined. (AIPO)

Approve 45% Disapprove 55% = 100% No opinion 12%

**8.** (US Aug 17 '40) It has been suggested that the United States send American passenger ships to England to bring English refugee women and children to the United States to stay until the war is over. Would you approve or disapprove of sending our ships if Germany and Italy agreed not to attack them? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 63% | 37% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 64% | 36% |
| East central | 59 | 41 |
| West central | 64 | 36 |
| South | 67 | 33 |
| West | 60 | 40 |

**9.** (Sweden Aug '43) Do you think that Sweden should or should not give protection to persons who might escape to this country, such as the following: those now ruling Norway (Quislings); those ruling Finland (Ryti-Mannerheim); those from other countries occupied by Germany (for instance, Laval and his associates from France); Hitler and his associates from Germany; Mussolini and his associates; Roosevelt, Churchill and their cabinets from the United States and England; Stalin and his associates from Russia? (SGI)

| | |
|---|---|
| Protection to all | 5% |
| Protection to certain persons | 61 |
| Protection to none | 17 |
| Don't know | 17 |

| | NATIONAL TOTAL* | | WEALTHY | | WORKING PARTIES | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Yes* | *No* | *Yes* | *No* | *Yes* | *No* |
| Quisling and his cabinet | 43% | 57% | 47% | 53% | 32% | 68% |
| Laval and his government | 58 | 42 | 61 | 39 | 50 | 50 |
| Hitler and leading German Nazis | 41 | 59 | 47 | 53 | 32 | 68 |
| Mussolini and leading Fascists | 41 | 59 | 47 | 53 | 32 | 68 |
| Stalin and his associates | 61 | 39 | 54 | 46 | 63 | 37 |
| Mannerheim, Ryti, and others ruling Finland | 83 | 17 | 88 | 12 | 77 | 23 |
| Roosevelt, Churchill, and other prominent Allies outside Russia | 91 | 9 | 90 | 10 | 92 | 8 |

* Those who, on principle, wanted to exclude everyone from protection in Sweden have been excluded from the sample along with those who had no opinion on the subject.

**10.** (Sweden Sept '44) Do you think that refugees who have come to Sweden during the war should be denied a permit to stay after the war or should they be allowed to stay here forever? (SGI)

| | *Denial to all* | *Allow to stay* | *Refuse some, allow some* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 42% | 21% | 17% | 20% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 47% | 20% | 18% | 15% |
| Women | 36 | 23 | 13 | 28 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 42% | 15% | 26% | 17% |
| Middle class | 40 | 20 | 19 | 21 |
| Workers | 42 | 23 | 13 | 22 |
| BY AGE | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 46% | 22% | 14% | 18% |
| 30–49 years | 41 | 21 | 18 | 20 |
| 50–64 years | 39 | 22 | 14 | 25 |
| 65 years and over | 40 | 20 | 13 | 27 |

Which ones (of the war refugees) should not be allowed to stay? Asked of 17% of the sample who thought some refugees should be refused a permit and others allowed to stay in Sweden.

| | |
|---|---|
| Criminal elements | 5% |
| Quislings and other Nazi adherents | 4 |
| Those who have no work now | 1 |
| Those who can get work in their own country | 1 |
| Other categories | 3 |
| Don't know | 3 |
| | 17% |

Which (of the war refugees) should be allowed to stay? Asked of the 17% of the sample who thought some refugees should be refused a permit and others allowed to stay in Sweden.

| | |
|---|---|
| People useful to this country | 7% |
| Scandinavians | 1 |
| Children | 1 |
| Other categories | 3 |
| Don't know | 5 |
| | 17% |

**11.** (Sweden Sept '44) If refugees in large numbers should want to enter Sweden from Finland owing to military developments, should we receive them or refuse them access to the country? (SGI)

| | *Receive them* | *Refuse them* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 24% | 20% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 55% | 29% | 16% |
| Women | 56 | 19 | 25 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 75% | 10% | 15% |
| Middle class | 59 | 20 | 21 |
| Workers | 52 | 28 | 20 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 58% | 26% | 16% |
| 30–49 years | 56 | 24 | 20 |
| 50–64 years | 56 | 23 | 21 |
| 65 years and over | 48 | 25 | 27 |

**12.** (Sweden Dec '44) Would you, yourself, receive a refugee from northern Norway in your home and house him for some time without payment if he needed your help? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *Would but cannot at home* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 37% | 48% | 9% | 6% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 38% | 47% | 9% | 6% |
| Women | 35 | 50 | 9 | 6 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 51% | 30% | 11% | 8% |
| Middle class | 42 | 41 | 10 | 7 |
| Workers | 31 | 55 | 8 | 6 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | | |
| Town | 39% | 46% | 9% | 6% |
| Country | 33 | 51 | 9 | 7 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| North Sweden | 41% | 49% | 5% | 5% |
| Dalärna | 46 | 39 | 12 | 3 |
| Mälar district | 34 | 42 | 14 | 10 |
| Stockholm | 29 | 55 | 9 | 7 |
| East Gotland | 30 | 53 | 9 | 8 |
| Skåne | 37 | 50 | 7 | 6 |
| Bovä | 41 | 46 | 7 | 6 |

**13.** (Sweden Dec '44) Do you think that political refugees from neighboring countries should be allowed to stay and move freely about Sweden, or should they be interned or sent back home? If we take, for instance, Norwegians and Danish refugees who have cooperated with the occupying powers: (SGI)

| | *Freedom to stay* | *Should be interned* | *First interned, then sent home* | *Sent home at once* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 4% | 17% | 31% | 39% | 9% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Upper class | 4% | 16% | 35% | 35% | 10% |
| Middle class | 4 | 18 | 32 | 38 | 8 |
| Workers | 5 | 17 | 29 | 39 | 10 |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 5% | 18% | 31% | 36% | 10% |
| 30–49 years | 4 | 18 | 32 | 38 | 8 |
| 50–64 years | 3 | 17 | 30 | 41 | 9 |
| 65 years and over | 3 | 11 | 28 | 42 | 16 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| North Sweden | 3% | 15% | 39% | 35% | 8% |
| Dalärna | 6 | 20 | 28 | 37 | 9 |
| Mälar district | 6 | 21 | 19 | 43 | 11 |
| Stockholm | 3 | 13 | 37 | 35 | 12 |
| East Gotland | 5 | 22 | 22 | 40 | 11 |
| Skåne | 5 | 13 | 40 | 31 | 11 |
| Bovä | 2 | 15 | 31 | 46 | 6 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Right, Liberal, Agrarian parties | 4% | 21% | 36% | 29% | 10% |
| Social democrats and Communists | 2 | 13 | 38 | 39 | 8 |
| Others | 6 | 18 | 32 | 36 | 8 |

. . . or members of the German legation in Sweden who now wish to depart from their government's policies:

| | *Freedom to stay* | *Should be interned* | *First interned, then sent home* | *Sent home at once* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 8% | 20% | 24% | 31% | 17% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Upper class | 13% | 21% | 28% | 23% | 15% |
| Middle class | 10 | 22 | 22 | 28 | 18 |
| Workers | 6 | 17 | 25 | 34 | 18 |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 9% | 21% | 25% | 29% | 16% |
| 30–49 years | 8 | 21 | 24 | 29 | 18 |
| 50–64 years | 7 | 19 | 23 | 34 | 17 |
| 65 years and over | 5 | 10 | 24 | 36 | 25 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| North Sweden | 9% | 18% | 36% | 23% | 14% |
| Dalärna | 10 | 22 | 12 | 35 | 21 |
| Mälar district | 7 | 23 | 13 | 39 | 18 |
| Stockholm | 9 | 16 | 26 | 30 | 19 |
| East Gotland | 5 | 24 | 18 | 29 | 24 |
| Skåne | 8 | 16 | 32 | 27 | 17 |
| Bovä | 9 | 19 | 24 | 33 | 15 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Right, Liberal, Agrarian parties | 9% | 21% | 26% | 28% | 16% |
| Social democrats | 9 | 16 | 29 | 26 | 20 |
| Others | 10 | 23 | 25 | 23 | 19 |

. . . or refugees from Finland who have cooperated:

| | *Freedom to stay* | *Should be interned* | *First interned, then sent home* | *Sent home at once* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 3% | 14% | 20% | 52% | 11% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | |
| Upper class | 4% | 14% | 27% | 40% | 15% |
| Middle class | 3 | 16 | 22 | 48 | 11 |
| Workers | 2 | 13 | 19 | 56 | 10 |
| BY AGE | | | | | |
| 20–29 years | 4% | 16% | 22% | 48% | 10% |
| 30–49 years | 2 | 15 | 20 | 52 | 11 |
| 50–64 years | 3 | 13 | 20 | 53 | 11 |
| 65 years and over | 3 | 8 | 18 | 56 | 15 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | |
| North Sweden | 2% | 15% | 31% | 44% | 8% |
| Dalärna | 4 | 17 | 17 | 55 | 7 |
| Mälar district | 4 | 19 | 13 | 53 | 11 |
| Stockholm | 3 | 9 | 23 | 52 | 13 |
| East Gotland | 2 | 16 | 15 | 53 | 14 |
| Skåne | 2 | 12 | 26 | 47 | 13 |
| Bovä | 1 | 12 | 19 | 60 | 8 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | |
| Right, Liberal, Agrarian parties | 4% | 18% | 25% | 41% | 12% |
| Social Democrats and Communists | 4 | 11 | 26 | 51 | 8 |
| Others | 5 | 17 | 27 | 43 | 8 |

**14.** (Sweden Apr '45) Should Sweden refuse to send away the Baltic refugees (from Estonia and Latvia) who wish to stay in our country, if Russia should demand this? (SGI)

| | *Surrender all Balts* | *Surrender certain Balts* | *Surrender no Balts* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 20% | 31% | 31% | 18% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | |
| Upper class | 10% | 28% | 47% | 15% |
| Middle class | 15 | 31 | 36 | 18 |
| Workers | 25 | 30 | 27 | 18 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| North Sweden | 30% | 33% | 21% | 16% |
| Dalärna | 26 | 22 | 32 | 20 |
| Mälar district | 19 | 37 | 27 | 17 |
| Stockholm | 14 | 32 | 40 | 14 |
| East Gotland | 15 | 24 | 34 | 27 |
| Skåne | 20 | 31 | 33 | 16 |
| Bovä | 16 | 33 | 34 | 17 |

## Religious Aspects

**1.** (US Oct 24 '39) Do you think the present war in Europe is a struggle to defend Christianity, or do you think Christianity has little to do with it? (AIPO)

Defending Christianity 17% Christianity not an issue 74% Don't know 9%

**2.** (US Oct 24 '39) Do you think religion is an important reason for the present war in Europe? (AIPO)

Yes 25% No 62% No opinion 13%

**3.** (Great Britain Jan '41) Do you go to church or chapel now more often than before the war? (BIPO)

Yes 9% No 52% Never go 36% Don't know 3%

**4.** (US Nov 30 '41) Have you noticed an increase in interest in religion in this community since the war began? (AIPO)

Yes 31% No 57% Don't know 12%

**5.** (US May 30 '42) Do you think interest in religion has increased in your community since the war began? (AIPO)

Yes 47% No 31% No opinion 22%

**6.** (Australia, Dec '42) Do you think people go to (are going to) church more often or less often than before the war? (APOP)

| | *More often* | *Less often* | *Unchanged* | *No idea* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 30% | 16% | 37% | 17% |
| (Nov '44) | 27 | 29 | 31 | 13 |

**7.** (Australia Dec '42) Would you say your own interest in religion has increased or decreased during the war—(or is it about the same)? (APOP)

| | *Increased* | *De-creased* | *About the same* | *No answer* | *No interest in religion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 19% | 6% | 69% | 6% | — |
| (Nov '44) | 23 | 9 | 60 | — | 8% |

**8.** (Netherlands Mar '46) Do you belong to a church? (NFS)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dutch Reformed | 37% | 79% |
| Roman Catholic | 31 | |
| Calvinist | 10 | |
| Other church | 1 | |
| Secular | 20 | |
| No answer | 1 | |

During the war, did you get nearer to the church, did you get further from it, or wasn't there any change? Asked of the 79% of the sample who said they belonged to a church and 20% of the sample who said they did not belong to a church.

| | *Nearer* | *Further* | *Same* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 27% | 8% | 61% | 4% |
| BY RELIGION | | | | |
| Dutch Reformed | 23% | 9% | 65% | 3% |
| Roman Catholic | 30 | 6 | 59 | 5 |
| Calvinist | 32 | 7 | 57 | 4 |
| Secular | 14 | 9 | 56 | 21 |

## Reparations

**1.** (US Feb '42) [These questions are asked supposing the Allies win the war.] Do you think that the Allies should try to make Germany, Italy, and Japan pay: (NORC)

| | *Germany* | *Italy* | *Japan* |
|---|---|---|---|
| All the cost of the war | 35% | 34% | 35% |
| As much as they can afford, within a time limit set by the Allies | 49 | 50 | 49 |
| None of the cost of the war | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| Other | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| Don't know | 5 | 6 | 6 |

**2.** (US June '43) People who think they've found out why the League of Nations failed are now preparing for a new union of nations, if we win the war. Nobody can say for sure whether a new union would end all wars or only lead to worse ones. In order to try out a union of nations as a possible way of preventing wars, would you yourself be willing or not willing to forget reparations—that is, not try to collect any money from Germany or Japan to pay for what the war has cost us and our Allies? (NORC)

Willing 36% Not willing 55% Don't know 9%

If Germany is made to give up almost all the land she took since 1930 and if Hitler and other Nazi leaders are punished, should we try to get anything more from the German people after the war is over? Asked of 55% of the sample who said they would not be willing to forget reparations in order to try out a new union of nations.

| | |
|---|---|
| Should | 20% |
| Should not | 31 |
| No answer | 1 |
| Don't know | 3 |
| | 55% |

## Reparations (Germany)

**1.** (Great Britain Jan 18 '44) The Russians say that the Germans will have to help to rebuild the countries they have destroyed. Do you agree or disagree? (BIPO)

Agree 70% Disagree 15% Don't know 15%

**2.** (US Feb '44) Do you think we should try to make the people in Germany pay us either in money or goods for our cost of this war? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 55% |
| No | 29 |
| Don't know | 9 |
| Part | 6 |
| When able | 1 |
| If others pay | * |

If the people of Germany are not able to pay us within twenty-five years after the war, what do you think we ought to do about making them pay? Asked of 64% of the sample who thought either that the United States should make the German people pay reparations, or didn't know whether she should or not.

| | |
|---|---|
| Kill them off, start another war | * |
| Forced labor, make slaves of them | 1% |
| Make them pay regardless, boycott, punish them | 6 |
| Send troops over to collect it | 1 |
| Take their country, some ports, some territory | 2 |
| Take some industries, products, trade | 3 |
| Extend the time, pay what they can | 14 |
| Make them educate our scientists | * |
| Cancel the debt | 5 |
| Attitude of resignation: can't get blood out of a turnip—what can you do? | 26 |
| Depends on their behavior then | 1 |
| No answer, not ascertainable | 12 |
| | 71%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 64 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (US Feb '44) Do you think the people in Germany will be able to pay us either in money or goods for our cost of this war within twenty-five years after the war is over? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 27% |
| No | 57 |
| Part | 2 |
| Don't know | 13 |
| If we help industries | 1 |
| If they surrender soon | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**4.** (US Feb '44) After the war, do you think workers from Germany should be sent into some of the countries they have fought against and forced to rebuild the homes and industries in those countries? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 50% |
| Yes, if paid, not slave | 1 |
| No | 41 |
| Don't know | 8 |

If there aren't enough workers in Germany after the war to rebuild the homes and industries in both Germany and the countries she fought against, do you think we should force them to work in other countries, or not? Asked of the 51% of the sample who thought that after the war German workers should be sent to countries they fought against and help to rebuild the homes and industries there.

| | |
|---|---|
| Should work in other countries | 28% |
| Shouldn't work in other countries | 16 |
| Don't know | 6 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 51% |

(After the war) do you think workers from Germany should be sent into some of the countries they have fought against and forced to rebuild the homes and industries in those countries?

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 70% |
| No | 23 |
| Don't know | 5 |
| Should be paid, not slave labor | 1 |
| Only SS troops, those responsible for atrocities | 1 |

**5.** (US Feb '44) If Germany is made to give up all the land she has taken since 1930, and if Hitler and the other Nazi leaders are punished, should we try to make the German people pay for our cost of this war, or not? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 42% |
| No | 43 |
| Part | 6 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Should not leave any Germany to pay | * |
| Don't know | 9% |

* Less than 0.5%.

Why don't you think we should [make the Germans pay for our cost of this war]? Asked of 43% of the sample who thought the United States should not make the Germans pay for the cost of the war, if Hitler and the other Nazi leaders were punished and Germany gave up all the land she had taken since 1930.

| | |
|---|---|
| Impossible, they'll have nothing left | 17% |
| That is enough, people are not to blame | 15 |
| It would cause more war, ill-feeling | 2 |
| We don't want anything German | * |
| Other: unfair, responsibility is ours, too | 3 |
| Don't know | * |
| Not ascertainable | 6 |
| | 43% |

* Less than 0.5%.

**6.** (Great Britain June '44) After the war, should we try to get reparations from Germany? (BIPO)

Yes 74% No 17% Don't know 9%

Should they be in the form of money, goods or Germans working in Allied countries? Asked of 74% of the sample who thought that after the war England should try to get reparations from Germany.

| | |
|---|---|
| Money | 27% |
| Goods | 24 |
| Work | 23 |
| | 74% |

**7.** (Great Britain Aug '44) Do you think Germany should be forced to make good the war damage she has done in other countries? (BIPO)

Yes 88% No 6% Don't know 6%

The 88% of the sample who thought Germany should be forced were asked: How?

| | |
|---|---|
| By money payments | 37% |
| By payment in goods | 26 |
| By forced labor | 46 |
| | 121%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**8.** (Great Britain Aug '44) If it is decided that German men should be sent to other countries to repair war damage, how should they be drafted? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| From German population as a whole | 37% |
| From prisoners of war held by United Nations | 12 |
| From Nazis and others guilty of war crimes | 42 |
| Don't know | 9 |

**9.** (US Mar '45) Do you think the Germans should or should not be forced to make up in some way or other for the destruction they have caused in other countries? (FOR)

Should 86.5% Should not 7.7% Don't know 5.8%

**10.** (US Mar '45) Do you expect that the Germans can be forced to make up for a large part of the destruction they have caused in other countries, a small part of it, or practically none of it? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Large part | 22.0% |
| Small part | 31.2 |
| Practically none | 25.6 |
| Don't know | 21.2 |

**11.** (Australia Apr '45) After the war, do you think three or four million Germans should be sent to the countries they fought against and forced to rebuild homes and industries? (APOP)

Yes 46% No 42% Don't know 12%

**12.** (Australia Aug '45) Do you think we should make the Germans pay a large part of our war costs? (APOP)

Yes 80% No 10% No opinion 10%

**13.** (Germany July 1 '46) In your opinion, how much compensation should be given to you—all, most, or a small part? Asked of a cross-section of people whose property had suffered war damage (OMGUS)

| | |
|---|---|
| All | 6% |
| Most | 14 |
| Only a small part | 13 |
| No opinion | 3 |
| Nothing | 3 |

**14.** (Germany July 1 '46) Do you expect the future state to honor these claims? Asked of the 38% of a sample who had claims on the former Reich government. (OMGUS)

Yes 16% No 11% No opinion 4% No answer 7%

What kind of claims do you have? Asked of 38% of a sample who had claims on the former Reich government.

| | |
|---|---|
| Bonds | 1% |
| Pensions (in RM per year) | 2 |
| Unpaid wages, salaries, soldier pay | 6 |
| Social security, insurance, etc. | 1 |
| Requisitioning by and deliveries of government and/or Wehrmacht, rent on requisitioned homes | 2 |
| Money in bank, savings accounts | 5 |
| War damages, bombing | 23 |
| Looting, burglary | 6 |
| Other | 3 |

## Reparations (Hungary)

**1.** (Hungary Sept '46) A cross-section of Hungarians was asked how they judged the delay in returning Hungarian assets from Germany with the following results: (HIPOR)

Just — Unjust 96% No opinion 4%

## Reparations (Japan)

**1.** (US Feb '44) If Japan is made to give up all the land she has taken, and if Hirohito and other Japanese leaders are punished, should we try to make the Japanese people pay for our cost of this war? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 59% |
| No | 28 |
| Part | 4 |
| Don't know | 8 |
| Shouldn't leave any Japan to pay | 1 |

**2.** (US Apr '45) Do you think we should try to make the people in Japan pay us in some way or other for our cost of this war, or don't you think we should try to get repaid? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| We should try | 78% |
| Should not try | 10 |
| Should pay part, what they are able, for damages done | 1 |
| Should pay when able, installments, after rehabilitation | * |
| Should pay only if all nations who owe us pay | * |
| Should not, because there is no use, Japanese won't have it | 4 |
| Don't know | 7 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**3.** (US Apr '45) If our government decides that Japan must pay us for our cost of the war, which one of these ways do you think we'd have the best chance of getting paid: by accepting payment mostly in money, mostly in goods, or mostly some other way? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Mostly money | 22% |
| Mostly goods | 51 |
| Anything and everything; anything we can use or get | 2 |
| Land, bases, islands | 5 |
| Labor, service, rebuilding, reconstruction | 3 |
| Natural resources | * |
| Promise of peace, disarmament, and other intangible co-operation | * |
| Combination of mostly money and mostly goods | 2 |
| Money and anything else | * |
| Goods and anything else | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 13 |

* Less than 0.5%.

**4.** (US May 10 '45) Do you think the United Nations should or should not make Japanese labor rebuild devastated areas in China and the Philippines at the rate usually paid prisoners of war? (NYHT)

Should 71% Should not 14% Don't know 15%

## Reparations (Russia)

**1.** (US Dec 15 '43) Germany is using millions of men from countries she has conquered to help make munitions and help her war effort. When Germany is defeated, should three or four million German men be sent to Russia to help rebuild destroyed cities there? (AIPO)

Yes 51% No 31% No opinion 18%

**2.** (US Feb 11 '44) After the war, should three or four million men be sent to Russia to help rebuild destroyed cities there? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 50% | 30% | 20% |

(Canada Feb 9 '44) (CIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Canadian total | 49% | 38% | 13% |
| British total | 70 | 15 | 15 |
| Quebec only | 44 | 40 | 16 |
| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
| (US July 18 '44) (AIPO) | 51% | 32% | 17% |

**3.** (US May 6 '45) After the war, should three or four million German men be required to spend two or three years helping to rebuild cities in Russia which they have destroyed? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 61% | 25% | 14% |
| (May 6 '45) | 71 | 20 | 9 |

**4.** (US May 6 '45) After the war, should three or four million German men be sent to Russia to help rebuild destroyed cities there? A comparable cross-section was asked: After the war, should three or four million German men be required to spend two or three years helping to rebuild cities in Russia which they have destroyed? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 82% | 11% | 7% |
| Labor union members only | 81 | 11 | 8 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 80% | 17% | 3% |
| High school | 83 | 12 | 5 |
| Grade school or less | 82 | 9 | 9 |

## Russia

**1.** (Great Britain Sept '39) Do you think that Russia's recent actions have helped or have hindered Germany in making war against us?

| | |
|---|---|
| Helped | 32% |
| Hindered | 8 |
| Both | 30 |
| Neither | 18 |
| Don't know | 12 |

**2.** (Great Britain Nov '39) Do you think that Russia intends to give Germany such help as will enable Germany to defeat Britain and France? (BIPO)

Yes 14% No 68% Don't know 18%

**3.** (US Dec 22 '39) Have you heard or read about the war between Russia and Finland? (AIPO)

Yes 99% No 1%

**4.** (US Nov 19 '41) Do you think the Russians are doing all they possibly can to win the war? (OPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 92% | 3% | 5% |
| (Feb 3 '42) (AIPO) | 88 | 4 | 8 |

What more do you think they could do? Asked of the 4% of the total sample who thought the Russians could do more towards winning the war.

| | |
|---|---|
| No suggestion given | 1% |
| Fight Japan, send men to Manchuria, to India | 1 |
| Cooperate more actively with Allies | 1 |
| Give United States bases | 1 |

**5.** (Great Britain Feb '42) From all the things that Russia has done to fight Germany, what do you think is the most useful lesson for us in Britain? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Go all out; deal drastically with slackers and racketeers | 23% |
| Achieve unity of people, army, and government | 15 |
| Emulate the thoroughness and determination of their military command; develop guerilla warfare | 14 |
| Increase our production of munitions, tanks, and aeroplanes | 8 |
| Scorched earth policy | 7 |
| We must be better prepared | 5 |
| Learn everything from them; follow their example | 3 |
| They have something to fight for; they are defending their social system | 2 |
| The important point is to help them | 1 |
| Miscellaneous and no comment | 22 |

**6.** (US Aug 13 '42) If Russia does not get more help from the Allies than she's getting now, do you think Russia will be able to hold out against Germany until this winter? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 39% | 42% | 19% |
| (Aug 29 '42) | 57 | 32 | 11 |

Do you think Russia would be saved if the Allies should land an army in Europe in the next two or three months? Asked of the 32% of the sample who thought Russia could not hold out and the 11% who did not know.

Yes 26% No 4% Don't know 13%

(June 18 '43) If Russia does not get more help from the Allies than she's getting now, do you think Russia will be able to hold out against Germany until this winter?

Yes 59% No 21% Don't know 20%

**7.** (US Apr 6 '43) As far as you know, have Russia and Japan declared war on each other? 82% of the sample who knew that Russia and Japan were not fighting were asked: If Germany is defeated, do you think Russia will join in the war against Japan, or do you think she will stay neutral? (AIPO)

Yes, join us 25% No, stay neutral 40% No opinion 17%

**8.** (US Apr 6 '43) [At the same time as the previous question a comparable cross-section was asked: As far as you know, are Russia and Japan fighting one another? 74% of the sample who knew that Russia and Japan were not fighting were asked]: When Germany is defeated, do you think Russia will join us in the war against Japan, or do you think Russia will stay neutral? (AIPO)

| | *Yes, join us* | *No, stay neutral* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 21% | 41% | 12% |
| (Nov 15 '44) | 53 | 31 | 16 |
| (Mar 14 '45, July 15 '45) | 65 | 22 | 13 |

**9.** (US Apr 6 '43) If Germany is knocked out of the war first, do you think Russia will continue fighting, and help us beat Japan? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 38% | 36% | 26% |
| (June '43) | 48 | 28 | 24 |
| (Sept '43) | 35 | 40 | 25 |

Do you think Russia owes it to the United States to continue fighting and help us beat Japan? Asked of the 65% of the sample who thought Russia would not declare war on Japan or who didn't know.

Yes 45% No 14% Don't know 6%

(Nov '43) If Germany is knocked out of the war first, do you think Russia will continue fighting and help us beat Japan, or not?

Yes 49% No 31% Don't know 20%

Do you think Russia owes it to the United States to continue fighting and help us beat Japan? Asked of the 51% of the sample who thought Russia would not declare war on Japan or who didn't know.

Yes 34% No 11% Don't know 4%

(Feb '44) If Germany is knocked out of the war first, do you think Russia will continue fighting and help us beat Japan, or not?

Yes 44% No 33% Don't know 23%

Do you think Russia owes it to the United States to continue fighting and help us beat Japan? Asked of the 51% of the sample who thought Russia would not declare war on Japan or who didn't know.

Yes 40% No 10% Don't know 4%

(Mar '45) If Germany is knocked out of the war first, do you think Russia will continue fighting and help us beat Japan, or not?

Yes 64% No 19% Don't know 17%

**10.** (Canada Dec 13 '44) Do you think Russia will join the other United Nations in the war against Japan when the war in Europe is over? (CIPO)

| | *Will join* | *Will not join* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 45% | 24% | 31% |
| Quebec | 27 | 31 | 42 |
| Rest of Canada | 50 | 22 | 28 |

**11.** (Canada Dec 13 '44) Regardless of whether you think Russia will take part in the Japanese war, do you think she should, or do you think she should leave this to Britain, the United States, and China? (CIPO)

Should 74% Should not 10% Undecided 16%

**12.** (US Mar '35) Do you think Russia owes it to the United States to continue fighting and help us beat Japan? (NORC)

Yes 85% No 11% Don't know 4%

**13.** (US June 12 '45) Do you want to see Russia join us in the war against Japan or would you rather not see her join us? (AIPO)

| | *Join* | *Not join* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 77% | 14% | 9% |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| College | 75% | 21% | 4% |
| High school | 80 | 12 | 8 |
| Grade school or less | 73 | 13 | 14 |

**14.** (US June 12 '45) Do you think Russia will join us in the war against Japan? (AIPO)

Yes 39% No 31% No opinion 30%

## Supplies

**1.** (US Feb 3 '38) Do you think the United States should allow shipment of arms or ammunition from this country to China? (AIPO)

Yes 36% No 64%

**2.** (US June 9 '38) Do you think the United States should continue to sell war materials to Japan? (AIPO)

Yes 16% No 84% = 100% No opinion 8%

**3.** (US June 9 '38) Do you think the United States should continue to sell war materials to China? (AIPO)

Yes 37% No 63% = 100% No opinion 8%

**4.** (US Sept 13 '38) In case of war, should the United States sell military equipment to England and France, to Germany, or to neither side? (AIPO)

England and France 34% Neither 66%

**5.** (US Jan 10 '39) Would you favor changing our neutrality policy so as to give more aid to China but no aid to Japan? (AIPO)

Yes 32% No 48% No opinion 20%

**6.** (US Feb 16 '39) In case such a war (Germany and Italy against England and France) breaks out, should we sell England and France airplanes and other war materials? A comparable cross-section was asked the same question with the words "for cash" appended. Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 52% | 48% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 53% | 47% |
| Republicans | 54 | 46 |
| Other parties | 46 | 54 |

**7.** (US Feb 23 '39) Are you in favor of allowing England and France to buy some of the types of war planes manufactured in this country? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 51% |
| No | 36 |
| No opinion | 5 |
| Undecided | 8 |

**8.** (US Feb 23 '39) Are you in favor of allowing Germany and Italy to buy some of the types of war planes manufactured in this country? (AIPO)

Yes 11% No 81% No opinion 4% Undecided 4%

**9.** (US Feb 23 '39) Are you in favor of permitting England and France to buy war planes manufactured in this country? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 55% |
| No | 34 |
| No opinion | 5 |
| Undecided | 6 |

**10.** (US Feb 23 '39) Would you favor permitting Germany and Italy to buy war planes manufactured in this country? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 18% |
| No | 73 |
| No opinion | 4 |
| Undecided | 5 |

**11.** (US Mar 21 '39) In case such a war breaks out (Germany and Italy against England and France) should we sell airplanes and other war materials to England and France? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 66% | 34% |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 70% | 30% |
| Republicans | 65 | 35 |

**12.** (US July 8 '39) In case Germany and Italy go to war against England and France, how far should we go in helping England and France—should we sell airplanes and other war materials to England and France? (AIPO)

Yes 60% No 40% = 100% No opinion 6%

**13.** (US Aug 30 '39) How far should we go in helping England, France, and Poland—should we sell airplanes and other war materials to England and France? (AIPO)

Yes 59% No 41% = 100% No opinion 6%

**14.** (US Mar 30 '39) Our present Neutrality Law prevents this country from selling war materials to any countries fighting in a declared war.* Do you think the law should be changed so that we could sell war materials to England and France in case of war? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 57% No 43%

* A comparable cross-section was asked about "selling war materials to any countries at war."

**15.** (US May '39) What do you think should be the policy of the United States on selling airplanes and munitions to foreign countries? Do you think we should sell them to all foreign countries, or just to democratic countries, or to no foreign countries at all? (FOR)

| | *All* | *Democratic only* | *None* | *Don't know or depends* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 19.7% | 29.2% | 39.6% | 12.5% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| Northwest plains | 15.7% | 18.0% | 53.4% | 12.9% |
| Southwest | 18.4 | 36.9 | 29.7 | 15.0 |

Do you think we should sell to them only for cash, or do you think we should sell to them even if they have to charge it? Asked of 28.2% of the sample who thought the United States should sell airplanes and munitions to democratic countries only.

| | |
|---|---|
| Cash | 82.0% |
| Sell anyway | 14.4 |
| Don't know | 3.6 |

**16.** (US May 18 '39) Do you think our government should forbid the sale of war materials to Japan? (AIPO)

Yes 72% No 28%

**17.** (US May 18 '39) Do you think our government should forbid the sale of war materials to China? (AIPO)

Yes 40% No 60%

**18.** (US July 8 '39) (In case Germany and Italy go to war against England and France, how far should we go in helping England and France?) Should we sell guns and ammunition to England and France? (AIPO)

Yes 54% No 46% = 100% No opinion 9%

**19.** (US July 26 '39) If there is a war in Europe and the United States sells war materials to England and France, what do you think are this country's chances of staying out of war? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Certain to stay out | 2% |
| Good chance of staying out | 10 |
| Chances even | 16 |
| Little chance to stay out | 43 |
| No chance to stay out | 29 |
| Don't know | (13) |

**20.** (US Aug 8 '39) At the end of six months, should the United States refuse to sell Japan any more war materials? (AIPO)

Yes 82% No 18%

**21.** (US Aug 8 '39) Congress defeated a bill which would have let the United States sell war materials to England and France in case of war in Europe. Do you think Congress was right in defeating this bill? (AIPO)

Yes 51% No 37% No opinion and no answer 12%

**22.** (US Aug 17 '39) If Congress does meet in special session, should it change the present Neutrality Law so that the United States could sell war materials to England and France? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 50% | 50% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 49% | 51% |
| Mid-Atlantic | 52 | 48 |
| East central | 45 | 55 |
| West central | 49 | 51 |
| South | 60 | 40 |
| West | 51 | 49 |
| BY POLITICS | | |
| Democrats | 56% | 44% |
| Republicans | 47 | 53 |

**23.** (US Sept 11 '39) What should be the policy of the United States in the present European war—should we sell airplanes and other war supplies to England and France? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 57% | 43% | |
| (Sept 19 '39) | 68 | 32 | (7%) |
| (Sept 22 '39) | 65 | 35 | (4) |

**24.** (US Sept 24 '39) Do you think the Neutrality Law should be changed so that England and France could buy war supplies here? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 57% | 43% = 100% | 9% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 62% | 38% | |
| Republicans | 54 | 46 | |

**25.** (US Sept 19 '39) Do you think Congress should change the Neutrality Law so thar England and France can buy war supplies here? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 62% | 38% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 56% | 44% |
| Mid-Atlantic | 65 | 35 |
| East central | 57 | 43 |
| West central | 55 | 45 |
| South | 77 | 23 |
| West | 65 | 35 |
| BY SEX | | |
| Men | 64% | 36% |
| Women | 58 | 42 |
| BY AGE | | |
| Under 30 years | 56% | 44% |
| 30–49 years | 64 | 36 |
| 50 years and over | 63 | 37 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
| Upper income | 59% | 41% |
| Middle income | 64 | 36 |
| Lower income | 62 | 38 |

**26.** (US Sept 19 '39) Do you think England and France should be allowed to buy war supplies in this country? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 62% | 38% | |
| (Sept 22 '39) | 63 | 31 | 6% |

**27.** (US Sept 19 '39) Do you think England and France should be allowed to buy war supplies here if they pay cash and take them away in their own ships? (AIPO)

Yes 79% No 21% = 100% No opinion 5%

(Sept 22 '39) Question 27 was asked again. A comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think England and France or any other nations should be allowed to buy war supplies here if they pay cash and take them away in their own ships? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 75% No 25% = 100% No opinion 5%

**28.** (US Oct 3 '39) Do you think Congress should change the Neutrality Law so that England and France or any other nation can buy war supplies here? A comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think Congress should make changes in the Neutrality Law so that England and France or any other nation can buy war materials, including arms and airplanes, in the United States? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| National total | 60% | 40% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | |
| New England | 56% | 44% |
| Mid-Atlantic | 59 | 41 |
| East central | 57 | 43 |
| West central | 60 | 40 |
| South | 75 | 25 |
| West | 58 | 42 |

**29.** (US Oct 3 '39) If Germany is able to send ships to this country to buy war supplies, including airplanes and arms, should we sell war supplies to them? (AIPO)

Yes 43% No 57% = 100% No opinion 5%

**30.** (US Oct 10 '39) Do you think Congress should make changes in the Neutrality Law so that England and France or any other nation can buy war materials, including arms and airplanes, in the United States? A comparable cross-section was asked the question excluding the phrase "including arms and airplanes." Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 58% | 42% | — |
| (Oct 24 '39) | 56 | 37 | 7% |

What is the main reason for your answer? Asked of the 56% of the (Oct 24 '39) sample who thought it should be changed and the 37% of the sample who thought it should not be changed.

| | *Those who want law changed* | *Those who want to keep law* |
|---|---|---|
| To help England and France | 23% | 1% |
| To keep the United States out of war | 26 | 87 |
| Germany may attack the United States if England and France lose this war | 7 | 2 |
| To defend democracy | 10 | 1 |
| To help Germany | — | 1 |
| To improve business in this country | 31 | — |
| Others | 3 | 3 |
| To be truly neutral | — | 1 |
| To shorten the war | — | 1 |
| Have nothing to do with Europe | — | 1 |
| Shouldn't sell instruments of death | — | 1 |
| To stop war altogether | — | 1 |
| No answer | (1) | (4) |

**31.** (US Oct 18 '39) Do you think Congress should repeal the existing arms embargo in the Neutrality Law so that nations at war can buy airplanes, arms, and munitions in the United States? [A comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think Congress should make changes in the Neutrality Law so that England and France, or any other nation, can buy war materials, including arms and airplanes, in the United States? Results were combined.] (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 56% | 44% | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England | 56% | 44% | |
| Mid-Atlantic | 59 | 41 | |
| East central | 50 | 50 | |
| West central | 51 | 49 | |
| South | 65 | 35 | |
| Far West | 60 | 40 | |
| | | | *Don't know* |
| (Oct 24 '39) | 56% | 35% | 9% |

What is the main reason for your opinion? Asked of the 56% of the sample who thought the embargo should be repealed and the 35% who thought the embargo should not be repealed.

| | *Repeal* | *Don't repeal* |
|---|---|---|
| To help England and France | 20% | 1% |
| To keep the United States out of war | 31 | 89 |
| Germany may attack the United States if England and France lose this war | 5 | 1 |
| To defend democracy | 8 | 1 |

| | *Repeal* | *Don't repeal* |
|---|---|---|
| To help Germany | — | — |
| To improve business in this country | 34% | 1% |
| Others | 2 | 2 |
| To be truly neutral | — | 2 |
| Have nothing to do with Europe | — | 1 |
| Shouldn't sell instruments of death | — | 1 |
| To stop war altogether | — | 1 |
| No answer | (*) | (4) |

* Less than 0.5%.

**32.** (US Nov '39) Do you think the recent Congress was right or wrong (during its prewar session) in refusing to grant the President the power to decide to what countries we would sell war materials in case of a war abroad? (FOR)

| | *Right* | *Wrong* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 58.9% | 21.5% | 19.6% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Prosperous | 73.2% | 18.0% | 8.8% |
| Poor | 46.3 | 25.7 | 28.0 |
| BY RACE | | | |
| Negroes | 35.5% | 27.9% | 36.6% |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| Northwest plains | 65.0% | 16.2% | 18.8% |
| Southeast | 47.7 | 30.2 | 22.1 |

**33.** (US Nov 8 '39) Do you approve the change which Congress made in the Neutrality Act which permits nations at war to buy arms and airplanes in this country? (AIPO)

Right 62% Wrong 27% Don't know 11%

**34.** (US Nov 8 '39) Do you think Congress was right or wrong when it changed the Neutrality Law so that England and France or any other nation can buy war materials, including arms and airplanes in the United States? (AIPO)

Right 58% Wrong 28% No opinion 4% Undecided 10%

**35.** (US Dec '39) If Russia were to enter the war on the side of Germany, would you be more inclined or less inclined to give aid to England and France? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| More | 56.6% |
| No difference | 33.3 |
| Less | 2.8 |
| Don't know | 7.3 |

**36.** (US Dec '39) If Japan were to enter the war on the side of Germany, would you be more inclined or less inclined to give aid to England and France? (FOR)

| | *More* | *No difference* | *Less* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 60.4% | 29.8% | 2.3% | 7.5% |
| *People believing that we should* | | | | |
| Enter war now | 85.9 | 9.4 | 3.1 | 1.6 |
| Enter later if needed | 85.3 | 8.7 | 2.4 | 3.6 |
| Supply Allies only | 79.7 | 12.0 | 2.0 | 6.3 |
| Sell cash-and-carry | 67.5 | 25.8 | 1.3 | 5.4 |
| Sell to no one | 35.9 | 51.7 | 3.2 | 9.2 |

**37.** (US Dec 13 '39) In the present crisis, are your sympathies with Finland or with Russia? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with the alternative countries reversed. Results were combined. (AIPO)

Finland 88% Russia 1%

Completely neutral, no choice, or no opinion 11%

What should the United States do to help Finland? Asked of the 88% of the sample who had sympathies with Finland in the present crisis.

| | |
|---|---|
| Stay out | 19% |
| Help as we do England and France at present (sales of food, arms, munitions, etc.; moral support, sympathy, etc.) | 13 |
| Help more than we are now helping England and France (financial pressure; send food and supplies; send men; economic and diplomatic pressure) | 56 |

**38.** (Great Britain Jan '40) Do you approve or disapprove of Britain sending arms to help Finland? (BIPO)

Approve 74% Disapprove 18% Don't know 8%

**39.** (Great Britain Jan '40) Would you approve or disapprove of sending British troops to help Finland? (BIPO)

Approve 33% Disapprove 50% Don't know 17%

**40.** (US Jan 19 '40) Some members of Congress think our government should forbid the sale of arms, airplanes, gasoline, and other war materials to Japan. Others say this might get us into trouble with Japan. Do you think our government should forbid the sale of arms, airplanes, gasoline, and other war materials to Japan? A comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think our government should forbid the sale of arms, airplanes, gasoline and other war materials to Japan? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 75% No 25%

**41.** (Great Britain Feb '40) If Sweden is attacked, would you approve or disapprove of Britain's sending arms and materials to Sweden? (BIPO)

Approve 51% Disapprove 31% Don't know 18%

**42.** (Great Britain Feb '40) If Sweden is attacked, would you approve or disapprove of Britain's sending troops to help Sweden? (BIPO)

Approve 33% Disapprove 47% Don't know 20%

**43.** (US Mar 8 '40) Do you think the United States is giving too much help to England and France at this time, or not enough? How strongly do you feel about this? (OPOR)

| TOO MUCH | | ABOUT RIGHT | | NOT ENOUGH | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Strong* | *Mildly* | *Strong* | *Mildly* | *Strong* | *Mildly* |
| 10.5% | 3.0% | 24.3% | 27.0% | 10.3% | 4.0% |

**44.** (US Mar 26 '40) If it appears that Germany is defeating England and France, how far do you think the United States should go in helping England and France—should we continue to sell them war materials and other goods for cash, as we are doing now? (AIPO)

YES 41% Yes 45% NO 7% No 7% = 100%

No opinion 13%

**45.** (US May 29 '40) The United States army and navy have about 5,000 airplanes. Would you approve of selling all, some or none of these planes to England and France at this time? (AIPO)

All 9% Some 38% None 49% No opinion 4%

**46.** (US May 29 '40) (The United States army and navy have about 5,000 airplanes.) Would you approve or disapprove of giving them (England and France) these planes free of charge? (AIPO)

Approve 12% Disapprove 85% Undecided 3%

**47.** (US June 11 '40) President Roosevelt has taken action making it possible for England and France to buy some air-

planes that were being used by our army and navy. Do you approve or disapprove of this action? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 80% | 20% | = 100% | 7% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democrats | 85% | 15% | | |
| Republicans | 76 | 24 | | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| East | 82% | 18% | | |
| South | 87 | 13 | | |
| Great Lakes states | 72 | 28 | | |
| Middle West | 77 | 23 | | |
| Far West | 85 | 15 | | |

**48.** (US July '40) What do you think the United States should do about selling supplies to the nations at war? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sell only to the Allies and on credit if necessary | 35.2% |
| Sell only to the Allies, and only for cash | 23.7 |
| Sell to either side for credit | 0.6 |
| Sell to either side for cash | 16.7 |
| Sell nothing to any warring nation | 15.1 |
| Don't know | 8.7 |

**49.** (US July 20 '40) If it appears certain that England will be defeated by Germany and Italy unless the United States supplies her with more food and war materials, would you be in favor of this country giving more help to England? (OPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *Don't know* | | *Undecided* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| National total | 85 | 12 | | 3 | = 100 | | |
| (Aug 22 '40) | 83 | 12 | | | | 5 | = 100 |
| (Oct 9 '40) | 90 | 10 | = 100 | | | 6 | |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | | | |
| Democrats | 92 | 8 | | | | | |
| Republicans | 87 | 13 | | | | | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | | | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 92 | 8 | | | | | |
| East central | 87 | 13 | | | | | |
| West central | 86 | 14 | | | | | |
| South | 94 | 6 | | | | | |
| West | 90 | 10 | | | | | |

**50.** (US July 20 '40) In order to help England, should the United States send more airplanes to England even though this might delay our own national defense program? (OPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 48% | 44% | 7% | 1% |
| (Aug 22 '40) | 56 | 35 | 9 | |
| (Oct 9 '40) | 60% | 40% | | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 60% | 40% | | |
| East central | 54 | 46 | | |
| West central | 56 | 44 | | |
| South | 72 | 28 | | |
| Far West | 64 | 36 | | |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democrats | 61% | 39% | | |
| Republicans | 59 | 41 | | |

**51.** (US Aug 9 '40) General Pershing says the United States should sell to England fifty of our destroyer ships which were built during the last World War and are now being put back in service. Do you approve or disapprove of our government selling these destroyers to England? (AIPO)

Approve 62% Disapprove 38% = 100% Undecided 8%

**52.** (US Aug 9 '40) England needs destroyer ships to replace those which have been damaged or sunk. The United States has some destroyers which were built during the last World War and are now being put back in active service. Do you think we should sell some of these ships to England? (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 39% = 100% Undecided 9%

**53.** (US Sept 30 '40) President Roosevelt has forbidden the shipment of any more scrap iron from this country to Japan. Do you approve or disapprove? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 96% | 4% | = 100% | 8% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democrats | 96% | 4% | | |
| Republicans | 95 | 5 | | |

**54.** (US Sept 30 '40) Do you think our government should forbid the sale of arms, airplanes, gasoline, and other war materials to Japan? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 90% | 10% | = 100% | 8% |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Democrats | 90% | 10% | | |
| Republicans | 10 | 10 | | |

**55.** (US Oct '40) Which of the following statements most nearly represents your opinion of Colonel Lindbergh, in the light of his recent public utterances? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| He has unselfishly and patriotically been making a useful effort to straighten out the nation's thinking on the war | 30.7% |
| His purposes, no doubt, are patriotic, but his views are mostly misguided | 38.6 |
| He may be guiltless of any conscious subversive connections with foreign interests, but he has been improperly influenced by the personal attentions paid him by Hitler and Goering in Germany | 14.2 |
| Lindbergh is unpatriotic, and he may be deliberately working in the interests of Germany | 2.8 |
| Don't know | 6.9 |
| No answer | 6.8 |

**56.** (US Nov '40) Which of rhese courses would you like to see the United States pursue so far as Great Britain herself is concerned? (FOR)

| | *National total* | *New England* | *West and North central* | *East and South central* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Declare ourselves Allies and send supplies and equipment and even men if necessary | 15.9% | 5.6% | 7.1% | 36.3% |
| Declare ourselves Allies to the extent of sending supplies and such equipment as planes and warships but never men | 41.0 | 54.4 | 35.1 | 47.5 |

| | National total | New England | West and North central | East and South central |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Go on as we are now, selling them what supplies and equipment they can buy | 30.7% | 26.8% | 43.2% | 11.1% |
| Stop sending or selling anything | 7.1 | 5.9 | 10.3 | 0.9 |
| Don't know | 5.3 | 7.3 | 4.3 | 4.2 |

**57.** (US Dec 11 '40) Some people say that if Japan got the Dutch East Indies and Singapore, she could cut off supplies of tin and rubber from the United States. Do you agree or disagree with this? (OPOR)

Agree 44% Disagree 30% No opinion 26%

**58.** (US Dec 11 '40) Some people say that if Japan got the Dutch East Indies and Singapore, she could greatly increase her own supply of oil. Do you agree or disagree with this? (OPOR)

Agree 51% Disagree 8% No opinion 41%

**59.** (US Dec 16 '40) If the United States stopped sending war materials to England, do you think England would lose the war? (AIPO)

Yes 85% No 8% Undecided 7%

**60.** (US Jan 9 '41) At present about half of the war planes produced in the United States are sent to England. Are you in favor of sending them more than half of the planes we are making, or less than half? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| All | 6% |
| More than half | 32 |
| One-half (present) | 34 |
| Fewer than half | 17 |
| None | 5 |
| No opinion | 6 |

**61.** (US Jan 9 '41) Which of these statements comes closer to your own opinion: (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sending war materials to England is helping to keep us out of war, because if Britain can keep Germany in check, there is less chance that we will have to fight the Germans later on | 70% |
| Sending war materials to England is bringing us closer to getting into the war because once we start helping, we won't be able to stop short of war | 23 |
| No choice | 7 |

**62.** (US Jan 9 '41) Which of these statements comes closer to your own opinion: (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sending war materials to England is helping keep us out of war | 55% |
| Sending war materials to England is bringing us closer to getting into the war | 33 |
| No choice | 12 |

**63.** (US Feb '41) Which of these statements comes closest to describing what you would like to see the United States do in relation to Great Britain? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Declare ourselves Allies and send our air force, navy and army if necessary | 7.4% |
| Declare ourselves Allies and send our air force and navy but never send an army | 3.3 |
| See that Britain gets anything she needs except men—even if it's more than half our production and even if we have to give it to her | 43.7 |
| Continue to sell Britain military supplies up to half our production | 27.8% |
| Sell food and medical supplies but no fighting equipment | 5.9 |
| Stop letting her have anything | 3.7 |
| Don't know | 8.2 |

Should we sell only for cash or give England credit? Asked of the 33.7% of the sample who favored limited help to Great Britain.

| | |
|---|---|
| Cash | 19.3% |
| Credit | 11.9 |
| Don't know | 2.5 |

If we should give England credit, what do you think our chances would be of getting paid—good, fair, or poor? Asked of the 33.7% of the sample who favored limited help to Great Britain.

| | |
|---|---|
| Good | 1.7% |
| Fair | 7.6 |
| Poor | 21.2 |
| Don't know | 3.2 |

If enough supplies were not getting transported from here to England, would you: (1) favor sending supplies in our ships with American sailors defended by our own navy, (2) favor sending supplies in our ships with American sailors guarded by the British navy, (3) favor lending English ships to be sailed by British sailors, (4) favor selling England ships at reasonable prices, (5) or favor none of these? Asked of the 33.7% of the sample who favored limited help for Great Britain.

| | |
|---|---|
| Statement 1 | 2.9% |
| Statement 2 | 3.3 |
| Statement 3 | 10.2 |
| Statement 4 | 13.6 |
| Statement 5 | 1.7 |
| Don't know | 2.0 |

**64.** (US Feb 14 '41) Should the United States stop giving aid to Britain? A comparable cross-section was asked: Should the United States stop giving aid to Britain, or should we continue to help the British? Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes (and) stop helping British | 8% |
| Yes (and) continue to help British | 89% |

**65.** (US Apr '41) Do you feel that any of the leaders of the movement to give no aid to Great Britain are just propagandists for Hitler, or do you think they are all patriotic Americans? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| All patriotic Americans | 32.4% |
| Some or all propagandists | 44.2 |
| Don't know | 23.4 |

**66.** (US Apr '41) Do you feel that any of the leaders of the movement to give more aid to Great Britain are just propagandists for Great Britain, or do you think they are all patriotic Americans? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| All patriotic Americans | 48.3% |
| Some or all propagandists | 33.0 |
| Don't know | 18.7 |

**67.** (US Apr '41) How much of our war materials that we are making do you think we should send to Great Britain? (FOR)

| | *All or most* | *About half* | *A small part* | *None of them* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 22.5% | 38.4% | 19.7% | 6.6% | 12.8% |
| *People believing that a German victory would be* | | | | | |
| Very serious | 27.0% | 41.3% | 16.9% | 3.4% | 11.4% |
| A little serious | 11.7 | 37.7 | 32.0 | 9.8 | 8.8 |
| Not serious | 8.6 | 21.3 | 29.6 | 29.1 | 11.4 |

**68.** (US Apr 25 '41) Can you tell me briefly what Colonel Lindbergh's views are on what our country should do about giving aid to Britain? (AIPO)

| | *Apr 25 '41* | *June 7 '41* |
|---|---|---|
| Generally correct | 61% | 55% |
| Incorrect | 2 | 7 |
| No and don't know | 37 | 35 and 3 |

Do you agree, or disagree, with what Lindbergh says? Asked of the 61% of the sample who knew in general what Lindbergh's views were on what our country should do about giving aid to Britain, and of the well-informed 55% of the June 7 '41 sample.

| | *Apr 25 '41* | *June 7 '41* |
|---|---|---|
| Agree | 24% | 12% |
| Disagree | 63 | 39 |
| No opinion | 13 | 4 |

**69.** (US May 6 '41) Do you think President Roosevelt has gone too far in his policies of helping Britain, or not far enough? (AIPO)

| | *Too far* | *About right* | *Not far enough* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 21% | 59% | 20% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 11% | 66% | 23% |
| Republicans | 34 | 49 | 17 |

In what way has President Roosevelt gone too far in his policies of helping Britain? Asked of the 21% of the total sample who thought President Roosevelt had gone too far.

| | |
|---|---|
| Getting us too close to war | 7% |
| We need the materials which we are sending | 4 |
| Hasn't consulted the people | 1 |
| Making promises he can't keep | 1 |
| Spending too much money | 1 |
| We'll have to use our navy to convoy | 2 |
| All others | 3 |
| No answer | 2 |

In what way do you think President Roosevelt has not gone far enough in his policies of helping Britain? Asked of the 20% of the sample who thought Roosevelt had not gone far enough.

| | |
|---|---|
| Should have convoyed long ago | 5% |
| Started helping too late | 3 |
| Not sending enough materials to Britain | 3 |
| Production has not been stepped up enough | 2 |
| All others | 1 |
| Not enough material sent | 5 |
| No answer | 1 |

**70.** (US May 20 '41) So far as you, personally, are concerned, do you think President Roosevelt has gone too far in his policies of helping Britain, or not far enough? (AIPO)

| | *Too far* | *About right* | *Not far enough* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 22% | 48% | 22% | 8% |
| (May 29 '41) | 23 | 55 | 22 | |
| (June 24 '41) | 20 | 57 | 17 | 6 |
| (July 9 '41) | 20 | 55 | 19 | 6 |
| (Aug 19 '41) | 21 | 50 | 22 | 7 |
| (Sept 17 '41) | 27 | 57 | 16 | |

**71.** (US June 24 '41) So far as you, personally, are concerned, do you think the United States has gone too far in helping Britain, or not far enough? (AIPO)

| | *Too far* | *About right* | *Not far enough* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 15% | 46% | 32% | 7% |
| (July 9 '41) | 19 | 49 | 24 | 8 |

**72.** (US June 24 '41) Has the new war between Germany and Russia changed your attitude toward helping Britain? A comparable cross-section was asked "Has the war . . ." Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 12% No 83% No opinion 5%

Are you now more in favor, or less in favor, of aiding Britain? Asked of the 12% of the sample whose attitude had been changed by the new war.

More 8% Less 4%

**73.** (US Aug 5 '41) Should the United States sell war materials to Russia? (AIPO)

Yes 70% No 23% No opinion 7%

**74.** (Great Britain Aug 30 '41) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the amount of help the United States is giving Britain? (BIPO)

Yes 61% No 25% Don't know 14%

**75.** (US Sept 17 '41) In general, do you agree, or disagree, with Lindbergh's viewpoint on aid to Britain and foreign policy? (AIPO)

Agree 15% Disagree 64% No opinion 21%

**76.** (US Oct '41) Do you think we should send China all the military supplies that we can spare? (FOR)

Yes 59.5% No 21.2% Don't know 19.3%

**77.** (US Nov '41) Our defense program is necessary, but it would be better to keep our war materials here instead of sending them to —. Do you agree or disagree? (NORC)

| | *Agree* | *Disagree* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Britain | 34% | 58% | 8% |
| Russia | 35 | 52 | 13 |

**78.** (US June 18 '43) Do you think there is any need for us to send as much war material to Russia as we have in the past? (NORC)

Yes 70% No 15% Don't know 15%

**79.** (US Aug 4 '43) How much of the Russian military equipment would you say is supplied by the United States? About half, about one-fourth, or less than a fourth? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| About half | 35% |
| One-fourth | 30 |
| Less than a fourth | 15 |
| Don't know | 20 |

**80.** (US Aug 4 '43) Which country is sending more tanks and planes to Russia: the United States or England? (NORC)

United States 79% England 8% Don't know 13%

Well, is England sending nearly the same amount or a lot fewer? Asked of the 79% of the sample who thought that

the United States was sending more tanks and planes to Russia than England.

| | |
|---|---|
| Nearly the same amount | 19% |
| A lot fewer | 48 |
| Don't know | 12 |

Well, is the United States sending nearly the same amount or a lot fewer? Asked of the 8% of the sample who thought England was sending more tanks and planes to Russia than the United States.

| | |
|---|---|
| Nearly the same amount | 6% |
| Lot fewer | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |

## Sweden

**1.** (Sweden Feb '44) Which of the commodities that, owing to extraordinary circumstances, you have had to do partly or entirely without do you miss the most? (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Towns* | *Country* | *Upper class* | *Middle class* | *Workers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Sugar | 17 | 10 | 23 | 7 | 16 | 19 |
| Coffee | 17 | 15 | 18 | 14 | 17 | 17 |
| Fats, cream | 12 | 15 | 10 | 19 | 12 | 12 |
| Bread, milk | 8 | 8 | 8 | 1 | 6 | 10 |
| Clothes, shoes | 8 | 8 | 8 | 5 | 6 | 10 |
| Tobacco | 5 | 5 | 4 | 8 | 4 | 4 |
| Eggs | 4 | 7 | 3 | 9 | 4 | 4 |
| Cars, petrol | 4 | 4 | 5 | 8 | 5 | 3 |
| Meat | 2 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 3 |
| Washing materials | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Fodder | 1 | — | 2 | 1 | 3 | — |
| Chocolate | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Other things | 7 | 9 | 6 | 13 | 9 | 5 |
| Nothing | 20 | 21 | 19 | 18 | 21 | 19 |
| Nothing in particular more than anything else | 18 | 19 | 18 | 14 | 18 | 19 |
| Percentages* | 126 | 128 | 127 | 124 | 125 | 128 |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**2.** (Sweden Feb '44) In what way has the crisis troubled you personally? (SGI)

| | *National total* | *Towns* | *Country* | *Upper class* | *Middle class* | *Workers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Military service | 14 | 14 | 14 | 15 | 12 | 15 |
| Lack of materials and commodities | 10 | 12 | 9 | 18 | 11 | 9 |
| Taxation, high prices | 9 | 11 | 8 | 9 | 7 | 11 |
| Working conditions | 6 | 5 | 6 | 8 | 7 | 5 |
| Trouble with ration cards | 4 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 4 |
| Housing situation | 1 | 2 | — | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Other | 3 | 4 | 2 | 9 | 4 | 1 |
| In no way | 29 | 26 | 31 | 16 | 31 | 28 |
| Nothing in particular more than anything else | 27 | 28 | 27 | 25 | 25 | 28 |
| Percentages* | 103 | 105 | 102 | 105 | 103 | 102 |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (Sweden Dec '44) Do you think it desirable to start a Swedish voluntary movement to free Norway? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 26% | 45% | 29% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 31% | 51% | 18% |
| Women | 22 | 38 | 40 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 22% | 53% | 25% |
| Middle class | 22 | 51 | 27 |
| Workers | 31 | 39 | 30 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 32% | 40% | 28% |
| 30–49 years | 26 | 46 | 28 |
| 50–64 years | 23 | 47 | 30 |
| 65 years and over | 24 | 43 | 33 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| North Sweden | 27% | 49% | 24% |
| Dalärna | 31 | 44 | 25 |
| Mälar district | 29 | 34 | 37 |
| Stockholm | 27 | 44 | 29 |
| East Gotland | 22 | 51 | 27 |
| Skåne | 24 | 43 | 33 |
| Bovä | 28 | 47 | 25 |

**4.** (Sweden Dec '44) Would you yourself go as a volunteer should such a movement (to free Norway) materialize? Asked of a national cross-section of men between the ages of 20 and 50 who thought it desirable to start such a movement. (SGI)

| | *Would go* | *Would not go* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 34% | 42% | 24% |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 10% | 80% | 10% |
| Middle class | 22 | 54 | 24 |
| Workers | 40 | 35 | 25 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 20–29 years | 39% | 37% | 24% |
| 30–49 years | 30 | 45 | 25 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| North Sweden | 30% | 60% | 10% |
| Dalärna | 23 | 37 | 40 |
| Mälar district | 21 | 47 | 32 |
| Stockholm | 26 | 48 | 26 |
| East Gotland | 39 | 39 | 22 |
| Skåne | 38 | 37 | 25 |
| Bovä | 51 | 24 | 25 |

**5.** (Sweden Apr '45) If bloody terror should beak out in Denmark or Norway, should Sweden intervene with arms if the Danes or Norwegians wanted her to do so? (SGI)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 33% | 47% | 20% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 40% | 45% | 15% |
| Women | 27 | 48 | 25 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Upper class | 45% | 37% | 18% |
| Middle class | 30 | 50 | 20 |
| Workers | 35 | 45 | 20 |

BY RURAL-URBAN

| | Yes | No | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| Large towns | 49% | 33% | 18% |
| Other towns | 34 | 49 | 17 |
| Country | 29 | 50 | 21 |

**6.** (Sweden June '45) Which commodity have you personally missed most during the war? (SGI)

| | National total | Men | Women | Upper class | Middle class | Workers |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Coffee | 22 | 13 | 31 | 11 | 18 | 26 |
| Sugar | 15 | 10 | 19 | 4 | 14 | 16 |
| Butter, cream | 9 | 6 | 12 | 7 | 8 | 10 |
| Fruit | 7 | 6 | 9 | 11 | 7 | 8 |
| Paraffin oil, petrol | 6 | 10 | 2 | 9 | 7 | 5 |
| Meat | 5 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 6 |
| Tobacco | 3 | 6 | — | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Journeys abroad | 3 | 3 | 2 | 8 | 4 | 1 |
| Bread, flour | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | 1 |
| Clothes, shoes | 1 | — | 1 | 1 | 1 | — |
| Fuel | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Other things | 11 | 15 | 6 | 11 | 10 | 11 |
| Nothing in particular | 10 | 11 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 11 |
| Nothing | 28 | 27 | 28 | 31 | 29 | 27 |
| Percentages* | 122 | 114 | 125 | 110 | 114 | 127 |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one reply.

**7.** (Sweden June '45) Is there anything you have found particularly difficult during the war and which you would now like to get rid of? (SGI)

| | National total | Men | Women | Upper class | Middle class | Workers |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Rationing | 55 | 44 | 65 | 41 | 55 | 56 |
| Defense | 18 | 28 | 9 | 20 | 17 | 19 |
| Taxes | 4 | 5 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 3 |
| Gas (instead of petrol) and traffic difficulties | 2 | 3 | — | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Fuel difficulty | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| Other replies | 11 | 12 | 11 | 22 | 13 | 11 |
| Nothing in particular | 9 | 8 | 10 | 8 | 8 | 11 |
| Nothing | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 5 |
| Percentages* | 106 | 107 | 105 | 108 | 107 | 108 |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one reply.

**8.** (Sweden Aug '45) Are you of the opinion that Sweden, in her relations to Germany and the neighboring countries, has behaved badly during the war, or do you think that we can, on the whole, be proud of our attitude, or that we have behaved at least fairly decently? (SGI)

| | Badly | Fairly decently | Can be proud | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 6% | 49% | 38% | 7% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Women | 4% | 42% | 43% | 11% |
| Men | 9 | 53 | 34 | 4 |

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | Badly | Fairly decently | Can be proud | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Upper class | 3% | 60% | 30% | 7% |
| Middle class | 6 | 50 | 39 | 5 |
| Workers | 7 | 46 | 38 | 9 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | |
| Right party | 4% | 47% | 45% | 4% |
| Liberals | 5 | 54 | 36 | 5 |
| Agrarians | 4 | 54 | 36 | 6 |
| Social democrats | 5 | 45 | 44 | 6 |
| Communists | 25 | 50 | 17 | 8 |

**9.** (Sweden Aug '45) Do you think that we served our own interests and those of the neighboring states as well as possible by the attitude we showed during the war? (SGI)

| | NOT AS WELL AS POSSIBLE | | AS WELL AS POSSIBLE | | DON'T KNOW | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Own interests | Neighbors | Own | Neighbors | Own | Neighbors |
| National total | 3% | 5% | 89% | 83% | 8% | 12% |
| BY SEX | | | | | | |
| Women | 2% | 3% | 85% | 80% | 13% | 17% |
| Men | 3 | 6 | 93 | 85 | 4 | 9 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | | | | |
| Upper class | 4% | 8% | 90% | 85% | 6% | 7% |
| Middle class | 2 | 4 | 91 | 85 | 7 | 11 |
| Workers | 3 | 6 | 87 | 80 | 10 | 14 |
| BY POLITICS | | | | | | |
| Right party | 3% | 4% | 92% | 88% | 5% | 8% |
| Liberals | 4 | 5 | 88 | 84 | 8 | 11 |
| Agrarians | 3 | 4 | 92 | 86 | 5 | 10 |
| Social democrats | 1 | 2 | 92 | 87 | 7 | 11 |
| Communists | 10 | 19 | 82 | 67 | 8 | 14 |

## Territorial Questions

**1.** (US July 15 '42) Here are some statements telling which parts of the world Germany and Japan might try to rule if they win the war. Which one comes closest to your own opinion? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Just their own countries and some of the surrounding territory | 3% |
| The Germans will rule Europe and Africa and the Japanese will rule Asia, leaving North and South America to us | 21 |
| They will divide the whole between them, including the United States | 69 |
| Other | 2 |
| Don't know | 5 |

If the Germans and Japanese should offer us peace on these terms do you think it would be wise to accept them? Asked of the 21% of the sample who thought that if Germany and Japan won the war Germany would rule Europe and Africa, and Japan would rule Asia, leaving North and South America to the United States.

Yes 3% No 17% No opinion 1%

**2.** (US Aug 21 '42) If the United States and her Allies had a chance to make world peace on the basis of both sides not going further, but leaving things as they are now, would you favor or oppose such a peace? (NORC)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 12% | 82% | 6% |
| (Nov 27 '42) | 11 | 84 | 5 |
| (June 18 '43) | 12 | 84 | 4 |

**3.** (Australia May–June '44) Just northeast of New Guinea is the island of New Britain, where the Japs now hold Rabaul. Before the war it was governed by Australia as a League of Nations mandate. Who do you think should govern it after the war—Australia, America, or Australia and America together? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Australia | 49% |
| United States | 2 |
| Both | 42 |
| No opinion | 7 |

**4.** (Australia Nov '44) After the war, whom would you like to see govern the thousands of small Pacific islands between New Guinea and Japan? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| America and British Empire | 13% |
| America and Australia | 12 |
| United Nations | 12 |
| International | 2 |
| America | 22 |
| Australia | 19 |
| British Empire | 11 |
| Other answer | 3 |
| No answer | 6 |

**5.** (Australia Sept–Oct '45) Do you think the Japanese mandates and other Japanese islands in the Pacific should be controlled byAmerica alone, or by America and Britain together, or by the United Nations? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| United Nations | 52 |
| Britain and the United States | 34 |
| United States alone | 8 |
| No opinion | 6 |

**6.** (France June 16 '46) In your opinion, should the city of Trieste go to Yugoslavia or Italy? (FIPO)

| | *Yugoslavia* | *Italy* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 32% | 17% | 51% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Communists | 67% | 5% | 28% |
| Socialists | 42 | 13 | 45 |
| Radical Socialists | 38 | 14 | 48 |
| MRP | 20 | 23 | 57 |
| PRL | 14 | 39 | 47 |

## Territorial Questions (France)

**1.** (France Dec 16 '44) At the peace conference should France demand the annexation of the Saar with its coal mines? (FIPO)

Yes 75% No 15% No opinion 10%

## Territorial Questions (Germany)

**1.** (US Sept 23 '38) Do you think England and France made a mistake in agreeing to Germany's demands on Czechoslovakia? (AIPO)

Yes 52% No 30% No opinion 18%

**2.** (Great Britain Oct '38) Hitler says he has "no more territorial ambitions in Europe." Do you believe him? (BIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| | 7% | 93% |
| (Sept 17 '38) | 8 | 92 |

**3.** (US Oct 1 '38) Do you think that Germany's demand for the annexation of the Sudeten German areas in Czechoslovakia was justified? (AIPO)

Yes 23% No 77%

**4.** (US Oct 1 '38) Do you believe that England and France did the best thing in giving in to Germany instead of going to war over the Sudeten German areas? (AIPO)

Yes 59% No 41%

**5.** (US Aug 17 '39) Would you like to see England, France, and Poland agree to Germany's demands regarding Danzig? (AIPO)

Yes 12% No 88%

**6.** (US Aug 17 '39) Do you think Hitler's claims to Danzig are justified? (AIPO)

Yes 13% No 87%

**7.** (US Aug 17 '39) Do you think Hitler's claims to the Polish Corridor are justified? (AIPO)

Yes 14% No 86%

**8.** (US Sept 11 '39) If Hitler offered to make peace in exchange for part of Poland, should England and France accept? (AIPO)

Yes 16% No 73% No opinion 11%

**9.** (US Sept 11 '39) If Hitler offered to make peace in exchange for all of Poland, should England and France accept? (AIPO)

Yes 12% No 76% No opinion 12%

**10.** (US Oct 3 '39) Hitler says that the Polish question is settled and England and France have no reason to continue the war with Germany. Do you agree? A comparable cross-section was asked: The German government says that the Polish question is settled and England and France have no reason to continue the war with Germany. Do you agree? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 14% No 86% = 100% Don't know 13%

**11.** (US Oct 10 '39) Hitler says that because the Polish question has been settled, the British and French have no real reason for continuing the war. Do you agree or disagree? (AIPO)

Agree 9% Disagree 79% No opinion 12%

**12.** (US Feb 20 '40) If peace could be reached by letting Germany keep Poland, would you favor this? (AIPO)

Yes 30% No 70%

**13.** (US Feb 20 '40) If peace could be reached by letting Germany keep Czechoslovakia, would you favor this? (AIPO)

Yes 38% No 62%

**14.** (US Feb 20 '40) If peace could be reached by letting Germany keep Poland and Czechoslovakia, would you favor this? (AIPO)

Yes 19% No 81% = 100% No opinion 17%

**15.** (US Apr 9 '40) Do you think Germany was justified in marching into Denmark and Norway and Sweden? (AIPO)

Yes 7% No 93% = 100% No opinion 7%

**16.** (US Apr 9 '40) Should the United States do anything about Germany marching into Norway and Denmark? (AIPO)

Yes 21% No 79% No opinion 9%

What [should the United States do about Germany marching into Norway and Denmark]? Asked of the 21% of the sample who thought we should do something about it.

Fight Germany 3.7% Should not fight Germany 96.3%

**17.** (US May 14 '40) Do you think Hitler was justified in attacking Holland and Belgium? A comparable cross-section was asked the question with "Germany" substituted for "Hitler." Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 3% YES 1% No 16% NO 80% = 100%
No opinion 7%

**18.** (US July 20 '40) Do you think Germany will try to get control of the South American countries? (OPOR)

Yes 69% No 15% Don't know 15% No answer 1%

**19.** (US July 20 '40) Suppose it becomes clear that Germany is getting control of the South American countries—do you think the United States should do anything at all about it? (OPOR)

Yes 80% No 9% Don't know 11%

**20.** (US Aug '40) Do you think that the people of South America, as a whole, are as anxious as we are to keep Germany out of the Western Hemisphere? (FOR)

Yes 48.5% No 33.9% Don't know 17.6%

**21.** (US Dec 10 '40) Do you think Germany will try to get control of Central and South American countries? (OPOR)

Yes 50% No 7% No opinion 5% Germany is trying 38%

**22.** (US Dec 10 '40) Do you think it is important for the United States to keep Germany from getting more influence or control over Central and South American countries than she has now? (OPOR)

Yes 93% No 4% No opinion and no answer 3%

**23.** (US Jan 28 '41) Can you remember the names of five countries that Germany has conquered since the war began? (OPOR)

Correct 54% Incorrect and don't know 46%

**24.** (US June 7 '41) If peace could be obtained today on the basis of Germany holding the countries she has conquered so far, and with Britain keeping the British Empire as it now stands, would you be in favor of such a peace? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 29% | 62% | 9% |
| (July 22 '41) | 21 | 71 | 8 |
| (Sept 9 '41) | 19 | 74 | 7 |

**25.** (US July 22 '41) If Germany were to offer peace on the basis that she would keep only the territory won from Russia, and give up France, Scandinavia and other conquered countries, would you favor such a peace? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 34% | 58% | 8% |
| (Sept 9 '41) | 31 | 58 | 11 |

**26.** (US Nov '41) Do you think Germany will try to get control of Central and South American countries in any way? (NORC)

Yes 58.3% No 11.5% Don't know 13%
Doing it already 17.2%

**27.** (US Nov 13 '41) Hitler says he has no interest in South America. Do you believe him? (AIPO)

Yes 4% No 87% No opinion and no answer 9%

**28.** (US Nov 19 '41) If peace could be obtained today on the basis of Britain keeping the British Empire as it now stands, and Germany holding the countries she has conquered so far, would you be in favor of such a peace? (OPOR)

Yes 22% No 69% No opinion 9%

**29.** (US Dec 18 '41) If Hitler offered peace now to all countries on the basis of not going further, but of leaving matters as they are now, would you favor, or oppose, such a peace? (AIPO)

| | *Favor* | *Oppose* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 10% | 86% | 4% |
| (Feb 3 '42) (AIPO) | 8 | 87 | 5 |
| (Mar 26 '42) (AIPO) | 8 | 88 | 4 |
| (May 21 '42) (AIPO) | 6 | 91 | 3 |
| (June 17 '42) (OPOR) | 6 | 90 | 4 |
| (July 15 '42) (OPOR) | 5 | 90 | 5 |
| (Sept 2 '42) (CIPO) | 9 | 86 | 5 |
| (Jan 27 '43) (AIPO) | 4 | 92 | 4 |
| (Aug 17 '43) (AIPO) | 8 | 89 | 3 |

**30.** (US Feb '42) Do you think that, after the war, Germany should be made to give up all, some, or none of the land and things she has taken since 1930? How about Italy? How about Japan? (These questions are asked supposing that the Allies win the war.) (NORC)

| | *All* | *Some* | *None* | *Depends* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Germany | 77% | 15% | 1% | 2% | 5% |
| Italy | 81 | 8 | 2 | 1 | 8 |
| Japan | 83 | 8 | 1 | 1 | 7 |

**31.** (US May 6 '42) Do you think Germany would like to make peace with the United States if we let them keep all the territory they have now? (NORC)

Yes 69% No 22% Don't know and no answer 9%

Do you think it would be a good idea to make peace with them on those terms? Asked of the 69% of the sample who thought Germany would like to make peace with the United States if we let them keep all the territory they have now.

Yes 3% No 64% Don't know and no answer 2%

(US July 1 '42) Do you think Germany would like to make peace with the United States if we let them keep all of the territory they have now?

Yes 55% No 35% Don't know and no answer 10%

Do you think it would be a good idea to make peace with them on those terms?

Yes 3% No 50% Don't know and no answer 2%

Suppose Germany should offer peace on that basis (keeping all of the territory they have now)—do you think it would be a good idea to make peace with them on those terms? Asked of 35% of the sample who thought Germany would not like to make peace with the United States if we let them keep all they have now, and the 10% who did not know whether or not Germany would like such a peace.

Yes 2% No 39% Don't know and no answer 4%

**32.** (US Aug 15 '42) If the German army overthrew Hitler and offered peace now to all countries on the basis of not going farther but of leaving matters as they are now, would you favor or oppose such a peace? (OPOR)

Favor 13% Oppose 81% Undecided 6%

**33.** (US Aug 17 '43) If the German military leaders removed Hitler from office and offered peace to all countries on the basis of not going farther, but of leaving matters as they are now, would you favor or oppose such a peace? (AIPO)

Favor 10% Oppose 84% Undecided 6%

**34.** (Canada Sept 11 '43) If Hitler offered to make peace now, disarm completely, and give up all occupied territory

provided we allow the Nazi party to govern Germany, would you approve or disapprove of making such a peace? (CIPO)

Approve 9% Disapprove 87% No opinion 4%

**35.** (US Oct 6 '43) Suppose that the German army gets rid of Hitler, gives up all the countries Germany has conquered and offers to make peace—if that happens should we make peace, or should we continue the war until the German army is completely defeated? (AIPO)

| | *Make peace* | *Continue* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 24% | 70% | 6% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 19% | 76% | 5% |
| Women | 30 | 64 | 6 |

**36.** (Great Britain Aug '44) In general, do you approve or disapprove of the idea of giving portions of German territory to other countries? (BIPO)

Approve 48% Disapprove 35% Don't know 17%

**37.** (Great Britain Aug '44) Do you approve or disapprove of the idea of giving East Prussia and other parts of eastern Germany to Poland? (BIPO)

Approve 53% Disapprove 25% Don't know 22%

**38.** (US Dec 28 '44) If Hitler offered to make peace now and would give up all land he has conquered, should we try to work out a peace or should we go on fighting until the German army is completely defeated? A comparable cross-section was asked the same question, omitting the word "completely." Results were combined. (AIPO)

Make peace 22% Go on fighting 73% No opinion 5%

## Territorial Questions (Great Britain)

**1.** (US Apr 6 '43) As far as you know, has Germany or Japan taken any territory from Britain in the war? (NORC)

Yes, they have 52% No, they haven't 21% Don't know 27%

After this war, do you think Britain should get back everything she lost? Asked of the 52% of the sample who said Germany or Japan had taken some territory from Britain during the war.

Yes 30% No 17% Don't know 5%

What shouldn't she get back? Asked of 17% of the total sample who thought Britain should not get back all the territory she lost to Germany and Japan.

| | |
|---|---|
| Hong Kong | 2% |
| Other parts of China | 2 |
| Singapore | 2 |
| Burma | 1 |
| Other Pacific or Asiatic (Malaya, Asia, South Seas) | 3 |
| Africa | * |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Any country capable of self-rule not desiring to remain British | 2 |
| Erroneous mention of territory which has not been lost | 1 |
| Any territory she cannot control | 2 |
| Should get nothing back | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 2 |
| | 22%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 17 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

If Britain does lose any land or possessions, do you think she should get it all back after the war? Asked of the 48% of the sample who thought that Germany or Japan had not taken any territory from Britain in this war, or who didn't know whether they had or not.

Yes 32% No 7% Don't know 9%

## Territorial Questions (Hungary)

**1.** (Hungary Jan '46) Is it possible to correct Hungary's boundaries on the basis of ethnographical principles? (HIPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No and don't know* |
|---|---|---|
| Budapest | 49.0% | 51.0% |
| Country | 56.2 | 43.8 |

**2.** (Hungary Jan '46) What boundaries do you expect from the peace treaty? Asked of a cross-section of Budapest residents. (HIPOR)

| | *Trianon* | *Ethnographical* | *Historic (1914)* | *Nagyvarad, Arad, Temesvar, Kolozsvar, Pozsony, Kassa, Szalbadka* | *Other, no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % |
| National total | 37.0 | 49.0 | 4.5 | 5.8 | 3.7 |
| BY SEX AND SOCIAL CLASS | | | | | |
| *Educated classes* | | | | | |
| Men | 31.5 | 49.8 | 2.9 | 3.7 | 4.1 |
| Women | 41.1 | 44.2 | 5.1 | 4.4 | 5.2 |
| *Small bourgeoisie* | | | | | |
| Men | 34.4 | 51.7 | 2.6 | 4.4 | 6.9 |
| Women | 33.7 | 52.7 | 6.5 | 3.1 | 4.0 |
| *Workers* | | | | | |
| Men | 43.3 | 39.0 | 5.3 | 5.3 | 7.1 |
| Women | 40.3 | 46.0 | 6.8 | 3.9 | 3.0 |

BY COUNTRY TOWNS AND VILLAGES IN SPECIFIC AREAS

| | *Trianon* | *Ethnographical* | *Historic (1914)* | *Some or all of the following cities: Szalbadka, Nagyvarad, Arad, Temesvar, Kolozsvar, Pozsony, Kassa* | *Other, no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % |
| Country total | 22.1 | 56.2 | 13.1 | 7.0 | 1.6 |
| Trans Danubia | 20.6 | 57.0 | 12.4 | 7.8 | 2.2 |
| Area between Danube and Tisza | 36.0 | 43.2 | 15.0 | 4.5 | 1.3 |
| North | 14.0 | 63.1 | 11.2 | 10.4 | 1.3 |

**3.** (Hungary Mar '46) Is it possible to correct Hungary's boundaries on the basis of ethnographical principles? (HIPOR)

BY SOCIAL STATUS

| | *Yes* | *No and don't know* |
|---|---|---|
| Educated class | 40.8% | 59.2% |
| Small bourgeoisie | 45.7 | 54.3 |
| Workers | 48.2 | 51.8 |
| Farmers | 64.3 | 35.7 |

## Territorial Questions (Italy)

**1.** (US Dec 2 '42) If we make peace with Italy, would you be in favor of returning all or nearly all the possessions Italy held in Africa at the start of the war? (AIPO)

Yes 17% No 61% No opinion 22%

## Territorial Questions (Japan)

**1.** (US Aug 16 '38) In the current boundary dispute between Japan and Russia, with which side do you sympathize? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Japan | 5% |
| Russia | 57 |
| Neither | 38 |
| No opinion | (21) |

**2.** (US Dec 11 '40) Do you think Japan will try to seize possession of Singapore and the Dutch East Indies? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 41% |
| No | 25 |
| Don't know | 33 |
| No answer | 1 |

**3.** (US Dec 11 '40) Do you think the United States should try to keep Japan from seizing the Dutch East Indies and Singapore? (OPOR)

Yes 56% No 24% No opinion 20%

Do you think the United States should risk war, if necessary, in order to keep Japan from taking the Dutch East Indies and Singapore? Asked of the 76% of the sample who thought the United States should try to restrain Japan or who were undecided about it.

Yes 39% No 46% No opinion 15%

Would you change your mind about this if you could be sure the United States could prevent Japan from seizing the Dutch East Indies and Singapore without a long and costly war? Asked of the 24% of the sample who did not think the United States should restrain Japan.

Yes 32% No 56% No opinion 12%

(US Feb 14 '41) Do you think the United States should try to keep Japan from seizing the Dutch East Indies and Singapore? (AIPO)

Yes 56% No 19% No opinion 24% No answer 1%

**4.** (US Dec 11 '40) Do you think the interests of the United States would be threatened if Japan took Singapore and the Dutch East Indies? (OPOR)

Yes 60% No 21% No opinion 19%

In what way? Asked of the 60% of the sample who thought the interests of the United States would be threatened in such a case.

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, no comment | 6% |
| Would hurt US trade with Far East | 11 |
| Our commercial interests in Far East would be threatened | 6 |
| Would be cut off from supplies | 9 |
| Would encourage Japan to further expansion | 7 |
| Endanger Philippines and Hawaii | 8 |
| Japan would establish bases too close to US | 3 |
| Might involve us in war | 1 |
| Would threaten military security of US | 3 |
| Because it would give Japan an advantage over us | 3 |
| Would be another victory for Germany (Axis) | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |

**5.** (US Feb 23 '42) If Japan offers peace on the basis of not going farther but of leaving matters as they are now, would you favor or oppose such a peace? (AIPO)

Favor 10% Oppose 81% No opinion 9%

**6.** (US May 6 '42) Do you think Japan would like to make peace with the United States if we let them keep all the territory they have now? (NORC)

Yes 42% No 45% Don't know and no answer 13%

Do you think it would be a good idea to make peace with them on those terms? Asked of the 42% of the sample who thought Japan would like to make peace with the United States if we let them keep all the territory they have now.

Yes 2% No 39% Don't know and no answer 1%

(US July 1 '42) Do you think Japan would like to make peace with the United States if we let them keep all the territory they have now?

Yes 39% No 48% Don't know and no answer 13%

Do you think it would be a good idea to make peace with them on those terms? Asked of the 39% of the sample who thought Japan would like to make peace with the United States if we let them keep all the territory they have now.

Yes 2% No 36% Don't know and no answer 1%

Suppose Japan should offer peace on that basis—do you think it would be a good idea to make peace with them on those terms? Asked of the 61% of the sample who thought that Japan would not like to make peace with the United States if we let them keep all the territory they have now, or who didn't know whether she would or not.

Yes 3% No 53% Don't know 5%

(US June 18 '43) Do you think Japan would like to make peace with the United States if we let them keep all the territory they have now?

Yes 42% No 45% Don't know 13%

Do you think it would be a good idea to make peace with them on those terms? Asked of the 42% of the sample who thought Japan would like to make peace with the United States if we let them keep all the territory they have now.

Yes 2% No 39% Don't know 1%

Suppose Japan should offer to make peace on that basis—do you think it would be a good idea to make peace with them on those terms? Asked of the 58% of the sample who didn't think Japan would like to make peace with the United States if we let them keep all the territory they have now, or who didn't know whether she would or not.

Yes 3% No 49% Don't know 6%

**7.** (Great Britain June 12 '45) If the Japs offered to stop fighting and give up all territory they have conquered, so long as we stay out of Japan itself, should we refuse or accept the offer? (BIPO)

| | *Accept* | *Refuse* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 23% | 63% | 14% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 23% | 70% | 7% |
| Women | 24 | 55 | 21 |
| BY AGE | | | |
| 21–29 years | 23% | 65% | 12% |
| 30–49 years | 24 | 65 | 11 |
| 50 years and over | 23 | 60 | 17 |
| BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | | |
| Higher income | 12% | 84% | 4% |
| Middle income | 28 | 62 | 10 |
| Lower income | 23 | 62 | 15 |

**8.** (US June 27 '45) If Japan were to agree to move her troops out of China and the Pacific islands and stay in her own homeland, should we make peace with her or should we go on fighting although it may mean the loss of several hundred thousand American soldiers? (AIPO)

Make peace 37% Go on fighting 56% No opinion 7%

**9.** (US Oct 4 '45) Do you think the United Nations should or should not take away from Japan all her territories except for her home islands? (NYHT)

Should 67.2% Should not 15.3% Don't know 17.5%

## Territorial Questions (Netherlands)

**1.** (Netherlands June '46) Do you think Holland should annex a part of Germany or not? (NIPO)

Yes 41% No 31% Don't know 28%

Why? Asked of 41% of the sample who thought Holland should annex a part of Germany.

| | |
|---|---|
| Reparation of Dutch losses | 24% |
| Practical advantages for Holland | 8 |
| "Revanche" | 6 |
| To avoid another war with Germany | 1 |
| No motive given | 2 |

Why? Asked of the 31% of the sample who did not think that Holland should annex a part of Germany.

| | |
|---|---|
| Annexations foster war | 19% |
| Share no territory with Germans. Germany should stay Germany | 3 |
| First rebuild Holland, plenty to do at home, etc. | 2 |
| Other ways, more peaceful means for reparations | 1 |
| No reasons given | 6 |

## Territorial Questions (Russia)

**1.** (US Sept 19 '39) Do you think Russia was justified in marching troops into Poland? (AIPO)

Yes 11% No 69% No opinion 20%

**2.** (US Nov '43) Do you think Russia will want more territory after the war than she had before the war started? (NORC)

Yes 59% No 24% Don't know 17%

What territory do you think Russia will want? Asked of the 59% of the sample who thought that Russia would want more territory after the war than she had before the war started.

| | |
|---|---|
| Poland | 24% |
| Germany | 5 |
| Finland | 8 |
| Balkan states | 9 |
| Baltic states | 8 |
| Czechoslovakia | 0.5 |
| Same as before 1918 | 3.5 |
| China or Far East | 1 |
| Borderland countries | 2 |
| Other | 9 |
| Don't know | 13 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 84%* |

* Percentages add to more than 59% as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (US Nov '43) Do you think Russia should have more territory than she had before the war? (NORC)

Yes 27% No 56% Don't know 17%

**4.** (US Nov '43) If Russia wants some land that belonged to Poland before the war, do you think the United States and the other Allied countries should try to stop her from getting it? (NORC)

Yes 39% No 38% Don't know 23%

**5.** (US Jan 18 '44) Have you heard or read anything about the argument between Russia and Poland over the Polish border? (AIPO)

Yes 67% No 33%

In this argument, are your sympathies with the Poles or the Russians? Asked of the 67% of the sample who had read or heard about the argument over the Polish border.

Poles 41% Russians 29% Don't know 30%

**6.** (Sweden Apr '44) If the Russians win, do you think that, on the whole, they will be content with their frontiers of 1941, or do you think they intend to take a larger slice of Europe? (SGI)

| | *1941 frontiers* | *Larger slice of Europe* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 25% | 45% | 30% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 33% | 45% | 22% |
| Women | 18 | 44 | 38 |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Social Democrats | 31% | 41% | 28% |
| Communists | 55 | 35 | 10 |

**7.** (Great Britain Mar '45) Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin have agreed that Poland's boundary with Russia should be roughly the same as the Allies laid down after the last war. Do you approve or disapprove? (BIPO)

Approve 24% Disapprove 15% Don't know 24%

**8.** (US Sept '45) Which one of these do you think is the most important reason behind Russia's interest in the countries lying along her borders? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| She wants to spread Communism | 25.6% |
| She needs things they can produce | 16.4 |
| She wants to be able to count on them in case of attack | 29.4 |
| She wants to improve conditions for people in those countries | 8.7 |
| Don't know | 19.9 |

## Territorial Questions (U.S.)

**1.** (July 3 '40) If Germany defeats England, should the United States take immediate possession of the English, French, and Dutch territories in the area of the Panama Canal? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 87% | 13% | (13%) |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 89% | 11% | |
| Republicans | 86 | 14 | |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic | 87% | 13% | |
| East central | 84 | 16 | |
| West central | 87 | 13 | |
| South | 94 | 6 | |
| West | 88 | 12 | |

**2.** (US Dec 11 '40) Do you think the United States should try to obtain permission from the British government to use naval bases at Singapore and in Australia and New Zealand? (OPOR)

Yes 55% No 29% No opinion 16%

**3.** (US Aug '41) Do you think it would be a good or bad idea to take over ——— now before any other power can get it? Asked of all persons who were in favor of defending an area or any specific place within the area. (FOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Iceland | 68.7% | 31.3% |
| Azores | 65.2 | 34.8 |
| Dakar | 56.9 | 43.1 |
| West Indies | 55.4 | 44.6 |
| Dutch East Indies | 55.1 | 44.9 |
| Singapore | 50.1 | 49.9 |
| Central America | 48.1 | 51.9 |
| Top of South America | 45.6 | 54.4 |
| Mexico | 44.8 | 55.2 |
| South America, above Bulge | 42.6 | 57.4 |
| Australia | 38.3 | 61.7 |
| South America, below Bulge | 36.1 | 63.9 |

**4.** (US Dec '41) Should we, or should we not, get either some foreign territory or trade rights in other countries in return for whatever we do to beat Hitler? (FOR)

Yes 61.6% No 24.6% Don't know 13.8%

**5.** (US Feb '42) This question was asked supposing that the Allies win the war: Which of these four statements comes closest to what you think the United States should do about new land and possessions in the world? (a) The United States should give up all the land outside of the United States that is difficult to defend. (b) The United States should be satisfied with the amount of land in the world she has now. (c) The United States should try to get military bases only. (d) The United States should try to get as much new land in the world as she can. (e) Don't know. (NORC)

| | *Statement a* | *Statement b* | *Statement c* | *Statement d* | *Statement e* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 9% | 38% | 32% | 13% | 8% |
| (Jan '43) | 7.4 | 41.1 | 36.6 | 9.5 | 5.4 |
| (June '43) | 8 | 36 | 41 | 9 | 6 |
| (Mar '45) | 7 | 26 | 50 | 11 | 6 |
| (Nov '45) | 8 | 24 | 51 | 10 | 7 |

**6.** (US Feb 14 '42) If the Allies win the war, do you think the United States should be satisfied to get back just the territory we had before (including the Philippines), or do you think we ought to get some more territory? (NORC)

Same 74% More 21% Don't know 5%

**7.** (US Apr 6 '43) After the war is over, do you think we ought to keep Guadalcanal and the other territories in the Pacific that we have conquered? (NORC)

Yes 61% No 24% Don't know 15%

**8.** (US Apr 6 '43) Do you think we should keep any bases in Africa after the war? (NORC)

Yes 61% No 27% Don't know 12%

**9.** (US Apr 6 '43) Who would you say owned Guadalcanal before the war? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| England | 11% |
| Dutch | 6 |
| United States | 5 |
| Japan | 4 |
| Australia | 2 |
| All others | 3 |
| Independent | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 69 |
| | 101%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**10.** (Australia May–June '43) Would you favor—or oppose—letting the United States Air Force and Navy use bases in Australia after the war? (APOP)

| | |
|---|---|
| Favor United States using bases: | |
| On lease | 47% |
| Permanent | 23 |
| Undecided on terms | 7 |
| Oppose United States using our bases | 15 |
| Undecided | 8 |

**11.** (US June '43) Do you think the United States should come out of this war with more military bases outside this country than we had before the war? (FOR)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 84.0% | 8.1% | 7.9% |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | |
| Well-informed | 89.1% | 8.9% | 2.0% |
| Poorly informed | 87 0 | 8.6 | 4.4 |
| Uninformed | 77.1 | 6.9 | 16.0 |

**12.** (US June '43) Aside from military bases, do you think the United States should or should not come out of this war with more territory under our control than when we went into the war? (FOR)

| | *Should* | *Should not* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 30.9% | 59.6% | 9.5% |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | |
| Well-informed | 18.9% | 78.5% | 2.6% |
| Poorly informed | 30.0 | 63.5 | 6.5 |
| Uninformed | 42.7 | 39.0 | 18.3 |

**13.** (US Apr 25 '44) After the war, should the United States keep all of the Japanese islands which we conquer between Hawaii and the Philippines? (AIPO)

Yes 69% No 17% Undecided 14%

**14.** (Australia May–June '44) At present Americans are using a number of bases on Pacific islands near Australia. Do you think America should be free to use those bases after the war? (APOP)

Yes 66% No 18% Undecided 16%

**15.** (Australia May–June '44) It has been suggested we should let the American air force and navy use bases in Australia after the war. Do you favor, or oppose, that suggestion? (APOP)

Favor 65% Oppose 20% No opinion 15%

Should it be a lease for, say, 25 years—or a permanent right? Asked of the 65% of those who favored letting the American air force and navy use bases in Australia after the war.

On lease 46% Permanent 19%

**16.** (US Aug 22 '45) Should the United States keep, for military bases, all of the islands which belonged to Japan in the Pacific, or should these be returned to Japan at some future date? (AIPO)

Keep 78% Return 12% Don't know 10%

**17.** (US Aug 22 '45) The United States conquered many islands in the Pacific which Japan seized from such countries as England, France, and Holland. Do you think we should keep as many of these islands as we need for military bases, or should we return all of them to our Allies? (AIPO)

Keep some 66% Return all 24% Don't know 10%

**18.** (Australia Feb–Mar '46) Would you favor or oppose America taking over Manus Island permanently for use as a base? (APOP)

Favor 42% Oppose 45% No opinion 13%

**19.** (US Sept 25 '46) Do you think we should keep the air and naval bases which we have in the Pacific, or should we turn them over to the United Nations? (AIPO)

Keep 76% Turn over 12% No opinion 12%

## Underground Movements

**1.** (France Oct '44) How important do you think was the role played by the FFI in liberating Paris? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | *Very important* | *Fairly important* | *Not important* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 62% | 30% | 7% | 1% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | |
| Workers | 74% | 22% | 4% | — |
| White-collar | 65 | 28 | 5 | 2% |
| Business | 57 | 31 | 11 | 1 |
| Living on income | 56 | 32 | 12 | — |
| Professional | 50 | 38 | 11 | 1 |
| Housewives | 54 | 36 | 8 | 2 |

**2.** (France Oct 1 '44) What should be done now with the Paris forces of the FFI? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Total mobilization | 52% |
| Mobilization of part (volunteers and those eligible for the draft) | 24 |
| Other public employees (police, militia, etc.) | 14 |
| Disbandment (return home) | 12 |
| Don't know | 4 |
| | 106%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**3.** (France Oct 1 '44) How many members of the FFI would you say there were in Paris? Asked of a cross-section of Parisians. (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| 5,000 at the most | 6% |
| 6,000–20,000 | 21 |
| 21,000–80,000 | 30 |
| More than 81,000 | 18 |
| Don't know | 25 |

**4.** (France Dec 1 '44) It has been decided to disband the patriotic militia groups. Do you approve of this decision? (FIPO)

Yes 63% No 24% No opinion 13%

**5.** (France Jan 16 '45) Do you approve of the Pierlot government's attitude toward the Belgian resistance?* (FIPO)

Yes 29% No 45% No opinion 26%

* On November 16, 1944, the Belgian government, headed by M. Pierlot, ordered dissolution and disarmament of Belgian resistance groups, precipitating a severe crisis.

**6.** (France Jan '45) Do you think the local and departmental liberation committees have been useful? (FIPO)

Yes 58% No 19% No opinion 23%

These figures were released in *Sondages* Feb 16 '48.

## U.S.

**1.** (US Mar '40) Do you think you, personally, would be affected if the United States went into the European war? (OPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 84% | 10.5% | 5.5% |
| (May 29 '40) | 83 | 11 | 6 |

**2.** (US Mar 7 '41) Do you think labor union leaders are helping the national defense production program as much as they should? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 18% | 68% | 14% |
| (May 29 '41) | | | |
| National total | 12% | 78% | 10% |
| BY OCCUPATION | | | |
| Professional and business | 8% | 86% | 6% |
| White-collar | 10 | 83 | 7 |
| Skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labor | 19 | 70 | 11 |
| Farm group | 7 | 80 | 13 |

**3.** (US Mar 7 '41) Do you think industrial (business) leaders are helping the national defense program as much as they should? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 51% | 31% | 18% |
| (May 29 '41) | 42 | 41 | 17 |

**4.** (US Mar 7 '41) Which do you think is trying harder to help national defense production—labor union leaders, or industrial leaders? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Labor union leaders | 10% |
| Industrial leaders | 56 |
| Both the same | 16 |
| No opinion | 18 |

**5.** (US May 6 '41) Do you think the government in Washington is doing everything it possibly can to further production for national defense? A comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think the Roosevelt administration is doing everything it possibly can to further production for national defense? Results were combined. (AIPO)

Yes 61% No 30% No opinion 9%

What should be done (by the government to further production for national defense)? Asked of the 30% of the sample who did not think the government (Roosevelt administration) was doing everything possible to further defense production.

| | |
|---|---|
| Prohibit strikes | 15% |
| Crack down on labor and unions | 4 |
| Get more efficient men for defense management | 1 |
| Eliminate graft and politics from defense management | 1 |
| Draft industry and labor to increase production | 1 |
| Get rid of Perkins | 1 |
| Speed up industry | 1 |
| All others | 4 |
| President should declare state of emergency | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |

**6.** (US May '41) How do you rate the effort for national defense, as it now looks? Asked of a national cross-section of executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| It is as efficient and swift as could reasonably be expected | 7.2% |
| It has been slow in getting started, but it will soon hit a satisfactory stride | 43.0 |
| It is spotty and unsatisfactory over considerable areas | 18.1 |
| The effort as a whole is seriously behind where it ought to be | 16.6 |
| Not competent to judge | 11.1 |
| No answer | 4.0 |

**7.** (US May '41) If you consider lack of reasonably adequate military planning in Washington a major or secondary factor, which of the following is to blame? Asked of a national cross-section of business executives. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| The general setup of the defense administration | 31.7% |
| Undue congressional inefficiency and delay | 17.3 |
| The War Department | 16.0 |
| Slowness of normal congressional action in making appropriations and the like | 10.0 |
| Just know there's something wrong there | 8.9 |
| The Navy Department | 7.7 |
| Other | 3.9 |
| No answer | 4.5 |

**8.** (US July 9 '41) Do you approve, or disapprove, of the government's action in taking over the defense of Iceland? (AIPO)

| | *Approve* | *Disapprove* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 61% | 22% | 17% |
| (July 10 '41) | 67 | 16 | 17 |

**9.** (US July 29 '41) If the United States does enter the war against Germany and Italy, do you think we would send our army to Europe to fight before the war is over? (AIPO)

Yes 65% No 24% No opinion 11%

**10.** (US July 29 '41) Do you happen to know where Dakar is? The 16.6% of the sample who knew were then asked: Would you approve, or disapprove, of sending troops to Africa to capture Dakar from France in order to be sure that Germany will not obtain it? (AIPO)

Approve 36% Disapprove 53% No opinion 11%

**11.** (US Aug '41) If we were actually in the war and the government put these things into effect, which would you do willingly, which would you do unwillingly, and which would you want to fight against? (The figures that are given as answers to these questions have been adjusted to eliminate respondents to whom they did not apply. For example, people having no automobiles are not included in the question on gasoline, women having no aluminum kitchenware are left out of that question, and retired people were not tabulated in questions about shifting to defense jobs. (FOR)

| | *Do willingly* | *Do unwillingly* | *Fight* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Asked of men and women* | | | | |
| Pay double the present taxes on luxuries such as movies, tobacco, liquor, etc. | 77.7% | 14.2% | 3.9% | 4.2% |
| Pay a general sales tax on everything you buy | 74.5 | 15.7 | 5.0 | 4.8 |
| Cut down your gasoline consumption by one-third | 74.5 | 15.6 | 6.8 | 3.1 |
| Support a national prohibition law | 39.7 | 17.5 | 32.8 | 10.0 |
| Support a change in income tax requirement to include all incomes over $500 a year | 38.0 | 27.3 | 22.7 | 12.0 |
| *Asked of men* | | | | |
| Spend one day a week in training for home defense | 88.9 | 6.3 | 2.5 | 2.3 |
| Draft you into the armed forces for possible service abroad | 53.3 | 25.0 | 18.8 | 2.9 |
| *Asked of men and employed women* | | | | |
| Work sixty hours a week | 78.6 | 13.8 | 5.5 | 2.1 |
| Move you from your present job into a defense job in the same community but with poorer pay and prospects | 49.3% | 30.4% | 15.0% | 5.3% |
| *Asked of women* | | | | |
| Spend one day a week in Red Cross work | 88.9 | 6.5 | 1.5 | 3.1 |
| Give up your aluminum pots and pans | 79.2 | 14.9 | 4.8 | 1.1 |
| Move your husband from his present job into a defense job in the same community but with poorer pay and prospects | 37.8 | 35.1 | 18.6 | 8.5 |
| Draft your son into the armed forces for possible service abroad | 37.9 | 36.3 | 22.2 | 3.6 |
| Draft your husband into the armed forces for possible service abroad | 26.7 | 36.6 | 32.1 | 4.6 |

**12.** (US Sept 9 '41) Have you had to make any personal sacrifices as a result of the war? (AIPO)

Yes 26% No 74%

What personal sacrifices have you made or what things have you done without [as a result of the war]? Asked of the 26% of the sample who had made personal sacrifices as a result of the war.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Sacrifices of an economic nature* | |
| High price of food | 5% |
| High price of clothing | 3 |
| High cost of living (not specific) | 5 |
| Cannot afford some wants | 2 |
| Use of car limited | 2 |
| Can't get something due to shortages | 1 |
| Done without some entertainment | 1 |
| Business affected by shortages of materials | 1 |
| Can't get labor | 1 |
| Employment hard to keep because of materials shortage | 1 |
| Paid extra taxes | 1 |
| Longer working hours | 1 |
| Son, relatives or self in service | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| Undesignated | 3 |
| | 32%* |

* Percentages add to more than 26 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**13.** (US Sept 9 '41) Do you think you will have to make (more) sacrifices next year? (AIPO)

Yes 76% No 12% Don't know 12%

**14.** (US Nov 5 '41) It has been suggested that Congress pass a resolution declaring that a state of war exists between the United States and Germany. Would you favor, or oppose, such a resolution at this time? (AIPO)

Favor 26% Oppose 63% No opinion 11%

**15.** (US Nov 19 '41) In general, do you feel that any of the following people are doing less than any others for national defense? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Farmers | 2% |
| Negroes | 4 |
| Jews | 7 |
| Foreign-born | 15 |
| Protestants | * |

| | |
|---|---|
| Catholics | 2% |
| People on relief | 15 |
| Factory workers | 9 |
| Labor leaders | 55 |
| Business men | 5 |
| Wealthy people | 3 |
| Any others | 12 |
| None of these groups | 17 |
| Can't read | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |
| Don't know | 9 |
| | 157%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**16.** (US Nov 25 '41) Do you think a war between our country and Japan would be a difficult one for us, or a comparatively easy one? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Difficult | 35% |
| Easy | 48 |
| Qualified answers | 3 |
| No opinion | 14 |

**17.** (US Dec 10 '41) Should President Roosevelt have asked Congress to declare war on Germany, as well as on Japan? (AIPO)

Yes 90% No 7% No opinion 3%

**18.** (US Dec 10 '41) Do you think the war against Japan will be a difficult one for us, or a comparatively easy one? (AIPO)

Difficult 64% Easy 26% No opinion 10%

**19.** (US Dec 18 '41) So far, are you satisfied, or dissatisfied with the government's conduct of the war against Japan? (AIPO)

Satisfied 82% Dissatisfied 12% No opinion 6%

(Feb 3 '42)

| | |
|---|---|
| Satisfied | 85% |
| No opinion | 8 |
| Dissatisfied: | |
| We were insufficiently prepared, not alert at Pearl Harbor | 5 |
| Too slow in getting started, Japs are getting the best of us | 5 |
| Not getting men and supplies to Far East, letting MacArthur down and helping Russia | 4 |
| We should take offensive, bomb Tokyo | 1 |
| Inefficiency of government, administration, lack of coordination between government agencies | 2 |
| Miscellaneous reason | 3 |
| Dissatisfied but gave no reason | 2 |
| | 115%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

(May 21 '42)

Satisfied 80% Dissatisfied 14% No opinion 6%

Why [are you dissatisfied with the government's conduct of the war against Japan]? Asked of 14% of the sample who were dissatisfied.

| | |
|---|---|
| Haven't made a strong enough offensive, are not aggressive enough | 5% |
| Too slow getting assistance where needed, should send more men and material | 2 |
| Weren't prepared originally for a war | 1 |
| Too slow—not doing anything—not all-out | 2 |
| Inefficient administration, too much red tape, too many bureaus | 1% |
| Sending too much aid to Russia and England, not enough against Japan | 1 |
| Other answers and no answer | 2 |

**20.** (US Dec 19 '41) So far, what is your opinion about the government's conduct of the war against Japan? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Approve, just right | 25% |
| All right, good | 32 |
| Too slow, not enough action | 12 |
| Poor, not as good as should be | 6 |
| Very poor | 2 |
| Unprepared, etc | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Don't know | 17 |

**21.** (Great Britain Dec 19 '41) From your own experiences, what would you say are the best preparations an American, living in the United States, can make in case this is a long war? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Put every effort into your work. Do your best toward securing an early victory. Volunteer for war work immediately. See that there are plenty of munitions. Be prepared to make all necessary sacrifices for the war effort | 23% |
| Get in stocks of food, clothing, household requisites, business supplies | 15 |
| Cut down expenses to a minimum. Conserve financial resources. Cut out luxuries. Lend as much as possible in war savings. Live simply. Get used to doing without things | 14 |
| ARP. Provide efficient shelters. Insist on efficient ARP services. Get efficient blackout from the start. Prepare accommodation in case bombed out | 11 |
| Save everything possible. Avoid waste. Throw nothing away | 7 |
| Keep fit. Keep calm. Don't worry. Don't listen to rumors. Be prepared to take the rough with the smooth. Don't talk too much | 7 |
| Insist on immediate rationing and proper distribution of food. Avoid black markets | 6 |
| Evacuate children and old people from danger areas. Decentralize | 4 |
| Produce extra food. Prepare garden to grow more food | 3 |
| Proper use of manpower. Immediate conscription of manpower | 2 |
| Price control and wage stabilization. Adequate living wage. Adequate allowances and pay for soldiers | 2 |
| Insist on state control for everything | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |

**22.** (US Dec 24 '41) Which of these two statements comes closest to how you feel we should now fight the war against Germany? Each respondent was handed a card with the two statements on it. (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Cooperate with Britain and Russia to hurt Germany wherever we can do it | 70% |
| Concentrate on building up our home defenses so as to be able to fight off Germany if she attacks us | 25 |
| Don't know | 5 |

**23.** (US Jan 5 '42) Which do you think is more important in our war against the Axis—the Philippines or Singapore? (NORC)

Philippines 33% Singapore 57% Don't know 10%

**24.** (US Jan 23 '42) Do you think the United States is doing all it [possibly] can toward winning the war? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 78% | 17% | 5% |
| BY POLITICS | | | |
| Democrats | 82% | 15% | 3% |
| Republicans | 69 | 24 | 7 |
| BY EDUCATION | | | |
| Grammar school only | 82% | 11% | 7% |
| High-school education | 80 | 15 | 5 |
| College education | 62 | 33 | 5 |

What more could we [the United States] do [towards winning the war]? Asked of the 17% of the sample who thought the United States was not doing all it could to win the war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Make better use of labor and production facilities, work longer hours, stop strikes | 3% |
| Cut out graft and red-tape; get better administrative direction, more business men like Donald Nelson | 3 |
| Psychological attitude is wrong. We need all-out effort, less disagreement, more sacrifices | 3 |
| Increase production, mobilize production, make huge amounts of equipment, build more planes | 3 |
| Send more men and equipment to the Far East | 1 |
| Strike at the enemy, take the offensive | 1 |
| President is keeping power centralized in his hands, administration is partial to labor, there should be more delegation of power to executives or industrialists of proven ability | 1 |
| Increase armed forces other than the air force, lower enlistment age for active service to 15, remove restrictions against colored in Navy | * |
| Mind our coasts, keep adequate men and material for the defense of America, have physical training and all-out preparation | * |
| Increase the air force, train boys from 16 to 18 who are interested in aviation, raise age limit for plane pilots | * |
| Put better leaders at the head of the army and navy, military men in place of present army chiefs who are politicians | * |
| One command over all branches of fighting forces, army and navy and marine corps under one head, better coordination between branches of military services | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| No answer | 1 |
| | 17% |

* Less than 0.5%.

(Feb 3 '42) Do you think the United States is doing all it possibly can to win the war? [A comparable cross-section was asked: Do you think the United States is doing all it possibly can to win the war, or do you think there is more which this country could do to win? Results were combined.] (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 71% | 25% | 4% |
| (Feb 23 '42) (AIPO) | 67 | 27 | 6 |
| (Mar 10 '42) (AIPO) | 62 | 33 | 5 |
| (Apr 30 '42) (AIPO) | 78 | 19 | 3 |
| (May 21 '42) (AIPO) | 80 | 17 | 3 |
| (June 3 '42) (OPOR) | 77 | 21 | 2 |

What more do you think we should be doing? Asked of the 21% of the June 3 '42 sample who did not think that the United States was doing all it could do to win the war.

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 1% |
| Work longer hours | 1 |
| Put aside pork barrel projects | * |
| Open a second front | * |
| Help China | 1 |
| Get rid of dollar-a-year men | * |
| Force strikers to work | 3% |
| Do more than is already being done | 4 |
| Increase cooperation | 3 |
| Stop politics | 2 |
| Abolish racial and class differences in the armed forces | * |
| Improve administrative set-up | 2 |
| Train larger armed force | * |
| Protect coast from submarines | * |
| Get rid of appeasers | * |

* Totals 4%.

(June 9 '42) Do you think the United States is doing all it possibly can to win the war? (AIPO)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 81% | 17% | 2% |
| (June 25 '42) (OPOR) | 71 | 28.5 | 0.5 |
| (July 1 '42) (AIPO) | 74 | 23 | 3 |
| (July 14 '42) (AIPO) | 61 | 36 | 3 |
| (Aug 13 '42) (AIPO) | 69 | 26 | 5 |
| (Aug 21 '42) (OPOR) | 69 | 24 | 7 |
| (Aug 22 '42) (BIPO) | 54 | 19 | 27 |
| (Aug 25 '42) (AIPO) | 71 | 26 | 3 |
| (Sept 15 '42) (AIPO) | 67 | 28 | 5 |
| (Sept 29 '42) (AIPO) | 68 | 27 | 5 |
| (Oct 13 '42) (AIPO) | 72 | 24 | 4 |
| (Oct 27 '42) (AIPO) | 67 | 28 | 5 |
| (Nov 10 '42) (AIPO) | 75 | 22 | 3 |
| (Nov 17 '42) (AIPO) | 75 | 22 | 3 |
| (Nov 27 '42) (NORC) | 73 | 22 | 5 |
| (June 18 '43) (NORC) | 69 | 25 | 6 |
| (Apr 8 '44) (NORC) | 71 | 21 | 8 |

**25.** (US Jan 28 '42) Do you feel that anything you yourself are now doing is helping the total United States war effort? (NORC)

Yes 71% No 25% No opinion 4%

**26.** (US Feb '42—see also NYHT Oct 23 '44) Which of these courses of action do you feel the United States should now pursue? (FOR)

| | *National total* | *Pacific coast* |
|---|---|---|
| Concentrate all our efforts on beating Japan as quickly as possible and forget about the war in Europe | 15.6% | 17.5% |
| Direct our main efforts toward beating Japan but keep sending aid to Britain even though it means taking longer to beat Japan | 46.8 | 61.6 |
| Concentrate our main efforts on defeating Hitler and use just enough of our forces on Japan to hold her in check | 25.5 | 15.5 |
| Don't know | 12.1 | 5.4 |

**27.** (US Mar 2 '42) Do you feel that as a whole the people in charge of factories—the executives—are doing all they could right now to help win the war? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 59% | 26% | 15% |
| (May 30 '42) | 67 | 17 | 16 |
| (July 18 '42) | 61 | 22 | 17 |
| (Aug 21 '42) | 66 | 26 | 8 |
| (Nov 27 '42) | 68 | 23 | 9 |
| (June '43) | 65 | 22 | 13 |
| (June 18 '43) | 67 | 25 | 8 |

**28.** (US Mar 2 '42) How about the workers in the factories? [Are they doing all they could right now to help win the war?] (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 57% | 32% | 11% |
| (May 30 '42) | 73 | 17 | 10 |
| (July 18 '42) | 63 | 25 | 12 |
| (Aug 21 '42) | 64 | 30 | 6 |
| (Nov 27 '42) | 69 | 26 | 5 |
| (June '43) | 67 | 27 | 6 |
| (June 18 '43) | 63 | 32 | 5 |

**29.** (US Mar 2 '42) How about the labor leaders? [Are they doing all they could do right now to help win the war?] (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 25% | 55% | 20% |
| (May 30 '42) | 36 | 40 | 24 |
| (July 18 '42) | 28 | 48 | 24 |
| (Aug 21 '42) | 31 | 53 | 16 |
| (Nov 27 '42) | 34 | 49 | 17 |
| (June '43) | 25 | 61 | 14 |

**30.** (US Mar 2 '42) How about the farmers? [Are they doing all they could do right now to help win the war?] (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 67% | 14% | 19% |
| (June '43) | 85 | 8 | 7 |

**31.** (US Mar 2 '42) Are there any [other] groups of people who you feel are not doing as much as they should? (NORC)

Yes 25% Don't know 27% No 47% No answer 1%

**32.** (US Mar 2 '42) Which of these comes closest to the way you feel the war with Japan is going? (NORC)

| | *Mar 2 '42* | *Aug 29 '42* |
|---|---|---|
| We've practically beaten them already | 1% | 4% |
| It may take a little time to beat them, but [the way we're working now] we can't possibly lose | 46 | 71 |
| Unless we work a lot harder (than we are now), we won't beat them at all | 47 | 22 |
| It looks like it's too late—it would take a miracle to overcome the losses we've already had | 2 | 1 |
| Don't know | 4 | 2 |

In what ways would you say we have not been working hard enough? Asked of the 22% of the sample who thought the United States would have to work harder in order to defeat Japan.

| | |
|---|---|
| Public indifference | 7% |
| Labor difficulties | 3 |
| Inadequate expeditionary forces and shipment of supplies | 3 |
| Profiteering and politics | 2 |
| Discrimination against certain groups | * |
| Poor leadership and organization | 2 |
| Shortage of implements to wage war | 3 |
| Tardy and inadequate preparation | 2 |
| Inadequate marshalling of labor forces | * |
| Inadequate concentration of supplies | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 2 |
| | 25%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 22 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

If England and Russia and China were all defeated or forced to make peace, do you think the United States alone would be able to win the war? The 1% of the sample who thought it impossible to defeat Japan were excluded from this question.

Yes 34% No 48% Don't know 17%

**33.** (US Mar 2 '42) Which of these statements comes closest to what you think we ought to do now in the war with Japan? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Withdraw from the Far East and make peace with Japan | 1% |
| Withdraw our forces to Hawaii, Alaska, and our own Pacific coast, and let the Japs carry the war to us | 4 |
| Keep fighting an all-out war against the Japs wherever we can possibly attack them | 88 |
| Don't know | 7 |

**34.** (US Mar 10 '42) Which of the following things do you think this country should do now: (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Keep as much of our army in the United States and as much of our navy near our own shores as is necessary for our protection | 32% |
| Send as much of our army and navy abroad as we can to help defeat Germany and Japan | 58 |
| Don't understand question | 2 |
| No opinion | 8 |

**35.** (US Mar 10 '42) Which of the following things do you think it is more important for this country to do at the present time: (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Keep as much of our army in the United States and as much of our navy near our own shores as is necessary for our own protection | 37% |
| Send as much of our army and navy abroad as we can to help defeat Germany and Japan, even if this means greatly reducing the defenses within our own country and along our coasts | 53 |
| Don't understand question | 2 |
| No opinion | 8 |

**36.** (US Mar 26 '42) Do you think we are now doing all we can to defeat Japan and Germany, or could we be doing more? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Doing all we can | 45% |
| Could be doing more | 48 |
| No opinion | 7 |

What more could we be doing? Asked of the 48% of the sample who felt that the United States could be doing more to defeat Germany and Japan.

| | |
|---|---|
| General internal suggestions | 9% |
| Financial | 1 |
| Federal government | 3 |
| Internal organization | 4 |
| Production | 11 |
| Production—labor problems | 9 |
| Military suggestions | 5 |
| Scapegoat solutions | * |
| Religious solutions | * |
| Favor special groups | * |
| No comment | 1 |
| Don't know | * |
| Words but no suggestion | 4 |
| Fractions represented by an * add up to | 1 |

**37.** (US Mar 26 '42) Which of these two things do you think the United States should do: (OPOR)

| | *Mar 26 '42* | *June 17 '42* |
|---|---|---|
| Send most of our army abroad to fight the enemy wherever they are | 55% | 60% |
| Keep most of our army at home to protect the United States | 28 | 25 |
| Qualified answers | 11 | — |
| No opinion | 6 | 7 |
| No answer | — | 1 |

**38.** (Mar 26 '42) Are there any people or groups here in the United States that you feel are taking unfair advantage of the war to get money or power for themselves? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, some | 27% |
| Labor leaders, union, labor, factory workers | 11 |
| Farmers | 1 |
| Politicians, government | 3 |
| Businessmen, industry, capital | 12 |
| Rich people | 1 |
| Jews | 1 |
| Foreign-born | 1 |
| Storekeepers | 1 |
| Other | 1 |
| None | 22 |
| No opinion, don't know | 6 |
| No answer | 18 |
| | 105%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**39.** (US Mar 26 '42) Do you think any of these groups are taking unfair advantage of the war to get money or power for themselves? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Farmers | 6% |
| Negroes | 1 |
| Jews | 13 |
| Foreign-born | 9 |
| Protestants | * |
| Catholics | 1 |
| People on relief | 7 |
| Factory workers | 15 |
| Labor leaders | 53 |
| Congressmen | 18 |
| Businessmen | 25 |
| Wealthy people | 22 |
| None | 15 |
| Everybody | * |
| No opinion | 7 |
| Can't read | 1 |
| No answer | 4 |
| | 197%** |

* Less than 1%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**40.** (US Mar 28 '42) Granting that it's important for us to fight the Axis every place we can, which do you think is more important for the United States to do right now? (NORC)

| | *Mar 28 '42* | *June 17 '42* |
|---|---|---|
| Put most of our effort into fighting Japan | 62% | 37% |
| Put most of our effort into fighting Germany | 21 | 46 |
| Don't know | 17 | 14 |
| Both | | 1 |
| No answer | | 2 |

**41.** (US Mar 31 '42) Do you think business and industry are going all-out to win the war? (AIPO)

Yes 58% No 33% No opinion 9%

**42.** (US Mar 31 '42) Do you think labor unions are going all-out to win the war? (AIPO)

Yes 37% No 50% No opinion 13%

**43.** (US Mar 31 '42) Do you think farmers are going all-out to win the war? (AIPO)

Yes 69% No 12% No opinion 19%

**44.** (US Apr 28 '42) Suppose you were given the job of trying to reach the most people to tell them how they could help win the war. Which of these ways do you think would be best; which would be next best; or can you think of a better way to reach them? (NORC)

| | *Best* | *Next best* |
|---|---|---|
| Newsreels | 5% | 7% |
| News broadcasts | 20 | 22 |
| Front page newspaper stories | 11 | 18 |
| Editorials in newspapers and magazines | 2 | 4 |
| Advertisements in newspapers and magazines | 1 | 2 |
| Radio speeches by the President | 42 | 14 |
| Radio speeches by other government officials | 3 | 9 |
| Dramatized radio programs | 3 | 4 |
| Short radio announcements between programs | 7 | 10 |
| Don't know | 6 | 10 |

Can think of a better way 7% Cannot 87% No answer 6%

**45.** (US May 21 '42) So far, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the government's conduct of the war against Germany? (AIPO)

Satisfied 81% Dissatisfied 12% No opinion 7%

Why [are you dissatisfied with the government's conduct of the war against Germany]? Asked of the 12% of the sample who were dissatisfied.

| | |
|---|---|
| Not aggressive enough, should establish a second front | 4% |
| Not stopping submarine activities, Germans are having too many submarine successes off our coast | 2 |
| Too slow, not doing anything | 2 |
| Inefficient administration | 1 |
| Other reasons | 2 |
| No answer | 1 |

**46.** (US May '42) Do you feel that on the whole those in charge of our military operations are doing a good job, only a fair job, or a poor job up to now? Those in charge of our naval operations? Of protecting our war industries and projects? Of civilian defense? Of production of war materials? (FOR)

| | *Good* | *Only fair* | *Poor* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Military operations | 67.3% | 17.9% | 2.5% | 12.3% |
| Naval operations | 58.0 | 23.5 | 5.4 | 13.1 |
| Protecting war industries, projects | 47.6 | 28.4 | 8.4 | 15.6 |
| Civilian defense | 47.5 | 32.6 | 8.2 | 11.7 |
| Production of war materials | 45.7 | 35.2 | 8.4 | 10.7 |

**47.** (US May 6 '42) Would you say the United States is now fighting mainly on the offensive or mainly on the defensive? (NORC)

Offensive 30% Defensive 46% Don't know and no answer 24%

About how much longer do you think it will be before we really start taking the offensive? Asked of the 46% of the sample who thought the United States was fighting mainly on the defensive.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 or 2 months | 7% |
| 3 or 4 months | 8 |
| 5 or 6 months | 9 |
| Over 6 months to a year | 7 |
| Over a year | 2 |
| Not ascertainable | 13 |
| | 46% |

(Aug 29 '42) Would you say the United States is now fighting mainly on the offensive or mainly on the defensive?

Offensive 31% Defensive 50% Don't know 19%

About how much longer do you think it will be before we really start taking the offensive? Asked of the 50% of the sample who thought the United States was now fighting mainly on the defensive.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1–2 months | 6% |
| 2–4 months | 8 |
| 4–6 months | 14 |
| 6 months to 1 year | 12 |
| Over a year | 2 |
| Never | * |
| Not ascertainable | 8 |

**48.** (US May 6 '42) Which one of these do you think the United States ought to do now in the war against Germany and Japan? (a) Fight Japan with most of our forces and send just enough help to Europe to keep Hitler from making more gains. (b) Fight Germany with most of our forces and send just enough help to the Pacific to keep the Japs from making more gains. (c) Attack Germany and Japan with equal force. (d) Pull our forces close to home and use them to protect our own shores. (NORC)

| | *Statement a* | *Statement b* | *Statement c* | *Statement d* | *Don't know and no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 33% | 22% | 27% | 7% | 11% |
| (July 1 '42) | 22 | 34 | 28 | 7 | 9 |
| (July 18 '42) | 21 | 40 | 23 | 8 | 8 |
| (Aug 29 '42) | 24 | 32 | 31 | 7 | 6 |
| (Nov 3 '42) | 32 | 23 | 32 | 6 | 7 |
| (Nov 19 '42) | 21 | 30 | 35 | 5 | 9 |
| (June 18 '43) | 18 | 38 | 34 | 4 | 6 |

**49.** (US Aug 21 '42) How about the government officials in Washington? Are they doing all they could do right now to help win the war? (NORC)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 57% | 32% | 11% |
| (Nov 27 '42) | 52 | 37 | 11 |
| (June 18 '43) | 41 | 46 | 13 |
| (Apr 6 '43) | 62 | 30 | 8 |

**50.** (US June 17 '42) Do you think we are now doing all we can to defeat Japan and Germany, or do you think we could be doing more? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| All we can | 57% |
| Could do more | 35 |
| Don't know | 8 |

**51.** (US July 1 '42) Of the things on this list, which one do you feel you know the least about, and which one would you especially like to know more about? (NORC)

| | *Know least* | *Like to know more* |
|---|---|---|
| The progress of the production program here at home | 14% | 14% |
| The fighting in the Far East | 17 | 6 |
| The fighting in Europe | 6 | 6 |
| What kind of world we're fighting to have | 11% | 17% |
| What would happen if the Axis won the war | 14 | 11 |
| What each of our Allies is doing to help win the war | 11 | 14 |
| What part I could play now in winning the war | 4 | 12 |
| The reasons why we're having rationing | 5 | 7 |
| Don't know | 18 | 13 |

**52.** (US July 1 '42) Do you think the United States alone could beat Japan and Germany, or do you think we will need the support of our Allies if we're going to win? (NORC)

| | *Can win alone* | *Need Allies* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 16% | 80% | 4% |
| (July 18 '42) | 14 | 83 | 3 |

**53.** (US July 29 '42) In your opinion, are American workers in war industries doing all they can in the war production effort? (AIPO)

Yes 54% No 39% No opinion 7%

**54.** (US Aug 13 '42) If you were the President, what would you do to speed up our war effort? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Would not do differently | 11% |
| Reorganize production, cut red tape | 13 |
| Stop playing politics | 5 |
| Open offensive | 2 |
| Second front in Europe | 2 |
| Concentrate on one war front | 1 |
| Build up air force | 1 |
| Conscript labor, mobilize manpower | 5 |
| Government control of all business | 2 |
| Stop strikes, draft strikers, be firm with strikers | 16 |
| Control inflation | 2 |
| Compulsory purchase of bonds, raise taxes | 1 |
| Speed shipping construction, build war ships | 1 |
| Speed airplane construction, build cargo planes | 1 |
| Conserve raw materials, organize scrap salvage program | 2 |
| Keep up morale, coordinate OCD | 4 |
| Non-specific answer | 2 |
| Draft and train more soldiers | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 12 |
| Don't know | 26 |
| | 110%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**55.** (US Aug 13 '42) As long as the war lasts, would you favor, or oppose, the appointment of a committee of judges with full power to set aside any peacetime laws and regulations which they felt were slowing up the war effort? (AIPO)

Favor 58% Oppose 23% No opinion 19%

**56.** (Aug 21 '42) Do you think the United States should be willing to fight the Axis on all fronts, or only on some fronts? (NORC)

All fronts 73% Some fronts 15% Don't know 12%

On which fronts do you think the United States should not be willing to fight? Asked of the 15% of the sample who thought the United States should be willing to fight the Axis on some fronts only.

| | |
|---|---|
| None (completely isolationist) | 1% |
| Russian | 2 |
| North African, Libyan or Egyptian | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| England | 1% |
| India | 1 |
| Australia | * |
| China | * |
| Around Germany, occupied countries | 1 |
| Other specific answers | 1 |
| Other answers | 1 |
| Avoid dispersion of forces (one front at a time) | 1 |
| Not ascertainable | 5 |
| | 16%* |

* Percentages add to more than 15 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Nov 27 '42) Do you think the United States should be willing to fight the Axis on all fronts, or only on some fronts?
All fronts 73% Some fronts 17% Don't know 10%

**57.** (US Aug 21 '42) Do you think the people in this community have been asked to make too many sacrifices, or not enough? (NORC)

| | *Too many* | *About right amount* | *Not enough* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2% | 22% | 70% | 6% |
| (Nov 27 '42) | 4 | 26 | 65 | 5 |
| (Dec 30 '42) | 3 | 31 | 61 | 5 |
| (June 18 '43) | 4 | 34 | 59 | 3 |
| (Oct 2 '43) | 2 | 44 | 47 | 7 |

What are some of the things they might have been asked to do? Asked of the 47% of the sample who thought that people had not been asked to make enough sacrifices.

| | |
|---|---|
| Buy more bonds | 12% |
| Cut down on unnecessary spending, luxuries, amusements | 8 |
| More volunteer civilian activity | 8 |
| Cut down on unnecessary driving | 5 |
| More rationing, fewer supplies | 5 |
| Draft women for labor | 4 |
| Labor draft | 3 |
| Work harder | 3 |
| Women should work more | 1 |
| Stricter obedience to rules | 3 |
| Cooperate in salvage campaigns | 2 |
| Raise taxes | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| Not ascertainable | 7 |
| | 67%* |

* Percentages add to more than 47 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Nov 15 '43) Do you think the people in this community have been asked to make too many sacrifices, or not enough?

| | *Too many* | *About right amount* | *Not enough* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 4% | 41% | 46% | 9% |
| (Apr 8 '44) | 3 | 33 | 58 | 6 |
| (June 23 '44) | 3 | 37 | 54 | 6 |

**58.** (US Aug 21 '42) So far in the war, do you feel that you personally have had to make more sacrifices or less sacrifices than other people in this community? (NORC)
More 9% About the same 65% Less 23% Don't know 3%

**59.** (US Aug 21 '42) As the war goes on, will you be willing to make more sacrifices, even though other people are not making as many as you? (NORC)
Yes 94% No 4% Don't know 2%

**60.** (US Aug 24 '43) In general, do you think the government has gone too far or not far enough in asking people to make sacrifices for the war? (AIPO)

| | *Too far* | *Not far enough* | *About right* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 8% | 44% | 40% | 8% |
| (Jan 18 '44) | 7 | 39 | 47 | 7 |
| (Apr 25 '44) | 12 | 37 | 42 | 9 |

**61.** (US Aug 24 '43) Have you had to make any real sacrifices? (AIPO)
Yes 31% No 69%

What [real sacrifices have you had to make for the war]? Asked of the 31% of the sample who said they had had to do so.

| | |
|---|---|
| Financial sacrifices: | |
| Buy war bonds | 15% |
| Paying more taxes | 8 |
| Decreased income | 5 |
| Increased cost of living | 6 |
| Husband, son, relative or self in armed services | 34 |
| Sacrifices due to material shortages and rationing: | |
| Less food, poorer quality, less variety | 12 |
| Gasoline and tire shortages | 9 |
| Less fuel oil, coal, etc. | 1 |
| Sacrifices of a business nature: | |
| Taken war job (gave up former job, moved from state, frozen in present job) | 6 |
| Less help and machinery | 6 |
| Loss of business or job | 3 |
| Sacrifice of time—volunteer work, civilian defense, Red Cross | 2 |
| Others (financial donations, blood donations, harder work) | 9 |
| Vague: way of life, doing without things used to have | 9 |
| Undesignated | 1 |
| | 126%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Apr 25 '44) Have you had to make any real sacrifices?

| | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| | 34% | 66% |
| (Jan 17 '45) | 36 | 64 |

What [real sacrifices have you had to make for the war]? Asked of the 36% of the sample who said they had made real sacrifices.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Relative in armed services* | |
| Husband, son, relative, fiancé, close friend in service | 49% |
| Husband, son, relative, fiancé, close friend a war casualty | 7 |
| Self in service | 2 |
| *Financial sacrifices* | |
| Buying war bonds | 9 |
| Paying more taxes | 2 |
| Decreased income, less money | 2 |
| Increased cost of living | 2 |
| Others (assumed financial responsibility, donations) | 2 |
| *Sacrifices due to material shortages and rationing* | |
| Less, poorer, unvaried food; food rationing | 7 |
| Gas and tire shortages, no gas, no tires, gave up car | 4 |
| Rationing in general | 1 |
| No machinery or repairs | 1 |
| Less fuel oil, coal, etc.—fuel rationing | 1 |
| Others (less clothing, cigarettes, shoes, stockings) | 4 |

*Business sacrifices*
- Taken war job, gave up former job, moved from home state, frozen in job ... 3%
- Loss of business or job ... 3
- Less help ... 4
- Others (work harder, longer hours, etc.) ... 7

*Vague*
- Cutting down, doing without, giving up things we had or need ... 5

*Other personal sacrifices*
- Given blood ... 1
- Less travelling ... 1
- Time (volunteering for civilian defense, Red Cross, USO) ... 2

Miscellaneous ... 3

122%*

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**62.** (US Apr 8 '44) Before this war is over, do you expect to have to make more sacrifices than you have made so far? (NORC)

Yes 80% No 15% Don't know 5%

**63.** (US Aug 29 '42) As things are now, do you think we are doing the right thing in sending our men overseas to fight? (NORC)

Yes 87% No 8% Don't know 5%

**64.** (US Sept 3 '42) Do you approve or disapprove of the government's policy with respect to conduct of the war? (AIPO)

Approve 59% Disapprove 28% No opinion 13%

**65.** (US Sept 24 '42) Do you think we will ever have shortages in this country as bad as they are in other countries? (NORC)

Yes 10% No 71% Don't know 9% Depends 10%

**66.** (US Oct 6 '42) So far in this war, do you think there are any groups of people in this country who have gotten off easier than most others? (NORC)

Yes 38% No 43% Don't know 19%

What groups do you have in mind? Asked of the 38% of the sample who thought there were groups which had gotten off easier than most others in this war so far.

- Defense workers ... 8%
- Capitalists ... 7
- Politicians ... 4
- Draft dodgers ... 4
- Industrialists ... 3
- Jews ... 2
- Enemy aliens ... 1
- Negroes ... 1
- Union men ... 1
- Miscellaneous ... 5
- Not ascertainable ... 4

40%*

* Percentages add to more than 38 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

In what way are they getting off easier? Asked of the 38% of the sample who thought there were groups in this country getting off easier than others in this war.

- Called less for military service ... 12%
- Get higher wages ... 9
- Sacrificing less than others ... 8
- Have easier or best jobs, work shorter hours ... 3
- Do just as they please ... 2
- Taxed unfairly in comparison with others ... 2%
- Not buying as many bonds ... 2
- Getting commissions more than others ... 2
- Getting good, or best, jobs ... 2
- Making too much profit ... 2
- Miscellaneous ... 2
- Not ascertainable ... 3

49%*

* Percentages add to more than 38 as some respondents gave more than one answer.

(June 18 '43) So far in this war, do you think there are any groups of people in this country who have gotten off easier than most others?

Yes 44% No 40% Don't know 16%

What groups do you have in mind? Asked of the 44% of the sample who thought there were groups in this country who had gotten off easier than most other groups so far in this war.

- Draft dodgers ... 7%
- Politicians, government groups, government employees 6
- Moneyed class or capitalists ... 6
- Union men, labor heads, labor groups, miners ... 5
- Defense workers ... 4
- Jews ... 4
- Enemy aliens ... 2
- Negroes ... 2
- Industrialists ... 2
- People in Middle West and West ... 1
- Miscellaneous ... 6
- Not ascertainable ... 2

47%*

* Percentages add to more than 44 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

In what ways are they getting off easier? Asked of the 44% of the sample who thought there were groups in this country who had gotten off easier than most other groups so far in this war.

- They are not being called for military service as much as other people ... 16%
- They are not sacrificing as much as other people ... 10
- Getting higher wages or salaries ... 7
- Making too much profit ... 3
- Working shorter hours ... 3
- They do just as they please ... 2
- They are getting good jobs or the best jobs ... 1
- Their taxes are not fair in comparison ... 1
- They have been getting commissions more than other people ... 1
- They are not buying as many bonds ... *
- Miscellaneous ... 5
- Not ascertainable ... 3

52%**

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 44, as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**67.** (US Oct 6 '42) The government is trying to get people not to talk about certain things that will get back to the enemy. What sort of things do you think people should be careful not to talk about? (NORC)

*Production and supplies*
- General mention of production ... 23%
- Products produced, methods, techniques ... 10
- Volume of production and supplies ... 7

| | |
|---|---|
| Location of war plants and supplies | 6% |
| Miscellaneous mentions of production | 1 |
| *Military affairs* | |
| Military movements | 21 |
| General objections to any talk | 18 |
| Military locations | 13 |
| Military occupations and occurrences | 4 |
| Future plans | 3 |
| Size of military | 3 |
| Miscellaneous military affairs | 3 |
| *Shipping affairs* | |
| Shipping movements (no mention of troops) | 13 |
| Ship production | 3 |
| Miscellaneous mention of shipping | * |
| *Morale* | |
| Criticism of or talk of dissension in the government | 6 |
| Miscellaneous mention of dissension | 4 |
| Pessimism on progress of war | 3 |
| Criticism of, or talk of dissension between Allies | 2 |
| Nothing | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 8 |
| Not ascertainable | 9 |
| *Who talks* | |
| Defense workers | 6 |
| Relatives of military men | 3 |
| Military men in person | 2 |
| Military men in letters | 1 |
| Girl friends, sweethearts, and other friends | 1 |
| | 175%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100% as some respondents gave more than one answer.

**68.** (US Nov '42) In general, which one of these groups do you feel is doing most toward winning the war? Asked of a national cross-section of high school students. (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Soldiers and sailors | 44.1% |
| Factory workers | 28.7 |
| Farmers | 8.5 |
| People now important in Washington | 4.6 |
| Businessmen | 1.2 |
| Labor leaders | .9 |
| None or don't know | 12.0 |

**69.** (US Nov 27 '42) Which one of these four statements comes closest to the way you feel the war with Germany and Japan is going? (NORC)

| | *Nov 27 '42* | *June 18 '43* |
|---|---|---|
| We've practically beaten them already | 8% | 8% |
| It may take some time to beat them, but the way we're working now, we can't possibly lose | 72 | 73 |
| Unless we work a lot harder, we won't beat them at all | 17 | 15 |
| It looks as if it's too late—it would take a miracle to overcome the losses we've already had | * | 1 |
| Don't know | 3 | 3 |

**70.** (US Feb 6 '43) When the government wants to tell the people some way in which they can help win the war, which one of these do you think gets the message across best? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Newspaper advertisements | 14% |
| Magazine advertisements | 1 |
| Posters in public places | 5 |
| Printed booklets | 1 |
| Announcements over the radio | 75 |
| Don't know | 4 |

**71.** (US Feb 6 '43) Do you feel you have a clear idea of what things you can do to help out in the war effort? (NORC)

Yes 80% No 17% Don't know 3%

**72.** (US Feb 23 '43) How do you, personally, account for the recent set-back of our troops in Tunisia, North Africa? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Equipment: | |
| Lack of general equipment—oil, ammunition | 15% |
| Too few planes | 1 |
| Too few tanks, and these too light in comparison with Rommel's | 2 |
| Experience and training: | |
| Too little experience in actual combat; up against more experienced soldiers | 18 |
| Insufficient training | 3 |
| Manpower: | |
| Too few troops | 7 |
| Troops too thinly spread—not enough at that point | 3 |
| German strategy; enemy found weak spot and attacked | 4 |
| Superior strength of enemy—local superiority | 4 |
| Unpreparedness | 5 |
| Type of warfare—weather conditions, climate | 3 |
| Poor leadership and poor military strategy | 4 |
| Underestimation of enemy's strength | 1 |
| Our strategy—a feint to ambush Rommel | 2 |
| Fortunes of war—all in the game | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| No opinion | 35 |
| Overconfident | 1 |
| | 112%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**73.** (US Mar '43) What should be done to people during the war who —? Asked of a national cross-section of farmers. (FOR)

| | *Jail* | *Fine* | *Nothing* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lie about how much gasoline they need for cars | 13.3% | 56.9% | 14.6% | 15.2% |
| Regularly drive over 35 miles per hour | 16.5 | 68.6 | 5.5 | 9.4 |
| Tell people they think Hitler has a 95% chance to win | 44.2 | 12.3 | 23.3 | 20.2 |

**74.** (US June 18 '43) Are there any particular things having to do with the war that you would like more information about? What? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Military fronts; fighting | 17% |
| Military fronts; other than fighting | 11 |
| Home front | 11 |
| Political front; administration and government bureaus | 2 |
| Lend-lease | 1 |
| Postwar conditions | 1 |
| International relations | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Satisfied with present information | 3 |
| No information wanted because of necessity for military secrecy | 1 |
| None | 61 |
| Not ascertainable | 1 |
| | 111%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100, as some respondents gave more than one answer.

Do you think this information would help the enemy if it were given out? Asked of 45% of the sample who would like

more information about some particular things having to do with the war.

Yes, would help enemy 12% No 30% Don't know 3%

How interested are you in getting this information—would you say you are very interested, or only mildly interested? Asked of the 30% of the sample who wanted information on particular subjects and did not think this information would help the enemy.

Very interested 25% Mildly 5% Don't know *

* Less than 0.5%.

(Oct 2 '43) There are probably a lot of things about the war and problems here at home, that everyone would like more information about. What are some of the things that you would like to have more information about?

| | |
|---|---|
| The fighting fronts: | |
| Treatment of soldiers | 5% |
| Losses, casualties | 5 |
| Fighting the war | 4 |
| Shortages and rationing | 13 |
| Manpower: | |
| Father draft | 4 |
| Draft practices, deferments, etc | 3 |
| Need for women in industry | 1 |
| Other manpower problems | 3 |
| Postwar: | |
| Employment | 1 |
| Other | 4 |
| Cost of living—price control, etc | 4 |
| Other domestic issues: | |
| Government expenditures | 3 |
| Tax program | 3 |
| Politicians, political leaders | 3 |
| War production, strikes, etc | 2 |
| What is happening in or to foreign countries | 2 |
| Will make no specific request because information cannot be released | 2 |
| Want more information on all or many things | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| Don't want more information | 25 |
| Not ascertainable | 14 |
| | 111%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Oct 2 '43) Here's a list. Would you mind looking that over, and telling me which ones you would really be interested in knowing more about?

| | |
|---|---|
| The reason for gasoline rationing around here | 22% |
| Keeping the house warm this winter | 11 |
| Why there is a food shortage | 24 |
| How the rationing problem is working out | 20 |
| Problem of car up-keep under rationing | 6 |
| What is being done to keep prices down | 41 |
| What the new taxes are likely to be | 37 |
| What inflation really means | 18 |
| The effect of strikes on war production | 14 |
| How war production is really going | 16 |
| What's being done about consumer shortages | 21 |
| Why people should buy fewer goods in wartime | 7 |
| Our chances of avoiding a postwar depression | 42 |
| What should be done with Germany and Japan after the war | 49 |
| What an organization of nations would be like | 18 |
| The story behind the race riots | 25 |
| The chances of enemy air raids against the United States | 20 |
| The plans for drafting fathers | 30 |
| The need for women in war jobs | 14% |
| What a labor draft would mean | 31 |
| None | 9 |
| | 475%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

Here's a list. Would you mind looking that over, and telling me which ones you have felt confused about because of the different stories which have been given out?

| | |
|---|---|
| The reason for gasoline rationing around here | 31% |
| Keeping the house warm in winter | 12 |
| Why there is a food shortage | 22 |
| How the rationing program is working out | 22 |
| Problem of car up-keep under rationing | 7 |
| What is being done to keep prices down | 35 |
| What the new taxes are likely to be | 37 |
| What inflation really means | 19 |
| The effect of strikes on war production | 18 |
| How war production is actually going | 17 |
| What's being done about consumer shortages | 15 |
| Why people should buy fewer goods in wartime | 5 |
| Our chances of avoiding a postwar depression | 23 |
| What should be done with Germany and Japan after the war | 31 |
| What an organization of nations would be like | 18 |
| The story behind the race riots | 19 |
| The chances of enemy air raids against the United States | 9 |
| The plans for drafting fathers | 46 |
| The need for women in war jobs | 10 |
| What a labor draft would mean | 18 |
| None | 16 |
| | 430%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

Which one [of the subjects listed in previous question] would be of most interest to you?

| | |
|---|---|
| What should be done with Germany and Japan | 13% |
| Our chance of avoiding a postwar depression | 13 |
| What is being done to keep prices down | 9 |
| Drafting fathers | 9 |
| What the new taxes are likely to be | 6 |
| What a labor draft would mean | 5 |
| Reasons for gasoline rationing | 5 |
| Why there is a food shortage | 4 |
| What an organization of nations would be like | 4 |
| The story behind the race riots | 3 |
| What is being done about consumer shortages | 2 |
| The effect of strikes on war production | 2 |
| The chances of an enemy air raid against the United States | 2 |
| Keeping the house warm in winter | 2 |
| How the rationing program is working out | 2 |
| What inflation really means | 2 |
| Why people buy fewer goods in wartime | 1 |
| How war production is actually going | 2 |
| Problem of car upkeep under rationing | 1 |
| Need for women in war jobs | 1 |
| No answer | 3 |
| None | 9 |

Which one (of the subjects listed in the previous question) have you found most confusing?

| | |
|---|---|
| Drafting fathers | 19% |
| What new taxes are likely to be | 10 |
| Reason for gasoline rationing | 9 |
| What is being done to keep prices down | 8 |
| What should be done with Germany and Japan | 7 |

| | |
|---|---|
| How the rationing program is working out | 5% |
| Our chances of avoiding a postwar depression | 5 |
| Why there is a food shortage | 4 |
| What inflation really means | 4 |
| The story behind the race riots | 2 |
| The effect of strikes on war production | 2 |
| What an organization of nations would be like | 2 |
| Keeping the house warm in winter | 2 |
| How war production is actually going | 1 |
| Need for women in war jobs | 1 |
| What a labor draft would mean | 1 |
| What is being done about consumer shortages | * |
| Why people buy fewer goods in wartime | * |
| The chances of an enemy air raid against the United States | * |
| No answer | 2 |
| None | 16 |

* Less than 0.5%.

(Apr 8 '44) Here's a list. Would you mind looking it over and telling me which of those things you would really like to know more about?

| | |
|---|---|
| Gasoline supplies and rationing | 17% |
| Tire supplies for civilians | 12 |
| Food supplies and rationing | 20 |
| How to help keep prices down | 38 |
| Rationing regulations | 11 |
| Manpower needs for industry and for the armed forces | 26 |
| Production of war material | 11 |
| Changing industry over to peacetime production | 38 |
| Possibility of getting wage increase | 12 |
| None | 16 |
| | 201%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

What would you particularly like to know about gasoline supplies and rationing? Asked of the 17% of the sample who expressed interest in this.

| | |
|---|---|
| How long will rationing last—when can we get more | 4% |
| Questions on specific allotments to special groups or individuals | 3 |
| Why is gas rationed | 2 |
| Supply and demand—how much is available (including all references to shortage) | 2 |
| Why we can't have more as supply is adequate | 1 |
| Questions on black market | 1 |
| Want general information | 1 |
| How ration allotments are determined | 1 |
| Critical comments (no requests for information) | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 18%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 17 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

What would you particularly like to know about tire supplies for civilians? Asked of the 12% of the sample who expressed interest in this.

| | |
|---|---|
| Possibility of getting tires | 5% |
| Questions about synthetic rubber | 1 |
| When people who really need them will get them | 1 |
| Is there really a shortage | 1 |
| Explain the present (unfair) distribution | 1 |
| Why are there restrictions—why are tires rationed | 1 |
| What about tire production | * |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |

* Less than 0.5%.

What would you particularly like to know about food supplies and rationing? Asked of the 20% of the sample who expressed interest in this.

| | |
|---|---|
| Just general information | 4% |
| How much is available—what are the supplies | 4 |
| Is rationing necessary | 2 |
| Information on specific food item | 2 |
| Where the food goes and how they arrive at the coupon value | 2 |
| Will present situation continue | 2 |
| How can I make food go farther | 1 |
| Why some things cost too much | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 21%* |

* Percentages add to more than 20 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

What would you particularly like to know about helping to keep prices down? Asked of the 38% of the sample who expressed interest in this.

| | |
|---|---|
| Redundant statements | 11% |
| Why are prices so high | 6 |
| How will they keep prices down | 5 |
| Just want more information—facts in general | 4 |
| Questions about prices on specific items | 3 |
| How prices can be met with current income | 2 |
| Questions about black market | 1 |
| Specific—miscellaneous | 1 |
| Other miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know | 6 |
| | 39%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 38 because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

What would you particularly like to know about rationing regulations? Asked of the 11% of the sample who expressed this interest.

| | |
|---|---|
| Just general information | 4% |
| Questions on specific items | 2 |
| How long will it last | 1 |
| Questions on changes in ration regulations | 1 |
| Questions on black market | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 12%* |

* Percentages add to more than 11 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

What would you particularly like to know about manpower needs for industry and for the armed forces? Asked of the 26% of the sample who expressed this interest.

| | |
|---|---|
| Manpower needs—general | 6% |
| What will be done with specific groups | 4 |
| Just want more information—don't understand | 3 |
| Why is there so much confusion | 3 |
| How needs can be met | 3 |
| How we can supply armed forces and industry | 2 |
| Why not make better use of army and navy personnel | * |
| Critical comments—no desire for more information | * |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Don't know | 4 |
| | 27%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 26 because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

What would you particularly like to know about production of war materials? Asked of the 11% of the total sample who would like to know more about production of war materials.

| | |
|---|---|
| Amount of production | 4% |
| Questions implying doubt of plant conditions | 2 |
| Everything about production | 2 |
| Material being produced | 1 |
| Technical advances in production | * |
| How much goes to lend-lease | * |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know | 2 |

* Less than 0.5%.

What would you particularly like to know about changing industry over to peacetime production? Asked of the 38% of the total sample who would like to know more about this subject.

| | |
|---|---|
| How is it going to be done | 10% |
| Who will be employed—what about unemployment | 6 |
| How long will it last | 5 |
| Just general information—no specific questions | 4 |
| Will veterans be taken care of | 3 |
| When will it start | 2 |
| What will happen to war industries | 1 |
| Can we avoid a depression | 1 |
| What will be produced | 1 |
| Comments | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| | 41%* |

* Percentages add to more than 38 because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

What would you particularly like to know about the possibility of getting a wage increase? Asked of the 12% of the total sample who would like to know more about this.

| | |
|---|---|
| How and/or when wages can be increased | 5% |
| How wages can keep up with living costs | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 |
| Don't know | 3 |

And here's another list. Which of these would you really like to know more about?

| | |
|---|---|
| War weapons and methods of fighting | 9% |
| War in the air | 8 |
| War on the sea | 7 |
| Care of soldiers at the front | 38 |
| Care of disabled and discharged veterans | 45 |
| What is going on in occupied countries | 24 |
| What the Japanese are like | 11 |
| What the Germans are like | 9 |
| Spies and sabotage in this country | 27 |
| Our relations with other countries | 24 |
| What should be done with Germany and Japan after the war | 49 |
| What an organization of nations would be like | 27 |
| None | 10 |
| All of them | 2 |
| | 290%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**75.** (US Aug 27 '43) From what you've seen of things, would you say that practically everyone in this country is doing all they can to win the war? (NORC)

Yes 47% No 49% Don't know 4%

**76.** (US Nov '43) Which, if any, of the groups on this list would you say has done a really good job of handling its end of the war effort? Which, if any, would you say has not done a good job? (FOR)

| | *Good* | *Not good* |
|---|---|---|
| Farmers | 53.0% | 2.6% |
| Newspapers | 34.4 | 5.6 |
| Industry management | 31.6 | 6.4 |
| Office of War Information | 18.8 | 10.1 |
| Congress | 17.0 | 20.8 |
| Labor unions | 7.4 | 50.7 |
| All | 7.8 | .8 |
| None | 2.0 | 12.8 |
| Don't know | 9.5 | 21.1 |
| | 181.5%* | 130.9%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondenrs gave more than one answer.

**77.** (US Jan 21 '44) From what you've seen of things, would you say that practically everyone in this country is doing all they can to win the war? (NORC)

Yes 53% No 41% Don't know 6%

**78.** (US Apr 8 '44) What is the biggest problem the war has brought to you, personally? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Readjustment of family life: | |
| Sons, brother, friends in or about to enter service | 20% |
| Husbands in or about to enter service | 6 |
| Possibility of being drafted | 2 |
| Problems due to high cost of living: | |
| Meeting high cost of living, high prices | 7 |
| Meeting living costs on fixed income | 4 |
| Shortages and rationing | 12 |
| Inability to get help—business, household, farm | 9 |
| Transportation problems (all references to gasoline and tire rationing) | 8 |
| Taxes | 4 |
| Difficulties connected with business and farming | 4 |
| Difficulties connected with business or farming (specific references to shortages in equipment, supplies) | 4 |
| Adjusting to new jobs—long hours—harder work | 4 |
| Tensions and worry resulting from general or specific aspect of the war | 3 |
| Housing difficulties | 2 |
| Buying bonds | 1 |
| Adjusting to the "4F" status | 1 |
| Not being able to participate in the war effort | * |
| Making other people realize the seriousness of the war | * |
| Miscellaneous | 3 |
| No particular problems | 15 |
| Don't know | 3 |
| | 112%** |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add ro more than 100 because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

**79.** (US Apr 8 '44) In our effort to win the war, what do you think is the biggest problem we face right now? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Arousing the public, keeping up public morale; cooperation and unity | 13% |
| Labor shortage and manpower problems | 12 |
| Transportation and shipping problems | 9 |
| Farm labor shortage and problem of producing food | 8 |
| Criticism of government | 7 |
| Increase production | 6 |
| Labor disputes and labor conflicts | 5 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Opening a second front | 5% |
| Finance | 3 |
| Manpower needs in the armed forces | 3 |
| The draft problem | 2 |
| Problem in relation to our Allies | 2 |
| Buying bonds | 2 |
| Inflation | 2 |
| Raw material shortage | 2 |
| Beating the Japs | 1 |
| Beating the Germans | 1 |
| Coordination of the armed forces | 1 |
| The coming presidential campaign | 1 |
| Reconversion from war industry to peace | 1 |
| Minority problems | 1 |
| Black market | 1 |
| The Italian campaign | * |
| Military training | * |
| Miscellaneous | 5 |
| No particular problem | 1 |
| Don't know | 19 |
| | 113%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**80.** (US June 23 '44) Since the invasion started, do you think that people here at home are doing more to help win the war, or are they doing less than they were before? (NORC)

More now 43% About the same 39% Less now 8%
Don't know 10%

In what way? Asked of the 8% of the sample who thought that people were doing less to win the war then.

| | |
|---|---|
| Mention of complacency, feel that the war is over | 4% |
| Not buying as many bonds | 2 |
| Not working as hard | 2 |
| Paying less attention to salvage and other wartime campaigns | 1 |
| Travelling more, using more gas | * |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| | 9%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 8, as some respondents gave more than one response.

In what way? Asked of the 43% of the sample who thought that people were doing more to win the war than before.

| | |
|---|---|
| Buying bonds | 33% |
| Working harder | 8 |
| General statement or implication of higher civilian morale | 4 |
| Contributing to salvage campaigns | 3 |
| Red Cross and volunteer work | 3 |
| Sacrificing more | 3 |
| Taking war job | 2 |
| Raising more food | 2 |
| Donating blood | 2 |
| Praying, going to church | 1 |
| Accepting wartime regulations more gladly | 1 |
| Don't know | 1 |
| | 63%* |

* Percentages add to more than 43 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**81.** (US June 23 '44) Have you, yourself, been able to do anything extra for the war since the invasion started—that is, anything you weren't doing before? (NORC)

Yes 26% No 73% Don't know 1%

What? Asked of the 26% of the sample who had been able to do something extra for the war since the invasion started.

| | |
|---|---|
| Buying war bonds | 17% |
| Doing volunteer work | 4 |
| Working harder | 3 |
| Raising food, increasing production | 1 |
| Buying only what is needed—conserving what I have | 1 |
| Contributing to salvage campaigns | 1 |
| Donating blood | 1 |
| Praying—going to church | * |
| Taking a war job | * |
| Miscellaneous | * |
| Don't know | * |
| | 28%** |

* Less than 0.5%.
** Percentages add to more than 26 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**82.** (US Mar 20 '45) There are lots of little annoying things that people have to put up with in wartime. What annoyances or irritations have you, personally, had to put up with? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Shortages | 31% |
| Rationing and commodity restrictions, OPA red tape, coupons | 20 |
| False patriotism, lack of cooperation with government programs | 8 |
| Worrying about soldiers, relatives and friends overseas; losing relatives | 4 |
| Labor shortage | 4 |
| Government interference, government controls | 3 |
| Poor housing, crowded living conditions | 1 |
| Transportation difficulties crowded, service bad | 3 |
| High cost of living, high prices | 4 |
| Others: black market, taxes, curfew, everything, inconveniences, standing in line, immoral living | 6 |
| Nothing of importance; satisfied | 29 |
| Didn't say | 3 |
| | 116%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**83.** (US Mar 20 '45) What things have you noticed other people doing which you feel should not be done in war time? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Evils due to shortage; black market, hoarding | 25% |
| Money wrongs: extravagance; too much money; won't buy war bonds | 25 |
| Moral wrongs: drinking, gambling, wild living | 12 |
| Labor wrongs: strikes, absenteeism | 8 |
| Wastefulness on the part of individuals | 13 |
| False patriotism: no cooperation with government program, people won't sacrifice, won't save necessary items | 6 |
| Others: racial discrimination, complaining, draft dodging | 10 |
| Nothing, very little; shouldn't judge others | 13 |
| Didn't say | 10 |
| | 122%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one reply.

**84.** (US June '45) If the Japanese on the home islands of Japan surrender but their military forces in China continue to resist, do you think the United States forces should or should not go on and help clean out the Japanese there? (FOR)

Should 86.8% Should not 6.7% Don't know 6.5%

**85.** (US June '45) If the Japanese on the home islands of Japan surrender but their military forces in places like Malaya, Java, Sumatra, and other East Indies islands continue to resist, do you think the United States forces should or should not go on and help clean out the Japanese there? (FOR)

Should 82.6% Should not 8.2% Don't know 9.2%

**86.** (US June 27 '45) Should our troops invade the main Japanese homeland or should we wait until the navy and air force have beaten them down and starved them out? (AIPO)

Invade 27% Wait 58% No opinion 15%

**87.** (US June 27 '45) Do you think the government should make greater efforts to get the Japs to give up? (AIPO)

Yes 40% No 43% No opinion 17%

**88.** (US Dec '46) On the whole, would you rate the effort of the business corporations in this country in helping to win the war as excellent, good, only fair, or poor? (FOR)

| | *Excellent* | *Good* | *Only fair* | *Poor* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 16.9% | 45.6% | 20.9% | 6.1% | 10.5% |
| Union members only | 15.6% | 37.3% | 26.1% | 8.6% | 12.4% |

## Victory

**1.** (US Sept 13 '38) If England and France go to war against Germany, which side do you think will win? (AIPO)

England and France 86% Germany 14%

**2.** (US Jan 14 '38) If there were a war between Germany and Russia, which side would you rather see win? (AIPO)

Germany 17% Russia 83% = 100% No opinion or neutral 31%

(Dec '38)

Germany 15% Russia 85% = 100% No opinion 31%

**3.** (US Feb 23 '39) If there is a war between Russia and Japan, which side would you rather see win? (AIPO)

Russia 51% Japan 9% No choice 29% No opinion 11%

**4.** (Feb 23 '39) If there is a war between Russia and Japan, which side do you think would win? (AIPO)

Russia 56% Japan 21% Don't know 23%

**5.** (US May 26 '39) If England, France and Russia went to war against Germany and Italy, which side do you think would win? (AIPO)

England-France-Russia 83% Germany-Italy 17%

**6.** (US Aug 30 '39) Which side do you think will win? (AIPO)

Allies 82% Germany 7% No opinion or qualified 11%

**7.** (Great Britain Sept '39) Do you think that we shall beat the Germans, the war will be a stalemate, or that we shall lose? (BIPO)

| | *Beat Germans* | *Stalemate* | *Lose* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 87% | 12% | 1% | — |
| (May '40) | 76 | 11 | 3 | 10% |

**8.** (US Sept 19 '39) Which side do you want to see win the war? (AIPO)

England and France 84% Germany 2% Don't know 14%

**9.** (US Sept 19 '39) Does it seem important to you to have this (preferred) side win? (AIPO)

| | *YES* | *Yes* | *NO* | *No* | *No opinion* | *No answer* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| England and France | 57% | 20% | 1% | 4% | 1% | 1% | = 84% |
| Germany | * | 1 | * | * | * | * | = 2 |
| No opinion | | | | | | | 14 |

Total of fractions indicated by * equals 1%.

**10.** (US Oct '39) In the trouble now going on in Europe, which side would you like to see win? (FOR)

| | *England, France, Poland and allies* | *Germany and her allies* | *Neither side* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 83.1% | 1.0% | 6.7% | 9.2% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 85.4% | .8% | 7.0% | 6.8% |
| Women | 80.7 | 1.2 | 6.5 | 11.6 |
| BY RURAL-URBAN | | | | |
| Cities over 1,000,000 | 58.4% | 2.1% | 23.4% | 16.1% |
| Villages under 2,500 | 90.4 | .4 | 4.4 | 4.8 |
| BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION | | | | |
| Northwest plains | 75.3% | .6% | 7.1% | 17.0% |
| Southeast | 92.0 | 1.4 | 1.1 | 5.5 |
| (Nov '39) | | | | |
| National total | 84.3% | 1.3% | 8.0% | 6.4% |

**11.** (US Oct '39) As it stands now, if no further allies join either side, which side do you think will come out ahead? (FOR)

| | *England, France, Poland and allies* | *Germany and her allies* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 64.8% | 8.3% | 26.9% |
| BY SEX | | | |
| Men | 71.6% | 8.4% | 20.0% |
| Women | 57.6 | 8.1 | 34.3 |
| BY OPINION | | | |
| People hoping that the victory will go to England, France, Poland and allies | 73.2% | 7.4% | 19.4% |
| People hoping that the victory will go to Germany and her allies | 20.0 | 53.3 | 26.7 |
| People hoping the victory will go to neither side | 33.5 | 8.6 | 57.9 |
| People who don't know which side they hope the victory will go to | 18.6 | 10.1 | 71.3 |
| (Nov '39) National total | 56.8% | 15.3% | 27.9% |

**12.** (US Oct 3 '39) Which side do you think will win the war—England and France, or Germany? A comparable cross-section was asked the questions with the opposing countries' names reversed in order. Results were combined. (AIPO)

| | *England and France* | *Germany* | *Don't know* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 64% | 7% | 29% | — |
| (Oct 24 '39) | 71 | 7 | 20 | 2% |

How confident are you that this side will win? Asked of a national cross-section of persons who had an opinion as to which side would win the war. 75% of the sample is represented.

| | *England and France* | *Germany* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Very confident | 62% | 34% | 7% |
| Not very confident | 31 | 59 | 7 |

(May 16 '40) Which side do you think will win the war?

England and France 39% Germany 21% Undecided 40%

How certain are you that this side will win?

| | *England and France* | *Germany* |
|---|---|---|
| Very certain | 45% | 32% |
| Not very certain | 55 | 68 |

**13.** (US Mar 6 '40) Which side do you want to see win the present war—England and France, or Germany? (AIPO)

Germany 1% England and France 84% No choice 15%

Do you feel more sympathetic or less sympathetic toward that side today than you did when the war began? Asked of a national cross-section who wanted England and France to win the war.

More 28% Same 55% Less 17%

(May 3 '40) Which side do you think will win the war between England and France and Germany?

England and France 55% Germany 17% Don't know 28%

How certain are you that this side will win (the war between England and France and Germany)?

| | *England and France* | *Germany* |
|---|---|---|
| Very certain | 58% | 36% |
| Not very certain | 42 | 64 |

**14.** (US Mar 8 '40) Which side do you think will win the war if no other countries go into it—Germany, or England and France? (OPOR)

| | *Germany* | *England and France* | *Neither* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 15.2% | 62.0% | 5.6% | 17.2% |
| (May 14 '40) | 33 | 38 | 2 | 27 |

**15.** (US Mar 8 '40) Suppose the United States does not go into the war, and Germany defeats England [and France]; do you think you, personally, would be affected by this German victory? (OPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No opinion* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 47% | 35% | 18% | — |
| (May 23 '40) (AIPO) | 64 | 24 | 12 | — |
| (June 11 '40) (AIPO) | 58 | 27 | 15 | — |
| (July 20 '40) (OPOR) | 67 | 24 | — | 9% |
| (Sept 17 '40) (AIPO) | 65 | 23 | — | 12 |
| (Dec 11 '40) (OPOR) | 72 | 19 | — | 9 |
| (Dec 31 '40) (AIPO) | 71 | 21 | — | 8 |
| (Jan 22 '41) (AIPO) | 72 | 20 | — | 8 |
| (Jan 28 '41) (OPOR) | 70 | 19 | — | 11 |
| (Mar 29 '41) (OPOR) | 73 | 17 | — | 10 |

In what way? Asked of the 73% of the sample who thought that they would be personally affected by a German victory if Germany should defeat England and the United States did not go into the war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, no comment | 2% |
| Military | 10 |
| German domination | 2 |
| German infiltration | 6 |
| General threats | 2 |
| Economic | 46% |
| Personal | 5 |
| Other adverse and favorable economic effects | * |
| No answer, don't know | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

(Mar 29 '41) Suppose the United States does not go into the war, and Germany defeats England; do you think that within the next ten years you, personally, would be affected by this German victory? (OPOR)

Yes 77% No 14% Don't know 9%

In what way (would you be affected)? Asked of the 77% of the sample who thought that they would be personally affected in the next ten years if Germany defeated England and the United States didn't go into the war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes, no comment | 4% |
| Military | 9 |
| German domination | 2 |
| General threats | 1 |
| German infiltration | 4 |
| Economic | 53 |
| Personal | 4 |
| Other adverse and favorable economic effects | * |
| No answer, don't know | * |

* Less than 0.5%.

**16.** (US May 3 '40) The war between England and France and Germany has been going on for eight months. Which side do you think is ahead so far? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| England and France | 8% |
| Germany | 67 |
| About even | 13 |
| Don't know | 12 |

**17.** (US June 11 '40) Which side do you think will win the war—Germany and Italy, or England and France? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany and Italy | 33% |
| England and France | 32 |
| Undecided | 35 |

**18.** (US June 25 '40) Which side do you think will win the war, England, or Germany and Italy? (AIPO)

| | *England* | *Germany and Italy* | *Undecided* | *Neither* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 32% | 35% | 33% | — |
| (July 31 '40) | 53 | 21 | 22 | 4% |

**19.** (US July '40) Regardless of what you hope, which side do you think will win the war in Europe, as it looks now? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany | 40.1% |
| The Allies | 30.3 |
| Neither | 1.7 |
| Don't know | 27.9 |

**20.** (US July 20 '40) Which side do you think will win the war—Germany and Italy, or England [Britain]? (OPOR)

| | *Germany and Italy* | *England* | *Neither* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 23% | 45% | 4% | 28% |
| (Aug 22 '40) (AIPO) | 17 | 43 | — | 40 |
| (Sept 3 '40) (AIPO) | 16 | 55 | 4 | 25 |
| (Sept 17 '40) (AIPO) | 12 | 61 | 4 | 23 |
| (Sept 30 '40) (AIPO) | 11 | 61 | 4 | 24 |
| (Oct 23 '40) (AIPO) | 7 | 63 | 3 | 30 |

BY COUNTRY OF PARENTS' ORIGIN

| | *Germany and Italy* | *England* | *Neither* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Germany | 11% | 48% | — | 41% |
| Italy | 20 | 35 | — | 45 |
| United Kingdom | 3 | 76 | — | 21 |
| Ireland | 6 | 69 | — | 25 |
| Canada | 4 | 70 | — | 26 |
| Scandinavia | 3 | 67 | — | 30 |
| Central and Western Europe | 5 | 58 | — | 37 |
| United States | 5 | 64 | — | 31 |
| (Dec 11 '40) (OPOR) | 8% | 70% | 5% | 17% |
| (Jan 28 '41) (OPOR) | 10 | 63 | 8 | 19 |
| (Mar 12 '41) (OPOR) | 7 | 70 | 7 | 16 |
| (Mar 29 '41) (OPOR) | 4 | 78 | 6 | 12 |
| (Apr 8 '41) (AIPO) | 11 | 57 | 8 | 24 |

Since the war in Europe began, have you at any time thought that Germany might defeat England? The 11% of the sample who thought Germany and Italy would win the war were excluded from this question.

Yes 44% No 38% No opinion 7%

(Apr 25 '41) Which side do you think will win the war—Germany and Italy, or Britain? (AIPO)

| | *Germany and Italy* | *England* | *Neither* | *Undecided* | *Draw* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 17% | 50% | 8% | 33% | — |
| (May 29 '41) (AIPO) | 16 | 55 | — | 23 | 6% |

**21.** (US July 20 '40) Which side do you think will win the war if no other countries go into it—Germany and Italy, or England? (OPOR)

| | *Germany and Italy* | *England* | *Neither* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 31% | 42% | 3% | 23% |
| (Mar 12 '41) | 22 | 59 | 4 | 15 |

**22.** (Great Britain Jan '41) Do you think that we will win the war, we will lose, or that there will be a stalemate? (BIPO)

| | *Win* | *Stalemate* | *Lose* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Jan '41) | 82% | 10% | — | 8% |
| (Mar '42) | 79 | 10 | 2% | 9 |
| (Nov '42) | 91 | 6 | — | 3 |

**23.** (US Jan 28 '41) Which side do you think is winning the war now—Germany and Italy, or England? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany and Italy | 29% |
| England | 32 |
| Neither | 23 |
| Undecided | 16 |

**24.** (US Jan 28 '41) Which side do you think will win the war in the end? (OPOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany and Italy | 8% |
| England | 65 |
| Neither | 6 |
| Undecided | 17 |
| No answer | 4 |

**25.** (US Apr 8 '41) Do you think Britain and her Allies will be able to defeat Germany without our sending our army or navy abroad? (AIPO)

Yes 36% No 39% No opinion 18%
Neither side, if we stay out 7%

**26.** (Great Britain June '41) Do you think that we can win without her [the United States]? (BIPO)

Yes 12% Yes, providing 35% No 43% Don't know 10%

**27.** (US June 24 '41) In the present war between Germany and Russia, which side would you like to see win—Germany or Russia? (AIPO)

| | *Germany* | *Russia* | *No difference* | *No opinion* | *Neither* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 4% | 72% | 17% | 7% | — |
| (July 10 '41) (OPOR) | 4 | 71 | 20 | 5 | — |
| (Sept 9 '41) (AIPO) | 4 | 70 | — | 7 | 19% |

**28.** (US June 24 '41) Which side do you think will win the war—Germany or Russia? (AIPO)

| | *Germany* | *Russia* | *No difference* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National total | 4% | 72% | 17% | 7% |

BY ECONOMIC STATUS

| | | | *No difference and no opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Upper income | 5% | 72% | 23% |
| Middle income | 4 | 73 | 23 |
| Lower income | 3 | 72 | 25 |

BY RELIGION

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Catholics | 6% | 65% | 29% |
| Protestants | 3 | 74 | 23 |

| | *Germany* | *Russia* | *Stalemate* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Sept 9 '41) | | | | |
| National total | 20% | 41% | 9% | 30% |

Do you think Germany will defeat Russia in the next six months, or do you think Russia will keep on fighting for six months or longer? Asked of a national cross-section of those who thought Germany would win, and those who thought it would be a stalemate or were undecided. 59% of the total sample is represented.

| | |
|---|---|
| Germany will win within six months | 13% |
| Russia will fight for six months or longer | 60 |

**29.** (US Aug 19 '41) Which side do you think will win the war—Germany, or Britain? (AIPO)

| | *Germany* | *Britain* | *Draw* | *Undecided* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 6% | 69% | — | 25% |
| (Oct 22 '41) | 9 | 70 | 6% | 15% |

**30.** (US Nov '41) Taking everything into consideration, which side do you think will win the war? (NORC)

| | *Allies* | *Axis* | *Neither* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 69.0% | 4.2% | 3.5% | 23.3% |
| (Dec '41) (FOR) | 72.5 | 7.0 | 4.3 | 16 2 |

**31.** (US Nov 19 '41) If this country should get into a war against Japan, do you think we would win or lose? (OPOR)

Win 93% Lose 1% Stalemate * No opinion 6%

* Less than 0.5%.

Do you think it would be a difficult war, or do you think that it would be a comparatively easy war for us to win? Asked of the 93% of the sample who thought the United States would win if she got into a war against Japan.

Difficult 35% Easy 48% Don't know 10%

**32.** (US Nov 19 '41) Do you think that in the long run Germany will win the war or lose it? (OPOR)

Win 5% Lose 85% Stalemate 3% No opinion 7%

Do you think our own army, navy, and air force will have to fight in the war against Germany before she is defeated? Asked of the 85% of the sample who thought that in the long run Germany would lose the war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 51% |
| No | 14 |
| No opinion | 6 |
| Qualified answer | 10 |
| No answer | 4 |

(Dec 10 '41) Do you think that in the long run Germany will win the war, or lose it? (AIPO)

Win 2% Lose 92% Stalemate 2% No opinion 4%

Do you think our own army, navy, and air force will have to fight in the war against Germany before she is defeated? Asked of the 92% of the sample who thought Germany would lose the war.

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 80% |
| No | 5 |
| No opinion | 3 |
| Qualified answer | 2 |
| No answer | 2 |

**33.** (US May '42) With which of these four statements do you come closest to agreeing? (FOR)

| | |
|---|---|
| This war is not as serious as it looks, and we will win it without much trouble | 5.1% |
| While there is absolutely no doubt that we will win this war in the end, it is going to be a very tough job | 80.6 |
| It is entirely possible that we may not win a decisive victory even if we all pitch in and make every minute count | 10.8 |
| It is clear now that we will never win a decisive victory over the Axis | .7 |
| Don't know | 2.8 |

**34.** (US May 6 '42) Do you think Japan and Germany have a chance to beat us, or that this country is sure to win, or that the war will end in a draw or compromise? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Japan and Germany can beat us | 5% |
| This country is sure to win | 83 |
| Will end in draw or compromise | 6 |
| Don't know and no answer | 6 |

(June 20 '42)

| | |
|---|---|
| Japan and Germany can beat us | 11% |
| This country is sure to win | 75 |
| Will end in draw or compromise | 8 |
| Don't know | 6 |

**35.** (US May 6 '42) Do you think the United States alone could beat Japan and Germany, or that we will need the support of our Allies if we're going to win? (NORC)

| | |
|---|---|
| Can win alone | 17% |
| Will need Allies | 78 |
| Won't win anyway | * |
| Don't know and no answer | 5 |

* Less than 0.5%.

Suppose Germany defeats Russia this summer—do you think we would still be able to win the war? Asked of 83% of the sample who thought the United States would need her Allies to win the war, or didn't know whether she would or not.

Yes 59% No 8% Don't know 15% No answer 1%

What if Japan defeats China—do you think we would still be able to win the war? Asked of the 83% of the sample who thought the United States would need her Allies to win the war, or didn't know whether she would or not.

Yes 67% No 3% Don't know 12% No answer 1%

What if Germany defeats England this summer—do you think we would still be able to win the war? Asked of the 83% of the sample who thought the United States would need her Allies to win the war, or didn't know whether she would or not.

Yes 48% No 14% Don't know 21% No answer *

* Less than 0.5%.

(Nov 19 '42) Do you think the United States alone could beat Japan and Germany, or do you think we will need the support of our Allies if we're going to win?

| | |
|---|---|
| Could win alone | 16% |
| Will need Allies | 79 |
| Don't know | 5 |

**36.** (Canada May 23 '42) In the long run, which country do you think is the greatest obstacle to an allied victory, Germany or Japan? (CIPO)

| | *Germany* | *Japan* | *No difference* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 58% | 22% | 13% | 7% |
| BY SEX | | | | |
| Men | 62% | 20% | 12% | 6% |
| Women | 48 | 26 | 16 | 10 |

**37.** (US July 29 '42) The way things are going right now, does it seem to you that we are winning the war or losing it? (AIPO)

| | *Winning* | *Losing* | *Stalemate* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 25% | 39% | 28% | 8% |
| (Sept 15 '42) | 45 | 28 | 2 | 25 |
| (Nov 17 '42) | 81 | 3 | 13 | 3 |
| (Dec 15 '42) | 75 | 3 | 16 | 6 |

**38.** (US July 29 '42) Do you think either side will win a decisive victory in this war? (AIPO)

Yes 66% No 21% Don't know 13%

**39.** (US July 29 '42) Which side do you think will win—the Axis, or the Allies? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Axis | 2% |
| Allies | 87 |
| Stalemate | 4 |
| Don't know | 7 |

**40.** (US Oct 6 '42) Would you say that the way we're working now, we're pretty sure to win the war, or do you feel we'll have to work a lot harder if we're going to win? (NORC)

| | *Working hard enough* | *Work harder* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 22% | 75% | 3% |
| (Nov 19 '42) | 30 | 65 | 5 |

**41.** (US Oct 6 '42) Judging from the way things have been going in the last few weeks, would you say that right now we are winning the war or losing the war? (NORC)

| | *Winning* | *About even* | *Losing* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 44% | 31% | 15% | 10% |
| (Nov 19 '42) | 74 | 18 | 3 | 5 |

**42.** (US Nov '42) Do you think the Axis powers have any chance to win this war? Those who answered yes were asked: Do you feel they have a good chance, only a fair chance, or a poor chance? Asked of a national cross-section of high school students. (FOR)

| | *Good chance* | *Fair chance* | *Poor chance* | *No chance* | *Don't know* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| All students | 8.2% | 29.2% | 15.2% | 43.0% | 4.4% |
| BY DEGREE OF INFORMATION | | | | | |
| Well-informed | 11.0% | 32.8% | 16.1% | 38.1% | 2.0% |
| Poorly informed | 9.0 | 29.8 | 16.9 | 41.5 | 2.8 |
| Uninformed | 5.9 | 26.6 | 12.8 | 47.2 | 7.5 |

(Feb '43) Asked of a national cross-section of factory labor.
Good chance 3.2% Fair chance 10.6% Poor chance 9.0%
No chance 71.5% Don't know 5.7%

**43.** (Great Britain Mar 1 '43) Do you now feel convinced that the United Nations will win a decisive victory over Germany, or might the U-boat campaign enable Germany to force a stalemate? (BIPO)

Win 83% Stalemate 6% Don't know 11%

**44.** (US Dec 28 '44) Do you think there is any chance that we will lose the war in Europe? (AIPO)

Yes 9% No 86% Uncertain 5%

## WORRY

**1.** (Great Britain Oct '39) If you have any grouse, what is it? (BIPO)

Have grouse 71% No grouse 29%

**2.** (US July 20 '40) At the present time, do you find yourself worrying more than usual about your own future? (OPOR)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* | *No opinion* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 49% | 50% | 1% | — |
| (Aug 22 '40) (AIPO) | 46 | 54 | — | — |
| (Nov 19 '40) (AIPO) | 40 | 58 | — | 2% |

**3.** (US Mar 12 '41) What worries you most [at the present time]? (OPOR)

| | *Mar 12 '41* | *July 10 '41* |
|---|---|---|
| Finances | 27% | 30% |
| Unemployment | 6 | 5 |
| Uncertainty of future | 8 | 10 |
| International affairs and war | 31 | 27 |
| Health | 6 | 6 |
| Other | 3 | 5 |
| Political | 1 | 2 |
| Labor | 2 | 1 |
| Defense | 1 | 1 |
| Not worried | 10 | 12 |
| No answer, don't know | 2 | 1 |

(Hungary June '46) (HIPOR)

| | MEN | | WOMEN | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Under 40* | *Over 40* | *Under 40* | *Over 40* |
| Nourishment, food | 15.2% | 18.6% | 14.1% | 16.6% |
| Clothes, shoes | 22.1 | 17.0 | 24.5 | 14.2 |
| Everyday requirements | 23.1 | 23.2 | 23.5 | 32.9 |
| Lodging, furniture | 2.5 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 1.5 |
| Support of family, of children | 8.3 | 9.0 | 9.9 | 8.5 |
| Making money | 3.6 | 1.6 | 6.2 | 2.3 |
| Cultural anxieties | 2.3 | 1.9 | 1.1 | 3.1 |
| Political anxieties | 2.2% | 2.6% | 0.6% | 1.5% |
| Inflation, lack of money | 2.7 | 2.2 | 2.4 | 1.5 |
| Fuel | 3.7 | 2.2 | 3.0 | — |
| Worries in relation to job | 3.3 | 4.5 | 2.6 | 1.5 |
| Health, medicine | 1.1 | 4.5 | — | 3.9 |
| Personal | 3.3 | 4.1 | 5.2 | 9.4 |
| Other, no answer | 6.6 | 6.4 | 4.7 | 3.1 |

**4.** (Great Britain Oct '41) When considering the coming winter, what personally worries you most? (BIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Air raids and shelter conditions | 24% |
| Shortages or restricted supplies (food 11%; fuel 7%; clothes 4%; general 2%) | 24 |
| Travel in blackout, other blackout difficulties | 20 |
| General war situation (including fear of invasion 1%) | 4 |
| Epidemics, ill-health | 2 |
| Russian situation | 2 |
| Transport difficulties | 2 |
| The cost of living | 1 |
| Miscellaneous (including fate of relatives, cold, long working hours, etc.) | 8 |
| No worry expressed | 13 |

**5.** (US July 18 '42) Do you think people are more worried now than they were a few weeks ago? (NORC)

Yes 59% No 34% Don't know 7%

**6.** (US Dec 19 '45) What is the most important problem that you and your family face today? (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Low wages and high cost of living, making ends meet | 28% |
| Housing | 15 |
| Can't buy food, clothes, fuel, equipment, etc. | 10 |
| Jobs, the labor situation | 9 |
| Health, keeping well | 6 |
| Financial security | 3 |
| Farm prices out of line | 1 |
| Lack of domestic help, farm labor | 4 |
| Family in service | 2 |
| Getting readjusted to civilian life | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 12 |
| Have no problem | 9 |
| No answer, don't know | 3 |
| | 104%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(France Feb 16 '46) (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Food supply | 53% |
| Clothing | 18 |
| Financial questions | 16 |
| Heating | 9 |
| Housing | 4 |
| Farm needs | 2 |
| Return of jobs | 1 |
| Other | 4 |
| No answer | 2 |
| | 109%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Great Britain Mar '46) (BIPO)

| | | BY SEX | | BY ECONOMIC STATUS | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Total* | *Men* | *Women* | *Higher* | *Middle* | *Lower* |
| Food shortage | 22% | 21% | 24% | 18% | 19% | 24% |
| Housing shortage | 17 | 17 | 17 | 11 | 17 | 17 |
| Financial troubles (high cost of living, small incomes, rent) | 12 | 12 | 12 | 8 | 12 | 12 |
| Family and domestic problems | 9 | 8 | 10 | 5 | 10 | 9 |
| Clothing shortage | 7 | 6 | 9 | 6 | 10 | 7 |
| Business and work problems | 6 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Coal shortage | 5 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 5 | 5 |
| Furniture and bedding shortage | 3 | 3 | 2 | 6 | 3 | 2 |
| Children's education/future | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Servant problem | 1 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 2 | — |
| Provision for old age | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Holiday accommodation | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | 1 |
| Petrol rationing | — | — | — | 2 | — | — |
| Miscellaneous | 3 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 4 | 3 |
| None | 6 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 6 |
| No reply, don't know | 5 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 5 |

(US Sept 11 '46) (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| No answer | 3% |
| None | 5 |
| Cost of living—set income, higher prices | 41 |
| Housing shortage | 13 |
| Food shortage | 13 |
| Meat shortage | 4 |
| Shortages in general; cars, clothing, etc. | 10 |
| Getting or keeping a job | 2 |
| Financial security, old age, security | 2 |
| Education problems, raising children | 3 |
| Personal problems | 9 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| | 109%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

(France Nov 1 '46) (FIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Financial questions | 44% |
| Food | 16 |
| Housing | 7 |
| Clothing | 6 |
| Professional needs | 6 |
| Heating | 1 |
| Combined answers | 11 |
| Other answers | 3 |
| No answer | 6 |

| | *Financial* | *Food* | *Housing* | *Clothing* | *Professional needs* | *Heating, others, no answer* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BY OCCUPATION | | | | | | |
| Living on income | 60% | 15% | 3% | 3% | 2% | 17% |
| White collar | 48 | 14 | 11 | 6 | 1 | 20 |
| Workers | 45 | 20 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 21 |
| Professional | 41 | 15 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 28 |
| Business | 34 | 13 | 7 | 6 | 13 | 27 |
| Farmers | 32 | 9 | 2 | 14 | 22 | 21 |
| BY POPULATION | | | | | | |
| 0 to 2,000 | 33% | 13% | 2% | 13% | 18% | 21% |
| 2,000–20,000 | 40 | 16 | 5 | 8 | 6 | 25 |
| 20,000–40,000 | 53 | 16 | 5 | 8 | 6 | 12 |
| 40,000–100,000 | 47 | 17 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 22 |
| Over 100,000 | 46 | 16 | 10 | 6 | 4 | 18 |

(US Dec 31 '46 (AIPO)

| | |
|---|---|
| Cost of living | 47% |
| Housing shortage | 13 |
| Other shortages | 9 |
| No problems | 9 |
| Personal problems | 9 |
| Getting or keeping a job | 3 |
| Farm problems | 2 |
| Financial security, old age security | 2 |
| Shortage of help | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 |
| No opinion | 3 |
| | 103%* |

* Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**7.** (Canada May 4 '46) What is the most difficult problem that you, yourself, face today? (CIPO)

Had no problems 22% Had problems 68% Don't know 10%

The 68% who had problems cited the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| Financial, wages, cost of living, family expenses | 14% |
| Housing, a place to live | 11 |
| Domestic problems (food, rationing, maid service, poor coal, bringing up children in husband's absence, etc.) | 9 |
| Employment (trying to find suitable job, veteran reestablishment, etc.) | 7 |
| Business problems (getting farm/office help, lack of materials, crop conditions, etc.) | 7 |
| Personal problems (childrens' future, getting shirts, trying to buy a car, etc.) | 5 |
| Taxes (income tax forms, high taxation, etc.) | 4 |
| Economic security (Old Age Pensions, "What will happen when I'm too old to work?" "Will I lose my job in a depression?" etc.) | 4 |
| Health matters | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 6 |
| | 70%* |

* Percentages add to more than 68 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

**8.** (Germany Feb 14 '46) Have you heard any rumors which disturbed you recently? (OMGUS)

| | *Yes* | *No* | *No answer* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 33% | 67% | * |
| (Mar 22 '46) | 38 | 59 | 3% |
| (Mar 29 '46) | 41 | 59 | * |

| | *Feb 14 '46* | *Mar 22 '46* | *Mar 29 '46* |
|---|---|---|---|
| If so, what are they? | | | |
| No answer | * | — | 2% |
| Inflation, prices will rise | 2% | * | * |
| No | 67 | — | — |

| | Feb 14 '46 | Mar 22 '46 | Mar 29 '46 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Devaluation of the currency | 8% | * | * |
| War with Russia, civil war, world war | 10 | 33% | 32 |
| Russia will take over more of Germany | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Atrocities or dark happenings in Russian zone | 1 | — | — |
| There will be less food, smaller rations, starvation | 1 | 3 | 3 |
| Less housing due to the Americans requisitioning it | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Less housing due to needs of refugees, evacuees | * | * | * |
| Other: war prisoners won't come home, human flesh sold on the black market, etc. | 9% | 2% | 3% |
| Former party members will be worse off | 1 | * | * |
| Yes, no answer | 1 | — | — |
| | 103%** | 40%† | 43%‡ |

* Less than 0.5%.

** Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

† Percentages add to more than 38 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

‡ Percentages add to more than 41 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

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| | APR 30 1994 | | |
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